

Understanding Cuban Tourism: Affect and Capital in post-Special Period Cuba

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List of Abbreviations

CEEC	Centro de Estudios sobre la Economía Cubana
CENESEX	Centro Nacional de Educación Sexual
CIPS	Centro de Investigaciones Psicológicas y Sociológicas
CTC	Central de Trabajadores de Cuba
FMC	Federación de Mujeres Cubanas
ELAM	Escuela Latinoamericana de Medicina
INFOTUR	Cuban tourist board
MINTUR	Ministerio de Turismo
PCC	Partido Comunista de Cuba

This thesis concerns the marketing, appropriation and consumption of affect in contemporary Cuban tourism. Since its rapid development to generate hard currency during the economic crisis of the 1990s, tourism has become the centre of the Cuban economy. More recently, following the radical reforms brought in under Raúl Castro, changes in private enterprise ventures have expanded touristic contact spaces beyond the previous controls of the formal sector. A range of services has emerged, responding to tourists' demands to have an intimate, authentic experience of Cuba. Using the lens of affective capital, this study combines a consideration of this complex, rapidly-changing context with two further facets of the phenomenon: an analysis of the affective dimensions of Cuba's representation in touristic texts, such as marketing, guidebooks, travel literature and online forums, and a discussion of the affective negotiations between host and guest on the ground. The strategic appropriation of affective capital identified in this thesis offers an original perspective on revolutionary Cuba's tourism development.

The resurgence of sex tourism since the resurrection of the tourism industry has been the dominant focus of previous scholarship, ignoring the wider 'market of feelings' that operates through tourism. In particular, approaches have been quick to emphasise the incongruity of prostitution in the context of revolutionary socialism, offering one-dimensional analyses of the state and the Cuban population. In addition, approaches from Tourism Studies have tended to be tourist-centric. This thesis draws together these actors with a dialogic approach in order to reveal some key complexities. The mixed methods approach combines textual analysis with some participative methods, carried out during a fieldwork trip in 2012, to address the connections between the lived realities of affective capital in Cuban tourism, the discourses that constitute it, and the social context.

The findings reveal that Cuba is cast as a site of affective wealth through certain discourses and practices of tourism. Firstly, in describing the ways that Cuba is articulated through affective codes in touristic texts, this research reconfigures approaches to tourism's world-making function through the framework of symbolic capital; it challenges the idea that revolutionary tourism policy is one-dimensional. Secondly, in looking at the lived realities of these discourses, the thesis critically addresses the kinds of negotiations relating to emotional work, bad feelings, and currency by both parties of the tourist encounter; this perspective extends important scholarship on tourism and affect in new directions based on the specificity of the Cuban context.

DECLARATION

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The recent economic reforms in Cuba are receiving substantial attention in the media and academic debates, as journalists, commentators and scholars attempt to explain and interpret the implications for Cuba's society, ideology and political system. It is clear that the reforms are wide-ranging and radical, underpinned as they are by the gradual withdrawal of the state from many areas of economic activity; however, it is also worth noting that these reforms respond to socio-economic changes that date back to the 1990s. In particular, the need to generate hard currency as a result of the collapse of Communism led the Cuban government to promote tourism as a 'quick fix' to the economic crisis. Whilst scholars have examined the economic effects of tourism and, more recently, have explored its large scale social effects, the principal aim of this research is to investigate the affective underpinnings of contemporary Cuban tourism, that is, to explore how Cuba is marketed and consumed through tourism as a site of affective wealth. Particular dimensions of Cuba's recent history, including policies which open tourist spaces and actors up to increased host-guest contact, a prolific rise in tourist numbers in recent years, and lingering economic hardship on the island, make the topic of capital and affect in this context an especially dynamic and complex one. At the heart of this research is the motivation to reflect accurately two dimensions of this under-researched phenomenon: firstly, to illuminate the ways in which contemporary Cuba is articulated through the framework of normalised affective capital, bound up in the larger symbolism and narratives appropriated and sold through large-scale government and corporate bodies of tourism, with the potential to satisfy tourists' demands for Other sensory, embodied and emotional pleasures; secondly, to explore how these articulations are reflected and negotiated in the micro-level encounters between tourists and service providers. There is limited scholarship which exposes the interface of affect and tourism in the context of contemporary Cuba, particularly concerning the two dimensions of both representation and lived realities. The thesis brings these two dimensions together, using a mixed methods approach in order to encapsulate and combine both. The framework of symbolic capital pursued through this study offers fresh insights to an under-researched but highly relevant field.

Tourism is an important field of social sciences and Cultural Studies research: it is not so much about simply travelling to places as it is about ways of relating to the world in contemporary cultures (Baerenholdt *et al.*, 2004). Indeed, voluntary, pleasure-seeking travel offers many interesting questions, since "the idea and actuality of tourism initiate action, alter behaviour, shape attitudes and influence culture" (Schwartz, 1997: xii). For certain countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, tourism has an enormous economic, cultural and social significance, often having replaced monoculture economies

lingering from colonialism, following its promotion as an economic panacea since the 1980s. This region is especially enmeshed in the affective economies of tourism and the wider commodification of exotic representation and consumption. Furthermore, the prevalence of sex tourism in this region has been theorised in relation to well-established imaginaries of racialised hyper-sexuality, representations of the urban and natural landscapes as untamed and open for foreign consumption, and through assumptions of Otherness.

This research uses this theoretical paradigm as a departure point, but always keeps in mind the fact that Cuba's reinsertion into the global market of international tourism has occurred under unusual and complex conditions, which demand specific analysis. As mentioned, the deep economic crisis in Cuba in the 1990s meant a radical rupture in the direction of the social revolution that had begun in 1959. The intense conditions of poverty that all Cubans endured during this so-called 'Special Period' forced the return of some pre-revolutionary social ills, including prostitution. As such, literature on the affective dimension of Cuban tourism has often paid excessive critical attention to the practices and politics of racialised sex tourism during the Special Period, emphasising the glaring contradictions of this phenomenon in the context of the revolutionary (and utopian) objectives of racial and sexual equality for all Cubans. This research extends the focus of existing research on tourism in post-1989 Cuba to reflect a more nuanced picture. It broadens the focus beyond the paradigm of sex-for-money, and instead attempts to capture the ways in which feelings flow through touristic articulations and encounters in the form of affective capital. In this way, it moves the understanding of Cuban tourism beyond the themes of sex tourism and prostitution, whilst also acknowledging that crude emotional traits and the pursuit of broader, non-sexualised intimate affective experiences are also normalised through tourism.

Moreover, my approach goes beyond the pervasive one-dimensional assumptions of the politics of tourism development in Cuba. Academics and critics in general have too often interpreted the resurrection of tourism as an inevitable relapse into capitalism, as a death toll of the Revolution or, conversely, as a series of sacrifices and compromises in order to preserve the system. These interpretations cast the state as monolithic, either stifling citizens' engagement with new markets, or seemingly discarding social equity in the name of tourism policy and foreign capital. In addition, Cubans' participation in the affective economies in tourism, including but not limited to sex tourism, is too rigidly categorised as a defiant vanguard of capitalism or through discourses of vibrancy and inventiveness. Instead, this thesis aims to reflect the reality in between these constructions, the complex and often contradictory interplay between different levels and actors, and the various

dialogues between economic, social and political imperatives resulting from Cuba's participation in international tourism markets.

The first focus of the thesis is directed towards the appropriation of affective capital in certain touristic texts of Cuba: tourism marketing, travel literature, guidebooks, blogs and online forums. In acknowledgement of the notion that representations of place sediment over constant appropriation and repetition, I investigate the ways in which narratives in touristic texts of Cuba elaborate, reinforce or contest affective framings of the island. This first focus sets this thesis apart from the majority of studies of affect and tourism, particularly those which choose Cuba as their context. Crucial research into the affective dimensions of Latin American and Caribbean tourism has tended to adopt ethnographic methods to look at the everyday negotiations between hosts and guests, interrogating how codes of desire, love and care, amongst others, play out on the ground.¹ As such, the thesis also engages with a second set of theoretical models which make the everyday level of tourism their focus: theories of affective tourist encounter and affective work. Hosts and guests strategically appropriate and consume affective services and experiences in touristic 'contact zones' (Pratt, 1992): these processes illuminate the connections between the imaginaries sustained by touristic texts of peoples and places and the conversion of these imaginaries into the real commoditised experience of feeling.

The thesis addresses the following questions:

- How are types of affective capital strategically marketed, circulated and consumed through contemporary tourist Cuba?
- How do tourists seek particular emotional, moral, embodied and/or sensual experiences when they choose to visit Cuba?
- How do touristic representations of Cuba make, de-make and re-make certain affective landscapes and identities? How do different types of symbolic capital become bound up with place? Who authorises these representations?
- How do the macro processes of tourism (which market and circulate types of capital) connect with micro processes on the ground? How are they produced, reproduced and/or disrupted?

¹ In this thesis, I use the term 'on the ground' to express the everyday, local and often intimate dimensions of tourism, borrowing Cabezas' phrasing (2009: 10).

Structure of the thesis

As noted, the Cuban context is of pivotal importance to this research. At the centre of the thesis is the driving objective to reveal the ways in which affective capital operates in specific ways because of Cuban revolutionary politics and society since 1959, and especially, resulting from significant shifts in social, cultural, economic and political life, since the 1990s. Chapter One provides a critical review of existing scholarship relating to tourism and affect. This chapter brings together approaches from different disciplines, but follows most closely the approaches of cultural studies, and thus proposes that Tourism Studies should be situated within wider social theory and cultural studies. It lays the foundation of theories of place representation through tourism, moving on to review approaches which have given consideration to how the Latin American and Caribbean region has been imagined and experienced through specific political economies of affect. Chapter Two also pays attention to research on the 'micro' level of those touristic processes of affect, including approaches to affective encounters and emotional labour. Chapter Three describes the social and cultural context of revolutionary Cuba since just before 1959. This chapter is designed to highlight the specific meanings of capital, affect and tourism in the context of political and moral value systems, policies, reforms and recent moments of crisis and change: it is certainly not intended to be an exhaustive account of the Revolution's trajectory, but rather to locate the reader within the dynamic context of the study. Since the thesis required a rigorous exploration of the complex circulations of affective capital through touristic texts and experiences of Cuba, implicating the interplay between text, lived reality and social context, I adopted an ambitious mixed methods approach. This approach is justified in Chapter Three, which explains the implementation of these methods, with some critical reflections on the research process.

Chapters Four, Five and Six present and analyse the empirical findings of this research. Affective capital is identified in terms of loosely-applied categories: exotic capital (Chapter Four) and emotional capital (Chapter Five). The division of these findings is not intended to suggest a natural division in the ways that these types of affective capital operate or appeared in the data, but rather to simply reflect the novel analytical framework at the centre of this study, which attempts to untangle the complex discursive and lived facets of many different dimensions of affective capital. Chapter Four is concerned with the exoticisation of touristic Cuba through established subtexts of sexual availability and difference. Chapter Five extends this interpretation of affective capital to a wider market of feelings, analysing how touristic texts positively categorise emotional and sensory experiences, often through notions of Otherness; it interrogates the types of affective work that these texts therefore implicate, and the types of affective negotiations apparent in the

narratives of tourists and service providers. To this end, Chapter Six begins the process of drawing the broader reflections of the research, and critically approaches the issue of value in these flows of affective capital, situating types of affective capital in relation to each other. Firstly, it interrogates the notion of currency that operates through these discourses, critically reflecting on the wider politics of inequality and exchange in the tourist encounter. Secondly, it puts forward that the interaction between types of affective and symbolic capital identified in the findings offer several original reflections, based on the ways that tourists, Cubans and state/corporate bodies of tourism negotiate types of affective capital for various strategic purposes. Chapter Seven, the conclusion, outlines the key contributions of this research and suggests directions for further research.

Defining affective capital

Affective capital is the central concept which structures this study; however, it requires some explanation. This integrative framework is heavily influenced by the conceptualisations of symbolic capital through the lens of affect which have been developed by scholars Marta Savigliano and Amalia Cabezas. Savigliano (1995) explains the systems of exotic representation and imperial consumption of Argentine tango through the theory of exotic capital, expanding the historical account of capitalism by suggesting that flows of exotic capital between Latin America and the imperial West have represented a parallel to global capitalism. Exotic capital forms a raw export, which is produced, distributed and consumed and through which the peripheral² Third World is represented to the rest of the world, representing tradable symbolic wealth (1995: 2). This political economy of passion, according to Savigliano, is “a trackable trafficking in emotions and affects [which] has paralleled the processes by which the core countries of the capitalist world system have extracted material goods and labour from, and imposed colonial bureaucratic state apparatuses and ideological devices on, the Third World periphery” (1995: 1-2). Cabezas draws on and develops this conceptualisation of exotic capital in her study on sex and tourism in Cuba and the Dominican Republic (2009), instead using the idea of *affective capital* to examine how affect circulates in the sexual economies of these countries. Cabezas references Savigliano in describing the extraction of affect from

² Periphery countries are those defined as less developed than the semi-periphery and core countries, historically located outside Europe, with an inferred unequal stake in global wealth, and a dependence on those more developed countries. Dependency theory (Cardoso and Faletto, 1972) has been since expanded to explain how this core/periphery model is heightened through processes of globalisation, including through the global flows of tourism.

the global South by the global North (2009: 11). According to Cabezas, this extraction of affect is at the centre of the global industries of tourism and hospitality, because intimate forms of labour are “exploited by both transnational corporate capital and people on the ground” (2009: 10). Beyond Cabezas’ important work, the specific concept of affective capital has not been exploited as a means to examine and explain tourism in Latin America and the Caribbean, yet it is clear that its application could yield original perspectives.

Nevertheless, there is a question as to why *affective* capital is more suitable than any other conceptual framework. Although the terms ‘affect’ and ‘emotion’ are sometimes used interchangeably, several subtle distinctions have been theorised. According to Spinoza’s framing, affect refers to states of body and mind, with a greater emphasis placed on emotions and feelings experienced in and through the body (Tolia-Kelly, 2006). Therefore, affect can be used to widely describe a range of embodied feelings beyond emotions, including sexual desire. Moreover, affect has also been framed as the transference or passage of ‘forces’, or ‘intensities’ (Gregg and Seigworth, 2009). To be exact, “affect is found in those intensities that pass body to body (human, nonhuman, part-body, and otherwise), in those resonances that circulate about, between, and sometimes stick to bodies and worlds, and in the very passages or variations between these intensities and resonances themselves” (Gregg and Seigworth, 2009: 1). Indeed, according to Silvan Tomkins (1962), generally acknowledged to have originally developed affect theory, a vital characteristic of affect is its resonance, or the sense that an affect is sensed and similarly experienced by another person. This idea of Tomkins has been highly influential in the works of others (Sedgwick, 2003), sometimes interpreted as ‘contagion’ (Probyn, 2005) or the ‘stickiness’ of affect (Brennan, 2004, cited in Ahmed, 2010: 40). Given this specific framing of affect, as encompassing a broad range of embodied feeling or intensity which is passed from person to person, it is clear that a concept of *emotional* capital is not entirely satisfactory to describe the way in which a broad range of sensory, sexualised and embodied experiences are marketed and consumed in Cuban tourism.

Throughout the thesis I use the term affective capital to express this overarching range of embodied feeling that appears in the discourse of touristic Cuba, in texts which market, narrate and/or reflect in some way the tourist experience of Cuba. When I refer to exotic, erotic, emotional and moral capitals, it is my intention to attempt to distinguish different components or dimensions in this broader operation of affective capital. To be clear, the terms ‘emotional capital’ and ‘affective capital’ are not used synonymously and are not interchangeable, although they do overlap. Emotional capital, as I will explain in Chapter

Five, refers to the strategic circulation of feeling which is not sexualised or eroticised; in part, it is my aim to reflect that scholarship has paid inordinate attention to this aspect of the tourist experience in Cuba (Allen, 2011; Clancy, 2002; Fernandez, 1999; O' Connell Davidson, 1996). Instead, I will argue that other affective experiences, such as family, companionship, intimacy and so on are also strategically sought by tourists and marketed by service providers: this practice I frame as the circulation of *emotional* capital, in order to distinguish it from exotic or erotic capital, for example. These categorisations are an imperfect but approximate means with which to express the different dimensions of the broader phenomenon of affective capital that was observed through this research.

Of course, in describing the way that affect circulates as a form of capital, and as a by-product and function of colonialism and neo-colonialism, both Cabezas and Savigliano draw indirectly on the work of Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu (1984) described society through the prism of *habitus*, a subliminal manifestation of a social structure whose practices and behaviours are collectively controlled, reinforced and given social meaning and value by peers – value that is revealed as various forms of capital. As Bourdieu explains, capital “is accumulated labour (in its materialized form or its ‘incorporated’, embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e. exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor” (Bourdieu, 1986: 241). For Bourdieu, non-economic capital is always related to the production and possession of economic capital. This conceptualisation of cultural and social capital has allowed scholars to explore the simultaneous and related operation of economic and symbolic wealth in society (Murdoch, 2000: 134), to theorise various sub-types of capital, including physical capital (McCall, 1992; Wacquant, 1995) and to interpret the gendering of emotional capital (Shilling, 1996). The conceptualisation of affective capital employed in this thesis primarily serves to express the mutual enmeshing of economic capital and affect in Cuban tourism, for example in how marketing campaigns appeal to embodied feelings, pleasures and experiences in order to competitively sell Cuba as a tourist destination, or in the intimate forms of labour which are bought and sold through tourism.

I also use the concept of affective capital in order to make reference to the ways that the touristic circulation of affect occurs in strategic, competitive and compensatory ways, drawing on literature which observes those practices in which an individual's resources are used for personal gain. For example, Loic Wacquant puts forward a theory of bodily capital – “the specific capital constituted of one's physical resources” (2004: 29, quoted in Hofmann, 2010: 236) – which extends the Marxist notion of labour's value in a particular place in the market (Marx and Engels, 1948) to people's strategic use of their bodies in

the pursuit of financial remuneration. While Wacquant draws attention to the physical exertion and resistance to physical pain that boxers endure as part of their working lives (Wacquant, 1995; Wacquant, 2004), the same notion of the labour value of bodily capital has been applied to sub-types of capital that operate in sex work (Hofmann, 2010) and in care work (Huppatz, 2009).

However, to speak of an 'affective marketplace' is not straightforward. For example, in analysing how individuals appropriate symbolic capital in order to negotiate lack of material resources, to speak of a 'market' in which money is exchangeable with status indicators (such as skin colour, attractiveness, wealth) is problematic (Wade, 2009: 173). As Wade argues, these status indicators cannot be fully *sold off* to the buyer since they remain corporeally attached to the self: Wade thus proposes the useful concept of a *gift economy* (2009: 174). Indeed, there has been considerable debate regarding the understanding of commodity in affective work based on a Marxist reading of these practices, particularly prostitution (Van der Veen, 2001). Marx's notion of 'commodity fetishism', whereby material objects (including services) gain exchange value or the status of a commodity while the experience of the commodity becomes disarticulated from the process of production (Stratton, 2001: 31), has been relatively convincingly applied to tourism in general (Watson and Kopachevsky, 1994). For Watson and Kopachevsky, the tourist consumes and experiences tourism as a commodity, evaluating those experiences and touristic services primarily in terms of exchange value, because tourism is "shaped by the essential logic of capitalism, namely commodification" (1994: 644). Yet there are aspects of tourism and affect for which the conceptualisation of commodification remain highly contested by scholars. In earlier theory, Marx articulated sex work as the commodification of the self (through the 'sale' of the body), but later reconsidered it instead as the production of a *service* sold to the buyer (Van der Veen, 2001: 43). This interpretation has lead scholars, feminists and sex worker rights activists to attempt to reframe sex work as an empowering production and appropriation of the individual's own surplus labour, a form of corporeal entrepreneurialism (Hoffman, 2010) or independent commodity production (Van der Veen, 2001). However, a significant body of literature has rejected these readings, finding the notion of sex as commodity too simplistic, and has called for alternative reading of commodification in affective practices (Bishop and Robinson, 1999; Cabezas, 2009; Van der Veen, 2001: 31; Williams and Zelizer, 2005; Zelizer, 2005). Instead, we might draw from Miranda Joseph's (2005) notion of 'multivalent commodities', which proposes that all relations are at once defined by commodified and uncommodified elements, which produce multiple meanings and are inflected by context.

Furthermore, the notion of the affective marketplace may suggest that an implicit sense of value is contained in all affective practices. The imagined exchangeability of traits such as skin colour, attractiveness and wealth, for example, “implies that all of these qualities can be measured on a single scale of value and that a given person’s total capital can be calculated by adding their various statuses” (Wade, 2009: 174). As such, these are not absolute elements but socially constructed.³ As they interact with social structures and categories in multiple ways, qualities which have affective and economic value become constituted and altered.

While riddled with contradictions, the resulting notion is that, depending on the context and the associated meanings that result, affect and commoditisation coexist in “truncated, incomplete and fungible ways” (Cabezas, 2009: 119). Nevertheless, there is clear usefulness in engaging with the concepts such as commodity, marketplace and exchange-value in the exploration of how symbolic capital becomes bound to peoples and places through tourism. In this study, this perspective allows an explanation of the way that money and affect are (often uneasily) woven together in Cuban tourism, both in the strategic marketing of specific affective experiences by transnational tourism business, and in the complex interactions and encounters between tourists and Cubans. The multiple meanings which emerge from the phenomenon this thesis examines, for example, how tourists seek out experiences with (O)thers, how relationships form in touristic spaces and how Cubans make a living from the wider affective imaginaries that tourism generates, make the use of terms like ‘market’ and ‘exchange value’ necessary if sometimes figurative and inexact. Throughout this thesis, my use of these terms is intended to reflect how economic capital and affect articulate together, albeit in multivalent, incomplete and contradictory ways.

The complex social, cultural and economic realities of Cuba are at the centre of this research. This fundamental outlook stems from my own affection for Cuba, and a desire to reflect the compelling idiosyncrasies and complexities running through the marketing, production and consumption of affective capital on the island. This foundation was enriched by a three month fieldwork trip to Cuba in 2012 which supported extensive participant observation in spaces where Cuban people strategically negotiate affective capital through their contact with tourists (me often included). These emotionally involving insights allowed me to reflect on the complex social context of Cuba, and the real-life

³ Wade gives a number of examples: rather than representing a static value, economic power is devalued in the hands of a black man or woman, for instance. Similarly, the marketplace of marriage is structured “by the same forces that give those qualities their value: [marriage] is, in a sense, ‘worth more’ when performed by richer, whiter people” (2009: 174).

operation of strategic, commotised feeling, in order to enhance an analysis of the representation of affect in touristic texts. Only through examining the interplay between these aspects and by combining insights from a range of sources and methods is it possible to give a more complete and complex picture of the nature of affective capital in contemporary Cuban tourism.

CHAPTER ONE

Approaches to Tourism

Approaches to tourism are broad in scope and cut across multiple disciplines, underscoring the importance of tourism research beyond the apparently frivolous nature of its subject matter (Greenwood, 1989: 171; Pearce, 1982). As a consequence, some scholars have remarked on how Tourism Studies can seek to incorporate wider social theory (Swain and Momsen, 2002) to explore the wide range of social, economic and cultural phenomena that tourism encompasses. This shift is particularly evident in important tourism scholarship which explores the way that people and places come to be represented through affective codes, and which manifest themselves through the macro and micro processes of tourism. Given the vast scope of research on tourism, then, this literature review prioritises significant scholarship regarding the operation of the transnational¹ economic and symbolic flows that produce tourism, and their socio-cultural manifestations on a local level, acknowledging gaps, where they exist. As such, the aim of this chapter is to bring together the research on tourism and affect in terms of approaches to both tourism's world-making function and its intimate and affective processes on the ground.

The chapter is divided into four sections. In the first, the important, overarching theories of 'place' from tourism studies and related Cultural Studies fields are described. In the second, I consider the literature concerned with the particular macro processes of representation in Latin America and the Caribbean, particularly where affective codes such as exoticism and eroticism have been conflated with place both as a context to, and as a result of, tourism. The studies that have demonstrated the affective component of tourist activity, particularly the micro level of those touristic processes of affect, including approaches to encounter, intimacy and emotional labour, form the basis of the third section. The sum of this work and existing gaps are then brought together in the concluding section.

1.1 Tourism and world-making

Tourism approaches find common ground in identifying the significant role that tourism plays in articulating the established understanding of places. In particular, scholarship has demonstrated the pivotal role that tour operators play in moulding tourists' motivations for travel and shaping expectations (Silver, 1993). As such, scholars have highlighted the

¹ The term 'transnational' here refers to a transcending of national boundaries: in transnational spaces, cultural traits are diffused through "constantly shifting, fluid and contested terrains of culture, identity and beliefs" (Brennan, 2004: 51).

different actors that occupy tourism's enunciative or 'world-making' authority. The 1990s in particular saw a steep rise in the number of social scientists examining the function of tourism to "make, re-make and/or de-make specific peoples, places or pasts" (Hollinshead, 2004: 25), although some theorists (MacCannell, 1973; Smith, 1989) had previously shed significant light on the primary role of government bodies and corporate tourism operators in the expression of 'place' through tourism. Beyond the simplistic notion of a country's reputation as an attractive place to holiday, scholars have recognised tourism's power to articulate who a population is and to declare what ought to be celebrated about places (Hollinshead, 2004: 31; Horne, 1992), which in turn may determine how, to use Hollinshead's phrasing, "emergent populations" (2004: 36) then legitimise and define themselves. If certain souvenirs and cultural experiences are favoured by tourists, for example, this may either revitalise local indigenous arts and traditions and be a source of local identity and pride (Pearce, 1982: 15) or, conversely, trivialise cultural products by reproducing them excessively for tourist consumption. Thus, tourism textuality helps to render not just the touristic world but the world in general. This branch of Tourism Studies reveals the ways in which actors and institutions of many levels use tourism to (often unsuspectingly) mediate and normalise myths, stereotypes, narratives and interpretations through their inclusion in tourism texts and tourism promotional materials, and in the suppression or the denial of other traditions/storylines (Hollinshead, 1999).

Tourism textuality's enunciative value has been further developed in the literature. The important perspectival concept of Urry's 'tourist gaze' (1990) holds great authority within this vein of Tourism Studies: Urry uses this term to refer to the way places are consumed through tourism by the experience of gazing upon or viewing a set of different scenes, landscapes or townscapes and the industries that help to construct and develop that gaze by drawing our attention to particular objects of apparent value (1990: 1). In a general sense, then, the tourist gaze refers to the largely unconscious force by which peoples, places, and pasts are labelled and classified through tourism. Or, according to Hollinshead's interpretation, "today, the tourist gaze is a mix of different scopic drives by which things of significance in history/culture/nature/ experience are identified, signified, and totalized" (1999: 10). The tourist gaze is constructed and reinforced through diverse histories and by different social groups, and represents the highly revelatory way in which things are selectively identified and performatively represented in and through tourism (Urry, 1990).

Urry speaks of an overall ocular-centrism of tourism (1992): the highly visual nature of knowing peoples, places, and pasts. While there is no one single tourist gaze (Urry, 1990:

2), Urry's general argument is that the significance of visual consumption in tourism has continued to increase (1990).² For Urry, the visual also refers to the mind's eye, in the sense that "tourism paradigmatically involves the collection of signs...when a small village is seen, what is captured through the gaze is a sight of the 'real olde England'" (Urry 1992: 172). The capturing tourist gaze thus associates the sign to its signifier; the world of tourism is "crowded" with these associative relationships (MacCannell, 1999: 117). Because of the privileging of the tourist's 'eye' over other senses in order to understand and appropriate desired things through the act of tourism, tourist gazers are likely to be drawn towards selectively celebrated visual landscapes (Hollinshead, 1999: 11). In any touristic location, material signs (such as plaques and signposts) also direct the tourist's attention towards features of the landscape and townscape in ways that establish value. Such material signs have been categorised by MacCannell as "markers" (1999: 110).

There are further mechanisms at work in the tourist gaze. Urry's framing emphasises the importance of anticipation, in that the way the tourist comes to interpret and imagine a place is rendered through a gaze built up through a plethora of touristic and non-touristic texts. The notion of a place is built up long before travel takes place, then, as an anticipation or fantasy that is "constructed and sustained through a variety of non-tourist practices, such as film, TV, literature, magazines, records and videos" (Urry, 1990: 3). This daydreaming process does not appear autonomously, according to Urry, but instead involves a constant "working over [of] advertising and other media-generated sets of signs" (1990: 13). This is an important perspective, and one that is not common throughout Tourism Studies, in that it integrates tourism world-making theories to wider cultural theory. It is important, thus, to consider how articulations of place, heritage and national identity are built up in the tourist gaze by various kinds of touristic and non-touristic texts.

Approaches to discourse have often underlined how places and peoples are made Other in both touristic and non-touristic texts. In Urry's definition, the gaze's selection of value in tourism is defined through difference from 'home'. As much as the practices and experiences of tourism are distinguished from those normally encountered in everyday life (Urry, 1990: 13), those features of the landscape, townscape and population are also highlighted precisely through difference. In this regard, approaches to tourism world-making in the developing world have much to draw from Edward Said's provocative concept of 'Orientalism'. In *Orientalism* (1979), Said examined discourse during the colonisation of the East, arguing that language was used to justify its exploitation by

² Urry re-asserts the increasing significance of the visual in tourism in later work (1992: 9).

portraying it as mysterious, exotic, sensual and cruel, in direct contrast to the progress and civilisation symbolised by the West. This series of hierarchical binary-opposites has continued to be expressed through tourism of the developing world, in that images tend to reflect a western, white, male, colonial viewpoint (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998: 169), which is static and unchanging in contrast to a dynamic 'First World'. Other scholars have taken up this concern, identifying 'Orientalism' as the essential basis for the analysis of colonial imagery and difference in tourism marketing of the developed world (Britton, 1979; Echtner and Prasad, 2003; Silver, 1993). As Silver and others make clear, tourists are either reliant on these texts through lack of other information (Silver, 1993), are devoted to them as "spiritual guides" (Horne, 1984: 10) or are surrounded by them within the wider tourist gaze (Urry, 1990).

In addition to the consuming gaze of the individual tourist, Urry also identifies the institutional professional level of the tourist gaze. Thus, the world-making mechanisms of the tourist gaze which privilege selected visual landscapes and myths are upheld by the tourist worker who "regulates and thereby constrains himself/herself through the ocularcentric outlooks which he/she upholds" (Hollinshead, 1999: 7). Scholars have described how the construction or perpetuation of certain myths and images may thus serve political interests, frequently occupying part of the Foucauldian discursive order (Buck, 1993). Yet overall, Urry has been accused of making too infrequent reference to Foucault, given what Hollinshead (1999) and Leiper (1998) conceive to be a strong Foucauldian angle running through the tourist gaze theory. In particular, Hollinshead notes the links between Foucault's given institutional gazes and the universalising surveillance that Urry identifies in tourism contexts (1990; 1992: 176), and instead encourages the examination of tourism's decision-makers and workers "in terms of the governing suppositions and presuppositions they work to" (1999:7). There is clear value, then, in linking the myth-making of touristic and non-touristic texts, for example, to the normalising discourses and practices of service providers on the ground and the ways in which they habitually regulate specific interpretations about people and places through their contact with tourists.

Through discursive and lived processes, thus, the tourist experience of a place has been observed to be socially constructed, projected and neatly contained, normalising essentialised ways of life in the host country and signposting that which is important or valuable. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) draws on museum display examples to argue that the collaboration of the tourism industry with local and regional heritage industries, in order to project representations of that place, signifies a potent force which has been

underestimated in the social sciences, especially given the central importance of tourism in the economies of many countries, the typical speed of its expansion, and its permeations in local everyday life. This critical perspective on tourism institutions does not stand alone, particularly in analyses of how cultural and historical storylines are warped through tourism's mediation in developing countries (Britton, 1979; Buck, 1993; Kincaid, 1989).

Specifically, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) sees these mediations as troubling given that they reflect the larger control of formal cultural representation by the locally powerful elite: the question is not just what is claimed about a place, then, but by whom. Taking this point further, Hollinshead indicates that it would be useful within this area of research to produce a "discursive cartography" (2004: 31). A critical approach to such discursive mapping would reveal the strategic reinforcement of certain codes and the suppression of others, as well as identifying the industry's multiple actors, that is, local tourism workers as well as government bodies and large corporate operators. This line of investigation could interrogate how individual managers, developers and indeed researchers of tourism "quickly engage in small and large games of cultural, social, environmental and historical, cleansing, as they promote and project some socio-political universes and chastise or omit other possible contending worldviews" (Hollinshead, 1999: 8). In other words, such an approach could shed light on how the larger scale of image-production and reproduction is reinforced by individuals on a 'micro' level in and through tourism, "making visible what managers and developers in tourism really do and privilege through their everyday talk and deeds" (1999: 9). A more complex approach, then, would link the signs circulated through 'macro' processes of tourism to the discursive reinforcement of those signs by these actors and by tourists themselves, through which some activities and behaviours are normalised and others are characterised as deviant or Other, for example.

1.2 Tourism and Latin America: exoticism, Otherness and sexual economies

General tourism research establishes, then, that tourism has the power to ascribe meaning to places and their people, landscapes and pasts, that this meaning is consolidated in the tourist gaze through a myriad of touristic and non-touristic texts, and that the resulting imagination of place becomes larger than its touristic sphere but conflated with the place as a whole, for both tourists and, often, its residents. There is also significant evidence that the tourist experience and representations of places through tourism centre on notions of difference, that the tourist gaze is drawn to difference, in accordance with wider theories of cultural difference (Bhabha, 1994) and 'Orientalism'

(Said, 1977). However, how does this approach function when examining Latin America? The next section explores the significant contributions of Savigliano (1995) to the issue in this context: specifically, she links the enmeshing of the global South with exotic symbolism, although the processes she examines operate not through the tourism industry but instead through the transnational circulation of Argentine tango.

Savigliano argues that the flow of cultural objects and images through the imperialist processes of colonialism has consolidated exotic capital, accumulated, recoded and consumed through the passionate, untamed, wild and primitive tropes of eroticised exotic culture, or a “political economy of passion” (1995: 10). Through her focus on tango – its export from Argentina, appropriation by European elites, subsequent acceptance back in Argentina and global popularity – within this political economy of passion, Savigliano is able to highlight the auto-exoticising processes through which exotic objects become symbolic of national identity. Indeed, as some important frameworks have introduced (Enloe, 1990) self-exoticising and homogenising forces also reproduce exotic culture through tourism. Yet consumption of exotic Otherness is not a straightforward exercise, as theorists have put forward (Cohen, 1995; Enloe 1990; Tucker, 2009). As Savigliano remarks, Otherness has an “amiable” face, yet also has a “threatening side, equally exoticised... a haunting violence: dictators, volcanos, diseases, polygamy, poverty” (Savigliano, 1995: 81). This knife-edge, between desire and fear, between good and bad feeling, is an important one to include in understanding the processes that produce and consume exoticism and Otherness through tourism in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Given the relatively infrequent interface between tourism and post-colonial approaches, transferring theories of exotic capital to the processes of tourism seems a worthwhile endeavour. There are multiple potential parallels between Savigliano’s framing of tango and the articulations of tourism as an exotic export from certain peripheral countries. At the centre of many developing countries’ economies, including Cuba, the ‘export’ of tourism is at once real and symbolic: on the one hand, tourism is itself not being exported, yet the images that flow through tourism with world-making authority do circulate through the same transnational flows as economic capital. Secondly, it is clear that exotic capital cannot be separated from the colonising gaze (Savigliano, 1995: 81), through which the colonised auto-exoticises in order to understand symbols of its own national-ness, making connections to the power that Urry’s tourist gaze has to constitute places, peoples and pasts. Thirdly, in spite of the understanding that “exoticism is an industry that requires distribution and marketing” (Savigliano, 1995: 3), it seems surprising that the concept of exotic capital has not been directly translated to scenarios within tourism. There are

substantial scholarly claims that tourism exploits well-established stereotypes and images through homogenised exoticism (O' Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor, 1999), yet the nuances brought by Savigliano's theory, namely that exotic capital, like any product in capitalism, can be produced, appropriated and circulated through the same transnational flows, have only occasionally been applied directly to tourism (Törnqvist, 2012).

Of course, Savigliano's explanation of exotic capital as a by-product and function of colonialism and neo-colonialism draws indirectly on the work of Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu (1984) described society through the prism of *habitus*, a subliminal manifestation of a social structure whose practices and behaviours are collectively controlled, reinforced and given social meaning and value by peers – value that is revealed as various forms of capital. As Bourdieu explains, capital “is accumulated labour (in its materialized form or its ‘incorporated’, embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e. exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor” (Bourdieu, 1986: 241). For Bourdieu, non-economic capital is always related to the production and possession of economic capital. This conceptualisation of cultural and social capital, furthermore, has allowed scholars to explore the simultaneous and related operation of economic and symbolic wealth in society (Murdoch, 2000: 134), to theorise various sub-types of capital, including physical capital (McCall, 1992; Wacquant, 1995) and to interpret the gendering of emotional capital (Shilling, 1996). For example, Loic Wacquant puts forward a theory of bodily capital – “the specific capital constituted of one's physical resources” (2004: 29, quoted in Hofmann, 2010: 236) – which extends the notion of labour's value in a particular place in the market to people's strategic use of their bodies in the pursuit of financial remuneration. While Wacquant draws attention to the physical exertion and resistance to physical pain that boxers endure as part of their working lives (Wacquant, 1995; Wacquant, 2004), the same notion of the labour value of bodily capital has been applied to sub-types of capital that operate in sex work (Hofmann, 2010) and in care work (Huppatz, 2009). These spheres of labour intersect in individual working practices within tourism (Cabezas, 2009) yet there is greater scope to examine their intersection to further develop a more complex approach to affective services in tourism.

There is, therefore, significant scope to apply Savigliano's framing of tango's attendant political economy of passion to the homogenising practices of exoticisation for consumption in tourism, and, consequently, to examine the ways that these exotic and affective geographies become entangled with impersonal, sexual or social relations. In the first instance, we can consider how geographies become steeped in these political economies of affectivity. Brennan interrogates such political economies through her focus

on Sosúa in the Dominican Republic, framing the town as a “sexscape” (2004: 15)³: a place where it has become known that sex may be bought by tourists. This work draws on Enloe (1990) who established that sexual desire is a central component of tourism ideology generally, in which the desire to know another (or an Other) place is conflated with women and sexual possession in the touristic imagination. Scholars have identified other sites within a global sexual landscape: Törnqvist, for example, describes tango tourism in Argentina as a component of the country’s “sensual geography” (2012: 21).

Certain sites within this “global sexual landscape” (Brennan, 2004: 15) see the erotic and the exotic conflate in specific ways. In particular, scholars have noted (O’Connell Davidson, 1996; Brennan, 2004; Wade, 2009) that tourism in Latin America and the Caribbean may cater transnationally for specific racialised sexual fantasies based on the stereotype of the hyper-sexualised black woman/man. Sex tourism is the gateway to particular sexual experiences, either because they are cheaper, easier, or safer (O’Connell Davidson, 1996: 42), and because it may be the means through which racialised or paedophilic fantasies can be satisfied (O’Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor, 1999; Wade, 2009: 192).

The conflation of racialised eroticism and the exotic in tourism derives from established paradigms, as several theorists have argued (Kempadoo, 1999, Kutzinski, 1993). The figure of the *mulato* woman – of the ‘mixed race’ social category, itself a result of this exercise of racialised sexual dominance – was, according to some researchers, the object of particular exotic desire (Henriques, 1993; Kutzinski, 1993), although also occupying a place outside white society because it was considered a manifestation of moral, racial and social degradation (Kempadoo, 1999: 6). According to Kempadoo, the same patterns of dominance that underpinned racialised relationships within Caribbean slave societies continue to be mirrored in sex work in the region now (1999: 6); in her view, race and sex are inextricably tied in the continued expression of sexualised links between the region and international visitors today (Kempadoo, 1999; O’Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor, 1999). As Wade concurs, racial hierarchies and imageries continue to shape the erotic-affective market (2009: 156). Thus a global political economy operates, “in which Latin American sexuality, usually, non-white and female, is commoditised and exchanged in transnational capitalist circuits” (Wade, 2009: 191). In turn, this touristic

³ Brennan loosely draws on Appadurai’s definition, in which five fluid and irregular landscapes are explained to be the foundation of “imagined worlds” (ethnoscape, mediascape, technoscape, finanscape and ideoscape). Brennan thus adds sexscape as another dimension to these interconnected global cultural flows (2004: 15-16). This concept adds to wider scholarship in which connections are made between the homogenising forces of globalisation and changing notions of sexuality (Altman, 2001).

commodification of sex “reinforces global and national racial hierarchies” (Wade, 2009: 192). The general absence of racialised and gendered approaches within Tourism Studies has not extensively reflected this intersection, with these important exceptions and others (Enloe, 1990), nor the general centrality of these themes in everyday life (Momsen, 2002; Pritchard and Morgan, 2000).

Tourism, then, mediates and reinforces myths and narratives that sediment over time to posit certain destinations as sexscapes. In addition, anthropological and sociological scholarship has revealed the ways in which these exotic and affective geographies become entangled with personal, sexual or social relations. Beyond the traditional use of monetary transaction that has defined sex work, some important perspectives add to our understanding of the complex operation of different practices and types of sexualised contact between tourists and locals. O’Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor, for instance, expand the phenomenon to hosts who pursue “fairly open-ended relationships with tourists in the hope of securing some material benefits (including gifts, meals, clothing, cash and opportunities) to migrate to affluent countries” (2005: 83). Others also incorporate themes of migration, social ascension, love and marriage (Santos, 2009) as well as acknowledging the multiple motivations for the actors involved (Brennan, 2004) and the real and performed feelings such relationships rely on (Brennan, 2004; Cabezas, 2004; Santos 2009). Cabezas’ work in general argues that standard academic categories of ‘sex worker’ and ‘prostitute’ were not satisfactory when applied to the narratives of romantic and intimate encounters recounted by her research participants (2009: 8). A critical turn, thus, recognises that a more holistic approach to sexualised tourism emerges from the combination of variables besides monetary exchange (Oppermann, 1999: 252).

The figure of the sex tourist becomes more ambiguous through these expanded parameters. For O’Connell Davidson, motivation represents the principal division between definitive sex tourist types (1996). Alongside the pursuers of specific sexual fantasies that may be racialised, there are “situational sex tourists”, who may not view sex as a reason for travel but exploit opportunities which are presented to them. In so doing, situational sex tourists effectively deny “the instrumental nature of their relationships [with local women]”, in contrast to ‘macho men’, who enter into upfront, transactional agreements (1995: 43). The former are more likely to meet spontaneously, engage in a longer relationship and to consider it reciprocally satisfying in emotional and physical terms: the economic basis of their relationship is either denied or concealed, involving gifts, meals and drinks. The solicitation thus works more like a courtship (O’Connell Davidson, 1996: 44), which, furthermore, has social and moral benefits for the worker as well as for the tourist: he/she self-identifies as a benevolent, generous boyfriend/girlfriend

rather than an exploitative sex tourist. This arrangement may also reflect a desire for 'authenticity', in which the relationship is emblematic of, and also grants access to, a more 'gritty' and 'real' experience of a country (Ferreira, 2005, cited in Wade, 2009). In Cuba, where – especially in the 1990s – the so-called authentic experience was apparently more difficult to access because of state controls, the 'girlfriend' relationship is particularly beneficial: "as well as granting sexual licence", writes O' Connell Davidson, "the woman often helps the tourist to find cheaper accommodation (sometimes putting him up in her own room), she acts as his guide, companion and interpreter, she may even do his laundry and cook for him" (1996: 44).

In sum, these important approaches acknowledge the variously ambiguous profiles, motivations and exchange terms of both the tourist and local who engage in sexualised and/or affective relationships, to be complex. Firstly, the literature makes clear that in sexualised host-guest encounters there are complex moral, emotional and material negotiations at play. Secondly, in identifying a spectrum of sex tourist profiles within early 1990s Cuba, O' Connell Davidson sheds new light on the nature of sexualised encounters and claims that sex tourism occurs differentially depending on the gender, class indicators, motivations and the tourist's self-identity (1996; Hoang, 2010). Sex Tourism Studies have also enhanced understanding of how gendered tourist behaviour, such as the choices made by middle-aged female 'romance tourists'⁴ (Pruitt and LaFont, 1995), draws in broader theories of power imbalances of race, class and gender from the tourist side of the dialogue, and often reproduces, but also transforms, gender power relations. Theories of female sex tourism are contentious, especially when in contrast to normative male sex tourism, variously presenting women who engage in sex while travelling as 'sex pilgrims' (Belliveau, 2006) or predators (Sanchez Taylor, 2001). Despite the fact that these authors fall into a trap of 'tourist-centricity' which has been criticised by some scholars (Franklin, 2007; Kempadoo, 1999), they nevertheless offer a useful standpoint, expanding the sex tourist category beyond the dominant figure of the white male (Sanchez Taylor, 2001).

Furthermore, the notion of sexual economy in the touristic Latin America and the Caribbean region has been expanded in important literature to identify a larger 'circulation

⁴ The term 'romance tourism' has been critiqued by Sánchez Taylor (2006) as emblematic of a deeper double standard between male and female sex tourists, arguing instead that female tourists' sexual encounters in the Dominican Republic and Jamaica are predicated upon the same global economic and social inequalities that underpin the phenomenon of male sex tourism. Pruitt and LaFont (1995) use the term in order to emphasise the tourists' central desire for an intimate relationship and to contrast it from a simple role reversal of sex tourism pursued by white, heterosexual men.

of affect'. Cabezas describes the intimate forms of labour that serve to meet expectations that certain feelings are fulfilled as part of the tourist experience, including those feelings that are separated from sexual desire (Cabezas, 2009: 10). In this sense, Cabezas highlights the theoretical gap that has previously existed between studies on the exchange of money for sex in sex tourism (albeit with the nuances of pseudo-romantic tourist relationships that this chapter has already described) and other studies of the privatised and commodified domestic services in the care economy: "[the] artificial binary between sex work and care work obscures the constitutive properties present in both", argues Cabezas (2009: 11). The same argument has been made regarding the intimacies involved in tango tuition that are appropriated through tourism in Argentina but cannot be convincingly included in traditional sex tourism categories (Törqvist, 2012).

There are further insights on the connections between affective and sexual markets in literature on the region. Postcolonial approaches represent a useful theoretical foundation to the discussion of exotic cultures and affect. Indeed, the colonial system of exoticising and commodifying cultural objects for consumption (Savigliano, 1995) has been argued to continue to shape the "flights of imagination and fantasy" that flow between colonised and colonising worlds (Brennan, 2004: 42; Enloe, 1990). In the same way, affectivity and coloniality are thus inextricably linked: affectivity played a central role in the colonial order (Stoler, 2002), as Cabezas also insists, "the development of empires is entwined with intimately personal, sexual or social relations" (2009: 11). This transference of affect between the global North and South has been identified as ongoing in modern contexts, for example in the transnational movements of nannies, domestic workers and sex workers (Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2003). In the same way that Brennan attributes global cultural flows to the consolidation of places as imagined and real sexscapes, these flows of affect attach values of care to places and people and are responsible for the commodification of affective culture. There are substantial overlaps, then, between the extraction of eroticised exotic products from the global South in Savigliano's account (1995) and 'affective extraction' from the global South, which Cabezas describes in relation to tourism (2009).

1.3 Tourism and affect: encounter and emotional labour

Emotions and tourism are thus conceptually united in much important research in Tourism Studies. According to Rothman (1998, cited in Hollinshead, 2004: 27), like any other tourist product, the experiential aspect of tourism – the spirit of a place, the meaning of its people and history – can be sold and consumed just as directly as any tangible goods. In

contrast to Urry's declaration that "the organising sense within the typical tourist experience is visual" (Urry and Larsen, 2011: 18), there has been a shift to include the sensing, experiential tourist body in understanding this topic (Crouch, 2002). Edensor, for example, calls for greater attention to be paid to "the other touristic ways of seeing the world...the sonic, the tactile, the aromatic" (2006: 26-27).⁵

Furthermore, the feelings experienced through tourism are argued to be significant precisely because they are perceived to be distinguished from the mundane routines, rules, and expectations of life at home, especially evident in the pursuit of extreme sensations like exhilaration through risk creation in tourism (Elsrud, 2001). The extreme and unusual sensations experienced by the tourist are, according to Urry, "only of importance to the tourist because they are located within a distinctive visual environment...it is the unusualness of the visual sensations that places these other activities within a different frame" (1992: 172). Edensor argues, however, that just as in the everyday embodied sensations of home, desired embodied experiences may also be disrupted by negative sensations, as demonstrated by the regulation of unpleasant embodied sensations such as bad smells and loud noises in resort enclaves (2006: 26). However, conclusions based on tourist sensory experience are not uniform in this regard. Scholarship indicates that certain embodied discomforts are in fact privileged in the narratives of backpackers, who welcome the assorted "interruptions and distractions" of the everyday lives of host community members (Sin, 2009 quoted in Conran, 2011: 1459).

The social and cultural practices of emotions observed in tourism have explored the tourist's often pressing quest to experience intimacy and gaze on intimate settings. Conran's study of volunteer tourism (2011) reveals the centrality of intimacy as a dominant theme in volunteer tourists' descriptions of the positive moral outcomes and most memorable aspects of their experience. MacCannell also reminds us that the real and staged back spaces that emerge from tourist demand reveal a desire on the part of

⁵ Urry reasserted the tourist gaze model in 1992, the purpose of which was to clarify the original meaning of the term in 1990 and respond to academic challenges like those made by Leiper in the same year (Hollinshead, 1999). Although he extends the definition of the tourist gazer through multiple characteristics, including the tendency to "satisfy their desires and seek pleasure in their travels; consume particular things, seek certain different, revered, or cherished objects as identified by their own cultural understandings/ethnocentrism, appropriate the narratives or the realities about other people/other places/other pasts; and enjoy highly industrialised and highly commodified pursuits" (Hollinshead, 1999:11), the central tenet remains that "tourist gazers tend to privilege the eye over other senses as they see, understand, and appropriate desired things" (Urry, 1992: 174).

the tourist to have intimate contact with the host environment (1999: 95); they are modern pilgrims on a universal search for the sacred (Graburn, 1989) as opposed to the 'pseudo-events' happily accepted by mass tourists (Boorstin, 1964). Furthermore, MacCannell (1973) argues that tourists are fascinated by the 'real lives' of others – somehow more real than their own – in response to which 'staged authenticity' becomes the centre of organised tourist spaces. Backpacking in particular has been framed as a drive to explore profound, Othered experiences rooted in authentic feeling (Cohen, 2003; Uriely *et al.*, 2003).⁶

In response to this demand for intimacy, Hochschild (2012) notes that cultures of affectivity are exploited both by transnational corporate organisations and government bodies through tourism. The exploitation of affectivity by tourism's local actors on the ground (who in so doing may navigate conditions of poverty and/or improve their lives) has received less attention. Aside from Cabezas (2006; 2009) and Brennan (2004), there are limited examples of research that connects the exercising of personal stores of erotic and affective capital through intimate sexual-affective services with the larger construction of affective landscapes, or that reflect on the mutually-reinforcing relationship between the two.

Therefore, in order to understand how actors trade and appropriate intimacy on the 'micro' level of tourism, it is necessary to draw on scholarship from related fields in sociology, economics and anthropology. Hochschild, in particular, has emphasised that displaying correct/expected feelings on intimate levels involves specific types of labour, that the appearance of loving the work may be part of the work itself, and that this effort may require performance and the suppression of certain emotions (2012). Hochschild's seminal book *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* applies this argument to the participation of airline workers in emotional labour through the management of private feeling and public display. Underscoring the cost of emotional labour is the system of recompense involved: while money plays a part, status, honour and well-being are exploited in this marketplace (2012: 12). Cabezas also looks to organised labour within all-inclusive resorts in Cuba, and, while she supports the idea that emotional labour carries many emotional 'costs' for the resort worker, she does not view

⁶ Backpacking is defined as long-term, low-budget travelling. The emergence of the contemporary backpacker has been prompted, according to Cohen (1973) by Western societies' stresses and uncertainties, from which young people are compelled to take 'gap years', and represent an important time for identity-formation and transition to adulthood. This time away must be pleasurable as well as personally challenging, with backpackers deliberately travelling to destinations that present stark economic and cultural contrasts to their home country to reflect on their own self-identity and ethnocentrism (Binder, Richards and Wilson, 2004).

the manipulation of feeling in their interactions as exclusively performative or harmful. Instead, she argues that resort staff may pursue relationships with tourists that intertwine “opportunity and gain with genuine affection and care” (2009: 109).

There is substantial ground, therefore, to disrupt the common notions that intimacy and the economy corrupt one another (Zelizer, 2005:1). Instead, following Zelizer and Cabezas, one might assume that “money runs through all affective relationships” (Cabezas, 2009: 12). As such, Hochschild’s insights have done much to challenge “the mistaken assumption that family and market are separate cultural spheres” (2003: 31). In fact, domestic and private spaces such as the home may become the grounds for the informal selling of tourist handicrafts, for example, because of women’s exclusion from such practices in the gendered public spaces of certain countries (Tucker 2009: 452). In this sense, new possibilities emerge when connecting the spheres of intimate life, home, family and money through the macro and micro processes of tourism, as Cabezas and others have shown.

Bringing the intimate and the economic together through ethnographic research, Cabezas (2009) spotlights the personal negotiations of affect in tourist spaces (such as resort enclaves) in Cuba, forming links to other theory which exposes the deployment of erotic capital (Green, 2008) or the corporeal entrepreneurship of sex work (Hofmann, 2010). Following this line of investigation, Cabezas expands Hochschild’s theory of emotional labour and manufactured intimacy to include moments of agency, within which “hospitality workers use sentiment to break down boundaries between themselves and customers... to appropriate the personalized dynamics of their work for their own strategic purposes” (2009: 109).

The informal sphere includes a range of touristic spaces where emotional labour and manufactured intimacy have been observed. Scholars have explained the development of the informal sector through the reorganisation of the world economy into a more flexible system of production, making a flexible, segmented and customised type of tourism possible (Poon, 1989: 94; Poon, 1990; Urry, 1990: 14), although those who work in the informal tourism sector are often subjected to the demanding conditions of precarious work with unfixed terms in relation to wage and hours. Some have argued that the formal sector in fact depends on the informal sector (Wilson, 1998). Cabezas (2009) and Brennan (2004), in particular, interrogate how this connection operates in the touristic service economy, especially in how sexual-affective services in the informal sector are linked to global capital and become incorporated into the general tourist product.

The literature demonstrates that the personal, unstructured nature of encounters in informal tourism has specific implications. In *The Purchase of Intimacy*, Zelizer uses the two meanings of the word 'purchase' (to buy, and to grip) to reflect her two central arguments: that intimate relations may be purchased, and that intimacy grips or has purchase on the forms and meanings of economic exchanges (2005: 12). This second perspective is crucial in understanding the specific nature of encounters between hosts and guests in tourism contexts, especially where stark power differentials already exist between both parties, and especially if the terms are ambiguous – as is the case in most informal touristic marketplaces. Drawing on a personal experience of a spontaneous tour of a woman's home while holidaying in Turkey, Tucker (2009) exposes the fragility that non-sexualised but intimate touristic encounters entail and the thin boundary between satisfaction and discomfort for both host and guest. Zelizer also convincingly argues that participants (buyers and sellers) in the overlapped realms of care and money do so by "simultaneously negotiating delicate, consequential, interpersonal relations and marking difference between those relations and other with which they could easily and dangerously be confused" (2006: 304).

According to Tucker (2009: 455), these delicate and interpersonal negotiations call on the skills of the informal tourism worker to gracefully 'read' the inevitable "moral and physical discharge" of the tourist body – in other words, the physical manifestations (in movement and pose) of emotional experiences of shame and discomfort (Probyn, 2004: 233). One such example is the physical 'eruption' of blushing when an individual feels shame (Probyn, 2005: 28). These physical, emotional and moral reactions to the uneven and colonial nature of the encounter "can throw out surprises, not only to the other, but also to oneself; surprises that manifest in 'moral discharge' from the body" (Tucker, 2009:455). Yet circumventing this discomfort is necessary in order to handle successful tourism interactions. Tucker's ethnography revealed that local men's repeated embodied interactions with tourists, in guesthouses, restaurants and other public spaces, and ongoing observations of each other performing the same type of interactions, led to greater skill in reading humility and shame and acknowledging a tourist's desire to live ethically. Tucker asserts that the men's playful performances serve "to work through the tourists' shame and thereby work the encounter free from its colonizing underpinnings" (Tucker, 2009: 458). An intrinsic part of an approach to the micro-level of the circulation and consumption of affectivity, thus, would involve an analysis of how *bad* feelings are negotiated by host and guest and what kinds of gendered, affective and performative skills this work calls upon.

Discussions of bad feelings in tourism – especially in informal tourism – highlight several important conceptualisations. The first is that the inherently colonial nature of the tourist-host relationship often produces bad feeling, which can be positively viewed as a reminder of the tourist's desire to live ethically (Probyn, 2004; Probyn, 2005, Tucker, 2009). In contrast, tourists' quest to experience intimacy (rather than to confront bad feeling) has been criticised for eclipsing the structural inequalities on which the encounter rests, and, according to Conran, "reframes the question of structural inequality as a question of individual morality" (2011: 1454). By seeking and satisfying emotions through encounter in ways that feel emotionally authentic on a personal level, or 'going native', the larger inequalities that allow the tourist to occupy that contact zone in the first place are not questioned (Cravatte and Chabloz, 2008), reflecting the larger endemic discrepancy between the intentions of tourists and their practice (Elsrud, 2001). Additionally, the eruption of bad feelings through physiological reactions in the body underlines the crucially embodied nature of being a tourist and the centrality of the sensory body in general (Crouch, 2002; Edensor, 2006) in world-making tourism, and takes us beyond approaches that focus exclusively on the scopic drive of the tourist gaze (Urry, 1990). Thirdly, the complex work that is involved in concealing these bad feelings calls on affective skill sets in the host (Brennan, 2004; Cabezas, 2004; Cabezas, 2009), and to a lesser degree, the tourist (Tucker, 2009), through which they appear to exercise affective capital (although scholarship has not yet named it thus). Both actors may therefore "attempt to circumvent asymmetries of power" (Brennan, 2004: 19) through complex embodied and discursive practices.

1.4 Moving forwards

The sum of tourism and affect research discussed in this chapter offers a rich foundation from which to work, yet there are multiple theoretical silences which suggest a number of interesting pathways.

Cultural Studies' approaches to tourism provide an especially useful framework to apply to how touristic texts direct the gaze towards certain imageries and imaginaries of Cuba, and in so doing, "make, re-make and/or de-make" (Hollinshead, 2004: 25) certain affective landscapes and identities. There is greater scope to examine how those landscapes are bound up in different types of symbolic capital, and how those types interact with each other. Furthermore, a complex approach that connects the macro and micro processes that circulate affective capital through tourism is needed: this approach could extend existing classifications of types of affective entrepreneurialism in touristic contact zones

(particularly in the distinct conditions of the informal sector) to question how individuals in the host environment, firstly, reinforce or disrupt macro discourses concerning places and peoples, and secondly, draw on personal affective resources (care, local expertise, friendship, solidarity) alongside the embodied sexual resources that dominate this scholarly field. One aim, then, is to highlight the types of encounter and affective experience that have received less academic attention, the many affective 'threads' that are woven through the Cuban tourist product: concepts of moral and emotional capital have not applied in depth to tourism in the ways that Savigliano relates exotic tango to the circulation of tango, yet there is potential in exploring them in terms of how touristic landscapes trade on and become synonymous with increased naturalised affectivity. A critical enquiry of such strategies can bring to the fore the inequality that foreshadows encounters between tourists and hosts, since such critical approaches are noticeably less evident in the literature.

By extension, the negotiation of bad feeling in tourism may not be limited to those who self-define or have been defined by scholars as reality tourists (Mahrouse, 2011), volunteer tourists (Conran, 2011; Spencer, 2010) or those who claim a desire to live ethically through tourism (Tucker, 2009). Tourism researchers are wont to apply tourism types to phenomena and practices: eco-tourism, volunteer tourism, resort tourism, sex tourism, and so on. While typologies are helpful in explaining the heterogeneous motivations and expectations of tourists, and diversify the monolithic profile of the tourist, these categories are evidently limiting. Dominant typologies have identified patterns (Smith, 1989) but, as Edensor encourages, "should be conceived as describing different tourist practice [sic] rather than types of people, as roles adopted rather than social categories made manifest" (2001: 59-60). Agustin also urges the need to group people involved in these encounters, both hosts and guests, in terms of common processes rather than by identities (2007: 10). Tourists rarely self-define as belonging to just one category of tourism. If certain affective motivations and characteristics are conceptualised within one type of tourist experience, it is easy to miss how they are appropriated in the tourist product in general, in other words, how mainstream tourism appropriates the erotic, exotic, the moral and the emotional, as well as how multiple affective experiences may occur simultaneously within one holiday. Instead, we might identify the discursive threads that run between many different ways of tourist texts that cumulatively construct the affective landscape of a place.

The dominant use of the term 'sex tourism' in the literature reflects a general understanding that sexualised contact in the touristic sphere is exclusive to the mainstream tourist trends and phenomena of other scholarship: while it is acknowledged

that sex industries interact with larger structures of tourism and are facilitated through mass travel flows, sexualised tourism has tended to be conceptualised as a distinct way of 'doing' tourism. Although researchers have expanded the sex tourist narrative, the issue persists that this category is too restrictive. To speak about sex tourism excludes, firstly, the intimate, embodied and sensual experiences that occur within mainstream tourism (that may not be *sexualised*, but which appropriate sensual and erotic/exotic stereotypes, for example, in a salsa tour), and, secondly, the interrelated kind of affective, care-related practices of tourism (for example, those that occur in intimate spaces such as the home or hotel). In the most general terms, how do these different affective, emotional and sexual codes relate to each other?

The issue of tourism categories relates back to a larger persistent and significant criticism against the tourist-centricity of Tourism Studies (Franklin, 2007). Critical analyses of the tourist figure (Kincaid, 1989; Patullo, 1996) are useful in that they show us that tourism is loaded with affective values, positive and negative feelings and behaviours with emotional consequences as well as social and economic ones. Generally, a tourist-centric approach is problematic when it dismisses the role that service providers and local actors play in shaping the industry and market; it also neglects the issue of context (in that tourists behave differently in different destinations, based on the expectations they have built up of that place). Alternatively, exclusive focus on the host environment may also excessively privilege criticisms of tourism's economic and social impact without connecting to wider social theory and the opportunities claimed by individuals to manipulate tourism for their own ends. To look at tourist expectation and demand in dialogue with service providers might reveal a nuanced system of negotiations and compromises. A dialogic approach may also reveal that representations of places through tourism are mediated through a myriad of voices. In this sense, elements of Urry's theory of the gaze are crucial, particularly his argument that notions attached to a place are built up long before travel takes place.

Yet the gaze can, and should, as Hollinshead (2004) encourages, include a more searching critique of the power of the gaze in tourism, through Foucault's eye-of-power as it acts through the institutions/organisations/agencies of tourism. The power of surveillance is thus shown to be an authoritative mix of normalising discourse and universalising praxis which routinely privileges certain understandings of heritage/society/the world in and through tourism. In other words, Hollinshead urges us not simply to consider the gaze in a general sense but question the ways that it is consolidated on the ground: the *petits récits*, or small everyday actions, "ultimately cohere over time to solidify into a sedimented consciousness about that defined object"

(Hollinshead, 2004: 37, citing Bhabha, 1994: 243). How do the local and everyday articulations of these codes in tourism solidify into a sedimented consciousness about place and people (in Cuba)? In general, the connection between the construction of the anticipatory gaze and terms of encounter on the ground are not explicitly probed in the literature. Who authorises the gaze, on what levels? How do the micro levels reinforce the larger myth-making of tourism representation, for example those that are articulated through international marketing campaigns? To a great extent, these questions are answered through specific methodological choices, which are discussed in Chapter Three. We may explore different methodologies to look at cultural scripts (travel guidebooks, marketing campaigns, blogs and travel writing) to see how these codes are articulated, reinforced or disrupted, and in so doing, move away from the ethnographic methodological approaches that have previously dominated this field.

Centrally, Tourism Studies only sometimes refers to specific geographic contexts, and then rarely emphasises the (often significant) influence that context has on the socio-cultural processes it discusses. The specific context of the revolutionary Cuba is pivotal to the development of Cuban tourism in relation to these themes, as the next chapter explains in detail.

CHAPTER TWO

Approaches to the Cuban Revolution and Tourism

This chapter considers the theoretical framework described in the previous chapter as it corresponds to the very specific context of the Cuban revolutionary trajectory, and in particular, the economic, political and socio-cultural changes the island has experienced during the last two decades. Although much of the research explored in the previous section focuses on the specificity of Cuba's location in Latin American and Caribbean contexts, revolutionary policies, practices and value systems, intercepted by dramatic economic imperatives in the 1990s have meant that Cuba's insertion as a competitive actor in the international tourism market has occurred in a unique way.

Rather than provide a comprehensive chronological overview of the Revolution since 1959, this section will focus on specific moments and characteristics of its trajectory in order to expose the specificity of the Cuban context. In particular, it prioritises how systems of social justice, national well-being and moral values became established, the types of global cultural and economic flows that have shaped Cuba, including those relating to tourism, the production of symbolic capital as a political priority and its circulation in international relations, the economic, social and cultural characteristics of the Special Period¹ and the policy and processes of formal and informal tourism sectors. These elements influence how the development of tourism, the character of the host-guest relationship, and the concept of sexualised or affective tourism have a unique resonance and character in the context of Cuba. They are presented in the following sub-sections:

2.1. Pre-revolutionary society and tourism

2.2. The Revolution and social justice

2.3 Special Period austerity, social impact and tourism

2.4 Making sense of the Cuban context

These four perspectives loosely correspond to chronological phases: pre-revolutionary Cuba under Batista, the 1960s-1990s, the Special Period, and Cuba under Raúl Castro (2006 to the present day). The intention is not to apply artificially distinct chronological boundaries, nor claim to comprehensively contextualise each period in full. Instead, the

¹ The period of national austerity during the 1990s economic crisis that followed the fall of the Soviet Bloc and the disintegration of vital trading agreements was declared "a special period during peacetime" by Fidel Castro in 1990 (Franklin 1997: 271) and has since been referred to as the Special Period or *Periodo Especial*.

section follows a chronological development in order to reflect the transitions of specific strands of the economic, political, cultural and social system.

Approaches to the Cuban revolutionary trajectory vary, although many tend to describe a historiography divided into clearly defined phases, as Kapcia observes, a paradigm that implies disconnected lurches between crisis and recovery (2008: 25). For Kapcia, the series of crises that the Revolution has consistently survived are underpinned by a sense of continuity beneath chaos (2008: 26). In this framing, “the process of transformation [largely developing reactively] can best be understood as having passed through a series of cycles rather than phases, each cycle being defined by a repetitive process of crisis, debate, decision and certainty” in which “apparently contradictory pressures and patterns of the Revolution [are interpreted] as in fact sequential and interrelated” (Kapcia, 2008: 26).

Furthermore, although commentators tend to discuss the resurrection of international tourism as a central component in an inevitable transition to capitalism and/or post-Revolution, it is essential to emphasise the staggered processes that have led the industry to develop in the way it has. In this sense, tourism development in Cuba cannot be understood to follow the same neo-liberal patterns as its geographical neighbours, given that there are considerable exceptions in the Cuban case. This section presents a trajectory which highlights a series of tensions between revolutionary value systems, policy, market demands, economic imperatives, and negative social consequences. These tensions reappear through those staggered processes which led to tourism’s expansion, and involve a multiplicity of actors who shape and are shaped by tourism in Cuba.

2.1 Pre-revolutionary tourism and society

It is important to begin with a description of the pre-revolutionary period, in particular the 1950s, firstly, since it presented the necessary conditions for a revolutionary uprising and the subsequent establishment of new political value systems, and secondly, as is it often viewed as a reference point for the social problems that underscore contemporary tourism in Cuba. The social consequences of international tourism and the North American presence formed the basis of early revolutionary impetus: reconfigurations of the recent past formed a reference point which allowed the *guerrillas* to elicit public support (Kapcia, 2008: 46) and against which revolutionary progress was measured (Kumaraswami, 2003: 68), to later forge internal unity against foreign interference. This reference point has since

re-emerged in the contemporary period. Some scholars of Cuba appear to articulate the social consequences (specifically, the revival of sex work) in contemporary tourism development as a return to the pre-revolutionary period (Fernandez, 1999; Roland, 2011: 165). Indeed, as Kapcia observes (2008: 163), for many observers, the reappearance of social ills associated with tourism, including prostitution, crime, and income inequality, represents the strongest current example of crisis in the trajectory of the Revolution, and even a perceived indication of its inevitable failure and demise.

Scholars emphasise that the nature of the tourism industry in the first half of the twentieth century was pivotal to how the nation was imagined globally: that is, as an exotic playground (Schwarz, 1997). Havana represented a “tourist mecca” to North American tourists (Schwartz, 1997: xiii) who represented the vast majority of visitors to the island (Espino, 1993). In the 1950s, for example, when North American tourism to Cuba peaked (Schwartz, 1997: xiv), the island received an average of 250,000 tourists a year (Farber, 2011: 188). In fact, Cuba’s neo-colonial connection to the U.S., entrenched in historic sugar trade links (Carmona Báez, 2004: 56), was fortified through multiple economic and cultural links: as Martínez Heredia observes, “innumerables relaciones de muchos tipos se tejieron entre ambos” (2009: 22).

Especially during the years of the Prohibition (1920-1933), Cuba represented an ‘anything goes’ attitude to North American tourists, in stark contrast to the heavy criminalisation of alcohol production, sale and consumption at home.² Even after U.S. laws against alcohol sale were lifted, Cuba remained in the global touristic imagination as a place of boundless exotic pleasures and decadence: the moral expectations that organised social life at home could be abandoned in Cuba (Schwartz, 1997: 11). Gambling, for example, was a consistent feature of the cultural landscape (Schwartz, 1997: 3), as well as organised crime (most notably, through the Mafia) since “those who wanted to invest [in] illegal businesses, as well as those who wanted to enjoy them, came to the island unhindered” (Del Olmo, 1979: 35; Cirules, 2002). Certainly, advertising positively reinforced notions of touristic hedonism on the island, as historians have explained (Schwartz, 1997): thus, travel posters and brochures which used “emblematic pictures of dancers, musical instruments, palm trees, sun-drenched beaches, tropical fruits, and women... were designed to stimulate desire” (Levi and Heller, 2002: 15).

² Couples could also travel together and stay in hotels without being obliged to produce a marriage certificate (Villalba Garrido, 1993: 44).

Despite redundant state efforts in the 1920s to close brothels and prosecute their proprietors (Del Olmo, 1979: 35), prostitution continued to flourish, with established connections to the tourist infrastructure: Richardson estimates that 270 brothels operated in Havana by the 1950s (1992: 91). Yet the literature diverges on this aspect of pre-revolutionary society and tourism. Farber (2011) admits that the 'flamboyance' of prostitution in the 1950s Cuba meant that it was perhaps globally more visible, but argues that scholars have mistakenly interpreted this as evidence of its weight within Cuban society and the economy on the whole. Statistics vary considerably: Farber claims that at the end of the 1950s, an estimated 11,500 prostitutes were working in Havana (2011: 188), while Espino (1993) approximates that number at 150,000. Farber's aim is to emphasise instead the number of women working as domestic servants, unemployed or underemployed, as a reference point to then list the Revolution's particular achievements regarding the engagement of women in the mainstream workforce and politics. However, with statistics that diverge to this extent, it is difficult to assess whether the ratio of sex workers in Havana to the general population was as stark as Espino claims. What is important, nevertheless, is to underline that Havana was *imagined* as a recognised destination for prostitution, that, relatively speaking, prostitution flourished and was easily accessible, and that it was alluded to through its connection to other flamboyant and sexualised art forms and performance, such as the sexualised aesthetic of the Tropicana nightclub (Ruf, 1997).

The social problems emerging from these conditions was that Cuba experienced an east-west and urban-rural divide, with a concentration of the very poor, deprived population in the countryside, where sanitation was limited and most inhabitants were illiterate. Rural areas stood in stark contrast to the bustling urban centres where the profits of the main sectors of the economy (sugar, construction and tourism) were generated and spent (Kapcia, 2008: 53; Saney, 2004:17). Harris (1995) argues that many of these social problems had a gendered dimension. Although Cuban women had seen a relatively large measure of formal equality prior to the Revolution (with rights to maternity leave, divorce and to administer their own property, for example), these rights afforded women few real practical advantages (Harris, 1995: 93); they also had restricted representation in national office, despite suffrage (Farber, 2011: 185) and few worked outside the home. Maternal and infant mortality rates were high, and abortion remained illegal; Harris suggests that birth control, which was scarcely accessible, was not embraced because of the pervasive *machista* culture of the time (1995: 93). Women, in particular, had much to gain from a socialist revolution.

Racial division was another aspect of the gross social inequality that characterised Cuba under Batista's leadership (Saney, 2004: 96; Taylor, 1988: 22). The legacy of colonial plantation development was such that the Afro-Cuban experience remained characterised by lingering racial segregation and inequality in the pre-revolutionary period (Pérez, 2006). Black Cubans were more likely to suffer disproportionately from higher infant mortality, lower life expectancy, and poverty-related illnesses (De la Fuente, 1995), to be overrepresented in prisons (Taylor, 1988: 22), as well as to have limited access to educational and vocational opportunities. Although there was no legal basis to racial discrimination, darker-skinned Cubans were often excluded from professional sectors of the economy and were overrepresented in lower-level job sectors, including in menial labour in the tourist industry. Furthermore, leisure and tourist zones such as beaches, bars and restaurants that flourished during the pre-1959 period were frequently closed off to Afro-Cubans (Saney, 2004: 100).

In addition to these social issues, other factors gave strength to the *guerrillas'* cause. Cubanists have identified Cuba's pre-revolutionary cultural mode through shades of inferiority (Kumaraswami, 2003: 86), rooted in delayed political independence and perpetuated by U.S. neo-colonialism: a colonised complex associated with Latin America as a whole, involving an oscillation between progress and retreat, mirroring the prioritised cultural modes of colonialism, past and present. Kapcia (2008: 8) cites these two historical factors – an especially prolonged colonialism followed by a 32-year long, culturally-pervasive neo-colonialism – as crucial factors in the time and circumstances of the Revolution.

Thus, targeting this sense of inferiority, part of the powerful rhetoric of the revolutionary *guerrillas* was to reject all forms of cultural, political and economic forms of dependence, including those that had been perpetuated through tourism, and this became an important strand of revolutionary ideology and discourse. Breaking through neo-colonialism through revolution meant an assurance of independence that had never been fully realised, even since independence in 1898 (Carter, 2008b: 197; Saney, 2004: 49): in this way, the Revolution fostered support and established its validity through its commitment to social justice, and through its insistence that the Revolution was the only route to independence and sovereignty of the nation (Yamaoka, 2004). Politics, argues Damián Fernández, “became a quasi-religious crusade for moral absolutes that would redress the injustices of the past” (2000: xiii). In this sense, addressing the legacy of neo-colonialism was not only a matter of ideological importance on a contemporary political level, but also a factor in

addressing colonial and neo-colonial imprints (including prostitution)³. Many of the consequences of this neo-colonial inferiority and insecurity resided in their association with North American tourism: to break with those links was to also break with neo-colonial domination (Chafee and Prevost, 1992, cited in Scarpaci and Portela, 2009: 114). It is important to emphasise this dynamic, since it was the basis for the particular way that public and political discourses responded to and negotiated tourism's rapid insertion into the Cuban economy and into society in the 1990s.

2.2 The Revolution and Social justice

Literature has charted the period immediately following 1959 as a series of rapid and significant social reforms with the guiding objective of social justice (Martínez Heredia, 2009: 37). There is no question that the Revolution transformed Cuban culture and created a new national value system (Hernández and Dilla, 1992: 31). One outcome, responding to national poverty and extreme inequality, was an improvement in material conditions. The second outcome was that a political and moral value system was established, rooted in egalitarianism, collective action, and human and moral capital.

2.2.1 Early revolutionary goals

Education and healthcare took priority through social reforms in the first few years of the 1960s. A major starting-point was to transform the educational system, with the goal of universal, egalitarian access to education. After the drive to nationalise schools and boost attendance, a significant example of educational reform was the ambitious and pioneering Literacy Campaign of 1961: its aims were not just to extend literacy across the previously-neglected rural regions of Cuba for social reasons, but also to increase the entire population's capacity for political engagement, as Kapcia observes (2008: 47). The leadership was seeking to politicise its population through the written word (Kapcia, 2008: 48), by including every citizen in the national political and social programme. In other words, the Literacy Campaign extended social engagement and integration rather than just political: the campaign engaged literate Cubans through voluntary labour (in uncomfortable material conditions), cementing their stake in the whole revolutionary project and reinforcing the significance of collective action within a moral economy.

³ Colonialism in the Caribbean has been linked to prostitution through the power of European colonisers which was partly expressed through the sexual access to enslaved black women in the sixteenth century and through the compulsory extraction of labour from slaves in general (Beckles, 1989; Kempadoo, 1999: 5; Martínez-Alier, 1974).

Healthcare represented the second key pillar of the Revolution, beginning with the consolidation of a basic medical care system in 1960s, which meant further investment in education to train a new generation of doctors and nurses, since many had left the country in the first and second major (predominantly middle-class) waves of emigration (Amaro and Portes, 1972). Living conditions were also targeted at the outset. Firstly, the introduction of food rationing through the *libreta* (ration-book) in 1962 compensated for the shortages in imported goods as a result of the U.S. trade embargo and, despite issues in its practical application⁴, achieved the intended effect of ameliorating nutrition and, in so doing, dissolving one of the major inequalities between the rich and poor (Kapcia, 2008: 50; Saney, 2004: 10). An initial approach in housing provision was to cut rents by half, and was soon replaced in 1960 by the Ley de Reforma Urbana, which eliminated renting completely and guaranteed Cubans permanent ownership of properties in place of their tenancies (Pérez-Lopez, 1995: 60). The large suburban houses that were abandoned by emigrating middle-class families were quickly divided between the poorest shanty-dwellers and the homeless (Saney, 2004: 14). As such, by the end of the 1960s, neighbourhoods that had once housed the wealthier American and Cuban families were now populated by a racially- and socially-heterogeneous population. The financial capital that had historically been concentrated in Havana was strategically invested elsewhere across the island; effectively, Havana was left to deteriorate for a number of years (Saney, 2004: 17).

Such reforms, while practical, also had the symbolic effect of dismantling the vestiges of neo-colonialism, including infrastructures left behind by tourism. Cuba's global reputation as a destination for prostitution was an embarrassment, and became a clear target for the Revolution's "moralistic impulse" (Kapcia, 2008: 51), as Fidel Castro's earliest addresses made clear, claiming "Never in my life will I tolerate consciously any immorality".⁵ Initiatives were launched which aimed to flush out the occupational traditions linked to tourism, especially those typically performed by women, and realign them with revolutionary goals. One such initiative trained former sex workers into careers of teaching and dress-making. In addition, female domestic servants whose numbers reached 87,522 in 1953, according to a census from that year (Farber, 2011: 188) and who had in part served families of wealthy foreign businessmen and mafia members, were also enrolled into programmes of education and retraining. Although some historians suggest that sex

⁴ Centralised control in distribution generated many problems initially. Later, in 1968, the first major dip in the economy following a drop in world market prices for sugar (Carmona Báez, 2004: 73) was felt in foot-dragging and absenteeism in food production (Domínguez, 1982, 272) and led to decreased productivity and a resurgence in black market activity.

⁵ *Bohemia*, January 11, 1959, p.68, quoted in Fernández, 2000: 79.

workers were poorly-educated women who had emigrated to Havana from rural areas of the island (Fernandez, 1999: 82), Del Olmo instead identifies a spectrum of formality within the trade, characterised by high incomes; for this reason rehabilitation was not straightforward (1979: 35-6). This is relevant since the literature seems to overestimate state influence in suggesting that the Revolution's actions to eliminate prostitution were both quickly and easily embraced (Kempadoo, 1999: 13) and that reforms primarily targeted the low-earning sectors of society who are widely cited as the Revolution's greatest beneficiaries.

Of course, policies that specifically included and targeted women reached beyond those who had worked in tourism and related domestic roles. The FMC was the most publicised mass organisation, established by Vilma Espín in 1961, with the aim of mobilising women to overcome what Fidel (perhaps short-sightedly) described as "the last vestiges of discrimination" (Harris, 1995: 94). The FMC was not a feminist movement, but instead a movement for equal rights, notes Lewis (1977). Its goal of incorporating women into the Revolution was undoubtedly successful, with majority membership across the country.⁶ Through the FMC, more than fifty thousand women enrolled to form an important component in the Literacy Campaign of 1961, travelling alone, away from their families, to teach reading and writing to Cubans in rural areas; women also provided 20.1 million hours of volunteered labour towards the sugar harvest in 1970 (Farber, 2011: 193). As such, they contributed significantly to the practical operation of moral economy through their volunteerism.

Subsequent goals were realised through major FMC drives: increased awareness of the limits of women's opportunities in the work place and the organisation of numerous free childcare facilities across the island to allow greater immersion in employment. The 1975 Family Code acknowledged the gendered burden of domestic work and childcare (the *sobrecargo* or 'second shift') and outlined the responsibilities that were henceforth to be shared between the sexes (King, 1977). Larger revolutionary aims which often featured in sweeping promises in speeches were not always followed through in practice,⁷ and crucial progress in areas such as political representation continued to be limited (King, 1977: 109). However, the inclusion of women in the wider welfare project itself should not be dismissed. With the insistence of the FMC, revolutionary policies of well-being saw to the protection of Cuban women's *practical interests*, in terms of the sexual division of labour, if

⁶ By 1975 80% of adult Cuban women were counted as members of the FMC (Farber, 2011: 192).

⁷ In a May 1966 speech Castro called for the inclusion of an additional million women into the workforce, despite the on-going inequality in wages and the prohibition of women from various sectors (Harris, 1995: 95).

not their *strategic interests*, that is, to counteract patriarchy through the lasting transformation of social relations (Molyneux, 1998).

Other class-based social reforms advanced the material conditions of Afro-Cubans. Targeting racial prejudices and immobility first in the workplace, and then in the cultural sphere (Fernandez, 2001), Fidel Castro launched a two-pronged attack on racial inequality, as one of the four major battles towards attaining the well-being of the people.⁸ The initiative was based on a Marxist base-superstructure reading of racism⁹ to target discrimination in employment, and then in recreational and cultural spaces. By the end of the 1960s, however, transformations to the superstructure proved slow to take effect through changing relations of production (Ring, 1969; Taylor, 1988). In fact, argue Sutherland (1970: 146) and De la Fuente (2001b: 67), the idea of a raceless society meant that the issue disappeared from public discourse and no positive discrimination quotas were adopted. Moreover, racist values and the continued stereotyped Afro-Cuban characteristics of “sex, song, spree, sports, sloppiness, shiftlessness and sorcery” persisted beyond socio-economic indicators (Taylor, 1988: 25). Additionally, to some observers, the application of revolutionary ideology to the ‘race problem’ appeared to “spawn an observable condescension on the part of white Cubans” (Taylor, 1988: 23) perpetuating the notion that the Revolution ‘gave’ certain social and ethnic groups their freedoms.

However, one important move, with an obvious symbolism, was to open tourist spaces, such as bars, beaches, and public pools to all Cubans, including those who had previously been denied access, for example on racial grounds (Boorstein, 1968: 42, quoted in Cabezas, 2009: 46). This change opened the door for a policy of establishing national tourism as a basic right later in the Revolution, implemented through the new National Tourism Commission (INIT) and the Departamento de Playas para el Pueblo (Miller and Henthorne, 1997: 6). Meanwhile, annual figures of foreign visitors dropped from 179,753 in 1959 to 3,000 in 1968 (Miller and Henthorne, 1997: 6). In this sense, the culture of tourism had been transformed from the materialistic extravagances that characterised the pre-revolutionary period, formalised through an infrastructure in which

⁸ The other aims were to eliminate unemployment, reduce living costs and elevate the salaries of the lowest-echelon workers, as outlined in a speech on the 23rd of March, 1959 (Fernandez, 2001: 118).

⁹ The transformation of the base by socialist revolution means that social ills, such as racism and other forms of inequality, will disintegrate with capitalism (Marx and Engels, 1948). Adopting this approach meant that continuing indications of racial inequality were not addressed thoroughly through policy or public debate, especially since it was believed that race-specific approaches would weaken political unity in the face of Cuba’s (then sizeable) enemies (Booth, 1976).

Cubans worked to serve mainly North American visitors, to a branch of the revolutionary welfare project designed to fulfil the right to recreation of the national population (Cabezas, 2009: 45), a move that was perceived to be necessary to national well-being. Later, within a wider programme that aimed to democratise access to the arts, sports and culture (Kapcia, 2008: 57-59), Cubans who had never been able to enjoy sanctioned periods of leisure in their own country, had subsidised access to holiday spots, configuring tourism as a citizen's right (Carter, 2010: 123; Villalba Garrido, 1993: 151). Holidays were included in incentive schemes for workers; proven productivity in the workplace might earn an individual a (paid) week's holiday in Varadero, for example, or in *campismos* all over Cuba (Mesa-Lago, 1972: 61).

The structural remains of the pre-revolutionary tourism industry – hotels, bars, casinos and brothels – were re-purposed by the state for the benefit of the population, or to serve the national market (Miller and Henthorne, 1997). Hotels in Havana and sprawling middle-class mansions that were left standing empty were converted into schools, an aspect that Fidel described in his 1961 speech *Palabras a los Intelectuales*:

Cuba va a poder contar con la más hermosa academia de arte de todo el mundo. ¿Por qué? Porque esa academia va situada en el reparto residencial más hermoso del mundo, donde vivía la burguesía más lujosa del mundo...Y vale la pena darse una vuelta por allí para que vean cómo vivía esa gente, ¡pero no sabían qué extraordinaria academia de arte estaban construyendo! (Castro, 1961).

This was a functional solution to accommodate an infrastructure for the newly-prioritised education system, but it carried obvious symbolism: where North Americans had previously had a dominant stake in Cuba's cultural life and tourists had enjoyed the island's superior resources, these steps signalled a reinvestment in social welfare for the sole benefit of the population.

Following this passionate and euphoric start, the following few decades saw several key moments of negotiation in terms of future direction, moving between idealism and pragmatism through cycles of debate (Mesa-Lago, 1978: 25). Each policy for social justice, reform to the economy and international policy moved away from the way that political life had been defined pre-1959, towards a more established revolutionary direction.

2.2.2 Moral and human capital

The new system both relied on and produced systems of capital accumulation that deviated from those adopted globally (based on capitalist expansion of the economy for profit). Instead, “notions of a fixed income, social security and the satisfaction of basic necessities” consolidated citizens’ expectations of the state (Hernández and Dilla, 1992: 34). The increasingly established welfare system did more than produce material results. It also had symbolic outcomes: it was indicative of a welfare value system that contradicted those in place across many parts of the world. As Fidel Castro made clear, many years later, in a closing address at the 8th UJC congress in 2004:

Capitalism has lost any humanist essence; it lives from waste and to waste; it cannot escape from that congenital, incurable disease. Suffice it to say that Cuba has 450 doctors in Haiti, the poorest country in the hemisphere; the industrialized countries cannot send even 50, for they have finance capital but lack human capital (Castro, 2004).

The consolidation of moral and human capital through investment in welfare objectives such as education and healthcare represented an alternative system of capital, with practical, political and symbolic functions, although few have analysed it in exactly such a framework (Bayart, 2010). Generating moral and human capital has had a number of implications for the revolutionary project.

New strategies for industrialisation,¹⁰ spearheaded by Che Guevara, drew on moral, rather than material, incentives to motivate Cuban workers towards common goals through volunteerism (Fernández, 2000: 57). This moral economy had a practical application as well as forming the basis of the new moral consciousness (Kapcia, 2000: 191). As Fernández argues, “values such as collective spirit, *conciencia*, egalitarianism, self-sacrifice, patriotism, internationalism...would be functional to the state and the society under construction” (2000: 88). Participation in these values would lead, according to Guevara’s *El socialismo y el hombre en Cuba* (Guevara, 2007), to the emergence of the

¹⁰ Drastic improvements in efficiency were long overdue, and debate centred on how exactly Cuban socialism was going to emerge from underdevelopment without adopting capitalist practices of Eastern-European style models. The adopted strategy aimed to continue briefly with sugar production but move towards an eventual replacement of industrialisation. Cuba’s historic dependence on a monoculture economy (in sugar) was damaging but difficult to overcome. Gross profit from sugar production, construction and nickel and cobalt mining far dominated profit from the tourism sector in the 1950s (Farber, 2011: 188), yet the elimination of the tourist industry now meant that attention, resources and people were actively redirected towards sugar harvesting and refining.

New Man and New Woman through socialist values of collective action over individualism, “una nueva geografía moral” (Vintier, 2008: 183) based on José Martí’s emphasis on the ultimate sovereignty of morality and unity (Fernández, 2000: 37).

The call to significantly transform society and participate in collective action towards common goals also relied on the government’s ability to convincingly elicit affective engagement. The revolution was an “affair of the heart”, argues Fernández (2000: 55), the combination of passion (in the form of highly-charged speeches promising an idealised moral utopia) and affection (through the highly-personalised brand of politics represented by charismatic Fidel and his rebels and their connection to the people). This strong connection, almost religious in tone, was established through fervent speeches, and “hyper-attachments to symbols, myths and values” (Fernández, 2000: 20). Many of the fundamental material and moral issues that the Revolution sought to tackle in the first decade, then, were articulated well through this distinctive kind of leadership, although Fernández counters that this passionate leadership style left no space for dissent or indifference (2000: 56).

Moral and human capital intersected in a number of ways in the first few decades of the Revolution. Welfare investments had resulted in an increasingly educated and skilled population, a generation of human capital that repaid many benefits to the Revolution. For example, mass mobilisations met the gaps in social provision and economic productivity in the early years of the Revolution, compensating for scarce resources (and the depletion of Cuba’s skilled workforce following early waves of emigration), and relying on millions of hours of human labour, as Kapcia notes (2008: 47). Indeed, the mobilisation of human capital, for example through education in the 1961 Literacy Campaign, also generated political capital, reinforcing loyalty and political engagement. According to Yamaoka (2004), generation of political capital through these programmes allowed Fidel Castro to legitimise the validity of Revolution in particular moments of crisis. Volunteerism, consolidated in sugar harvests and the Literacy Campaign, was extended in the following years when Cubans were called to meet insufficiencies in the nation’s military defence. Of course, engaged participation in the labour force did not rely on volunteerism and moral rewards alone. Instead, a new CTC programme in 1973 addressed material incentives for workers: a nuanced wage system was devised, based on relative connections to national productivity (as opposed to equal pay for each citizen), and electronic goods were distributed according to output (Zimbalist and Brundenius, 1989: 219). Nevertheless, the discourse that surrounded labour, mobilisation and political participation revolved around emotionally-charged concepts of morals, solidarity and shared investment (Fernández, 2000).

Human capital served further purposes through the trajectory of the Revolution, for example, as a tool in Cuba's international relations. Mirroring the appropriation of human capital to defend political legitimacy at home (Yamaoka, 2004), human capital has thus operated to defend the Revolution and establish Cuba's national sovereignty in the global sphere. Fidel Castro addressed international forums and asserted that, "Cuba has the greatest number of doctors per capita in the world...We have one teacher per forty-five inhabitants" (Castro, 1995). Later, claims in Fidel Castro's writings compared the achievement of skilled human capital during the revolutionary period to that of political enemies, asserting that "Guantánamo, Cuba's poorest province, with a doctor for every 271 inhabitants, has more doctors per capita than the United States, and with an infant mortality rate of 9.2%, it has less infant mortality than that country's capital" (Castro, 1996: 47). Cuba's infant mortality rate has remained lower than that of the US according to recent estimations (Carter, 2008b: 195; Scarpaci and Portela, 2009: 113).

Human capital has especially represented a source of prestige and legitimacy during moments of national introspection. Following the failure of the ambitiously-predicted ten million ton sugar harvest in 1970 (Mesa-Lago, 1978: 155), international sporting successes reinforced Cuba's place on the global stage. The government invested heavily in sports facilities and training during the 1970s (Kapcia, 2008: 57), highly conscious of the political benefits and symbolism of international athletic success (Carter, 2008b: 198). Cuba has competed on a similar level as advanced capitalist nations throughout the Revolution, and, as Archetti notes, displays of sporting expertise in international competitions are a "powerful expression of national capabilities and potentialities ... a social and symbolic field that places [a nation and its citizens] in a global scene" (1999: 1). In addition, Carter argues that this "ritualistic display of bodies serves to represent society as a whole and legitimates the leadership of that society as the promoter, protector and creator of such a society" (2008b: 199). Cuba's success in baseball has fostered an important symbolic tie with the sport (Carter, 2008a; Jarvie, 2003: 540). In fact, this display of expertise has, at times, boosted low public morale, for example Cuba's success in baseball in the 1992 Olympic Games amidst Special Period shortages. Therefore, the local and regional games that intersperse these international displays also generate the same type of prestige, explains Carter, and as such, "baseball should be understood as a recurring spectacle that allows Cubans to affirm and shape the constitution of their own identities and their place in the world" (2008a: 67-68). Cuba's sporting achievements in the global sphere may thus be considered as being particularly significant when they have occurred simultaneously with moments of crisis, underlining the connection between

human capital's strategic and compensatory function in state legitimacy on both domestic and international levels.

There are further examples of Cuba's strategic uses of human capital in relations overseas. In recent years human capital has received greater attention as a component in Cuba's direct exchanges for scarce goods (Kirk, 2009: 501) amongst its politically-sympathetic neighbours. In so doing the state has been able to circumvent specific scarcities, many linked to the US embargo (such as manufactured goods). Ostensibly, Cuba sends 30,000 Cubans (of which 23,000 are medical professionals) to Venezuela in return for much needed oil, although Kirk (2009) challenges the notion that this agreement is a simple exchange and instead argues that it derives from political sympathy between Venezuela and Cuba. Such exchanges have intensified recently in a wider increase in bilateral trade (since 2004 through ALBA) and co-operation in various projects. Nevertheless, human capital has proven to have a real, exchangeable value in this case.

Moreover, these strategic appropriations of human capital have also been able to satisfy political humanitarian aspirations and diplomacy, intersecting with Cuba's moral economy, such as in military operations (Hernández and Dilla, 1992: 33) and missions of medical internationalism overseas. Cuba's post-1959 tradition of sending medical support to the developing world (and to other developed nations in times of crisis and environmental disaster)¹¹ has been a pivotal element of its foreign diplomacy since 1960 (Kirk, 2009). The reach of this contribution, which constitutes over 40,000 medical staff in over 74 countries, according to Kirk (2009), is extraordinarily significant given Cuba's relative size. Cuba's humanitarian responses have also been praised for their emphasis on sustainable health practices and long-term capacity-building strategies (Huish and Kirk, 2007), rather than perpetuating dependency through aid. Many outreach programmes have drawn on international solidarities¹² with other historically-exploited nations and have reinforced them. In the wake of the damage caused across Central America by Hurricanes George and Mitch in 1998, Cuba was able to reinforce its fractured relations with many US-supporting countries in the region through emergency assistance and, later, by training their doctors for free in the new Escuela Latinoamericana de Medicina (ELAM) as a long-

¹¹ Emergency aid was offered to the US government under Bush following Hurricane Katrina in 2005, but was immediately dismissed by that government (Kirk, 2009: 497).

¹² Kirk (2009) gives the example of Cuba's provision of arms, military troops and aid to Angola in the late 1970s, following Portugal's evacuation of its former colony (Saney, 2004: 191). Some dissidents, such as Norberto Fuentes in *Dulces guerreros cubanos* (1999), have challenged the idea that Cuban motives in the Angolan war were purely humanitarian, however.

term strategy.¹³ More recently, this funded opportunity has been widened to include medical students worldwide, including students from the US. Human and moral capital therefore represent two branches through which investments in welfare have offered strategic purposes at home and in Cuba's connections with *el exterior*, through sovereignty, exchange, humanitarianism and diplomacy.

2.2.3 Cuba and *el exterior*

Despite the flows of symbolic and financial capital that have historically circulated between Cuba and other nations since 1959 in these specific ways (and on such unique terms), revolutionary Cuba is typically categorised in the literature as geographically, politically and culturally isolated. Cuba's foreign relations since 1959 have also been portrayed in terms of difficulty and/or conflict. The early years of the Revolution had meant a new configuration of Cuba's place in the world, especially since its political history had been largely characterised by dependency. The initial euphoric confidence of the nascent socialist state, having shaken off the political dictatorship and fifty years' history of US economic intervention, was quickly replaced by a sense of isolation, and the realisation that reliance on Communist allies meant a type of return to dependence (Kapcia, 2008: 34). Economic sanctions imposed by the US implied the obvious threat of economic failure; the gravity of being cut off by the one of the world's two superpowers at the time through the embargo is not to be underestimated (Kapcia, 2008: 7).

Indeed, Cuba's relationship with the US has proven to be the most significant, volatile, and costly of all. In the period immediately after 1959, the new state expropriated the US businesses that had been based in Havana (Kapcia, 2008: 30). The political fracture was compounded by the steady spread of anti-Castro Cuban émigrés to Miami. The unmitigated and unexpected failure of the Playa Girón attack in 1961, a turning point in US-Cuban relations, demonstrated that the Revolution could withstand sizeable (armed) siege (through which Cuba also gained increased political sympathy in the region), and significantly, that contrary to U.S. expectations, an external attack would not accelerate a perceived underlying anti-Castro feeling in the population (Kapcia, 2008: 30). US-Cuban relations have continued to be characterised by reactive antagonism, despite intermittent periods of cultural exchange (Scarpaci and Portela, 2009: 115).

¹³ Sport internationalism has also supported similar regional cooperation, with the state-funded Escuela Internacional de Educación Física y Deporte (EIEFD) where coaches from marginalised communities within neighbouring countries are trained (Huish, 2011).

The imaginary of Cuba as isolated is especially related to tourism. Tourism had been a window into Cuba which had, since 1959, been effectively 'boarded up'. However, on cultural and political levels, there had been significant contact between Cubans and international visitors, through academic, cultural and sport exchanges. For example, through the FMC, Cuban women were allowed to travel outside the island to attend conferences, and in turn, to invite feminist scholars and activists to speak in Cuba (Harris, 1995: 99). A great number of Cuban students spent periods studying in politically-sympathetic countries, funded by the government, and athletes participated in similar programmes and competed overseas. Political connections also led to cultural transferences. Certainly, Soviet links had brought industrial technology, imported consumer goods, and in turn, linguistic and cultural concepts into wider Cuban society; traditional musicians from Eastern Europe frequently played for Cuban audiences from the early 1960s (Moore, 2006: 64). Furthermore, the dynamism of Cuba's involvement in Angola had consequences for "greater racial integration" on the island, argues Taylor (1988: 35), since it sparked a renewal in black pride symbols (such as Afro hairstyles), had a positive effect on the representation of black Cubans in the media and exposed Cubans to the realities of life in the developing world, which Hernández and Dilla claim left a substantial moral and cultural legacy (1992: 35).

It was not until the late 1970s that tourism opened up to allow foreign tourists to visit Cuba again, with visitors arriving initially from Latin America, Eastern Europe, and later, Canada. Before tourism expansion had become a necessity, the government's economic advisors and planners had acknowledged the potential in tourism profit, especially amongst its Caribbean neighbours: during the 1980s tourism had been hailed as an economic panacea for countries with a single commodity economy (Patullo, 1996). For this purpose, the government had begun to direct resources towards tourism development (Mesa-Lago, 1978: 61).

The relative infrequency with which Cubans had contact with foreigners through international tourism is relevant for several reasons. Firstly, despite significant cultural crosscurrents (Hernández and Dilla, 1992: 36), the state was the primary curator of the *us/them* image that was utilised in revolutionary rhetoric to solidify internal unity, in which the Cuban Revolution symbolised the only barrier to the kinds of immorality and exploitation that governed the outside world. Secondly, for the generation that had not experienced the foreign presence on the island before 1959, the dramatic influx of tourists from the 1990s onwards was therefore especially noticeable; ongoing connections between Cuba and the outside world created important contact zones (Pratt, 1992) producing significant socio-cultural repercussions but not to the same degree as tourism

would later come to produce. The expression of hostile international relations (such as with the US) in public discourse has allowed commentators to accuse the Cuban Revolution of backtracking on its political position, through Special Period reforms such as legalising the US dollar, possession of which was previously punishable by imprisonment (Carmona Báez, 2004: 125). This hostility would also imply that the explosion of international tourism in the 1990s generated an affective response from the Cuban population, which the literature has largely ignored. In part, the social-cultural repercussions of the 1990s were exacerbated by the confrontation and contrast between the intense austerity experienced by the population and the services and resources available to tourists: this contrast is explored in the next section.

2.3 Special Period austerity, society and tourism

This chapter section has so far focused on specific strands of the Revolution from 1959 to 1989, including the formation of value systems, popular engagement, welfare provision and Cuba's geo-political position in the world. Extreme austerity in the 1990s, however, cast these characteristics of the revolutionary trajectory into new light.

Several factors caused Cuba to plunge into economic crisis, as scholars have described (Carmona Báez, 2004: 97; Pérez-López, 2002: 509). The preferential trade agreement that Cuba had enjoyed with the Soviet Union had offered subsidised petrol prices, and in return, had guaranteed sugar exports. Given that 85% of Cuba's trade at this point was with socialist economies (Carmona Báez, 2004), in what has been described as "overdependence" (Blanco, 1997: 22 quoted in Saney, 2004: 20), repercussions were enormously deep and far-reaching as the Soviet bloc crumbled. In a series of vicious circles, the drying up of Soviet oil deliveries¹⁴, by roughly 85% between 1989 and 1992 (Kapcia, 2008: 157), slowed sugar production to unprecedented lows, closing off channels of hard currency and, in turn, rapidly intensifying debts and unpaid imports. Gross domestic product dropped by 35-45% between 1989 and 1993 (Pastor and Zimbalist, 1997 cited in Cabezas, 2009: 61). Without goods, petrol and power, workers were either unable to reach their places of work, with many public transport links failing, or workplaces simply stood closed for days at a time during extended *apagones* (power cuts), and productivity dwindled as a result (Saney, 2004: 23).

¹⁴ By the beginning of the 1980s Cuba was importing 98% of the oil it used (Mesa-Lago, 1978: 154).

2.3.1 Austerity and economic reforms

Before the extreme symptoms of the crisis came to take hold across daily life, social reforms introduced in the 1960s had, in the subsequent three decades, borne positive, if not consistent, material results in many areas.¹⁵ The Special Period crisis reversed much of this progress, however. In normal daily life, the effects of austerity were rapidly felt in various ways. With extremely limited petrol supplies, and halted public transport, simple daily journeys – to get to work, shop and enjoy leisure time – were often rendered impossible, at least in Havana. One of the most constant and salient struggles of daily life in the Special Period was the lack of food. In the 1980s, certain imported goods and foods had become part of everyday life, and distribution of home-grown foods functioned normally, if imperfectly, across the island. By contrast, the availability of basic foods became scarce, meaning that even those who had resources to buy items would struggle to find them. Food rationing through the established *bodegas*¹⁶ was compromised; even the most reliable channels designed to meet basic needs were unable to run properly, and imported food, which had represented half of the average Cuban's consumption in the 1980s, was hindered by national debt and the tightened US embargo (Garfield and Santana, 1997: 14). The issues involved in distributing perishable foods amidst petrol shortages and day-long power cuts led to extensive waste and resulted in widespread malnutrition (Chávez, 2005: 27), which in turn led to Cubans' increased vulnerability to contagious diseases. To complicate matters further, medical care, one of the cornerstones of the socialist welfare system, suffered from huge cut-backs. Although Cuba had experienced decades of hampered access to exported pharmaceuticals via the US embargo,¹⁷ a deeper scarcity of medicines exacerbated the spread of epidemic health issues (Garfield and Santana, 1997).

¹⁵ Women were represented in a greater number of professions than ever, and were generally as educated as men and enjoyed the same material benefits – in healthcare, welfare benefits, nutrition (Harris, 1995: 98). Those same material benefits had increased life expectancy and had lowered maternal and infant mortality across the population. However, Booth and others emphasise that underlying sexist, racist and homophobic mentalities seemingly persisted in 'cultural racism' (Booth, 1976; Taylor, 1988), or in *machista* culture (Harris, 1995). The social causes that restricted certain social groups had not been eliminated, according to De la Fuente, (1998) and there was a lack of public discussion relating to these issues (Fernandez, 2001).

¹⁶ Local neighbourhood store from which food and goods rationed by the state are distributed using a ration-book system.

¹⁷ The US is a world leader in pharmaceutical production. According to international humanitarian law, embargoes are not sanctioned to block access to essential humanitarian goods. However, the US was able to maintain the blockade by raising the price of medicine and food in time with the crisis (Garfield and Santana, 1997). Scarce foods were distributed to the most vulnerable during periods of austerity. The Special Period also saw the resurgence of traditional folk medicine, acupuncture and homeopathy (Acosta de la Luz, 2001).

In the first instance, economic effects represented the most obvious threat to the survival of the revolutionary project. Reassessing and reconfiguring the economy from the ground up was the first priority. A series of economic reforms emerged from extensive, urgent debate, many of which would have been considered impossible compromises during periods of stability. The essential loss of Cuba's sugar export agreement with Soviet economies left it unable to compete in the overcrowded world market, forcing an urgent reconsideration of new exports and industries to generate hard currency (Kapcia, 2008: 159). Nickel production held promise, given favourable links with Canada, and historic investment in biotechnology had made it a strong contender for export; however both export options were dwarfed by global competitors and the enormity of Cuba's economic deficit. Having invested in tourism over the previous decade in tentative, measured steps, the only course for economic survival appeared to lie in the accelerated expansion of the industry. Cuba already had geographical advantage, climate and natural resources, as well as a highly-qualified and low-wage population to service its operation.

Pursuing tourism involved a series of reforms based on previously-unthinkable political and ideological compromises. The recourse of mass tourism, and its associated social side effects, sparked reasonable fear (Kapcia, 2008: 157), yet the decision represented desperate means to an end. Without the base of an existing tourism infrastructure, and without sufficient capital, foreign cash injections were the only possible option: using significant amounts of national funds, joint ventures with mainly Spanish and Canadian tourist operators began to develop the hotels and amenities to meet an early ambitious aim of two million annual visitors by 2000. In 1993 the US dollar was legalised, allowing the siphoning off of hard currency through its use within tourism and international business exchanges, a move which has been described as an "ideological cartwheel" (Whitfield, 2008: 5). Of course, given that the majority of Cuban families had relatives abroad, US dollars quickly started flowing into Cuba through remittances; in 1995, *pesos convertibles* were introduced as a new system of currency. Because of remittances, many Cubans had access to dollar-only goods and services, intended for tourists or available only in dollar stores: as such, a two-tier economy developed. By 1996, \$300 million US was invested in the tourism industry (*Cuba Business*, 1997: 2, cited in Saney, 2004: 28). Nevertheless, in time these emergency measures allowed Cuba to survive the crisis short-term, prompting a burgeoning but steady 14-year period of economic growth (Kapcia, 2008: 159): even by 1999 the tourism sector had generated \$2 billion US and became "the motor of the economy" (Saney, 2004: 28-29).

Despite the unprecedented impact of these reforms, a number of conditions were put in place to regulate their effects. Initially, the government aimed to limit the spread of tourism

to fixed zones (Hearn, 2008: 76), in Varadero resorts and the cayos. Aside from the fact that the resort enclave provides more intimate contact than hotels, or the street, with resort workers and tourists in close proximity for almost 24 hours a day (Cabezas, 2006; Adler and Adler, 2004), efforts were still made to regulate the social effects of tourism through the (literal) policing of contact between tourists and the local population. However, given the sudden, rapidly-increasing presence of tourists on the island, with access to scarce goods as well as extraordinary comparative wealth compared to locals, it was inevitable that informal services and black markets would spring up to tap into this source of hard currency. In 1993, another major reform addressed the growing informal sector, legalising some aspects, regulating the sector, and finding a way to make it profitable to the state by drawing off a percentage in taxes.

Degrees of *cuentapropismo* (self-employment ventures) were sanctioned for the first time since March 1968 (Kapcia, 2008: 158). A 1993 legalisation sanctioned a number of tourist service businesses which had been functioning illegally for some years: it permitted Cubans to rent rooms in their homes to tourists (as *casas particulares*), to run restaurants (*paladares*) from their homes, allowed the private sale of artisan crafts and sanctioned private taxi-drivers (Chávez, 2005: 23). However there were, and continue to be, strict parameters. Certain foods were banned in *paladares* (so as to instead attract business to state restaurants), although substantial anecdotal and empirical evidence (Jackiewicz and Bolster, 2003: 377) would suggest that these restrictions were commonly circumvented. Given that housing had been a responsibility of the state as part of welfare provision since 1959, sanctioning *casas particulares* was a significant compromise. In addition, the private renting of accommodation was heavily regulated through inspections and taxes: a rented room in a *casa particular* could incur a monthly tax of \$250CUC in the early 2000s (Chávez, 2005: 23). We may interpret such regulations as politically-motivated. In an effort to protect the prioritised allocation of housing as part of the revolutionary welfare programme, homeowners must prove that the rooms are surplus to the family's demand before using them for tourist profit. In the 2010s, inspections are also carried out to estimate the value of a homeowner's resources – in terms of space, amenities – and calculate taxes based on their profit-potential.¹⁸ Finally, owners of *casas particulares* are obliged to present the passports and visas of their paying guests at the offices of the Ministerio de Inmigración; errors in their official log-books incur hefty fines.¹⁹ In this sense,

¹⁸ Based on anecdotal evidence from fieldwork in Spring 2012.

¹⁹ The fieldwork for this project was carried out from January to April 2012. The data gathered can only claim to reflect the actuality of the period preceding and included in that fieldwork and not the lived consequences of more recent legislation.

intimate spaces (such as the home) that became used for private profit were, and continue to be mediated by, state control (Domínguez, 2008: 65).

2.3.2 Social impact

Research indicates that tourism work, including *cuentapropismo* and other informal practices, is underpinned by a number of racialised and gendered factors. De la Fuente (2001a), for example, argues profit in the informal sector may be determined by race. Observing that micro-enterprise favours those with hard currency sources through remittances, De la Fuente cites censuses which indicate that the émigré population in Miami is predominantly white (since, in part, early migration waves from Cuba were by the white middle and upper classes), and as such, white families on the island have a greater possibility of generating the start-up costs that *cuentapropista* ventures require. There may be some weight to this argument, although racial categories in Cuba do not correspond to those included in US censuses: Cuban-Americans' racial self-identification by these same categories can therefore be inaccurate (Davis, 1991, cited in Saney, 2004: 103). De la Fuente also argues that Afro-Cubans' relative concentration in urban areas that are less suited to *paladar* and *casa particular* patronage, because they are "overcrowded and with dilapidated housing stock" (2001a: 79; Pérez Sarduy and Stubbs, 1993: 11), means that they become even more excluded from such self-entrepreneurship. In fact, the distribution of housing in the early years of the Revolution meant that many middle-class urban areas took on a new "social and racial character" (Kapcia, 2008: 50). In addition, while areas of Habana Vieja and Centro Habana, which have a predominantly black community, had typically been considered the most dilapidated in the city, they have proved particularly attractive to tourists, and have benefitted from extensive restoration.²⁰

Furthermore, on an institutional level, the impact of tourism development on black Cubans was multi-faceted. It has been convincingly argued that Afro-Cubans are underrepresented in front-of-house tourism positions (De la Fuente, 2001a), because of rumoured prejudices in foreign company recruitment (Cabezas, 2006: 513; Kapcia, 2008: 161), and without the structural control or legislature to enforce race quotas; literature notes a silence regarding race issues during the Revolution which casts the alleged elimination of such racial discrimination during the pre-Special Period Cuba into doubt

²⁰ A decision to make Havana a National Monument in 1978 followed by the designation of Old Havana as a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1982 led to plans to smarten up the quarter. Slowed by cutbacks during the Special Period, restoration began in earnest with financing from tourist profits and extended to Centro Habana (Birkenmaier and Whitfield, 2011: 191; Colantonio and Potter, 2006; Kapcia, 2008: 162).

(Fernandez, 2001; Moore, 1988). Furthermore, according to Cabezas, black Cubans tended to be relegated to positions in lower echelons of the industry, as groundkeepers, security guards, kitchen staff and in (often highly-sexualised) entertainment roles, which reinforced racial stereotypes (Cabezas, 2006: 514; Roland, 2011: 120). These positions are generally lower wage, provide fewer opportunities for earning tips and claim fewer supervisory functions. Much of the evidence to support claims of racial discrimination in the formal sector is therefore anecdotal, but nevertheless convincing. It has been asserted that the combination of this kind of casual discrimination, with Afro-Cubans' apparent obstacles to micro-enterprise, produced an apparent overrepresentation of black Cubans in criminal activities and the hustling of tourists (Rundle, 2001).

In touristic spaces and workplaces, gender was also a key factor (Wilson, 1998). Sex work is one such gendered phenomenon that has received substantial scholarly attention: *jineterismo*, the practice of 'riding' a tourist for money, has been defined as the sale of sexual access to tourists for hard currency (Allen, 2007; O'Connell Davidson, 1996). However, the term also encompasses various types of contact, including the hustling of tourists through a range of ambiguous activities such as domestic service, illegal transport services and soliciting patronage for private restaurants and bars (Domínguez, 2008: 80; Rundle, 2001). Important research also draws focus to Cuban men's relationships with sex tourists (Allen, 2007) and to the complex class-coded and racialised discourses surrounding *jineterismo* since "whether a woman is a *jinetera* or not depends not only on the kind of exchanges or encounters taking place but also on her race and class position" (Rundle, 2001: 7). Certainly, black Cubans are more frequently stopped by police and are socially stigmatised on suspicion of *jineteo* (De la Fuente, 2001a) yet a relationship between a foreigner and a white *cubana* from a 'good family' does not appear to run the same risk. Thus, the Cuban context demands the need to consider *jineterismo* in a different way than the ways in which sex work has been analysed in other countries such as the Dominican Republic (Brennan, 2004) or Mexico (Hofmann, 2010) for example. The Cuban moral and political landscape had been established in a unique, complex way, although that landscape has experienced unprecedented change. The cultural, social and moral significance of *jineterismo* was central to heated public and political debate (Rundle, 2001), and not simply deemed taboo, as some have claimed (Perna, 2002).

The re-emergence of prostitution in the Special Period has been explained as an intersection of multiple factors. Kempadoo cites local experiences of economic hardship, coupled with the huge influx of tourists into Cuba, and the backdrop of exotic third-world status in the Western imagination (1999: 3; Fusco, 1998). This exotic third-world status in fact became heightened by the 1990s, as Cabezas concurs (2009): the exposure of Cuba

in the international media was interpreted through “accounts of cheap, sexy and brown bodies for sale” (2009: 2), alongside a momentous state-sanctioned Playboy magazine shoot featuring Cuban women. As such, she deems it logical that a “new sexual economy” (ibid.) was cultivated by displays of sexualised Cuban bodies on the global stage – as in the case of the Playboy shoot – and later, the visibility of prostitution resurgence in the media. Other scholars have also observed Cuba’s increased visibility through eroticised exotic codes, citing turns in other cultural production such as music (Fernandes, 2006), and literature (Kapcia 2008: 167; Whitfield, 2008) which responded to foreign tastes.

In general, cultural, social and economic transitions were navigated by women in various ways: Cabezas and others explain that women particularly acted as a shock absorber during Special Period austerity (Cabezas, 2009: 2; Hernández Hormilla, 2011; Rodríguez, 1993: 354). Because of the physical dangers associated with illegal emigration, men were more likely to emigrate illegally, which altered the gender ratio in the population that remained in Cuba, meaning that earning and caring duties fell to women, according to Hernández Hormilla (2011: 113). Harris also identifies that such earning duties increasingly pulled women away from the professional roles they traditionally occupied: she highlights that domestic duties were doubly time-consuming and, in the early 1990s at least, two household salaries in the valueless national wage seemed unworthy of the time and effort (Harris, 1995: 105). Some have also argued that there was a greater gendered divide in domestic and care work during the Special Period as a result of the daily experiences of austerity: shopping for food when transports links had failed and many shops stood half-stocked, creating meals with meagre ingredients, and caring for older relatives away from insufficient wider healthcare systems, to name just a few examples, became daily concerns (Fernández, 1998). Harris also suggests that, even in homes where gender power relations were less imbalanced, women tended to assume these duties since they viewed themselves as more skilled, thrifty managers of resources in the home (1995: 106) gendering domestic work further. The home was a key place where the social, cultural and economic shifts occurring across society were felt, and women were directly implicated. In this sense, an approach to tourism and affect should pay close attention to the intimate spaces that become involved in tourism practices, for example through micro-enterprise, and which intersect with the other negotiations of daily life. As Rodríguez Calderón argues in relation to the pivotal role of these practices during the Special Period, “daily life does not take place outside of history, but rather at the very center of history” (1993: 353).

Such critical approaches allow scholars of Cuba to consider how different social groups reacted to and experienced the changing economic landscape in different ways, but

evidently call for nuanced analysis. As Saney maintains, while “concessions to capitalism and the introduction of market elements have challenged the material basis for equality and equity in Cuban society”, the inequalities that these concessions provoke “are not to be compared with the ones that prevail globally” (2004: 117).

In general, the ways in which the population navigated the changing freedoms and restrictions placed on them by the state and by austerity had consequences for life in the home and the workplace. Research has often highlighted the social casualties that emerged from drastic economic reforms: state jobs, in academia, education, and healthcare, were seriously undermined by the disproportionately high-earning potential in tourism jobs (Sánchez and Adams, 2008: 33). Cubans found ways to trade services and goods to their own ends, yet some of the methods, though resourceful, also encouraged criminal practices and corruption (Kapcia, 2008: 161) which undermined the state. For example, workers would siphon off regular, but imperceptible, portions of raw materials (such as dough in a bread factory, for example) and use them to produce goods that they could sell on at a local level as a source of supplementary income. Since such practices were a widespread means to make ends meet, individualism became more normalised (Fernandes, 2006: 158).

Scholars and observers of Cuba have remarked that the wound to the notion of moral community, although difficult to quantify, was felt to be a worse disenchantment than any material one (Fernández, 2000: 79). The values of unity and collective action, reinforced by the politics of passion and stirring rhetoric, gave way to individualism and reliance on local networks (Fernández, 2000). There are a number of convincing examples cited in the literature. Kapcia comments that voluntary work was almost impossible to incentivise given the time the average citizen required to negotiate extra avenues of income and the increasingly time-consuming tasks of everyday life in austerity, causing projects that relied on volunteerism to collapse (2008: 162). Many of the mass events, celebrations and festivals that had punctuated Cuban life pre-1989 and had articulated civic pride were impossible to fund during the crisis. Emigration also soared during the early years of the Special Period,²¹ following “disenchantment with political religion”, according to Fernández, 2000: 79). Political participation and trade union activity declined given that it was difficult to generate traditional levels of engagement in a population exhausted by austerity, as Fernández explains, “the symbols and myths of the past [had] lost their

²¹ Illegal migration and some violent boat hijackings culminated in a sanctioned exodus of 35,000 *balseros* (rafters) within a matter of weeks in 1994, and later led to greater cooperation with the US to protect those willing to risk their lives to migrate from Cuba (Kapcia, 2008: 163).

original emotional charge” (2000: 98). The significance of this affective shift is reflected in the fact that for many commentators, expressions of apathy and dissent seemingly indicated the end of the Revolution, as Kapcia notes (2008:163), although less attention is typically paid in the literature to key decisions which aimed to counteract falling civic pride, and which were significant.²² Kapcia observes that investment in the two revolutionary tenets of healthcare and education had remained remarkably high despite the constant lack of resources (Bayart, 2010; Yamaoka, 2004), something which both allowed its efficacy and reach to continue through the worst moments of crisis, and also functioned symbolically, as a reinforcement of continuing revolutionary priorities, strengthening collective loyalty (2009: 160). These shifts in society, in political participation, in the value of state and voluntary work and the shrinking symbolic force of the state were especially painful because they occurred alongside a growing influx of tourists and in the context of Cuba’s increased global visibility. The contrast of local living conditions with the luxury of tourist spaces suggests an intense emotional toll that has received scant mention in research on the Special Period.

2.4 Making sense of the Cuban context

The Special Period saw Cuba experience intense global and internal pressures; tourism development exacerbated such pressures in many ways (Sánchez and Adams, 2008) and had a myriad of social consequences, symbolising a unique context to which to apply critical approaches from Tourism Studies. However, approaches have often failed to grasp the specificities of political culture in the Cuban context and have too often interpreted the advent of tourism as an example of the Revolution’s inevitable demise, or a space in which citizens are repressed, exploited or express dissidence. Instead, this thesis returns to Kapcia’s paradigm in which the Cuban revolutionary trajectory is interpreted as a series of cycles between crisis, debate and reform, with an ongoing undercurrent of continued political imperatives. Thus, the approach taken here is to acknowledge that layers of

²² A decision to go ahead with hosting the 1991 Pan-American Games in Havana, despite doubts about the considerable cost, had a positive effect in continuing some semblance of normality (Kapcia, 2008: 162). Kapcia also cites 1994 as a year of political – if not economic – turnaround, with the first kind of mass demonstration that had been seen in the Special Period (led by Fidel Castro), which served to reignite some determination and faith in the survival of the Revolution; as in other years, instances of external attack also strengthened internal unity (some examples in the 1990s include global condemnation after Cuba’s shooting down of Miami opposition group Brothers to the Rescue in Cuban airspace in 1996, the imprisonment of five Cuban men for espionage in the US in 1998, and the battle for rescued *balsero* boy Elián González in 2000). Kapcia argues that these events reminded the demoralised population of the enduring value of revolutionary socialism over individualism (Kapcia, 2008: 163).

tensions exist (national and local, political and personal) resulting from Cuba's participation in international tourism markets.

Cubans' negotiations and practices in order to *resolver* have been analysed in various ways in reference to popular loyalty to, or disengagement from, the Revolution. Harris (1995), for example, frames the material improvisations made by Cuban women in the Special Period despite exhaustion and disenchantment as an example of "shoring up the political consciousness of their family members and their capacity and will to endure" (1995: 106). Rodríguez Calderón concurs that their many domestic adaptations are thus political, marking a crucial difference to women elsewhere in Latin America, who when seeking everyday solutions to the stresses of an economic crisis, "seek the survival of their families, but not necessarily that of their social system" (1993: 353).

Furthermore, a common perspective is to consider the informal activity in the 'second economy' as threatening to the "monopoly of central planning" as it "represents a terrain of political struggle, with its boundaries shifting frequently" (Pérez-López, 1995: 11). As such, tensions between self-entrepreneurs and the state, provoking the re-introduction of income tax ²³ and other restrictions of informal sphere work, have been framed as 'assertions of the self', acts of resistance, and mediations of 'contradictory spaces' (Jackiewicz and Bolster, 2003). However, other scholars have dismissed the notion that informal markets and the illegal practices they contain function as subversive tactics against state controls, and cite the fact that small business culture does not exist in Cuba (since small businesses themselves are relatively new), and as such, explains Cuban sociologist Mayra Espina, "[Cubans] don't know how it works in other countries and they feel they are being strangled by taxes and rules" (quoted in Chávez, 2005: 24). Others instead stress the simple need for dollars that prompted these practices (Carmona Báez, 2004: 194). One example given by Carmona Báez is that *cuentapropismo* is carried out by many retired Cubans, many of whom remain loyal to the Revolution and are PCC members (ibid.).

The specific nature of these tensions, between state compromise and public demand, between adopting capitalist practices and remaining socialist, between popular acts of loyalty and acts of resistance, relates to the specific dynamic between the state and the

²³ As with tight restrictions in types of self-entrepreneurship, income tax served to limit the potential for an individual's excessive 'illicit enrichment' (Jackiewicz and Bolster, 2003: 373) and reinforced the sovereignty of the state which had been undermined by the informal sector and by its own debts (Scarpaci, Segre, *et al.*, 2002).

population since 1959. The complex nature of state/civil relations thus also requires a specific reconceptualization in Cuba (Fernández, 2000; Gray and Kapcia, 2008) where intense centralization has long stood, perhaps atypically, alongside very high levels of public participation (Gray and Kapcia, 2008; Hernández and Dilla, 1992). This reconceptualization is especially required in regards to the crucial evolution that those relations took in the Special Period (Carmona Báez, 2004; Hearn, 2008; Hernández and Dilla, 1992; Hernández-Reguant, 2009). In this regard, Fernández (2000) explains Cuban informal economic activities as a feature of a 'politics of affection', in which people are united through co-dependence outside the official channels of the state and the socialist economy, in other words, in the sphere of daily life (2000; Pérez-López, 1995).²⁴ According to Fernández, the politics of affection are rooted in the pervasiveness of informality throughout Cuban daily life, which has been consolidated since 1959 by Cubans' personal connections, the often inefficient and unjust operation of the state, the economic scarcity and need to *resolver*, and the need, given state controls of society, to perform such nonconformity on the margins (2000: 107). Scholars' general interpretation, however, appears to indicate the problematic but essential role that informal markets played during the worst moments of Special Period austerity by producing and distributing necessary goods although their "activities, economic dynamics, social objectives and very existence contradict important elements toward which the Cuban economy is still firmly steered" (Domínguez, 2008: 65).

Certainly, the political and public discourses that have surrounded the population's participation in the expansion of tourism on the island are rooted in the specific Cuban state/civil dynamic. Public, political and academic discursive framings of *jineterismo* are characterised by controversy and contradiction, and reveal that *jineterismo* is deeply embedded with ambivalent moral codes (Rundle, 2001, Santos, 2009). In this sense sexualised contact between tourists and locals takes on a distinct meaning in Cuba. Similarly, Cabezas notes that during the early years of the Special Period, as awareness grew of *jineteras* across Cuba, people expressed public outcry and moral judgement but also felt envy and admiration for the ways they navigated the economic crisis. As Cabezas correctly argues, *jineteras* "embodied and symbolized the anxieties, dangers, and transitions that were beginning to rapidly transform Cuban society" (2009: 3). Furthermore, the government has been accused of taking an ambivalent view of sex work,

²⁴ Fernández defines the 'politics of affection' in contrast to the 'politics of passion' which had characterised Cuban political culture pre-Special Period, whose trademarks include impassioned rhetoric, idealistic promises, and the myths and symbols of *cubanía*.

seemingly allowing the sexualisation of the country (Cabezas, 2009: 1; Pope, 2005: 101; Ruf, 1997) and, according to Paternostro (2000), condoning sex tourism²⁵ yet simultaneously attacking *jinetas* with highly moralistic language. There are plenty of examples: in 1995 Vilma Espín described sex work as attributable to “weak people, unethical families, young women who are a great shame to the country and do not pay attention to their moral degradation... The majority come from homes with little morality or are simply very depraved people who accept that their daughters live that way because they benefit from it”.²⁶ Anecdotal evidence also suggests that the existence of sex work may be denied or lamented by Cubans. In this sense, claims that the government turns a blind eye to prostitution because “it provides income for thousands who would otherwise turn to the State for jobs or assistance” (Trumbull, 2001: 356) are grossly misleading. In general, the charged but ambivalent attitude towards *jinetismo* is representative of an underlying tension in larger society between the compromises that tourism involves, at once personal, moral, political, economic and social, and the survival of both individuals and the system.

Researchers of prostitution in Cuba have not always addressed this ambivalence, however, and instead stress the simple incongruity of socialism with tourism in general (Sánchez and Adams, 2008) and with sex tourism in particular (Harris, 1995, Pope, 2005). Cabezas exemplifies the common approach of many Cubanists in acknowledging the jarring discord of Cuban sex tourism with revolutionary guarantees, which were designed to protect especially high measures of juridical, occupational and educational equity, and as such “*cubanas* did not fit the formulaic representation of prostitutes” because they did not lack “educational and vocational skills and agency” (2009: 3). However, an over-emphasis on Cuban women’s empowerment and protection from poverty through the Revolution can problematically dismiss sex work as frivolous, based on superficial motivations for ‘lipstick money’. Instead, broader approaches which incorporate notions of *resolver*, social mobility and agency in sex workers’ motivations (Cabezas, 2006; Cabezas, 2009; Rundle, 2001; Santos, 2009) and which identify overlaps with other

²⁵ Paternostro (2000) has been extensively cited by other scholars, in arguing that Fidel Castro’s speeches make light-hearted reference to prostitution, quoting him as having previously boasted of Cuba’s “healthy” prostitutes (2000, quoted in Pope, 2005: 101). Paternostro is not challenged in the literature, although this researcher would strongly question the authenticity of such quotations.

²⁶ From Espín’s address to the FMC 7th Congress, quoted in Farber (2011: 195).

negotiations of personal resources in different contact zones²⁷ (Rundle, 2001), have greater value.

Moreover, although the re-emergence of prostitution has been a shocking development to those inside and outside Cuba, Farber insists that its visibility should not be allowed to mask its relatively minor importance within society (2011: 188). The practices of sex and romance tourism, although a more 'exciting' target for academic attention, are perhaps less central to Cuban economic and social life than scholars have suggested (Cabezas, 2009: 3; O' Connell Davidson, 1996: 40, Pope, 2005). While the incongruity of sex work to revolutionary values is undeniable, there is a risk that these framings offer an inaccurate picture, given the dangerous misrepresentation present in Cabezas' assertion that "women's socioeconomic independence [during the Special Period] appeared to dwindle to a small repertoire of options that included marriage and selling sex to foreigners" (2009: 3), and Trumbull's distorted claim that "prostitution allows Cuba to capture millions of tourist dollars annually" (2001: 356). It is important to consider the true impact of sex work as a feature of Cuban society and a feature in the tourist gaze, from the early 1990s to now, and to make efforts to integrate the concept of sexualised contact between hosts and guests within the wider context of other symbolic exchanges and affective codes.

What is crucial to maintain is that, in creating various avenues for economic survival, in encounters with tourists and in other connected expressions of *resolver*, Cubans may at once reinforce *and* resist revolutionary value systems. To see these negotiations in purely political, personal or any such binary terms fails to account for the specific dynamic between state and society in Cuba. As Rodríguez Calderón deftly explains, "[Cubans say] 'what is important now is to see it through and resist' and... 'I don't want all this to fall down.' Some add that they are tired and bored, and even resentful of what is happening to us. The ability to say the former and then to add the latter is distinctively Cuban" (1993: 354). To cast Cubans navigating these changes through contact with tourists as either victims or as *luchadores/as*, as either active loyalists or dissidents, reinforces unhelpful binaries based on simplistic interpretations of the state as repressive. This perspective also ignores what Kapcia describes as the 'silent majority' middle ground, whose "occasionally grudging, but always significant loyalty" can be recognised as the reason for the Revolution's "unusual survival" throughout a series of extreme conditions (2008: 44-45). There is an obligation, therefore, to adopt this complex approach to an analysis of the

²⁷ For example, Rundle also identifies a double standard in that professionals (such as academics) soliciting invitations from abroad through their work are also unlikely to attract police harassment or judgement in the same way as other forms of *jineterismo* (Rundle, 2001).

meaning of micro processes that occur in different types of formal, structured, informal and intimate tourist spaces in Cuba.

Commentators' impressions that Cubans exist in a repressive regime run by a totalitarian and authoritarian government are amongst the most pervasive, although there are substantial counterarguments (Saney, 2004: 87). The limitations imposed by the state on Cubans' economic activities in tourism have generally sought to absorb some of the social shock that emerged from reforms; taxes on *casa particular* owners and other touristic self-entrepreneurs have served to curb the growth of a national income inequality gap (Saney, 2004: 92) as well as generate state profit. It is inaccurate, therefore, to assume that reforms are hastily and impulsively processed in ways that intend to repress the population or respond only to market models. Instead, we might appreciate that "mechanisms are being found to integrate [citizens'] concerns and interests in a harmonious manner within a carefully and gradually modified political system" (Domínguez, 2008: 86).

Furthermore, while the overarching directions that the government has adopted through tourism expansion have been observed to provoke substantial damage to the global image of the revolutionary project, as well as in terms of social indicators and moral value systems within Cuba, these macro processes deserve nuanced critical analysis. Researchers have typically drawn unfavourable comparisons between contemporary realities and the social problems that were prevalent in the pre-revolutionary period, as well as pointing to other developing countries which appear to prioritise tourism development over nation-building aims (Cabezas, 2009: 3; Sánchez and Adams, 2008). To consider tourism in Cuba as a straightforward expression of nation-building is to ignore the specificity of the intense conditions of its resurrection in the economy and the significant (yet shifting) parameters that have aimed to control its permeation into social life from the early 1990s. In addition, although Cuba is widely described as experiencing transition, a consistently high investment in education and healthcare even during austerity (Bayart, 2010) denotes a strong "current of continuity" (Kapcia, 2008: 26). Sweeping reforms that have appeared to direct capital away from traditional revolutionary tenets and towards marketing and producing tourist spaces should be considered as a complex series of compromises and tensions, arbitrated by extensive debate and exacerbated by external forces, which acknowledge the obvious contradictions that they present. In this sense, the ways that Cuba has sought to weather the conditions of the Special Period and the ongoing US embargo through tourism imply a number of choices that do not necessarily cleave economic solutions from political ambitions, but have attempted to strategically reconcile the two.

2.4.1 Cuba under Raúl Castro

It is especially important to look beyond binary categories (such as revolutionary survival versus failure, popular repression versus increased freedoms) as the historical focus of the thesis shifts to Raúl Castro's leadership, given that his presidency has already contradicted simplistic predictions that socialist Cuba could no more survive the worst of the Special Period than continue without Fidel, as Kapcia remarks (2008: 177). In 2006, Raúl Castro assumed *de facto* presidency following his elder brother's ongoing health complaints and then extended convalescence, in what was believed to be a temporary measure. By the early 2000s, some level of economic stability had been established and reforms implemented to reverse the social damage that had already been caused (Cabezas, 2009: 60; Kapcia, 2008: 160; Saney, 2004: 37), although the consequences of extreme hardship continued to be felt on a local level, economic indicators were slow to return to pre-crisis levels (Pérez-López, 2002: 507), and national debt was still significant.²⁸ Nevertheless, Saney's early 2000s evaluation maintained that "the safety net has not unravelled" and rejected claims that Cubans continue to endure privation as a "distortion of Cuban social and economic realities" (2004: 37). Indeed, as Hernández and Dilla argue, although egalitarianism had been dismissed as an idealistic phase of early revolutionary political culture, egalitarian goals of social justice and equity continued to be the Revolution's dominant features (1992: 34).

There have been various implications for the culture of tourism during this most recent phase of the revolutionary trajectory. Adopting a more radical and pragmatic approach than his older brother, Raúl Castro's leadership has brought in more sweeping reforms (Kapcia, 2008: 177-178). This approach has sought greater efficiency in the workplace, cutting superfluous jobs where guaranteed employment aims in the early years of the Revolution had led to chronic over-staffing. During four years of "hesitant, modest and sometimes incoherent steps" (Farber, 2011: 278), many of these policies have centred on the scope of economic opportunity available to Cubans, changing the legal restrictions on small enterprises such as *paladares*. In some respects these reforms simply legalised what was commonly known to occur, if out of sight: *paladares* have been sanctioned to accommodate twenty, then fifty customers at a time, instead of the original limit of twelve. Policies modified former requirements which had obliged proprietors to only hire within their family, in order to avoid capitalist working practices (Domínguez, 2008: 79). On the

²⁸ According to Farber, Cuba's debt grew between 2004 and 2008, reaching \$46 billion US (citing the UN's Economic Commission for Latin America) which equates to 380% of its annual exports to a comparable average of 83% across the region (2011: 278).

other hand, Raúl Castro's administration has slowed down the issuing of new licences to rent rooms and open *paladares* (Chávez, 2005: 24). In fact, some statistics indicate that as the economy slowly stabilised after the worst years of the crisis, the number of self-employed Cubans declined (Saney, 2004: 26): between 1996 and 1998 alone, the number dropped from 205,000 to 160,000 according to Cantón Navarro (2000: 259). However, Domínguez contradicts such statistics and estimates that 1.5 million citizens derive their income from, or are supported (as dependents of the self-employed) by private market-related economic activity (2008: 65). There is a general need, then, to continue research on the characteristics, weight, and pervasiveness of self-employed tourist businesses in the current climate.

Some of the recent changes, following the Sixth PCC Congress, have been more radical, and have a particular resonance in terms of the shifting social and economic landscape of tourism. As of 2011, Cubans have the freedom to sell and buy cars and homes, a move which expands the previously-enforced limits of citizens' autonomy to generate personal wealth. The free sale of houses has an obvious consequence in the management of *casas particulares* and *paladares*.²⁹ Early legalisation allowed owners limited control over the touristic value of their property: Cubans had limited resources (Carroll, 2010) and control in altering décor to increase aesthetic value to respond to tourists' tastes for certain locations, architectural styles and layout.

The opportunities available to Cubans to meet their everyday needs are also changing, suggesting that the value of lucrative (informal and formal) tourism work is not likely to diminish as other sectors of the economy strengthen. Measures outlined in the Sixth Party Congress have the potential for serious consequences for vulnerable groups of society, as provisions of welfare are scaled back or cut. Within the proposed elimination of subsidies and welfare benefits, workers no longer receive scholarships or paid study time within working hours and lose subsidised meals; there has been further depletion in the items available via the ration-book (Farber, 2011: 277) which Cubans will instead have to purchase from *peso convertible* shops (Carroll, 2010). These measures especially affect Cubans who do not have links to alternative income sources through private-enterprise, remittances, or tourism. Provision for tourists may not stand as starkly against the kinds of extreme poverty that O' Connell Davidson (1996) describes,³⁰ yet the presence of

²⁹ The same congress guidelines also stated unequivocally, however, that the generality of property will not lie with private or individual entities (Farber, 2011: 279).

³⁰ O' Connell Davidson's summary of living conditions in the early 1990s reads: "Food rations ensure only the most basic minimum to stave off starvation, and many basic commodities, such as

tourists is more dominant than ever, with tourist numbers increasing by 9.3% between January 2013 and January 2014,³¹ building on previous record figures (*Granma International*, 2012). In this sense, reliance on supplementary income, which for many (but not all) Cubans comes in the form of tourist-related economic activity, reinforces the value in making personal connections with tourists.

Finally, the most recent statistics indicate that while tourism represents a powerful economic activity, it is not as central to the economy as it was at the start of the Special Period, where it could accurately be described as an economic safety raft. Instead its substantial \$2.5 billion US profits are currently outweighed by the growing economic power of Cuba's medical service exports, which were estimated at \$6 billion US in January (Rivery Tur, 2014). In an indirect way, human capital's value through export, therefore, is increasing above and beyond that of tourism, suggesting a transition from the urgency that characterised the government's expansion of tourism in the early years of the Special Period.

2.5 Moving forwards

Some of these more recent reforms have not been yet included in scholarship on Cuban tourism, with the effect that an updated examination of the culture of tourism – the lived experience of its marketing, operation and consumption, and the material, social and affective realities of the Cuban who lives and works inside (or alongside) it – is now necessary. The historical scope of this thesis stretches from the beginning of the revival of international tourism in Cuba in the 1990s to 2012 (when fieldwork was carried out) in order to capture the transitions of the period.

It is clear that tourism and informal economies have become a dominant focus in Cuban Studies. However, the theoretical frameworks of Tourism Studies, especially those that consider the nation's aspirations through tourism and the micro-macro connections between private tourist economies and the state, require sensitive application in the Cuban context. Central to the approach of this thesis, then, is an acknowledgement of the overlapping and conflictive tensions between tourist desire, global market competition,

clothing, soap, cooking oil and pain-killers, are often unavailable [...] it is not surprising that many women and girls as well as some men and boys, are prepared to grant tourists...sexual access in exchange for cash and/or goods, even for drinks or a meal in a restaurant" (1996: 39-40).

³¹According to data released by the National Statistics and Information Office (ONEI) (Rivery Tur, 2014).

economic imperatives, political goals and local agency in Cuba. As this chapter has demonstrated, there are many aspects in which the specific conditions through which tourism has developed in Cuba, including suspended neo-colonialism, a unique political approach to moral and human capital, the sudden accelerated development of the industry in the 1990s, with ideological and social conflicts, and new developments in policy under Raúl Castro, call for a nuanced examination of the circulation of affective capital through tourism on the island.

This thesis therefore prioritises the specificity of the Cuban context in its examination of the kinds of symbolic capital appropriated in the tourist gaze. Through the tourist gaze, different cultural scripts, such as tourism marketing, travel guidebooks, travel writing, and blogs reinforce and disrupt notions of peoples, landscapes, pasts and realities through affective codes, authorising certain imaginaries and silencing others. Since the tourist gaze of Cuba is articulated through a multitude of texts (Urry, 1990), specific methodological choices must be made: these are described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

Tourism studies' inter-disciplinarity is reflected in its various, broad-reaching methodologies. This research seeks to locate Cuban tourism within wider cultural theory as a field of enquiry in which many aspects of social, cultural and economic life intersect (Tribe, 1997), rather than following the critical turn that has encouraged a development of innovative methods and theory *within* (and not just *for*) Tourism Studies (Ateljevic, Pritchard and Morgan, 2007). In this sense the methodology outlined in this chapter follows the methodological imperative of Cultural Studies to capture lived experiences as well as to critically analyse the discourses that constitute them (Saukko, 2003: 3). Empirical research in Cultural Studies is thus "structured by an interest in the interplay between lived experience, texts or discourses and the social context" (Saukko, 2003: 11). The previous two chapters have contended that a neglected approach in research on Cuban tourism is the interplay between affective capital in the tourist gaze, its appropriation and circulation on the ground, and the specific complexities of the contemporary Cuban context. The qualitative methodology therefore adopted both textual analysis and participative methods. The chapter describes data and methodological choices, with an account of how methods were implemented including critical reflection on methodological, ethical and personal challenges. Lastly, I explain the interpretative practices applied to the data.

3.1 Methodological approaches

Inter-disciplinary research generally lends itself well to the epistemological characteristics of Tourism Studies (Tribe, 1997), in connecting the social, cultural and economic. This is also especially true of research on Cuba, where such an approach can reveal the interconnections within the worlds of policy, social life and the economy, and where any discussion of the social inevitably involves a reflection on the political and the economic. Such integration is visible in social research carried out by Cuban researchers, whose methodological traits, according to Núñez Sarmiento, are distinctively multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary, and transdisciplinary (2003). In addition, given that certain aspects of Cuban social reality are widely acknowledged as experiencing rapid transition, the research required the corroboration of critical discourse analysis by selective participatory methods, in order to also capture the complexities of lived realities and social context.

In particular, qualitative methods have been adopted by many key scholars exploring social and cultural phenomena through the study of tourism (Boorstin, 1964; MacCannell, 1973). While quantification through surveys, experiments, statistics and structured

observation allows for greater assurances of reliability, large data sets and precise hypothesis testing, it has also led critics to identify missed links between the natural and social world based on the meanings brought to social life (Hammersley, 1992; Silverman, 2011: 11). For example, tourists' narratives play out differently in quantitative formal survey scenarios than in personal blogs or travel literature; a nuance that should serve to advise all researchers of the ways in which discourse works (Fielding and Fielding, 1986: 21). Qualitative research methods therefore allow a synthesis of the social and cultural construction of variables which can be neglected through quantitative research methods, despite their intentions to correlate such variables (Kirk and Miller, 1986).

Despite the popularity of qualitative methods such as participant observation and ethnography in social research generally (Hammersley, 1992), and especially in the fields of cultural and tourism research, such methods face valid criticisms. Qualitative researchers may fail to justify the soundness of their methods (Silverman, 2011: 368). In particular, given the diversification that ethnography has experienced following its increasing pervasiveness, there has been internal debate surrounding the legitimacy of an ethnographer's claims to faithfully reflect a detached socio-cultural reality, or claiming to draw a picture of what a phenomenon "looks like from an insider's account of the phenomenon" (Maynard, 1989: 140) to which some (Tyler, 1985; Clifford and Marcus, 1986) respond by re-casting ethnographic data instead as a "product of their participation in the field" (Hammersley, 1992: 2). Bell (2013) acknowledges that analysing discourse through participative methods means attempting objectivity but recognising "that it is not possible to be neutral... Thus, when I refer to 'authenticity' I mean that what is said is thought to be true by the person who says it, though this does not mean it is, necessarily, accurate" (2013: 110). This point of contention thus hinges on the positionality of and reflexivity in the researcher, and thus, as Silverman notes, it is important to apply the same objectives of assembling and sifting through data critically that have been associated with quantitative research to those more appropriate to Cultural Studies research (2011: 12).

Positivist ethnographers have been accused of simply and descriptively claiming to hold a mirror up to independent social reality, although this claim is contested by Hammersley, who identifies that ethnography may also "constitute one (or more than one) 'reality' amongst others" (1992: 3; Tyler, 1985). In a more general sense, ethnography's focus on the *what* of a phenomenon might also make peripheral the contextual variables, which are especially central to the specific context of tourism in Cuba. As such, exclusive use of ethnographic methods appears to correspond less satisfactorily to research that touches on tourism representation, which is as much about fantasy and imagined worlds as 'real'

ones, and in which the researcher cannot rely on what is commonly known (Silverman, 2011: 150). Triangulation of methods instead allows for a constructionist perspective in which multiple realities are constructed in different contexts and by different means (Silverman, 2011: 45).

Triangulation has been proposed as a way of implementing basic criteria to ensure reliable qualitative research, and there is significant evidence that the triangulation of qualitative methods is especially appropriate for interdisciplinary tourist research (Decrop, 1999). The most common example of triangulation, based on Denzin's initial model (1978, cited in Decrop, 1999: 157) combines two or more different methods with the aim of strengthening findings in qualitative research through the relative coincidence of independent sources (Silverman, 2011): it means "looking at the same phenomenon, or research question, from more than one source of data" (Decrop, 1999). Another motive for adopting triangulation of methods is based on the Cultural Studies tradition of connecting discursive, lived and contextual elements of a phenomenon (Flick, 1998; Saukko, 2003: 23): in the case of this thesis, my interest is in capturing the dialogue between host and guest discourses, between imagined and real touristic experiences, and the specific context of Cuba. Therefore, to map one set of data on top of another (for example, the images and narratives from marketing and travel guidebooks on top of travel literature and blog entries) enables access to the interplays between representation and lived experience (for example expectation and reality for both sides of the tourist dialogue), relationships that are of central interest to the research.

3.2 Data collection

Two research methods were used to obtain the data for this research: textual analysis and participant observation. Textual analysis was the main method, corroborated through participant observation and selective interviews. Throughout, in adherence to the adopted Cultural Studies methodologies, the focus was on discourse, analysed in an interdisciplinary manner. Interviews with people and images in printed and audio-visual materials were treated equally as texts (Ferguson and Golding, 1997). Data collection began in December 2010, at the beginning of my doctoral study, and was consolidated with a period of research in Cuba between January and April 2012. After this period I organised the data and wrote up the results.

In the UK I collected and analysed a large body of printed and online materials over a sixteen month period. In the first instance, I visited key travel agencies Thomas Cook, Thomson, Kuoni, STA and The Flight Centre in Manchester city centre, gathering all the

brochures they stocked relating to Cuba directly or as a destination in the Caribbean, and gaining a total of six relevant brochures. Since those same brochures were stocked in each branch nationwide I considered this selection of data to reflect those commonly encountered by UK tourists to Cuba. I also gathered twelve guidebooks on Cuba. My research then extended to online texts which I narrowed down by using keyword searches in Google. Often texts led to others through hyperlinks, recommendations and citations which extended the corpus in a way which I felt to be reflective of the exposure the common tourist might have to touristic texts on Cuba, and the connections that might lead such a tourist from one text to others. I consulted six websites and blogs, but in the case of the Trip Advisor, Lonely Planet and World Sex Guide websites, this data collection included over fifty forum discussion threads. In addition I included two travel writing anthologies in the data.

I was also able to collect rich data while on fieldwork in Cuba between January and March 2012. I arranged to visit the central office of Cuban tourism board Infotur in Havana, where promotional and informative printed materials are designed, copywritten, translated and distributed after production. My collection of each of these leaflets and brochures, as well as those collected on a more *ad hoc* basis from hotel lobbies and Cuban tourism information kiosks, resulted in a total of twenty five printed materials. During the fieldwork I carried out twelve recorded interviews which are detailed in the table below, and further described in this chapter. I accessed and photographed approximately twenty books and theses written by Cuban tourism researchers at the Havana libraries of CENESEX (Centro Nacional de Educación Sexual), Centro de Investigaciones Psicológicas y Sociológicas (CIPS), the central library of the University of Havana, and consulted over thirty books at the Escuela de Altos Estudios de Hotelería y Turismo. I also carried out an extended week-long observation in a resort in Varadero, in March 2012, as well as shorter observations in the Museo de la Revolución in Havana and at a music tour group's farewell party in Havana.

The combined methods are displayed in Table 3.2.1 below.

Table 3.2.1: Empirical research timeline

Method	Description	Date of research
Textual Analysis	I collected and analysed a large body of printed and online materials, including six brochures, twenty-five leaflets and campaign materials, fourteen guidebooks, fifty threads from websites, blogs and travel forums, two travel writing anthologies, six travel reviews in magazines and newspapers, and approximately thirty signs in tourist sites across a sixteen month period in the UK and on field research in Cuba.	January 2011-May 2012 (UK/ Cuba)
Semi-structured interviews and conversations	<p>I carried out elite interviews with four political and commercial tourism decision-makers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ingrid Rodríguez Guerra, Executive of Comunicación y Publicidad at the Ministerio de Turismo • Alejandro Vasquez, Director of Thomson TUI in Varadero • Kath Bateman, director of Caledonia Travel • Lucy Davies, director of Cubanía Travel <p>I also interviewed four Cuban scholars and cultural theorists who specialise in the economics, policy and cultural aspects of tourism:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rafael Hernández, cultural scholar and editor of <i>Temas</i> magazine • Prof. Juan Luis Perelló of Facultad de Turismo, Universidad de la Habana • Dr. Juan Paulo, anthropologist at CIPS (Centro de Investigaciones Psicológicas y Sociológicas) • Dr. Juan Triana Cordoví, economist at the CEEC (Centro de Estudios sobre la 	<p>January 2012-April 2012 (Cuba)</p> <p>29th February 2012 (Havana)</p> <p>31st January 2012 (Varadero)</p> <p>12th February 2012 (Havana)</p> <p>1st March 2012 (Havana)</p> <p>29th February 2012 (all in Havana)</p> <p>8th February 2012</p> <p>9th February 2012</p> <p>2nd March 2012</p>

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	<p style="text-align: center;">Economía Cubana)</p> <p>The data also benefited from five less formal recorded conversations with industry experts and workers, who have been anonymised where cited in the thesis. These individuals were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A website contributor for Infotur • A Varadero resort manager • A Cubanacan tour guide • A private tutor of dance and percussion who gave classes to tourists • A <i>casa particular</i> owner and former state tour guide 	<p>17th February 2012</p> <p>6th February 2012</p> <p>13th February 2012</p> <p>8th March 2012</p> <p>26th February 2012</p>
Observation	<p>I carried out two observations in major tourist sites in Havana adopting note-taking and photography methods.</p> <p>Extended observations took place during one week at a large resort in Varadero from 31st January to 7th February 2012. During this week I participated in three organised day excursions, with the permission of the resort manager.</p>	<p>January 2012-April 2012 (Cuba)</p> <p>31st January - 7th February 2012 (Varadero)</p>

The central question asks how types of exotic, moral and affective capital are strategically marketed, circulated and consumed through contemporary tourist Cuba. Table 3.2.2 demonstrates the choice of combined data sources in terms of addressing both the macro and micro levels of this question.

Table 3.2.2: Triangulation of method and data by approach

	Discourse analysis	Participative methods	Research Questions
Macro: The tourist gaze; representation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marketing • Guidebooks • Travel writing • Other literature (magazines, newspapers) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews with marketing executives 	<p>How do touristic representations of Cuba make, de-make and re-make certain affective landscapes and identities? How do different types of symbolic capital become bound up with place? Who authorises these representations?</p> <p>How do tourists seek particular emotional, moral, embodied and/or sensual experiences when they choose to visit Cuba?</p> <p>How are representations reinforced or disrupted?</p>
Micro: Operation on the ground	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Blogs • Online Forums • Vocational materials for tourism workers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews with tourism workers • Informal conversations with tourists and workers 	<p>How do the micro and intimate processes of tourism market and circulate types of capital? How are</p>

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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research Diary 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participant observation 	<p>macro processes produced, reproduced and/or disrupted?</p> <p>What kind of work is involved, and by whom?</p> <p>What kinds of feelings (good and bad) are circulated?</p>
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3.3 Textual analysis

The choice to adopt a Cultural Studies methodology is based on a recognition of the centrality of discourse, in that “analysing the ways in which discourses or ideologies shape how people see themselves and act in the world has been a central part of the cultural studies project from the start” (Saukko, 2003: 74). Yet, despite the extensive critical and theoretical bases that the fields of discourse and of tourism have generated, the two rarely intersect in scholarly work, and discourse analysis is not frequently applied to the cultural study of tourism in preference to other qualitative methods, although this tendency has changed in recent years (Hannam and Knox, 2005). Similarly, work on affect has generally prioritised methods outside textual analysis, apart from the contribution of important scholars such as Ahmed (2004; 2010), Hochschild (2012) and Lutz and Abu-Lughod (1990). My critical approach to textual analysis follows Urry’s concept that the gaze is informed by a multiplicity of sources (1990), in order to consider how affective capital is produced and circulated through them, and by whom (Hollinshead, 2004). Scholars’ recognition that tourism is ocular-centric by nature (Urry, 1992) means that the same attention has to be paid to images in printed, online and audio-visual material.

In general, textual data was chosen to reflect the circularity of the tourist gaze (Urry, 1990), in that the texts that inform the gaze through representing places and peoples then mediate the lived experience (through the use of guidebooks, and markers) and consequently inform the tourist gaze through narration (in the case of blogs and travel literature, which may then be consulted by other tourists). This circularity is interpreted by diagram 3.2.3, in that it reflects the temporal stages of the tourist journey but is also recurring and self-constitutive. Fodness and Murray’s (1999) useful model of such textual information asserts that tourists’ consumption of information sources is both hierarchical

and interconnected, where commercial guidebooks, state travel guides, and brochures dominate but “all tended to be used in conjunction with three or more other sources”, and in which lesser-used “personal experience, travel agencies, and friends or relatives were the three sources most likely to be used alone” (1999: 221).

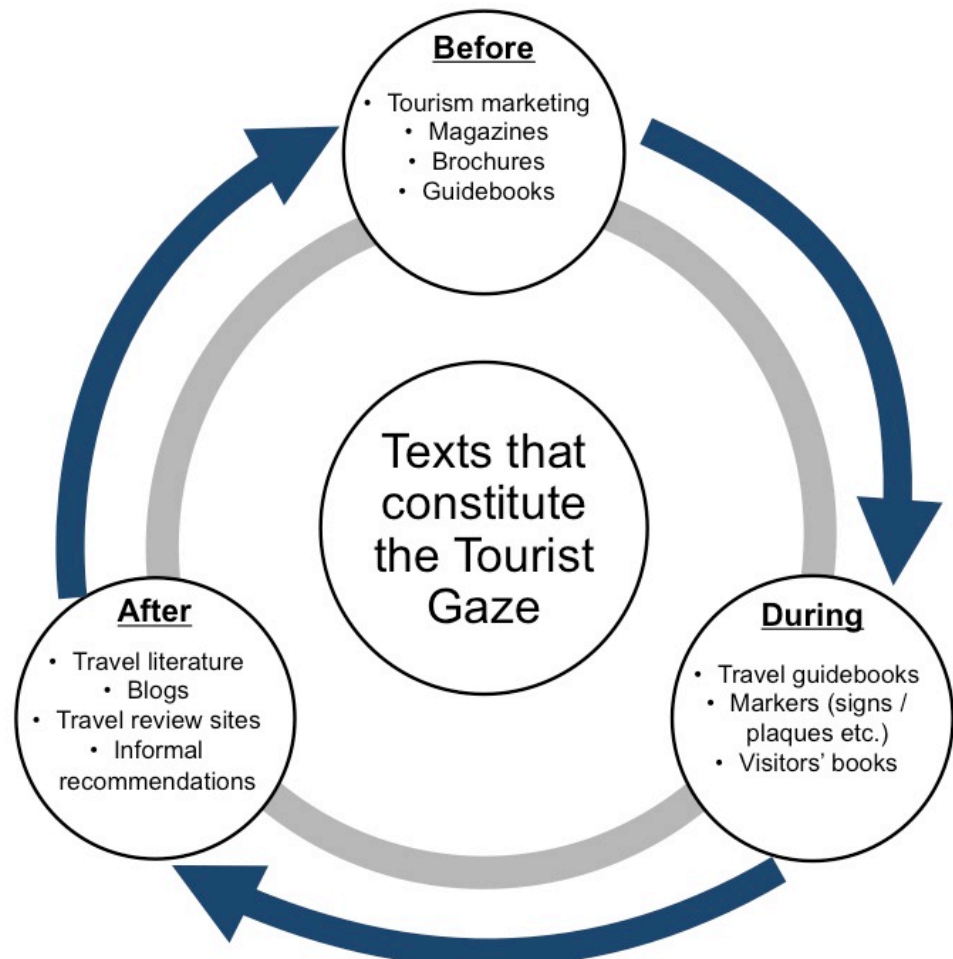


Diagram 3.2.3: The cycle of the tourist gaze

Beyond the motivations and experience of the tourist, inter-textuality in the gaze may also be framed as a recurring dialogue between tourist and service providers, in the sense that, on a large scale, tourists’ demands shape the market, and marketing also shapes tourists’ expectation. Similarly, on an intimate level, hosts and guests ‘read’ each other in encounters which are loaded with mutual agendas and expectations.

Keywords were often used to locate relevant sections within vast amounts of online material, for example, but in general the data was not processed based on the numeration of certain keywords or categories, as is typical in content analysis (Silverman, 2011: 64). Rather, the specific approach I took to the texts followed Fairclough’s notion of three-

dimensional analysis within discourse analysis (1989), in which the macro/meso/micro levels of discourse are analytically mapped onto one another. At the micro level, this involves analysis of language texts; this approach also highlights texts' form or 'texture' (Halliday and Hasan, 1976), the simultaneous analysis of content and meaning, since "form is part of content" (Fairclough, 1992: 194). Fairclough draws attention to the connections between the micro and macro processes of social reality that can be identified through such systematic discourse analysis, in that "closer attention to texts sometimes helps to give firmer grounding to the conclusions arrived at without it, sometimes suggests how they might be elaborated or modified, and occasionally suggests that they are misguided" (1992: 194). On the meso level, the analyst considers processes of texts' production, circulation and consumption, particularly in relation to how social and political power is re-enacted. In this sense, I followed the traditional cultural studies' approach to texts in terms of how they "emerge from, and play a role in, the changing historical, political and social context" (Saukko, 2003: 99). Discourse analysis should "map the systematic analyses of spoken or written texts onto systematic analyses of social contexts" (Fairclough, 1992: 193; Fairclough, 1989). On the macro level, analysis revolves around intertextual understanding, linking and understanding the wider social forces that influence the text in question: throughout, I aimed to maintain a critical approach on the context that surrounds and defines the representations I interpreted in the texts.

I took a constructivist approach to the texts in order to see how those most readily accessed by the UK tourist make or contest a certain reality of Cuba with reference to affective codes. In this framework, texts should be acknowledged as socially-constructed products (Noaks and Wincup, 2004: 106, cited in Silverman, 2011: 231). This presented an interesting tension since many of the texts, such as guidebooks, are considered by tourists to be factual. In this sense what is 'true' in these texts is less important than the mediation and construction of certain social and cultural representations through them, an approach implemented by Hookway in reference to bloggers' accounts as texts (2008). It was important to interrogate how certain notions of affectivity, identity and authenticity were presented by texts (and contested by others) and how their commonalities might sediment in a more general way to tell me how tourists and tourism providers interpreted Cuba.

3.3.1 Marketing

Marketing materials generally fell into two groups because of the specificities of tourism in Cuba: state marketing (produced and/ or commissioned by MINTUR) and marketing

produced by private foreign tour operators. This section of the data was highly significant in terms of analysing the political dimensions of touristic representations, since the promotional materials produced by foreign tour operators are also subject to creative control by Cuban MINTUR; this is not to say that they should be considered as a mouthpiece for MINTUR's agenda but, rather, that they should not be considered as occupying inherently conflicting positions.

It was important to gather all textual data from what I deemed to be the most visible and commonplace points of the tourist market, since I hoped to achieve an overarching view of the mainstream tourist gaze generated in and by Cuba. To this end, I consulted the online and printed materials of the major UK tour operators (Thomas Cook, Thomson, Kuoni, STA) over the course of sixteen months, although some examples appeared sporadically after the official data collection period. The intention was not to favour the discourses of mass tourism operators but to include a large (if incomplete) sample of each of the text types that are listed below, in other words, those that could be generally assumed to be extensively consulted by tourists. Having completed much of the initial analysis of UK-based online and published textual representations of how different types of tourist experience are constructed by service providers and users, it was important to access similar data from Cuba. The library at the Escuela de Altos Estudios de Hotelería y Turismo, the national vocational tourism school, was especially useful: I was able to find general scholarship on the development of the industry as well as access statistics and market surveys commissioned by the state, from the early 1990s up to relatively recently.¹ A total of over thirty reports included details of proposed campaigns, with slogans and images, which made it possible to chart the changing trends in global and regional tourism, and specific decisions made by MINTUR in terms of branding and image. A contact at Infotur allowed me to gather a copy of every leaflet produced by the Ministry agency, promotional material dating from the 1990s and from each of the state's subsequent campaigns. These sources included promotional campaign material (advertising, brochures, and leaflets) and Cuban-published magazines. Local-level and informal marketing strategies were also observed during the period of fieldwork; promotional leaflets and brochures were collected from restaurants, hotels, *casas particulares*, museums and other tourist spaces. Together with the MINTUR collection I accumulated a total of twenty five of these printed materials

¹ On the majority of occasions, I was granted permission to photograph or photocopy pages at the archives to analyse in greater detail later.

3.3.2 Travel guidebooks

Travel guidebooks represent another major element of the tourist gaze. Anecdotal evidence from my Masters research² indicated that, given the lack of information available online and the popular impression of Cuba as inaccessible and mysterious, amongst those consulted, a guidebook was essential for travel to Cuba. Guidebooks have long been treated as 'devotional texts' (Horne, 1984) which allow tourists to interpret value and meaning in the tourist space before them: scholars in the semiotics of tourism have focussed specifically on guidebooks' primary function to mediate tourist experiences in ways that both reinforce certain images of place and shape the nature of relationships with locals (Bhattacharyya, 1997). In contrast to tourism marketing, which may inform the tourist gaze in a spontaneous, unsolicited manner (for example the consumption or reception of an advert in a non-tourist magazine or in the street, for example) guidebooks are sought out by a tourist who has generally already decided to travel. Given that "in this competitive marketplace, consumer awareness, selection, and choice of tourism and hospitality products depends on the information available to and used by the tourist" and that 'information search behaviour' is often deeply rooted in guidebooks (Fodness and Murray, 1997: 510), it is evident that the discourses of guidebooks are of central interest to tourism researchers.

The main guidebook publishers in the UK are Rough Guide and Lonely Planet. A total of twelve Rough Guide and Lonely Planet editions (six from each publisher) were consulted, covering the period 1997 to 2011, in order to see how they reflected the social changes occurring in Cuba, and specifically to the tourism industry, since the Special Period, although in most cases much of the content was republished with only slight alterations. Two additional guidebooks found in bookshops in Cuba were also included to give greater scope, because some of these dated back to the very early years of the 1990s, were produced by more explicitly corporate tour operator brands (such as Virgin) or by government publishers (Editorial SI-MAR). This last group of texts would have been left in hotel lobbies and information points for tourists to consult and therefore seemed appropriate to include.

² Ogden, R. (2010). *Marketing Authenticity: Articulations of Contemporary Tourism in Viñales, Cuba*. Unpublished Master's dissertation, University of Manchester, Manchester.

3.3.3 Travel literature

Travel writing represents another key data group or text type. It cannot be treated in the same way as other data, since tourists do not ‘consult’ these texts in the same way as guidebooks, for example. Yet travel literature does feature in the tourist gaze: each of the *Rough Guide* guidebooks recommended a reading list (and particularly advised against buying on the island, so the mentioned books were generally published outside Cuba). Travel literature both narrates tourist experience of place and serves to inform by mediating certain ideas about people and places to other readers: in other words, travel writing holds a significant place in the ‘world-making’ authority of tourism in general. According to Pratt, the popularity of travel writing at the beginning of the nineteenth century “created the imperial order for Europeans ‘at home’ and gave them their place in it... [Travel books] created a sense of curiosity, excitement, adventure and even moral fervour about European expansion” (1992: 3). Personal travel writing has gained popular interest alongside factual accounts in recent years, something which, for scholars, raises “urgent questions about the politics of representation and spaces of transculturation, about the continuities between a colonial past and a supposedly post-colonial present” (Duncan and Gregory, 2002: 1). Travel writing should thus be critically located within larger inscriptions of power and privilege than those that have typically concerned tourism scholars. As Duncan and Gregory elaborate, “there is a sense in which all travel writing, as a process of inscription and appropriation, spins webs of colonising power” (2002: 3).

In terms of this world-making power, I consider travel writing to maintain a continuing authority over the tourist gaze, as others acknowledge (Duncan and Gregory, 2002). Yet the breadth of its impact on the tourist’s active information search is more limited than that of guidebooks for example (Fodness and Murray, 1999): I did not consider it to be a central data type. Thus, although other travel anthologies have been published in recent years,³ I included just two best-selling titles: two edited volumes of short stories, *Travelers’ Tales Cuba* (2001) and *Travelers’ Tales of Old Cuba* (2002). Given my extensive data corpus I felt this was an appropriate sample, and realistic to the scope of the project.

3.3.4 Websites and blogs

Literature has drawn attention to the increasing importance of informal social information during the typical tourist decision sequence (Mansfeld, 1992), although this type of data is

³ Other examples include Zöe Brân’s *Enduring Cuba* (2008), Tom Miller’s *Trading with the Enemy: A Yankee’s Travels through Castro’s Cuba* (1992) and Dervla Murphy’s *The Island that Dared: Journeys through Cuba* (2010).

difficult to access. Consumer-generated content, on websites such as TripAdvisor, represents an online equivalent to word-of-mouth (Gretzel and Hyan Yoo, 2008). However, the majority of such content relates to recommendations for specific consumer choices made by tourists. This thesis is instead concerned with the bird's eye view of online narratives in terms of how informal online sources mediate and give value and meaning to the affective experience of tourist Cuba. With this in mind, informal narratives from over fifty forum threads on the Lonely Planet, Trip Advisor and World Sex Guide websites were included as data. Given the vast expanse of such entries available online (the Lonely Planet forum⁴ displayed over 10,000 threads under the category of 'Cuba' at the most recent consultation), content was cross-searched with particular search terms in order to access specific types of material about informal tourism, contact with locals, relationships and feelings.

Weblogs or 'blogs' are usually single-authored websites with a series of chronologically ordered posts and space for interactive comments, and are often characterised by their highly confessional and self-analytical nature, although Hookway (2008) acknowledges a varying spectrum of blog styles in this regard. It should be acknowledged that the value of this data was partly compromised by its essentially tourist-centric perspective: the same confessional narratives are not available from Cubans working for and interacting with tourists - firstly, because the reflective travel log is an established narrative form and, secondly, because Cuba has a very low internet accessibility index. Although ten blogs were consulted in the initial gathering stage of the research, I did not generally find them to be relevant and I only cite one blog in the thesis.

3.3.5 Vocational tour guide materials

An unexpected branch of my corpus of data was revealed when accessing vocational materials at the Escuela de Altos Estudios de Hotelería y Turismo in Havana. Drawing away from the kinds of sources that might feature in the tourist gaze before travel, this presented the opportunity to examine, from the other side of the host-guest dialogue, over thirty educational texts directed at Cuban tour guides. While research on emotional labour has predominantly adopted ethnographic methods such as participant observation (Hochschild, 2003; Hochschild, 2012; Wong and Wang, 2009) these texts offered insight into how emotional labour is taught to Cuban tourism workers. Alongside general training, these texts contained instructions about the kinds of appropriate contact, discourse and

⁴ Available at: <https://www.lonelyplanet.com/thorntree/forums/americas-cuba>. [Accessed 10 May 2014].

conduct with tourists in which tourism workers should engage, and this revealed aspects of emotional labour and the subtle connections between tourists' expectations, emotions and interactions on the ground, as Hochschild describes argues (2012). The crucial interplay, then, between how texts appropriate affective capital through the tourist gaze and how it is actually produced and circulated on the ground becomes clearer through this data.

3.3.6 Informal markers⁵

Another element of textual data appeared in a similarly unprompted and unexpected way whilst on fieldwork in Cuba. During periods of targeted observation and in my own general experiences as a tourist, I encountered informal textual communications with service workers and other individuals: I collected five notes left for me in my hotel room, personal messages and cards. While they appear to be seemingly inconsequential, I believe them to be another key way in which affective capital and intimacy are strategically and consciously circulated in ways that have been neglected in studies on informal tourism. One exception is Cabezas (2006), who observes such personal and informal gestures through ethnographic methods. Yet I see value in including these examples – which were photographed and scanned, where appropriate – amongst the other texts mentioned here as examples of how affect operates through touristic texts on intimate levels.

3.4 Participative methods

While some of the textual data I have mentioned addresses the second concern of the thesis (how affective capital is appropriated and circulated on the ground, and the interplay between touristic representations and this more intimate level), there was clear merit in adopting some ethnographic methods to corroborate this data while on fieldwork in Cuba. Like Bell, I felt I could gain a great deal if I could “witness situations, behaviours and comments in different settings and be able to ask people informally about them” (2013: 111).

⁵ In any touristic location, markers direct the tourist's attention towards features of the landscape and townscape in ways that establish value (MacCannell, 1999: 110).

3.4.1 Interviews and conversations

Semi-structured interviews are an important and well-established method for social research, including those that consider tourism, emotions and embodied experiences (Brennan, 2004; Cabezas, 2006; Hofmann, 2010). Whereas these researchers interview tourists and locals about their personal relationships and experiences as a primary set of data, I implemented 'purposive sampling' (Patton, 1990) in interviewing key individuals to explore some specific complexities. In so doing, I was able to corroborate my initial findings from the textual research with specialists, as well as add to them, for, "[by combining] research strategies used within a particular project, we are able to...obtain a more complete picture of human behaviours and experience" (Morse, 2003: 189).

In Cuba, there is a general wariness of foreign researchers seeking out interviews when researching theme of host-guest contact, since much of this previous research has drawn critical attention to the phenomenon of sex tourism on the island. I had to demonstrate sensitivity when applying for a research visa through the Cuban consulate and the Universidad de la Habana, and to make it clear that interviews were not my main data source (see Appendix A, figure 1). A number of interviews were arranged before my departure for Cuba, but the majority, in accordance with the more *ad hoc* nature of the fieldwork research and the difficulties in communicating by phone or email outside Cuba, presented themselves through contacts over time once I was there. I sought out four experts in different corporate and governmental branches of the tourism industry, such as Ingrid Rodríguez Guerra, Executive of Comunicación y Publicidad at the Ministerio de Turismo, as well as three Cuban scholars who dealt with tourism as a field of vocational, economic or social study. In this latter group my interviewees were Prof. Juan Luis Perelló from the Facultad de Turismo at the Universidad de la Habana, Dr. Juan Paulo at CIPS, and Dr. Juan Triana Cordoví at CEEC. I also carried out recorded interviews with six formal tourism workers (employed by state or foreign commercial tourism companies) and two informal tourism workers (whose contact with tourists existed outside any official tourism infrastructure). These interviews were useful for gaining a more detailed overview of the development and current structure of the industry, and their experiences of working in it, although they were too few and diverse to consider a reliable or generalisable sample size. As the interviews were semi-structured and initial themes and questions were still relatively unformulated, I gave a few verbal prompts and let the discourse of the participant lead the discussion. In a couple of instances I asked specific questions because my desired line of enquiry was deliberately side-stepped: these discursive evasions in fact also revealed much about how tourism is a space where agendas and desires are played out.

Everyday encounters and short, spontaneous conversations with other tourists and service providers provided rich data that was not as forthcoming in interviews, and did so in a way that was less self-conscious. This type of opportunistic sampling allows the sample group to flex around the fieldwork context as it develops (Miles and Hubberman, 1994, cited in Bell, 2013). Some of these conversations were with fellow participants of organised excursions. I used my research diary to record and reflect on such conversations; they have been cited in the following analysis chapters in instances where they corroborate the findings.

3.4.2 Observation

The main purpose of the fieldwork trip, other than to collect printed materials that do not circulate widely outside Cuba, was to gain a personal perception about the culture and ‘feel’ of tourism on the island that was more up-to-date than even recent scholarship had charted. In this sense, informal observation occurred constantly; the hundreds of notes and my research diary certainly attest to this. Havana in particular offered a wealth of opportunity to sit and observe small interactions and behaviours because of the density of tourists and tourist sites. I was also frequently involved in spontaneous encounters through my European appearance and clothing, from which I was generally assumed to be a tourist. I took care to describe conversations and *vignettes* and my own response to them in the research diary, maintaining the need to pursue reflexivity through this method.

The field trip also included stretches of more targeted observation methods. A contact at Thomson TUI allowed me to stay in a Varadero resort for a week during my 2012 fieldwork trip and allowed me to participate in three of the tour operator’s excursions from the hotel. This week was especially illuminating given that much of scholarship on tourism in Cuba has focussed on the unique labour structures of these hotel enclaves (Cabezas, 2004; O’Connell Davidson, 1996). Undoubtedly, resorts are key areas of contact between Cubans and tourists. I found during the week that my encounters with members of staff occurred extremely spontaneously; I was able to have many revealing conversations with them and with other tourists. The excursions were run by MINTUR agency Cubatur, and included a catamaran tour, an eco-tour in the province of Matanzas, and a tour which visited Trinidad, Santa Clara and Cienfuegos in what was roughly branded as cultural/city tourism. While this kind of research mainly employed participant observation methods, I was also able to collect or photograph texts, including promotional material, guides and customer satisfaction surveys, in order to contribute to my central methodology.

Finally, I was able to accompany parts of a music tour between the 9th and 19th February 2012 led by the specialist UK tour operator Caledonia Languages. I made initial contact with the director by email while we were both still in the UK, and made plans to meet for an interview and to arrange the observations. Their Cuban music-themed holiday package reflects their general ethos to provide authentic and specialised holidays with organised contact with locals through activities, accommodation and catering. I had made contact with four small tour operators who ran tours of Cuba with the idea of an authentic holiday experience, but Caledonia was the only company who responded and for whom the tour dates coincided with my field trip. The tour culminated in a concert and farewell party in Havana, which I was able to photograph and video-tape through permission from the agency director who was leading the trip. The agency director and I also met separately for an interview in Havana on 11th February 2012.

Qualitative research has often been criticised for the unreliability of a few telling examples as indicative of a phenomenon, or anecdotalism, especially when they are presented without contradictory data (Silverman, 2011: 21). As such, this approach provokes doubt, since the generality of these fragments is rarely addressed (Bryman, 1989). When such anecdotal examples are cited, I have aimed to do so in connection to findings in other data; thus, its generality, as well as the influence that my participation has on it, have been consistently acknowledged.

3.4.3 Evaluating the participative research process

In evaluation of the research process, many of the nuances described here are generally attributed to the participative methods of the research since working with texts presents fewer methodological and ethical hurdles. Throughout, I paid attention to reflexivity, transparency and accuracy in documentation as well as the wider methodological aims of triangulation and critical interpretation. In many instances, the methodological, ethical and personal complexities that compromised or facilitated the research were rooted firmly in the historical socio-political context of the fieldwork location, Cuba.

Since interviews were viewed as corroborative data and not the central sample from which conclusions were drawn,⁶ the ethical issues with recruitment, consent and confidentiality of participants that generally pose problems to social researchers did not dominate the

⁶ A ethics declaration form approved by my institution, the University of Manchester, describes this intention (Appendix A, figure 2).

process. In the examples given above, the elite interview participants were happy to be recorded and cited by name, and signed a consent form to this end (see Appendix A, figure 3). All interviews began with a verbal preamble on my part that loosely defined the nature of the research. Since the conversations were rarely of a personally intrusive or sensitive nature, confidentiality was not a pressing issue; however, participants in accounts of informal conversations have been anonymised since the dynamic of these interactions made informed consent inappropriate.

The formal interviews were generally a positive experience, given that many of the individuals interviewed had an informed interest in my project's themes. Like Bell (2013), I found that official figures were more open than might be assumed about some controversial themes that may have been used to criticise the government (for example regarding sex work and the ideological compromises and social problems of tourism in Cuba), and instead engaged with them, keen to correct those which they saw to be common misconceptions. Supporters of the Revolution inside and outside Cuba have cited a "concerted campaign of disinformation" directed across many aspects of social and political life in the country (Saney, 2004: 5). Certainly, a power imbalance favours foreign researchers to address a wider audience who may already be critical, and to intervene in how Cuba is understood. This influence perhaps promoted an open dialogue between the participant and me. In addition, a lack of complete fluency in spoken Spanish actually helped in this regard in terms of gaining trust: one official remarked on my apparent inexperience and referred to me affectionately as '*pepilla*'. In this sense I felt I was not deemed a threat and rapport was easily generated. Gaining access sometimes involved approaching the relevant institutions in person on subsequent days (because email and telephone communication was difficult), which was time-consuming, but also built rapport and trust.

Researchers on tourism are (or should be) especially aware of the double role of researcher/tourist that they occupy (Tucker, 2009), and additionally, the presence and influence of the researcher on the social landscape that they study (Saukko, 2003: 24). I found the ambiguity of my researcher/ tourist profile was particularly evident in Cuba (where a foreigner is generally assumed to be a tourist) and that this ambiguity both opened and closed doors to spontaneous encounters. Tourists shared freely about their positive and negative experiences, possibly because they did not feel they were being monitored in any way (Mahrouse, 2011) or that, as a specialist, I held a loyalty to Cuba that they would be likely to offend. I also found that Cubans are, on the whole, open and friendly, and often curious enough about the tourist/researcher's own story to engage

easily in conversation. These conversations led to extremely rich data and recommendations that would have been inaccessible otherwise.

The double tourist-researcher role also presented some ethical challenges. Firstly, as a non-citizen I was limited to tourist spaces – for my research this was appropriate, although it has limited researchers pursuing different projects (Bell, 2013). However, it is important to reflect that tourism areas are unsurprisingly dominated by people who are either seeking to make money from tourists or, according to Bell (2013), who are likely to be disaffected and eager to make friends with foreigners for personal ends. On the other hand, there were other implications: I found being approached or solicited almost every time I stood still in a public place to be quite tiring. Some of the sexual attention I received, while clearly non-threatening, felt oppressive given the difference from my experience at home. It was difficult to remain open to encounters for the benefit of the research and not become so frustrated that I disengaged, or, even worse, became cynical about the population at large in ways that inflected my analysis. Secondly, I was sometimes indirect about the purpose of my trip, either because the encounters were so fleeting or informal that to mention it would have been unnatural, or because I felt that concealing my position as researcher would allow the rich data stemming from the conversation to continue to flow. In the observation period at the Varadero resort I was not transparent about my occupation (at the request of the managers who had given me permission to stay) and found that being dishonest became quite stressful.

Whilst observation is a popular method in Tourism Studies to capture and interpret the emotional eruptions – positive and negative – within tourist settings, for example in tour groups (Mahrouse, 2011), the researcher's own emotions may interrupt and provoke complications to the research process. However, embodied methodologies present a good fit for affect research (Probyn, 2004): examples of the researcher's emotions inflecting the data may be harnessed rather than dismissed. Firstly, the researcher may pick up on the circulation of other tourists' emotions in group situations. Participation in these groups also allows the researcher to interpret embodied signifiers of emotions more accurately, of course (Ahmed, 2004; Probyn, 2004). Secondly, since the tourism researcher's position often slips into that of a tourist, the personal experience may be analysed as indicative or typical, in some respects. My own research diary allowed me to capture some of the visceral and atmospheric descriptions that are central to a typical tourist experience and yet remain fairly absent from the literature. Since the intention was not to prioritise the embodied experiences of tourists above any other perspective, I did not think it necessary to conduct a sample of research diaries from a controlled group of participants, as others have successfully exploited to expose such themes (Veijola and

Valtonen, 2007). Instead, I considered my own research diary entries as a series of corroborations alongside the narrations of affective embodied experiences that appeared in the texts, particularly the blogs, travel writing and in conversations. Frequently my own research diary revealed, as these sources did, the emotional and moral consequences experienced by tourist and service provider when mutual expectations did not overlap with reality. This was one way of accessing the small and everyday negotiations that occur through tourism's attaching of meaning and values to places and people.

Because such personal challenges and emotional outcomes appear to compromise participative research, some researchers exploit strategies to blend in with locals: Hirschfeld (2007) positively encourages striving to take 'membership' of the host Cuban community in order to gain authentically confidential dialogue. This was never an option for me, given my obviously European phenotype, clothes and (according to a Cuban friend) my walk! However, I tend to reject this strategy based on the lack of self-reflexivity and positionality it risks, seemingly hiding the power relations between the researcher and the researched in practice, if not in theory. The recurring need for the researcher's self-reflexivity, to situate, theorise and insert the self into ethnographic texts in each stage of the research has been emphasised in anthropological and feminist methodological literature (Gorelick, 1991). Given the power relations and cultural norms of my advanced-capitalist background, it was necessary to be self-reflexive up to the point where I was keenly aware of the "social and cultural tropes that mediate [the researcher's] understanding of worlds that may be radically different from [their own]" (Saukko, 2003: 73).

The larger ethical challenge that faces all researchers of Cuba, regardless of methodological approach, is that research produced on Cuba has to negotiate the poles of political sympathy and antipathy that characterise Cuba's place in the world. As Ludlam argues, "anyone who lives in Cuba, visits the island, or writes about it, seems drawn in the battle-lines" because of the condition of active antagonism directed against Cuba since 1959 (2008, cited in Bell, 2013: 112). As such, the objective of this thesis is not to critically examine the wider political processes within which tourism has developed, but rather to take an analytical approach to the discursive and lived experiences of tourism in the context of Cuba. Some of the challenges with participative research also offered the richest information from which to reflect and to shape my project accordingly, and provided deeper understanding that I hope will only benefit my research long-term.

3.5 Analysis

The approach to the data produced was based on the practices of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967): I allowed themes to emerge through the discourse, and used a system of cross-sectional coding (Silverman, 2011: 68). This was made possible by transcribing all data (including interview narratives) and entering it into an NVivo software system, in which I triangulated the different data types (Patton, 1990) to uncover common meanings – first through initial coding, “to distil [data] and give us a handle for comparing” (Charmaz, 2006: 3) and then by applying overarching categories and themes.

NVivo is a type of computer assisted qualitative data analysis software which allows the researcher to import documents from word processing programmes and code documents with colour-coded stripes, annotations and organise in various ways on-screen. I chose this particular package, although there are other available packages, based on the recommendations of a colleague in Cultural Studies who had had success using it, and who had found it to be user-friendly, and because NVivo training was readily accessible at my institution. The first advantage of using a computer assisted analysis software package was to organise, digitally back up and create a clear audit of the large volume of data I had gathered. Secondly, through NVivo I was able to map many different types of texts together and triangulate sources quite clearly. I found this gave me a transparent overview of the data (Welsh, 2002). In very general terms, it aided me in counting and reviewing which texts made up my data corpus and the stage of analysis already undertaken. Thirdly, I found NVivo guaranteed a greater degree of accuracy and rigor in the analysis process. For instance, the digitisation of texts by using software packages allows the researcher to search for specific terms. Searching for terms in interview transcripts using the search bar function, for example to see how many times interview participants used words such as ‘*encuentro*’, allowed for greater accuracy if only for the reason that searching for such terms manually involves a greater risk of human error or omission. The search tool was used at a later stage of the analysis to interrogate the validity of certain impressions and conclusions that I had begun to develop through writing.

I began the process of analysis by importing documents such as scanned leaflets, photographs, interview transcripts and fieldwork notes. Informed by the theoretical framework discussed in Chapter Two, and considering concepts such as capital, affect, exchange and so on, I began to code sections of text using descriptive codes, for example ‘exoticism’ or ‘uneven ground’ (referring to the imbalance in power between host and

guest). In addition, I used the memo and annotation tools of the programme as I worked through the data in order to develop my interpretations. Once the data had been corralled under descriptive codes and thematic ideas had begun to arise from this process, I began further levels of coding and analysis, this time with the application of thematic codes. According to Welsh, the purpose of this stage of analysis “is to ensure that the theoretical ideas which have emerged in the first round of coding can be systematically evidenced in the data, thus addressing the validity of the research results” (2002: 7). Although I was led by the theoretical framework that already existed in my research, I avoided technical concepts through these codes, since, as Rapley asserts, “by starting with and only working with theory driven macro-labels, you often fail to grasp the specifics of the phenomena...the point is to try to make sense of how, when and why specific processes, practices and structures happen” (2011: 282). I believe that approaching the data thus, as a whole, and coding in a consistent way, allowed me to let the data lead the direction of the research and “[opens] the way for richer and potentially more valid interpretations” (Decrop, 1999: 159) by triangulating data sources, method and theories.

With the assumption of finding straightforward sense in the findings and aiming “to do justice to different realities” (Saukko, 2003: 59), multiple criteria for evaluating qualitative data have emerged that stress that there is no one single interpretive truth (Denzin and Lincoln 2005: 26). It is acknowledged that interpretative practices in qualitative research are as much artistic as political (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005: 26; Saukko, 2003: 60). In identifying cultural texts as more than “mere loci of domination” (Saukko, 2003: 100) and instead as sites of contested meanings, cultural scholars carry out textual analysis in highly political ways. Furthermore, interpretative practices present ethical challenges: in applying one’s interpretation on the data (particularly describing realities based on omissions in the narratives of others) ethical questions face the researcher. The ambiguities I drew attention to in observations and interview data speak of the rare instances when I was forced to walk this methodological tight-rope.

Employing a combination of established methods has been especially useful, as I have explained, to target the space between the representations of affectivity and the descriptions of their lived reality (in blogs, travel writing and forums) which is the moment of embodied encounter, and to explore the subtle negotiations contained within. This ‘space-between’ draws largely on my own reflections and observations, with the issues with positionality and false consciousness (Gorelick, 1991) upon which this kind of analysis is predicated. When these moments occur, I have sought to acknowledge my own perspective as being subjective, and to connect the moments to wider cultural and

social theory, as opposed to seeing myself as a gatekeeper to the 'true' meaning of micro practices and negotiations. Through this process, the analysis does not purport to be value-free but rather attempts to be *engaged* (Mathers and Novelli, 2007). Including these moments of lived experience within the data via grounded theory allowed me to connect them to the discourses that emerged from critical discourse methods. In the following three chapters I present the data in a way that aims to expose these multiple points of convergence and divergence, and to reveal the related complexities thrown up by the different methods and data sources.

CHAPTER FOUR

Exotic Capital

Touristic discourses have historically exoticised the Latin American and Caribbean region in general (Patullo, 1996); exoticism has also been central to Cuban tourism marketing since the post-1990 resurrection of the tourism industry. As this chapter will demonstrate, the exoticisation of place often occurs through a subtext of assumed sexual availability and natural (racialised) beauty of the local population, through representations of the urban and natural landscape as untamed, and through constructions of cultural difference, much in the same way as scholarship has observed in other competing destinations such as Brazil (Bandyopadhyay and Nascimento, 2010), Bali (Jolly, 1997), Panama (Frohlick, 2008), and the British Virgin Islands (Cohen 1995; Cohen, 2010). Yet, as this chapter makes clear, there are key distinctions in the Cuban context.

Influenced by Savigliano's theory of exotic capital (1995), I consider evidence in the data which suggests that elements of Cuban society, culture and landscape are exoticised and eroticised through tourism, in ways which implicate a range of embodied, affective experiences. The chapter is divided into the following sections:

- 4.1 Cuba as a passionate climate**
- 4.2 Exoticising the past: Tropicana**
- 4.3 Contemporary hedonism**
- 4.4 Erotic capital: sexual openness and difference**
- 4.5 Understanding Cuba as a sexscape**

The chapter begins with an overview of how the stock exotic imagery and discourses used to market the Cuban tourist experience mirrors those images and discourses that have historically represented the region through tourism and other raw exotic exports (Savigliano, 1996). The second section considers how exotic representations of a time-warped Cuba recall the 'anything goes' attitude that drew tourists to Cuba in the pre-revolutionary period and thus contributes, as I elaborate in the third section, to the eroticised hedonism that is imagined in the current setting. The fourth section explores the research findings that appeared to naturalise and normalise eroticism in the tourist experience as an element of everyday Cuban culture, and therefore, Cuban sexual identity, in ways that implicate the tourist experience. The fifth section deals with the contested understandings of tourism's political economy of exotic capital, specifically in terms of its effect on how Cuban places and its peoples are consumed.

4.1 Cuba as a passionate climate

This examination of the representation of touristic Cuba as an exotic destination appears to support the idea that the political economy of passion that Savigliano describes, in which the same homogenised exotic representation of the region that has been “accumulated, recoded and consumed in the form of Exotic Culture... ‘mysterious’, ‘untamed’, ‘wild’, ‘primitive’, [and] ‘passionate’” (1996: 2), is also central to the way that Cuba is coded and consumed through the processes of international tourism. The exotic representations of contemporary tourism constitute a lens through which “the Caribbean has been repeatedly imagined and narrated as a tropical paradise in which the land, plants, resources, bodies and cultures of its inhabitants are open to be invaded, occupied, bought, moved, used, viewed and consumed in various ways” (Sheller, 2003: 13). Indeed, the data I consider in this section appears to reflect the claims by scholarship that the exotic representations of international tourism in Latin America and the Caribbean implicitly and explicitly bear the subtext of eroticism (Patullo, 1996; O’Connell Davidson, 1996; Kempadoo, 1999; Brennan, 2004; Padilla, 2008).

In many respects, Cuba is marketed and consumed as a typical exotic destination through the ingredients of a ‘passionate climate’, appropriating the well-established formula of sun, sea, sand, sex and its exotic exports, such as salsa. These images become hackneyed and overwrought through their repetition in Caribbean tourism marketing. However, their apparent banality does not make them insignificant: in fact, the persistence of these elements in the data was worthy of analysis given the ways that revolutionary Cuba has sought to distance itself from the global reputation it held in the 1950s, based on sexualised tourist culture (Babb, 2011: 55). In addition, as I will demonstrate here, these touristic representations of eroticised exoticism reinforce the same configurations of power that are embedded in colonial discourse (Echtner and Prasad, 2003) and which have been systematically contested throughout the Cuban Revolution.

Across the data generally, Cuba’s passionate climate appeared to be reinforced by five especially dominant promotional metaphors: heat, sensory immersion, consumption, paradise, and fantasy. In particular, discourses of Otherness, intimacy, nature and the body underpin these tropes.

4.1.1 Heat

Research findings suggested that representations of Cuba’s passionate climate centred on metaphors of passionate ‘heat’. In particular, as the following examples from the Virgin 2011 brochure demonstrate, heat was attributed to Cuba’s nightlife: “Blistering Latin

nightlife...fiery salsa”; “Evening entertainment to set the night on fire”; “...hot nightlife for those who love to dance.”

This particular metaphor conflates the erotic with the (homogenised Latin)¹ exotic, given the obvious *double entendre* that a local population living ‘in heat’ connotes: the association between sultry climates and sexual openness is long-standing (Littlewood, 2002). Furthermore, these representations naturalise the exotic capital they appropriate, since the passionate culture mirrors the natural tropical landscape. According to the Lonely Planet guidebook, “The July heat also inspires two of the nation’s hottest events: Santiago’s carnival and the annual polemics of July 26th” (2011: 23). In this example, Cuba’s tropical environment appears to engender not just displays of exotic hedonism but, bizarrely, the political passion denoted by revolutionary debate²: this citation suggests that the climate inspires this passion rather than simply existing as its backdrop. Heat, then, natural and inevitable given Cuba’s geographic location, is represented as a natural expression of, and inspiration for, (political) passion and hedonism.

4.1.2 Sensory immersion

Analysis of the texts also suggested Cuba’s passionate climate was built on sensory Otherness. As Edensor describes, heightened sensual and embodied experiences are sought through the tourist experience, which break with the ordinary sensations of the tourist’s humdrum life at home (2006: 2; Cohen, 2003). Edensor is careful to identify that certain smells, tastes and feelings are simply associated with ‘away from home’ rather than necessarily connected to particular places (2006: 5). Many of the texts posited Cuba as a place to immerse the tourist self in exotic difference through sensory Otherness, but in ways that were homogenous to the sensual tourist experience. A tagline in the early 2000s ‘¡Viva Cuba!’ campaign, “Cuba es luz, aromas, alegría”, posits elements of the visual, olfactory and sensory tourist experience as intrinsic to Cuba itself. The embodied nature of the tourist experience is a common thread in Tourism Studies (Crouch, 2002; Edensor, 2006). In a 2011 brochure produced by the Caribbean Tourism Organisation, the director of marketing addresses the reader in a welcome letter that says:

¹ “The term ‘Latin’ is an ideologically driven social construct drawing together diverse groups of Spanish speaking people in the Americas while masking boundaries between them” (Urquía, 2005: 386).

² The 26th of July is celebrated in the Cuban calendar as a public holiday, marking the date of Castro-led attack on the Moncada barracks in Santiago in 1953, after which the revolutionary movement (M 26-7) was named. Although the attack failed, the date is commemorated as the genesis of the revolutionary insurrection against President Batista.

I need to feel the waves gently crashing on the shore, I need to feel the powdered sand cascading through my toes, the warm rays of the sun on my back, and the cool sea breeze on my face...I need the Caribbean! (Caribbean Tourism Organisation, 2011: 3).

The physical union of the tourist body with the landscape in this example reflects the embodied and sensory experience that is marketed through Caribbean tourism. The author's *need* for the Caribbean is felt most keenly through her desire for sensory, embodied contact with the landscape. These promotional mechanisms draw on the notion of the tourist body and invite the tourist to experience embodied affect, and, in the Caribbean, they are based on the connection between the imagined and the real destination. As Mimi Sheller explains, "tourism became a mode of moving through tropical landscapes and of experiencing bodily what was already know imaginatively through literature and art" (2004a: 27). Similarly, the data suggested a sense that the tourist needed to experience Cuba's Otherness not just cognitively but bodily. In a personal interview, *Temas* editor and cultural theorist Rafael Hernández elaborated this point:

Porque están ahí en la Habana Vieja, porque estás en palacios coloniales, [el mismo] ambiente, no? Y no estás en un lugar alejado de la vida de la ciudad, la ciudad vive al alrededor, está la música, caminas por la calle, y pasas adelante de la gente caminando, y conversando, y el ruido que domina en la ciudad forma parte de esos espacios de esos entornos. *Y te sientes que estás ahí, te sientes que estás en algo auténtico, no?* La idea de lo auténtico...entonces lo auténtico es la gente que camina por la calle y esa [ternalidad] de la vida (my emphasis).

In this interview, the issue of authenticity – a pressing priority for tourists in general (MacCannell, 1973) – was expressed as the literal passage of the tourist body through Habana Vieja, experiencing all of its various sounds and consciously situating the self in that space: the temporal and situational implications of the verb *estar* are both salient. The promotional invitation to bodily and emotionally experience its "luz, aromas, alegría" has special resonance in the sense that it capitalises on tourists' curiosity of 'what Cuba is *really* like': anecdotal evidence led to a common conclusion from tourists that it was only possible to understand Cuba by physically travelling to and experiencing the island, based on the pervasive sense that Cuba is experiencing a moment of irreversible transition. Echoing the style in which nineteenth-century writers narrated scenery in terms of their personal movement through it (Pratt, 1992), tourists may understand 'authentic' Havana simply by walking through its streets. The city is not simply a real place, as this source explained, but instead exists in the sensory experience that surrounds the individual who

walks through it – “la ciudad vive alrededor”. The *Lonely Planet* concurred, “Havana is a visceral place. The best sights can’t be located on any map. To find them you’ll need patience, spontaneity and a sturdy pair of legs” (Sainsbury and Waterson, 2011: 92). In this example, the pursuit of authenticity, such as accessing spots ‘off the beaten track’, is a crude, instinctive experience involving an embodied movement through space, which involves the tourist’s physical effort as much as their cognitive attention; these constructions, furthermore, place the tourist at the centre of the scene, commanding the site before them through their sheer physicality and gaze.

In addition, Cuban tourism campaigns engage with the idea that bodily immersion through Otherness promises a personal emotional and spiritual renewal. The ‘Auténtica Cuba’ campaign promises “the perfect invitation to rest the body and mind”, since Cuba is “bathed in sun throughout the year and waiting to pamper the body and soul of those who come to lie on the sands” (*Auténtica Cuba*, 2011a: 27). Cuba’s balmy climate appears to exist simply to indulge tourists’ embodied pleasures. Underlying these examples is the transformative effect of such ‘sensory Otherness’ on the tourist. Tourists are often motivated to experience self-transformation by becoming intimate with an Other culture, and by crossing various embodied, cultural, racial and sexual boundaries (Frohlick, 2008: 137; Wearing, 2001). By creating physical distance from the mundaneness of home, and immersing the body and senses in the passionate climate, tourists may ‘lose themselves’ and ‘go native’. This concept of tropical transformation depends on a perceived civilised self (tourist) as a contrast to the passionate Other, therefore naturalising the identities involved in these constructions.

The theme of bodily immersion thus also assumes the right of the tourist to pass through Other space as he or she wishes. As a consequence, the data also revealed themes of mutual penetration. Just as marketing offers the invitation to allow Cuban exotic difference to transform the tourist body, the tourist is informed (by the editor of a travel writing anthology) that “it’s surprisingly easy to get under Cuba’s skin” (Miller, 2001: xiv). Other texts reinforce this theme, claiming that “the visitor that penetrates the true everyday life of the nation will live a unique experience” (*La Isla*, 2001: 92). There is a counterpoint, then, of corporeally-themed discourses which articulate tourists’ desire to also physically infiltrate Cuba: “to enjoy its culture is to become part of the very soul of this charming and dynamic island” (*Auténtica Cuba*: 2011: 3).

It is not difficult to read within these examples the kind of allusion to sexual possession that Cohen also identifies in international marketing of the British Virgin Islands (1995). Yet there are important distinctions in the Cuban context. The tourist’s physical infiltration

of place perhaps relates to the realisation of apparently ‘endangered’ authentic experiences based on the well-established sense that Cuba is in transition (towards cultural homogenisation through capitalism). In particular, that the previous example invites the tourist to “penetrate” Cuba is surprising, given Cuba’s history of revolutionary resistance to exposure and auto-commodification through international tourism, and the controlled parameters of tourist space that are reinforced through current policing of the industry (Jackiewicz and Bolster, 2003: 377).

4.1.3 Consumption

The tropical backdrop of passionate climate described in this chapter is, according to Sheller, typical of wider narratives and imaginaries of the Caribbean, in which land, resources, cultures and people have been depicted as open to consumption by the Western world (2003: 13). These historically-inscribed structures, both imaginative and material, continue to inform the (often touristic) practices of “transatlantic consuming publics” today (*ibid*). Similarly, the Cuban tourist experience is articulated through metaphors of consumption, where the tourist body is transformed through a literal ‘consumption’ of the passionate climate. In this sense, the data indicated confluence with Sheller’s assertion that “in these Edenic places...tourists are encouraged to believe that they can engage guiltlessly in sensuous abandon and bodily pleasures” (2004a: 31). The brochures cited here form a consensus across foreign and Cuban state tour operators to invite the tourist to consume. For example, in an STA brochure, suggestive bodily indulgences underpin the invitation to “light up a big fat Cuban cigar and enjoy the multiple pleasures of this beautiful Caribbean island” (2011: 127).

There were further examples that this trope was circulated by state tourism entities. A branded slogan of state tour operator Cubanacan, for example, is “Fantasía incluida con sabor cubano”. Other similar slogans “con sabor a trópico” and “rentar una fantasía” are printed on most state-run coco-taxis, such as those pictured in Appendix B, Figure 1. The imagery of the coco-taxi amalgamates ‘pleasure island’ branding in ways which extend fantasy to the multiple, allied transgression of moral codes “through gluttony, intoxication and sexual encounters with exotic ‘others’” (Sheller, 2004a: 31). In addition, informal observation indicated that Cuban coco-taxi drivers are almost always young, male and relatively attractive. In this sense, the branding and operation of this mainstream tourist service interlaces eroticism and exoticism into the tourist product in subtle ways that have received little attention from researchers.

While guests at all-inclusive resorts may literally consume to excess at the countless buffets and bars, tourists are also invited to metaphorically consume the landscape and culture: one Virgin package holiday is branded 'A taste of Cuba'. Other foreign tour operators also reiterated the promotional metaphor of consumption. Tour operator STA urges visitors to "*absorb* the unspoilt coastal beauty" in its brochure (2011: 127, my emphasis); Thomas Cook advertises peaceful retreats to 'soak up' the Cuban sunshine (2011: 86). The tourist experience of Cuba is therefore represented through the sensual, embodied consumptions of the tourist body: there is powerful symbolism in invitations to "feast your eyes and ears" (Thomson, no date: 9) on the exotic landscape. Taste and consumption therefore feature within the extended sensory Otherness of the Cuban touristic passionate climate, built up through exotic sights, sounds, smells and flavours.

In addition to the exoticism in sensory immersion, Cuba's famous exotic export, rum, offers the transformative exoticisation of the tourist from the inside out. Cuba's first major tourism campaigns in the 1990s were devised following the pre-existing, formulaic images used to sell rum and tobacco, such as the figure of the *mulata*, according to information provided during the MINTUR interview. As the interview demonstrates, institutional inexperience of the global market and a lack of internet access (before 1996) hampered the development of a modern, competitive marketing strategy. However, the promotional metaphor of consumption has persisted in modern sources amidst the proliferation of passionate climate tropes. A Thomson brochure, providing information on the Tropicana show excursion, assumes reticence on the side of the tourist, who only "after knocking back [the] included rum and cokes" will "be swaying and shimmying" like the uninhibited Cuban dancers performing on the stage (no date: 9). Similarly, in a Virgin brochure:

Life has a random edge to it that will probably be like nothing else you have experienced before, but adopt that laid-back attitude, order a rum cocktail and that special Cuban vibe will get under your skin (2011: 158).

Consuming, and, one assumes, becoming intoxicated by, Cuban rum, allows the tourist to embrace the less comfortable, underdeveloped and chaotic aspects of the tourist space. The brochure assumes an inherent rigidity on the part of the tourist and the uninhibited and laid back profile of the Cuban, with all the sexual connotations of *lying down* that this euphemism contains. However, through physical intoxication and excess the brochure assures that it is possible, and advisable, to become more like the locals, to even *embody* Cubanness. The embodied metaphor of 'getting under the skin of' the tourist is necessarily striking, therefore, since the tourist is at once consuming Cuba rum and "that special Cuban vibe". As Sheller notes in reference to 19th century European travel writers,

tropicalisation meant moral corruption through physical indulgence (2004a: 25; Stoler, 1995: 155), a theme that persists in these contemporary examples, although the vulnerability to hybridisation and creolisation that she describes has evolved into more pleasurable risk-taking. The embodied consumption and consequent transformative effect of the consumption of exotic products (such as Cuban rum and cigars) on the body allows tourists to imagine that they too may become exotic and lose their naturalised inhibitions through embodied and sensory immersion. Touristic desires to 'go native' speak as much of the simple pleasures of physical indulgences as they do of the impulse to temporarily abandon their 'civilised' selves without truly sacrificing any of their associated privileges.

On the most general level, as Urry reminds us, being a tourist is essentially about 'consuming places' (1995). Indeed, in these examples, touristic consumption of the exotic is as literal as it is figurative. One implication of this trope is that Cuba's stores of exotic capital are represented as a consumable, packaged, and commoditised tourist product, resonating with Savigliano's assertion that 'production and consumption of the Exotic' form "an industry that requires distribution and marketing" (1996: 3). Yet the industry of exotic capital in Cuba extends beyond tourism. Explosions in the numbers of tourists visiting Cuba were closely followed by a global boom in Cuban cultural exports³ (Whitfield, 2008: 9; Whitfield, 2009: 22), suggesting that as exotic capital was allowed to flow freely through tourism it opened a visibility of the island and extended its attractions for consumption, and thus, "Cuban culture, newly accessible to travellers and armchair tourists alike, was in high demand abroad" (Whitfield, 2008: 2). Whitfield also observes that the extended consumption of Cuban (particularly urban *habanero*) exoticism through cultural exports has driven complex patterns of self-exoticisation, in which "market-driven images [such as] an impoverished but sensual population and architectural ruins that invoke a ruined social project [are] insistent figures" (2008: 2). The tourist gaze thus draws on and is the catalyst for wider cultural mappings, which present certain affective landscapes within a global economy of consumption. Of course, in presenting selected aspects of the exotic landscape for touristic consumption the state vies with other powerful images which compete in the tourist gaze.

³*El nuevo boom cubano* saw the success of music, visual arts and literature in North American and European markets (Whitfield, 2009: 22). Notable examples of Special Period fiction include the global bestseller *Dirty Havana Trilogy* by Pedro Juan Gutiérrez (2002) and the novels of Zoé Valdés. "Special Period fiction", writes Whitfield, "was not merely published during these years [1990 to 2005] but is also thematically attuned to the turmoil they presented and structured as an implicit critique of the relationships they engendered" (Whitfield, 2008: 2).

4.1.4 Paradise

Tourism marketing in the Caribbean has long capitalised on the well-established ‘heaven on earth’ standard that the region holds in the collective Western imagination (Sheller, 2003: 5). In pre-Columbian Europe, the east was the imagined paradise from which exotic produce and riches were consumed (Patullo, 1996: 141). The tourist gaze assumes a palimpsest of imaginaries such as those mentioned in this chapter. Thus, as Sheller notes, “earlier literary and visual representations of the ‘Paradise Isles’ have been mapped into the collective tourist unconscious...The real Caribbean is always a performance of the vivid Caribbean of the imagination” (2004b: 13).

The many references to paradise in the data revealed a tendency to describe the tourist space as not only different from home (Urry, 1990) but indeed different from any earthly place. As a travel article in *The Independent* exemplifies, “It was about 8am in Varadero on a warm spring day, which I’m pretty sure is literally Utopia” (Sullivan, 2012: 18). Other examples from the *Lonely Planet* guidebook included “...search around for long enough and you’re sure to find your own slice of nirvana” (Sainsbury and Waterson, 2011: 8).

Furthermore, depictions of paradise in the data operated through discourses of timelessness. Lands mythicized as timeless utopias (Patullo, 1996: 141) have often served as a reference point against which “white travellers construct their own cultural ‘modernity’, ‘civility’ and ‘whiteness’” (Sheller, 2003: 142). Similarly, a leaflet from the Viva Cuba campaign contains the following description: “Like the biblical passage on the creation of the world, Cayo Largo, with the incredible beauty of its natural surroundings, assures you that, in the beginning, it was like this” (MINUTR, no date). Cuban state marketing thus appropriates extensively the “verdant forests, exotic flora and tropical greenery... [which are] powerful symbols of the Eden that is imagined before European intrusion” (Sheller, 2004a: 23). Moreover, the image of Caribbean islands as paradise was reinforced by Columbus who wrote in his voyage diaries when approaching Cuba that it was the most beautiful land that human eyes had ever seen.⁴ The trope established by Columbus still functions explicitly as an authorising mechanism that casts Cuba as virgin paradise in state-led marketing campaigns, as this example from an ‘Auténtica Cuba’

⁴ I found Columbus’ claim was referred to as an authorising mechanism in countless other marketing materials produced within Cuba, and in other texts. It also appears in the opening scene to the seminal patrimonial film *Soy Cuba* (dir. Mikhail Kalatozov, 1964) and was even cited by individuals in some informal conversations. Indeed, Tobago and the Dominican Republic have been using this same construct in their marketing campaigns (Sheller, 2004b: 13). However, this mechanism is problematic. In *Soy Cuba* the narration that describes Columbus’ authorising gaze is critically juxtaposed with the impoverished living conditions of Cubans under Batista, thus, “paradise regained is presented only to be immediately denied” (Nagib, 2007: 82).

leaflet demonstrates: “Holguin, ‘the most beautiful land that human eyes have ever seen’ according to Admiral Christopher Columbus, has practically untouched, lush vegetation” (MINTUR, 2011b: 32).

In this sense, an imagined Cuban paradise is consolidated in the tourist gaze through a profusion of images before travel to the island has even occurred, and Columbus' descriptions function as “the precursors of the numerous images that fill tourism brochures about the Caribbean today, as destinations that are ‘discovered’, ‘conquered’ and ‘possessed’, figuratively and literally, by tourists and the tourism market” (Guerrón Montero, 2011b: 21). Indeed, the kinds of references to “pristine white sandy beaches” that are ‘idyllic’, ‘unspoilt’ and ‘un-crowded’ (Thomas Cook, 2011: 86) that dominate state and foreign marketing materials draw on underlying subtexts of sexual difference and sexual desire, linking pristine landscape and undeveloped society to sexual allure and virginity (Cohen, 1995: 405; Frohlick, 2008: 129). References to virgin landscapes punctuated the data:

“Cayo Largo...su naturaleza se destaca por la preservación de su virginidad” (MINTUR, no date d: 2).

“El refugio tropical es ideal para los que buscan un paraíso virgen.” (Editorial SI-MAR, 2006: 6)

“Cuba’s take on paradise with white sands and translucent blue seas... [Cayo Santa Maria] is untouched” (Thomas Cook, 2011: 62).

In the first example the scarcity of such preserved virginity represents a major selling point, highlighting the enduring appeal of sexually-coded invitations to discover untouched touristic paradise and, overall, continuing to appeal to sexual desire. Moreover, in the contemporary setting, the notion of paradise is also reinforced pictorially: the images used in brochures produced by foreign tour operators and in MINTUR’s campaign feature empty beaches of white sand stretching into the horizon (see Appendix B, Figure 2). These images are striking because they rarely, if ever, include people: where solitary figures are included in the frame, they are understood to be tourists (and not locals), given the whiteness of their skin and the style of their beach clothes. It should be noted that this is not typical of the data in general, which appropriated the smiling faces of locals to a great extent.⁵ Nor can we claim that the sum of these Cuban examples is tantamount to marketing elsewhere in the Caribbean where nature is routinely privileged over culture

⁵ See Chapter 5.

(Guerrón Montero, 2011b). Rather, to conjure paradise through the seemingly vast spaces of de-populated, Edenic land represents another strand of exotic branding, relating to an appeal to neo-colonial desire to control and possess (Cohen, 1995: 407). It is worth acknowledging that Cuba's population density is amongst the lowest in the Caribbean (Scarpaci and Portela, 2009: 115), rendering the spaces open to tourists more 'commandable' than elsewhere.

However, Cuba has received record numbers of tourists in recent years (Rivery Tur, 2014), with beach resorts in particular attracting the highest concentration of visitors than anywhere else. In this sense, as in the British Virgin Islands, Cuban tourism promotes its own particular claim to be a "natural and political rarity untouched by forces that have defiled other Caribbean nations" (Cohen, 1995: 405). Discourses which cast the Cuban landscape as an unspoiled anomaly in an over-developed, urban, and globalised world persist. This contrast is demonstrated in a Viva Cuba campaign brochure which casts Cuba as "a rare Eden, almost untouched...the trouble of today's world gives little chances to escape and rest. And this is perhaps the best part of Cuba" (MINTUR, no date c: 4).

In this example, the marketable appeal of virgin Cuba draws not just on tourists' desire to occupy the role of explorer, or to sexually possess, but also appropriates the notion of revolutionary Cuba's relative isolation through difference as a promotional asset. In the Western imagination islands have always had, as Sheller argues, a particular resonance in the imagining of paradise, due to their intangible qualities of separateness, exclusivity and holism" (2004b: 13). Beyond tourism, Cuba's place in the world has especially centred on this imaginary due to its relative isolation after 1959 from global political, economic and cultural flows. In this way, a strategy seemingly emerges to particularise images of paradise as distinct or unique from their overwhelming homogeneity in the marketing campaigns of rival destinations. Amongst competing timeless Edens, Cuba has the advantage of also representing the last bastion against capitalism in exotic contrast to the hectic, crowded geographies of the tourists' homes. Although vague as to what "the troubles of today's world" constitute to the writer (MINTUR, no date c: 4), the most likely inference is that distance from the globalised, money-orientated home of the tourist thus means proximity (or a return) to basic sensory and sensually embodied pleasures: the same brochure's texts call paradisiacal Cuba a 'non-commercialised retreat', highlighting the role money has in delegitimising authentic sensory immersion. Touristic desire to achieve proximity to nature is as much a result of the kinds of sensual intimacy and alterity as a desire to "live a pure, natural lifestyle free from material possessions" (Frohlick, 2008: 137; Pruitt and LaFont, 1995). Modernity is thus cast as a blight (with affective repercussions such as stress), subtly negotiating the privilege the tourist is permitted to

disregard by “escaping” – an option, Kincaid reminds us, that is unavailable to the majority of tourism workers in the Caribbean (Kincaid, 1989: 19).

4.1.5 Fantasy

It has been convincingly argued that tourism sells a dream rather than a specific product (Glasser, 1975, 23, quoted in Bandyopadhyay and Nascimento, 2010: 941) and a means to explore multiple personal fantasies both romanticised and nostalgic (Sheller, 2003) and sexual (O’Connell Davidson, 1996; Roland, 2011). The brochures of package tour companies analysed for this research carried titles such as ‘Distant Dreams’ as evidence of the experience of travel within the realm of fantasy. Furthermore, as Urry argues, anticipating, or ‘day-dreaming’ of a chosen destination, which constitutes the tourist gaze, is a significant part of the tourist experience in itself (1990).

The data strongly implied that Cuba has greater claim than most destinations to be anticipated through the tourist gaze long before travel. This reputation relates to an understanding of Cuba as mysterious in the global imaginary; as one leaflet urges the tourist, “a trip to Cuba is not a dream, although it may seem so...Don’t leave it to your imagination” (Editorial SI-MAR, 2001: 3). Similarly, a Virgin brochure promises “A dream come true: You’ve dreamt of this and never thought it possible. Now turn your dream into a reality” (2011: 16). Cuba’s historical isolation is central to these framings of fantasy: in addition to the satisfaction of personal fantasies, the dream sold through the texts is to witness first-hand the Castro-led Cuba that has been the focus of such conjecture. In this sense fantasy branding extends to the process in which official tourist companies “have capitalized on some travellers’ desire to brush with recent revolutionary history...in the process, selective histories are promoted and these nations are remade, marketed as exciting and sometimes challenging tourist destinations” (Babb, 2011: 2).

However, imaginaries of Cuba as dream-like date back to periods of colonisation, as Sheller recalls, where the serious materialisation of profit opportunities instead relied upon the island’s seizure “by an intelligent hand” (2003: 58-59). These reinforced binaries, between the global ‘real’ and the ‘dream’ of Cuban life, offer tourists the opportunity to satisfy personal fantasies and political curiosities but relegate it to a site open to possession, appropriation and play. In this sense, touristic texts, including both state and foreign-commercial marketing, yield the broad appeal of consuming a dream through visiting Cuba as a tourist (Babb, 2011: 61), which in turn may constitute any combination of the ingredients of this passionate climate.

4.2 Exoticising the past: Tropicana

Tour operators have long recognised the lucrative potential of heritage tourism and of nostalgia within the tourist experience generally (Frow, 1991; Timothy, 1997; Scher, 2011). Nostalgic tourism marketing is thus not specific to touristic Cuba, in that to tour is to experience time out of the ordinary and thus may be through time as well as through space (Urry, 1995: 10). Indeed, the marketing of colonial and pre-modern tours elsewhere in Latin America and the Caribbean has been analysed in other scholarship (Guerrón Montero, 2011a). Of course, there is obvious irony underpinning the branding of nostalgia, given the Caribbean's "indisputable narrative position at the origin of the plot of Western modernity" (Sheller, 2003: 2). Cuba is particularly recognised to hold special nostalgic value for the modern tourist, based on dominant discourses that Cuba appears to be 'frozen in time' (Babb, 2011; Scarpaci and Portela, 2009), as initial enquiries through this research confirmed. City-centre billboards in the capital bearing the slogan "La Habana: Donde conviven pasado y presente", reflect interview data with tourism officials which positioned Cuba's rich history as a focus of great national pride within, as well as beyond, the tourist sphere; Cuban heritage tourism has also been theorised as a means of generating political sympathy (Sánchez and Adams, 2008).

However, in order to highlight the ways in which pre-revolutionary imagery functions as exotic capital through tourism, I will not consider the numerous examples of general heritage tourism in Cuba but focus specifically on the inclusion of pre-revolutionary sensual imagery in the contemporary industry. In other words, the ways in which "histories of decadence and pleasure [are] redeployed in reinventing places to play" (Sheller, 2004b: 19), suggestively linking decadence to sensual licence and eroticism.

The nostalgic exotic is especially significant in the Cuban context. The strategic commercialisation of pre-revolutionary imagery appears to contradict the Revolution's aspirational, forward-facing political culture since 1959 (Kapcia, 2008). Moreover, the connotations of excesses, hedonism, sexual liberty and racial and gender hierarchies that characterised the culture of tourism during the pre-1959 period (particularly in Havana) which tourists are therefore encouraged to imagine in the present, appear, at least superficially, to contradict political programmes of social egalitarianism. Literature on contemporary sex tourism overwhelmingly associates the growth of tourism to the return of 'the pre-revolutionary features' since "prostitution is often associated with the pre-revolution era and is therefore a sensitive issue for the socialist government" (Rundle, 2001: 1). Others further correlate the *belle époque* cabaret aesthetic to prostitution (Sheller, 2003: 164), given that the sexualisation of raced 'exotic' bodies as a mainstay

promotional strategy in the Caribbean has been accused of directly fostering sex tourism to the region (Kempadoo, 1999; Sheller, 2004b: 19). This common correlation presumes that to endorse pre-revolutionary hedonism is to also endorse sex tourism: to observers, then, the appropriation of pre-revolutionary imagery through tourism has represented a profit-driven U-turn. Consider this typical example from *The Independent* newspaper's website:

Havana in the Forties and Fifties must have been quite a place (if you weren't Cuban, that is) and in its desperation for dollars the city is now tacitly admitting it. Hence, the re-publicising, re-furbishing and, in some cases, re-opening of the grand hotels, the Nacional, the Habana Libre (formerly the Hilton), the Inglaterra and the Capri, famous from Greene, Hemingway and Godfather II (Walton, 1993).

The assumption made by this journalist is that tourist demand to witness some of the exotic value of 1950s Havana is recognised by service providers who have not just simply made these sites available to tourists but actively focussed resources and promotion towards them. A striking example is Cuba's Tropicana nightclub, which enjoyed success with tourists following its 1939 opening in Havana, already "well-established as one of the premier nightspots in the hemisphere for international playboys" (Ruf, 1997: 86). Tropicana's pre-revolutionary glamour is replicated in various cabaret-type shows across local tourist bars, clubs and resorts, obviously appropriating the nostalgic exotic capital that continues to make the nightclub such a successful tourist attraction.

The photographic content of Tropicana's official printed marketing materials, shown in Appendix B, Figure 3 is remarkably sexual. Evidently, provocative costumes are commonplace in these cabaret performances. One dancer, flanked by two men, tilts her lower body forcefully, her back arched and her legs spread across several steps in a way that positions her crotch towards the camera. The dancers' whiteness is also striking. In fact, the figure of the *mulata* in Tropicana performances and promotional materials generally erotically appropriates racialised difference without being *too* different: as Ruf notes, the plantation-era aesthetic of the nightclub's scantily-clad dancers mimics that of its pre-revolutionary heyday, which, alongside the idealisation of the *mulata*, evoke "an aspect of sexuality in Cuban culture linked to the colonial order" (1997: 90): the colonial aesthetic is adopted beyond the Tropicana nightclub in the revealing flamenco-style costumes and Afro-Cuban style turban headdresses of resort dancers in 'themed'

performances.⁶ There is evidence that some tourists continue to act on notions of hierarchical racialised difference: one travel blogger boasts “we went to the Tropicana, where we were convinced the dancers would prove powerless to our European charm” (Cerqueira, no date: no page).

The aesthetic of the cabaret shows is so homogenised, efficiently branded and recognisable to the foreign visitor that it is easily reproduced as themed evenings at countless resorts and other tourist spaces across Cuba: this particular branch of exotic capital is open to endless re-appropriation across different budgets and locations as long as there is tourist demand. In addition, Tropicana’s appropriation of the Cuban *mulata* dancer blends seamlessly into other exotic figures. One such example was a Tropicana-themed evening performance observed in a large Varadero resort. Given its early scheduling in the evening’s entertainment, the show was devised with broad appeal to all of the guests of the resort, even those with young families. In general, the homogenised, overlapping Latin dance styles it mixed promoted a cheerful and colourful passionate spectacular to match its advertised title: ‘Latin Tropical Show’. The dancers in the final scene, in sequinned underwear and large feathered headdresses, express the popular images of Latin American carnival, and might be identified from a Rio carnival as easily as attributed to the Tropicana’s costume styles. Exotic capital thus functions through these displays just as through others, in which “crumbs of exotic difference are blended loosely into newly crafted exotic imagery, homogenizing exotic distinctions and differentiating exotic sameness” (Savigliano, 1995: 200).

Despite Tropicana’s enduring popularity with tourists,⁷ the data suggested that the appropriation of colonial and pre-revolutionary exoticism in tourist spaces often has the potential to provoke conflicted reactions amongst industry workers and decision-makers. In particular, many sources acknowledged the threat that Tropicana and associated pre-revolutionary sites hold in linking contemporary tourist experience to the ‘anything goes’, hedonistic tourist culture of the 1950s. A textbook used by vocational tourism students⁸ in Cuba depicts this period in terms of moral depravity:

⁶ As Ruf points out, some of these styles continue to be used by members of the general population in contemporary Cuba, distinct from their nostalgic appeal in the tourist gaze (1997: 95).

⁷ Although tickets are reserved for Cuban nationals and are sold in CUP, or given to Cuban workers as part of an emulation/incentive scheme, tourists make up at least 90% of the Tropicana audience on any given night.

⁸ The text was accessed at the library of the Escuela de Altos Estudios de Hotelería y Turismo in Havana.

La situación reinante en Cuba en los años de seudorrepública era a tal punto escandalosa que la fama turística de este país se asentaba en los más deformantes y pervertidos vicios humanos....recordemos que a la Habana se le daba el sobre-nombre de 'El París de las Américas' y se le parangonaba con la impudicia y lascividad de los barrios bajos de la Ciudad Luz pero jamás en el campo de la cultura o de los recursos históricos y valores étnicos del pueblo. En verdad debe reconocerse que el afán del lucro mueve, impulsa y acelera desenfrenadamente a la sociedad capitalista hacia las situaciones mas abyectas (Villalba Garrido, 1993: 73).

There is little doubt that tourism is condemned for the “vicios humanos” that characterised society and Cuba’s place in the world during this era. Furthermore, profit motives are posited as a morally corrupting influence. Accordingly, a certain paradox underscores the appropriation of nostalgic exotic imagery by the contemporary tourism industry: Tropicana performances particularly embody this paradox. During a personal interview with MINTUR creative executive Ingrid Hernández, it became apparent that there was an official motivation to disentangle this contradiction, and to counteract common assumptions that the Tropicana’s “ambiance of sensual licence” has thrived ‘unapologetically’ throughout the Revolution (Ruf, 1997: 86):

Ingrid Hernández: En Cuba hubo turismo, hasta los años 50, pero...tenía todas las asociaciones que nosotros nunca podemos aceptar. Tenía prostitución instaurada...Nosotros como estado, no lo podemos permitir [...] Y esas cosas se vendían al nivel publicitario, de esa manera. Pero Tropicana, ¡viene de los 50! Es decir, es una cosa que se mantiene. Es uno de los espectáculos, estamos hablando de algo así como el Moulin Rouge. Pero las fotos que se sacan de ahora es la misma que se sacaba en los años 50. Lo que es, la situación es diferente. Y lo que necesitamos es que los visitantes sepan.

Rebecca Ogden: ¿Que no tiene la misma referencia que antes?

Ingrid: Ni la misma connotación, ni la misma función [...] te pongo el ejemplo de la Tropicana porque Tropicana viene de los 50 y lo tenemos como referente en los 90 hasta la actualidad...Tropicana fue un [enfoque] de prostitución inmenso. En este momento, no. Y la gente no puede quedarse con una idea errónea de lo que fue y lo que está siendo en este momento. La situación de la Habana vieja de los años 50 no tiene nada que ver con lo que está siendo ahora. La función cambia totalmente.

This excerpt from our interview would suggest that the sexualised exotic capital it promotes is more complex than the discord that Ruf (1997) cites, particularly complicating the connection between the macro level of Tropicana's representation and the enactment of sensual licence (for example, sex tourism) on the contemporary micro level. Ingrid acknowledged that the styling of the nightclub and its dancers would appear identical to those photographed in the 1950s, but claimed that neither the same function (as a major site of prostitution) nor the same connotation (that the imagery it adopts is related to the prostitution that flourished in the pre-revolutionary era) prevails. The driving argument is that institutional sex work⁹ is something that the state no longer tolerates. Discussions with an Infotur (tourist board) employee also made clear that recent campaigns have actively aimed to counteract the sexualised image of Cuba. These research findings therefore problematise claims in literature that Cuba "had discovered the benefit of exploiting one of its most precious resources" (Cabezas, 2009: 2) and effectively turned a blind eye to the consequences of sex tourism (Paternostro, 2000; Pope, 2005: 101).

In the cited exchange, the balance between the pronounced exotic capital of the Tropicana as a popular tourist attraction and a point of unique heritage value, and the potential subtext of sexual proclivity through tourism is revealed: care must be taken to mediate the connotations that such images hold, even when it is accepted that connotations cannot be wholly censored. However, in both designating the responsibility to official marketing to correct the subtext of sex work, and recognising that modern tourism may spawn such connotations, Ingrid hints at the complex objectives, and limits, of state-led campaigns on the interpretations and behaviours of tourists. It may be argued that Ingrid's claims that Tropicana is no longer a site for institutionalised erotic/sexual activity naturalises its contemporary existence and thus creates another moral framework which justifies it.

In a more basic sense, this passage highlights the number of tensions between the desire of official Cuban discourse to distance itself from the erotic subtext that this imagery holds in the tourist gaze, and the commodifiable popularity that such images also represent. The image of the Tropicana dancer features in every state-led international tourism campaign since the 1990s. As such, Babb has drawn attention to the "ambivalent mix" symbolised in the tourist circuit of pre-revolutionary and revolutionary sites (2011: 54). Babb elaborates that "[while] the government participates in re-imagining Cuba's history in such a way that

⁹ The distinction made here between the kind of sex work that is organised from larger tourist institutions like casinos and hotels in other destinations, and sex work based on individual practices (O'Connell Davidson, 1996: 40) appeared as a recurring discourse in the data, and is discussed further in the penultimate section of this chapter.

the 'bourgeois' pre-revolutionary period may be viewed as a the logical precursor to the triumph of the revolution...there is less contradiction than first meets the eye in offering up Hemingway bars, Tropicana nightclub showgirls, and Buena Vista Social Club music along with revolutionary monuments for tourist consumption" (2011: 51). The data revealed attempts to derive uniqueness and historical pedigree within the Tropicana shows and its various reproductions, in spite of their exotic homogeneity and the problematic 'sensual licence' that is extended to tourists through these shows.

4.3 Contemporary hedonism

The concept of hedonism as an on-going trait of Cuban culture was a core finding in the research. Hedonism encapsulates a number of sensual and embodied codes and was identified as another factor that appropriated exotic capital through tourism. Descriptions of Cuban nightlife, in particular, linked the texts' celebration of pre-revolutionary hedonism to extravagance and sensual licence in the present, given that "much of the sauciness of the louche Havana of old keeps peeping through...Cubans have made an art form of their appetite for [it]" (Miller, 2001: 8). To participate in social nightlife as a tourist, then, means an embodied proximity to Other passionate bodies. This particular expression of exotic capital also casts the nightlife scene as unchanging. Similarly, a travel article merges decades of recent history in its inclusion of Havana amongst the world's most hedonistic cities:

Don't forget your dancing shoes if you're headed for Havana. The city's answer to 50 years of political isolation is to shake its thing night after night in the rum-soaked bars and clubs of Habana Vieja (Old Havana). Western-style R&B and hip hop are popular, but it's the seductive moves of *salsa*, *rumba*, *mambo* and *timba* that breathe lustiest through the ramshackle backstreets... It's a timeless scene of unbridled revelry (Lonely Planet, 2012: no page).

Hedonism's erotic subtext was an explicitly pronounced motivation for most of the locations featured in this article's shortlist, since in any of them tourists might "surrender to the seduction of these party cities" (ibid.). Although another Latin American city featured in the list involved similar tropes of the exotic, (Buenos Aires has "a passionate Latin American temperament and deep-seated love affair with tango"), the connection of "seductive" and "lusty" hedonism to inconsistent contact with global economic and political

flows is only present in the Havana recommendation. Sensual movements of salsa and other Cuban dance forms within the recommended tourist nightlife itinerary merge the past and present. In this sense the pleasure island imaginary intensifies both through physical isolation (Sheller, 2004b: 13) but also, according to the author, “political isolation” (Lonely Planet, 2012: no page). The implication in this account of sexualised local nightlife in Cuba is that distance from the capitalist world has in fact accelerated inherent eroticised exotic capital. There are obvious connections, then, between discourses that imply Cuba’s natural hedonism, sensory Otherness and physical excesses through images of Edenic landscapes (Sheller, 2004a), and the isolation that Cuba is perceived to have experienced. As a consequence, a unique paradigm emerges in which both natural tropical surroundings and distance from capitalism fosters passionate hedonism: one cannot imagine, for example, the same parallels made by guidebooks in relation to pre-1989 Eastern Germany.

Hedonism therefore serves as an established feature of Cuba’s passionate climate which legitimises the tourist body’s engagement in sensual, embodied and even eroticised pleasures. Several mechanisms are at play to normalise hedonism, however. The following examples come from guidebooks:

The much-vaunted Cuban capacity for a good time is best expressed through...vital facts of the island’s culture [...] As Cubans are passionate about music they make plenty of time for socialising. Everywhere you go the sounds of traditional Latin-American rhythms fill the air. What better way to experience the infectious Cuban way of life than joining in a carnival, these lively events take place throughout the year...At night there are no shortage of bars, whether you want to take in the diverse music scene or get salsa dancing (McAuslan and Norman, 2007: 6-7).

Through war, austerity, rationing and hardship, the Cubans have retained their infectious *joie de vivre*. Even during the darkest days of the Special Period, the feisty festivals never stopped, a testament to the country’s capacity to put politics aside and get on with the important business of living” (Sainsbury and Waterson, 2011: 14).

In contrast to the acceleration of passionate climate through political isolation cited in the previous example, here the suggestion is that political culture is somehow rendered less serious by a national priority of play over work. The reputation of Caribbean islands as

places of play has served to disqualify political autonomy (Sheller, 2003), and has hurt Cuban state efforts to foster international business and conference tourism (Rodríguez Millares, 2001). The use of words like ‘infectious’ in the first and last examples is notable since it naturalises social traits and upholds the hedonistic potential of exotic locations to tropicalise the European visitor through sensory excesses and proximity to passionate bodies (Sheller, 2004a). As well as its permanence as a “vital fact” of Cuban life, an inherent tendency towards hedonistic pleasure-seeking remains unhampered by “war, austerity, rationing and hardship”. The normalisation of hedonism mediates recent harsh realities, introducing the broader negotiations at play in touristic discourses of exotic capital.

The data revealed that this reputation has not been ignored by MINTUR campaign directors who have appropriated hedonism as a hallmark of uniqueness. As Ingrid Hernández explained in our interview, “[en Cuba] se baila en la calle. Y hacemos una fiesta por cualquier motivo. Varias persona se unen y se hace una fiesta que dura varias horas.” In this part of the interview Ingrid was responding to a question about the basis of the ‘Auténtica Cuba’ campaign, which utilised expressions of Cuban ‘authenticity’ that had not previously been exploited through promotional imagery. She viewed the spontaneity to ‘hacer fiesta’ and to socialise late into the night as a unique aspect of local Cuban culture, as something that inspired pride and had value in marketing terms. Other official discourses attested to the positive idea of mass congregations in Cuban communities, in contrast to other nations. A street party scene was chosen for the cover of one leaflet (Appendix B, Figure 4), in like fashion.

In as much as ‘authentic’ has been the buzzword used to market and interpret touristic practice in Cuba in recent years, ‘spontaneous’ also emerged in the findings as a dominant adjective with relevance to discussions of hedonism. Tourists who might be identified as backpackers or pursuing ‘individual tourism’ (Cohen, 2003; Uriely, Yonay, *et al.*, 2002) value spontaneity as a feature of non-structured travel in general, often deliberately travelling without any itinerary (Cohen, 1973: 176). Many Lonely Planet online forum users stressed that Cuba “lent itself well” to this type of tourism and encouraged others to “take advantage of it” since it opened opportunities for encounter with the host population. In this sense, unreliable timetables and underdeveloped infrastructure did not cause an obstacle to backpackers but rather complemented their desired practices. Likewise, the natural spontaneous nature of Cuban pleasure-seeking which is evident in the previous examples allows heightened contact with locals and complements the ‘footloose’ identity of the independent tourist.

Research findings therefore suggested that the notion of hedonism was based in part on the spontaneity of encounter amongst locals, and in turn between locals and tourists, in public spaces. Guidebook texts suggests that this specific kind of informal contact is a valued aspect of contemporary tourist experience. As the *Rough Guide* reveals, “a street party can be one of the most serendipitous and enchanting aspects of your trip... These state-organized and funded events, often arranged through politically oriented community groups called CDRs, create an ideal opportunity to rub shoulders with locals” (McAuslan and Norman, 2010: 12). As well as forming a point of reference of uniqueness for marketing strategies, this specific aspect of Cuban political and social life is a gateway to the kinds of rare moments of encounter with locals which the data generally concluded made a tourism experience more ‘authentic’. We might therefore consider touristic formulations of Cuban hedonism to centre not simply on the same erotic subtexts as the passionate climate in general, but also to provide pleasurable contact zones through which the tourist’s embodied presence (“to rub shoulders” is a metaphor, but with clear resonances in the desire for physical proximity to Otherness) requires no formal permission or invitation.

Spontaneity also lends itself well to the sexual motivations of certain types of independent tourist (O’ Connell Davidson, 1996: 43), given that it avoids the implication that the individual in question is predatory. Normalising spontaneous contact with Cubans in hedonistic settings as a mainstay feature of the tourist scene therefore makes various allowances for types of sex tourism: spontaneous encounters in unspecified places mirror traditional courtships rather than the explicit pick-ups associated with prostitution (ibid.). Be that as it may, the texts also suggested a more organised erotic mapping of Havana: the data revealed that certain urban spaces become known as sex tourism sites through tourist activity and through informal networks (including online) where information of these known sites is shared.¹⁰ As such, one source, a music and dance instructor named Danyel, explained that certain spaces (primarily urban zones, for example bars and restaurants in Havana) had become known sites where transactional host-guest sex might be offered and where tourists sought out sexual partners. Unsurprising as this might be in other contexts, there are no known red light districts in Havana because sex is not

¹⁰ Online sex tourism networks, like the World Sex Guide (www.worldsexguide.com) have examined in limited but important research (Castillo, Gómez, et al., 2004; Hughes, 1996; Trumbull, 2001).

generally solicited within a formal institutional framework (O' Connell Davidson, 1996: 40) and because risk of arrest for *jinettero/as* is especially high in Cuba.

Our conversation began after Danyel approached me in a central park area in Habana Vieja. Since Havana has no designated red light area, I asked, how are these encounters organised? Certain bars in particular, he replied, like the central Café Francesa, were known sites for *jinetismo*, where staff members are complicit; he identified Cubans visible from where we were standing whom he claimed to be engaging in *jinetismo*. The Malecón (sea wall) was cited as another sex tourism hotspot. Many of the wider research findings supported his designation of places where hedonistic, spontaneous and/or sexualised contact between tourist and hosts occurred. The *Lonely Planet* guidebook features the Malecón in its 'top 24 recommended experiences of Cuba' based on the way the site is erotically coded, as it "acts as a substitute living room for tens of thousands of cavorting, canoodling, romance-seeking habaneros...tackle it at sunset with a bottle of rum in your hand and the notion that anything is possible come 10pm" (Sainsbury and Waterson, 2011: 7). The guidebook thus demarcates certain zones of the city but suggestively encourages tourists to adopt spontaneity in the same way as locals, reinforcing the same 'anything goes' concept and retaining the same sexual potential as hedonistic discourses that are evident elsewhere in the data.

In general, however, Danyel reinforced the point that spontaneity characterised nightlife and spaces of encounter. An interesting perspective stemmed from his claim that Cubans always initiated sexual encounters with tourists, and not the reverse – even if the tourist's primary motivation for travel is sex. He insisted that an encounter was possible simply wherever there were tourists: *jinetteros/as* are able to 'read' tourists' intentions and approach them, he claimed, and in so doing negotiate the spatial ambiguity and awkwardness of finding a partner. His initial solicitation of me, amongst other behavioural peculiarities (his familiarity with all the café staff, some discrepancies in his story that he was living in the UK and was a Cuban returning from *el exterior*, as a tourist) led me to believe that he perhaps had some personal experience of *jinettero* work. This was a subjective speculation, but in any case his vehement moral judgement throughout our conversation on Cubans who earned a living this way was interesting (especially if my speculation was correct) and raised some of the moral codes related to this practice that I will explore in the next chapter. Nevertheless, Danyel's conclusion – that despite certain locations having reputations for sex tourism, encounter was not driven by space but instead by human solicitation – implied that he viewed *jinetismo* as a supply-driven rather than demand-driven phenomenon with *jinetteros/as* negotiating spatial ambivalence

and the ambiguity of intention in their contact with tourists. Transactional sexualised encounters are not considered as the result of motivated tourist desire and organised marketplaces, then, but by normalised sex availability amongst certain Cubans and the consequent ease of such meetings, despite the absence of a red light district. The texts mentioned in this section contribute to tourists' expectations of these spaces and practices. Together, both this coding of specific places, and the notion that all space offers the potential for spontaneous encounters, form part of wider constructions of normalised sexual openness.

Despite its framing as spontaneous and natural, then, the circulation of eroticised exotic capital through hedonism requires specific labour practices. In connecting the macro and micro circulations of exotic capital, then, we might therefore turn to the enrolment of tourism workers to consider how they reinforce certain stereotypes (Cabezas, 2009: 35). Within the resort enclave, for example, where entertainment is structured and timetabled (because of their typical distance from urban bars and nightclubs), careful effort is made to make the fostering of a party atmosphere appear spontaneous and uncontrived. In fact, a resort typically employs *animadores*, individuals who socialise with holidaymakers in a seemingly unstructured type of labour, who generally appear to be under thirty years old, and male. *Animadores* dress in informal beachwear like guests, albeit displaying the resort's branded logo (presumably so they might be recognised as staff in case they are required to serve). Their exact responsibilities seemed ambiguous during the observations I carried out at one five-star Varadero resort but, essentially, they chatted with resort guests, encouraged them to approach the dance-floor and generally heightened an ambience of hedonism, which such resorts are already well geared towards, given that their numerous bars serve free alcohol from midday. *Animadores* carry out a very particular affective labour: their work involved active feeling-creation (to '*animar*'). Their labour came to the fore during the early evening 'cocktail hour' where the family-themed disco music and games of the daytime transitioned to the decidedly hedonistic tone of the night. In the following extract from my research diary I detail my observations:

Research diary

Tuesday 31st January, 5.30pm: There is music playing through loudspeakers all afternoon but around this time every day a trio of singers begin performing. The *animadores* appear to work alongside them, starting to congregate around the dance-floor that has cleared in front of the temporary stage. Some are still mingling with guests: I overheard one chatting to a female guest who was discussing her teenage daughters' academic interests back home. Whether it was genuine or not

he appeared to be very interested and not bothered about only being the 'listener'. There is a large group of guests of varying ages, including families, in swimwear and beachwear, many gathering at the bar. Some typical Latin dance music followed by recognisable salsa tracks, several English-language songs played too. Routines that must be repeated on a frequent basis (nightly?) are certainly made to look spontaneous: some of the male *animadores* grabbing female colleagues and spinning them around in a quick salsa show. *Animadores* lead willing guests through the routine, both showing expertise but also laughing at each other's minor miss-steps which I can only assume are performed deliberately to put beginners at ease since they danced extremely proficiently in general.

The singers then moved on to *reggaetón* style music and the crudeness of the group dancing became heightened and at times very provocative! I saw lots of 'doggy style' dancing.¹¹ One male *animador* moved easily between female dance partners and at one point was gently twirling around while holding a guest's baby. At the end of show all the *animadores* and musicians were introduced by name to the crowd during applause, after which the *animadores* stayed to dance with guests.¹²

This type of host-guest contact is inflected by gender, since, as men, the *animadores* could engage in and encourage sensual behaviour without provoking the same kind of stigmatisation or moral notions of female propriety which generally characterise the issue of sex tourism (Allen, 2007: 185). Encompassing this kind of work into a wider affective spectrum of host-guest contact, this example confirms that male and female tourists and Cubans typically occupy different positions in terms of sexualised tourism according to gender. Indeed, such distinctions have been observed across global sex tourism in general, particularly indicating that the nature of commercialised relationships between female tourists and local men has been theorised as tending to be 'lighter' (Pruitt and LaFont, 1995) or less exploitative (Jeffreys, 2003).

Apart from highlighting the broad affective spectrum of the *animadores*' embodied labour, from flirtation, to dance instruction and temporary baby-sitting duties, and their easy transference between these roles, this citation also reveals the complex performance and

¹¹ A popular dance style "which sensualizes the bottom and pelvis in fetishistic fashion" (Fairley, 2006: 477).

¹² See also Figures 5 and 6 in Appendix B.

production involved in creating natural and spontaneous hedonistic atmosphere in the resort space. *Animadores* are the central element to this performance: they must appear cheerful, approachable and be appropriately 'cheeky'. Their interest in guests' personal stories must appear authentic in order for guests to feel at ease. Guests moved willingly into the dance-floor area because it was a spontaneous display (and not a strict dance class), and were coaxed into more sexualised moves because of the guided progression of the party atmosphere through gradually more risqué dance styles. In general, this anecdote highlighted the gendered labour and performativity involved in circulating exotic capital through spontaneous, seemingly natural displays of hedonism which increase the tourist's opportunity to participate themselves.

4.4 Erotic capital: Sexual openness and difference

Touristic articulations of Cuba from both sides of the dialogue also converged on the notion that Cuban culture was characterised by a sexual openness, engaging with assumptions of eroticism, intimacy and alterity. These discourses connected tourists' expectations of normalised hedonism, pleasure-seeking lifestyles, and eroticism in everyday culture, casting sexual promiscuity as a normal part of everyday Cuban life in which tourists might often engage and participate. Scholarship indicates that representations of laidback culture in Caribbean destinations carry suggestive undertones of sexual availability which in turn normalise sexualised contact between hosts and guests (Frohlick, 2008). In this sense, this example of passionate climate conflates exotic capital with erotic capital more explicitly, and facilitates the conditions and discursive frameworks through which sexual encounters operate through tourism. Furthermore, these representations depend on notions of difference, where the tourist can shed the kinds of social and sexual inhibitions that control life at back at home and, specifically, the nature of romantic and sexual relationships typical of life at home (Enloe, 1990: 28).

According to Enloe, sexual desire is a central component of the tourism ideology in general (1990: 28). Following this paradigm, the data inscribed Cuba itself with erotic value through romantic and sexual innuendo. An *Auténtica Cuba* advertisement (2011a) informs that "this magical archipelago imposes its charm, and has a seductive power". The *Lonely Planet* guidebook invites tourists to "fall in love with classic Cuba in Havana", and to "Be charmed by...María la Gorda". Havana is especially coded through innuendo, described in travel journalism as "sultry" (Conde Nast Traveller, 2010: no page). Similarly:

Havana, city of jarring paradoxes and unfathomable contradictions where seductive beauty sidles up to spectacular decay and revolutionary iconography is juxtaposed with sun, sea, sand and sex and a diluting slice of austere socialism (Sainsbury and Waterson, 2011: 45).

Keywords like ‘allure’ and charm’ punctuate many of the promotional materials produced by Cuban and UK tour operators. In these examples, the physical land is laced with romantic and erotic characteristics, capable of seducing the visitor through its exotic difference – unfamiliar and “unfathomable”. The representation of Havana as a site of desire in the cited example is especially striking: a direct reference to sexual availability through the typically exotic/erotic context of ‘sun, sea, sand and sex’, against which the city’s beauty is awarded the fluid, sexy movement of a human body. Visually appealing indicators of “spectacular” underdevelopment coexist stylistically with the capital’s sexiness. Crude sexuality and urban underdevelopment have become interlinked codes in the global imaginary of Havana, thanks in part to trends in Special Period fiction (Whitfield, 2008). In this last example we begin to see that socialism has a shifting effect on exotic capital, at once accelerating hedonism, as the previous section demonstrated and, here, tarnishing its allure, as “austere”.

In this example from *The Independent* newspaper’s travel supplement, even the most base, natural component of Cuban geography –its soil - appears to be erotically charged:

The land right around the airport is farmed; we saw a man plowing with oxen. The fertility of Cuba is the thing you can’t put into words. I’ve never stood on a piece of ground as throbbingly, even pornographically, generative (Sullivan, 2012: 18).

Given the depicted backdrop of a landscape characterised by palpable eroticism, it is perhaps unsurprising that the discourses also tended to associate hyper-sexualised stereotypes to the Cuban population. Cultural representations of the ‘Latin lover’ figure peaked in popularity the 1950s, amidst a North American craze for the region (Sheller, 2003: 163). In our interview, Rafael Hernández highlighted the persistence of the ‘Latin lover’ stereotype in reference to Cuba:

Los cubanos responden...a ese trasfondo emocional, en donde lo que predominan son los sentimientos, en cualquier película sobre Cuba y los cubanos, y en muchas de las visiones que tienen los turistas también se apoyan es esas películas, los cubanos tienen un comportamiento romántico, son el ‘latin lover’, es...yo me ha encontrado sorprendido de ver cómo mujeres, y hombres, que

vienen a Cuba *hoy*, personas universitarias y... culturales, tienen en la cabeza el mito del 'latin lover'. En el caso del cubano, o en el caso de la mujer cubana. Se espera que los cubanos sean grandes amantes, y tú ves que en las películas sobre Cuba que se existe el 'aura erótico', del comportamiento, de la conducta cotidiana... de cómo se trabajaran, que se dedicaran a bailar, a cantar, a escuchar música y hacer el amor. Básicamente, se atribuyen en esas condiciones.

In this excerpt, Hernández underlines the associations made between perpetuating representations in popular culture, including films, and tourists' real expectations of Cuban sexual identities. In this sense, the tourist gaze, which in Urry's analysis (1990) is informed through the consolidation of multiple representations before travel has even taken place, is built up through films and books depicting stereotypes of Cuban sexual expertise. Indeed, analysis of travel literature appeared to confirm Hernández's argument. It is worth noting that travel literature communicates with the tourist gaze in an interesting way, since it is enjoyed as fiction yet consulted as foundational knowledge, as the blurb of one such text claims, "... 'what's it like to be there?' *Travelers' Tales* gives you the best possible answer through the true stories of other travellers...there's no better road map than the experiences of others for deepening and enriching your travels" (Miller, 2001: back cover). Another concurs, "good travellers' stories should not only inform, but should also remain a 'good read', firing the imagination" (Jenkins, 2002: iii). The sexual stereotypes that they contain are likely to perpetuate notions of Cuban sexual prowess, according to Urry's analysis of the role of such texts (1990), yet it is notable they explicitly claim to inform rather than simply "fire the imagination". As such, we can assume that in reinforcing the Latin lover myth, travel literature contributes directly to tourists' presumptions of sexual difference and sexual availability. The first story included in *Travelers' Tales Cuba* is 'A *guagua* named Desire'¹³, in which a bus driver is urged by his cheering passengers to stop and disembark in order to flirt with a female pedestrian – "a saucy female" (Miller, 2001: 3). The collective bus passengers watch and wait with good humour, "following the darting motion of her tongue as it kissed [her] ice-cream" while the driver's romancing progresses, bursting "into hearty ovation" at each sign of success. Rather than disturb his seduction attempts, another commuter comes forward to the wheel to continue the bus on its journey. The story depicts a culture where timetables, efficiency and professionalism have no priority over *macho* practices of seduction, a place "where flirting is accepted and sexuality is envied" (Miller, 2001: 46) and "the ogle is raised to the level of a fine art" (Miller, 2001: 48).

¹³ Cuban word for public bus.

In guidebooks, seemingly 'factual' representations do little to contradict the Latin love myth. In a section on 'national personality', the *Lonely Planet* guidebook says that Cubans are "tactile...nobody's shy about giving it a go" (Sainsbury, 2009: 53), in deliberately ambiguous terms. Because it appears in the 'basic information' pages of the guidebook, the representation is normalised as useful contextual material for a trip. Moreover, official materials are more explicit still. One booklet also casts sexual openness as a cultural characteristic: in a paragraph titled 'Cubanness', it informs that "Cubans are impetuous, jesting people and what's more, inveterate lovers" (*Cuba Offers You*, 2001: 22). Since it is mentioned amongst other national personality traits, including sense of humour, the normalised everydayness of sexual promiscuity is framed as a way of *being* rather than a way of living or *behaving*.

In some of the texts, the perpetuation of sexual openness in everyday culture was explained through attitudes to clothing and the body. The everyday norms of provocative dress codes therefore reflect the sexuality that underscores everyday life. In the same travel article that posited Havana as a hedonistic Mecca, night-time pleasure-seeking was foregrounded by locals' attention to dress and appearance: "immaculately preened and dressed to the nines, locals sashay their way from one party to the next with a swing of the hips and a dreamy cha-cha-cha" (Lonely Planet, 2012: no page). Another example, this time from a travel story anthology, also associated sexual confidence to differentiated attitudes to the body:

Consider *las cubanas*, the usual target of this unfaltering attention [from Cuban men]. They are one self-possessed group of women. They wear skintight hot pants and halter tops regardless of body size, unabashedly eat chocolate sundaes for lunch and let their bodies sway like nature intended. They celebrate it in all its jiggly glory. I saw a phenomenal array of beautiful women on that island... (Miller, 2001: 49).

The conclusion the author makes in this excerpt and the preceding anecdote is that relaxed attitudes to the female body in Cuban society mean women of all shapes are found desirable. Self-aware, they make efforts to display their bodies through provocative clothing. There is no shame around sexiness, thus, because of 'Latin lover' *machista* culture (the relentless gaze that authorises this dynamic). Yet this sexual self-possession amongst women also contributes to the everyday sexual openness, too. 'Natural bodies' (bodies which "sway like nature intended") are sexy bodies, therefore: "the sexiest...weighed approximately 225 pounds.....She was fertility. She was womanhood" (Miller, 2001: 49). In turn, sexy bodies are also natural within the social context where

sexuality is openly celebrated. The author admits later in the story that she herself felt sexier because of her proximity to this gendered value system. As Frohlick rightly observes, tourists may claim “I feel more sexy here” (2008: 130) based on their proximity to the sensual landscapes naturalised in representations such as these.

Informal conversations with other international visitors during my fieldwork trips frequently made reference to the particular attractiveness of Cubans over other nations of people, for example. This standard was generally based on exotic difference and values connected to the raced body. Consider this anecdote from my research diary, written when staying in a *casa particular* with other European tourist in mid-sized town Camagüey:

Research Diary

At dinner, when the landlady compared the male guests’ heights, we began to talk about Cuban attitudes and discourses surrounding the body and standards of beauty. The Spanish guy said he had been walking around with a local girl he had met, who he described as *mulata*, and slim. But he noticed that local men paid her little attention, and that she herself criticised her body and said she wanted to be ‘*más gordita*’ which completely baffled him. He said he had noticed that Cuban men instead stared at and lusted after much fatter black women in the street, although he believed they are deemed to be less attractive in his home country. The Cuban hosts enthusiastically agreed that women with curves were attractive and that this was a contrast. The landlord then made a joke that, ‘the Spanish brought black people over here [through the slave trade], but now they come to take them away!’ [i.e. after meeting them as tourists, marrying them, and making them emigrate]. Really though, he said, it is the mixture of races that makes Cubans so attractive.

In this example the Spanish tourist’s notion of female beauty was based on an aesthetic he identified to be also European, a direct contrast to the more voluptuous body shapes that all of the conversation’s participants agreed to be a more ‘Cuban’ ideal. However, while the tourist did not compare the darkness of his female companion’s skin to typical Spanish phenotypes, the landlord’s joke revealed a great deal about foreign desire attached to blackness which allows it to operate “within a kind of ‘market’ of erotic affective, economic and status values” (Wade, 2009: 156): as descendants of slavery, blackness has historically meant low status values, but through the sexual relationships afforded by international tourism, and through desire based on their blackness and Otherness, Cuban women (and men) may find opportunities for social ascension.

Racial mixture featured as a point of interest in many of the Cuban tourism materials; it has historically functioned as one of the standard motifs to prove racial equality in Cuba (De la Fuente, 1999; Kutzinski, 1993). Racial mixing appeared in many other Cuban tourist texts as a point of national pride and identity, confirming concepts that constructions of national identity draw centrally on notions of difference (Parker, Russo et al, 1992). The racial mixture the landlord also described was echoed in this travel story citation: “centuries of mingling Spanish, indigenous and African blood have created...stunning exteriors. There is a sensuality that transcends physical appearance. It is an attitude. And it is infectious.” (Miller, 2001: 47). Firstly, this example explains attractiveness through racial mixture and associates it explicitly to a naturalised sexual confidence. Secondly, just as the tourist subjects of Frohlick’s ethnography (2008), Cubans’ naturalised sensuality can ‘infect’ the tourist, insinuating and legitimising sexual contact through natural factors. Yet it also has further implications within the tourist experience. Light brown (and not very black) skin and the products and experiences sold through tourism using images of the *mulata* piques desire without, crucially, being *too* other. As Cohen argues, not only does the principle of sexual difference within tourism constitute male heterosexual desire as normative, but “normative sexual difference can and does mark and normalize difference in general” (1995: 406; Nagel, 2003). In other words, the sexualised macho culture explored in this section builds on precepts of normalised difference (between hosts and guests) through touristic articulations which in turn mark Cuba as generally exotic and ‘Other’.

What is significant about these findings is that it allows us to consider how sensual and sexual encounters might form part of the tourist experience for those who are not easily categorised as sex tourists. These discourses normalise promiscuity against a wider formation of erotic capital which includes naturalised sensual landscapes, nostalgic sensual licence, and spontaneous hedonism. One conclusion that this research offers is that these discourses may incite tourists to feel ‘sexier’, and act on those feelings in a range of encounters: in other words, tourists may not exclusively visit Cuba to satisfy specific racialised and gendered fantasies, as has been suggested (O’Connell Davidson, 1996). The consolidation of exotic sexscapes through the tourist gaze may therefore have complex consequences on the ground which have been previously under-researched.

Moreover, constructions of sexual openness in the host culture have implications for the personal management of the tourist body. Studies indicate that tourism mobilities across borders and space may transform the female tourist’s perception of their own body and in turn impact their erotic subjectivities (Frohlick, 2008: 133). Guidebooks tell female tourists

to expect sexual attention rooted in macho values deeply embedded in everyday culture. Based on the blunt declaration that “casual sex is a staple of Cuban life”, the *Rough Guide* advises that “[female tourists] should brace themselves for quite a remarkable level of attention” (McAuslan and Norman, 2010: 71). The nonstop attention may feel threatening but should instead be interpreted as “flattering” and “chivalrous” (*LP*, 2011: 510) since “Cuban men manage to combine a courtly romanticism with wit and charm” (McAuslan and Norman, 2010: 71). In this sense, whether inviting sexual encounter or not, the female tourist body must be negotiated within assumptions of local masculine hetero-normativity and *machismo*. Readers are therefore encouraged to expect sexual attention through *piropos* because it is represented as an inherent element of everyday culture, rooted in difference and should be understood as an expression of Cubans’ “casual” attitudes towards sex.

Tourism research has observed that tourists adopt different clothing styles and aesthetics (Cohen, 1973: 100; Frohlick, 2008: 135). In contrast to the representations of Cubans’ hyper-sexualised dress codes, however, female tourists are instructed to minimise attention by avoiding eye contact, wearing modest clothing (“topless sunbathing is out”) and inventing an absent husband by wearing a wedding ring (McAuslan and Norman, 2010: 71). The terms framed by these guidebooks reveal the careful balancing act that the tourist body must navigate, in terms of embracing the enjoyable and sensual aspects of cultural difference, and maintaining the power differential of the tourist gaze. Rules concerning tourist behaviour thereby directly contradict the same guidebooks’ discourses of Cubans’ inherent flirtation, skimpy dressing, and promiscuous conduct: through this contrast they reinforce the normalisation of cultural difference through sexual terms. In a more general sense, these discourses reflect the contested terrain of travelling women’s agency, in which the body must be managed (through dress) and in which the tourist carries the burden of responsibility for unwanted sexual attention (Frohlick, 2008: 135; Hottola, 1999). Guidebooks’ acknowledgement of difference in cultural attitudes towards sex and the body therefore attempt to enrol the tourist in gendered performances of respectability.

4.5 Understanding Cuba as a sexscape¹⁴

This chapter has discussed the consolidation of Cuba's passionate climate through tourism, which sets the foundations for sensual, and sometimes sexual, tourist experiences. I have highlighted how Cuba's global status as an exotic destination, built up through inter-related representations in the tourist gaze, frequently carries a subtext of eroticism. However, through reflection on the data it became clear that beyond suggestively eroticised discourses there were also distinct discourses of racialised desire, sexual identities and transactional sex work/sexualised encounters. It is necessary to examine how contemporary encounters between tourists and Cubans are informed by a "representational regime" (Bandyopadhyay and Nascimento, 2010: 935): in other words, how the re-inscriptions of the exotic Other through Cuban tourism provide a blueprint for the types of sexualised and sensualised encounters that play out through tourism. How do representations of the exotic contribute to Cuba's positioning as a sexscape? This section seeks to understand the ambivalent and complex ways in which that connection is framed in the Cuban context. In this sense, I am not attempting to provide an updated account of the many facets of sexualised encounters between Cubans and tourists, since this question is broad and complex, and has been addressed by a range of researchers (Allen, 2007; Cabezas, 2009; Paternostro, 2000; Pope, 2005). Rather, my aim is to look specifically to the texts to interrogate how framings of Cuba as an established site within the global sexual landscape (Brennan, 2004: 15), were both supported and contested through the research findings.

In contrast to the subtle conflation of the exotic with the erotic that typify the previous examples of this chapter, the data also revealed extensive references to explicitly sexualised motivation for travel to Cuba. One might refer to these moments as 'erotic tipping points'. As Chapter Two outlined, sex tourism theories must be reconfigured in their application in the Cuban context, where individuals who might be classified as 'sex workers' elsewhere have contact with tourists in more informal, spontaneous ways that are generally unlinked to larger tourism institutions.¹⁵ Many of the relationships between Cubans and tourists that are described through the literature appear to depend on tipping

¹⁴ Brennan's notion of 'sexscape' means "a space inextricably tied up with transactional sex" (2004: 15); The term refers to a new kind of global sexual landscape, developed through transnational flows of sex tourism and marriage-based emigration, but also refers to the sites within it, where it is recognised that sex might be bought and where sex is known to be available.

¹⁵ As Cabezas (2009) argues, resort workers, for example, may form romantic and sexualised relationships with tourists through the structures of their work in the formal tourism sector. However, my aim is to differentiate the context of Cuba from the institutionalisation of sex work in other destinations such as Thailand where brothels operate in connection to hotels, casinos and bars.

points as opposed to formal arrangements regarding terms of transaction, specific 'pick up' locations and so on. As such, Cuban sex tourism has provided a rich but difficult-to-grasp field of research. The blurred boundaries between the sensual codes of tourist experience in Cuba that this chapter describes and the monetised sex in tourism are especially complex.

It is important to reiterate at this point that, regarding the boundary between suggestiveness and references to monetised sex, the source of the texts was often, but not always, influential: while some websites provide information for tourists deliberately touring in Cuba with motivations of sexual encounter, the majority of the references come from mainstream tourism marketing and narratives. However, forums dedicated to self-identified sex tourists generally shared this understanding: "Cuba is still one of the easiest places to get women".¹⁶ Building on the same expectations about naturalised sexual availability that this chapter has aimed to explore, another contributor adds, "the nicest thing about Cuban girls is that they love sex and it is as natural to them as eating or breathing" (ibid.). In like fashion, a Lonely Planet forum user explains, "sex is more like breathing to Cubans than it is to us... so maybe that's one reason that it's not as big a deal for them to sell their bodies as it is for us".¹⁷ There is clear evidence of a desire to maintain in these exchanges a fantasy based on an imaginary that Cuban women and men are inherently available for sex: this fantasy has been observed in scholarship as a means to protect both the identity and ideology of the tourist (O' Connell Davidson, 1996) and the *jinetero(a)*/ self-proclaimed *luchador(a)* (Santos, 2009) in a sexualised encounter. To be perceived as occupying the category of sex tourist (and sex worker) provokes moral judgements (Günther, 1998) and, unsurprisingly, is avoided by those who do engage in such sexual relationships.

However, the research findings suggested there were contestations and ambivalence within discourses surrounding the connection between exotic capital, erotic capital, and actual transactional¹⁸ sex. On the Cuban side of the dialogue, many formal and informal

¹⁶ Thread available at: <http://www.worldsexguide.com/guide/Caribbean/Cuba/> [accessed 15 January 2013].

¹⁷ Available at: <https://www.lonelyplanet.com/thorntree/forums/americas-cuba/cuba/paradoxes-of-cuba>

¹⁸ The term 'transactional sex' is used uneasily: as Cabezas explains, the types of 'sex tourism' that occurs in Cuba rarely fits into the category of 'sex-for-money', but are generally based on unequal power relations and involve one-way economic exchanges or other kinds of remuneration such as gifts, clothes, meals and favours (O' Connell Davidson, 1996). As Allen reminds, the foreigner's promise of financial or material support may be implicit or explicit (2007: 186). However, like O' Connell Davidson and Sánchez Taylor (2005: 83), I too consider these open-ended relationships to

sources rejected the concept of 'sexualised tourism' as a widespread phenomenon at all, and denied its connection to the circulation, appropriation and consumption of the eroticised exotic in mainstream tourism more generally. The subject of Tropicana within the interview that took place with the MINTUR marketing executive was especially revelatory in this regard: although Ingrid recognised that tourists read an erotic subtext in dancers' performances, and she acknowledged the need to correct this "idea errónea", she heatedly exclaimed:

En [la campaña] Auténtica Cuba, una de las principales imágenes que está es de una bailarina de Tropicana. Pero estamos hablando de una bailarina. ¡De una profesional! ¡No es una prostituta! ¡Nadie puede pensar que es una prostituta!

Anecdotal data suggested a corresponding conclusion: in an informal conversation, a former Cubanacan¹⁹ employee believed that because of the importance of music and dance, eroticism was indeed a central part of Cuban culture, and was something tourists both expected and found to be true. He said that in general it was very easy to find a sexual partner at any time but that moral values were also very central to Cuban society. In his view (which I found to be a common one), the images appropriated in mainstream tourism marketing did not establish an expectation of transactional sex work and he did not consider these two areas to overlap. Instead, *jineterismo* was accountable to the motivation of individuals who think it will be an easy way to earn money. In this sense the research drew together some interesting tensions regarding tourism, exotic and erotic capital, and the motivations of the individual versus the image of the state. While much of the data in this chapter would appear to correlate with Brennan's notion of sexscape construction through "the flights of fantasy" that flourish through the transnational networks of tourism, these discourses clearly contest the notion that the "representational regime" (Bandyopadhyay and Nascimento, 2010: 935) that works through the tourist gaze of Cuba fosters a tourist sex economy based on prostitution. Hence, interesting questions of tourists' intentionality (Günther, 1998) and the limits of Cuban state control through tourism begin to emerge. Drawing on representations of exotic capital which continue to command such currency in the tourist imaginary reinforces certain myths (that exotic Otherness is natural and easily accessible) and silence others (that the circulation of

be as much a facet of contemporary global sex tourism as tourists' engagement in brothel or street prostitution.

¹⁹ Cubanacan is an state-founded tour operator.

exotic capital requires work and raises complex moral questions, setting into motion complicated repercussions in terms of local gender and racial dynamics).

In addition, the research findings suggested that humour plays a significant role in discursive negotiation of the reality of prostitution in Cuba. One evening during my fieldwork trip I watched in a Havana cinema a French film called *Vers le Sud* (dir. Laurent Cantet, 2005) about romance tourism in Haiti. In a final scene the female protagonist reflects on her first passionate relationship with a local Haitian as she returns home, expressing her desire to discover similar sexual adventures in different exotic locations: the audience burst into cheers, whoops and raucous laughter when she names Cuba first in that list. There is evidence that self-exoticisation according to these stereotypes has intensified in Cuba's increased visibility through tourism, but that these processes involve playfulness and humour. The humour revealed in this episode and the joke told by the Camagüey landlord (relating to the migratory flows of Cubans through marriage to tourists since the 1990s), recounted in the previous section, form part of a series of complex discursive negotiations to understand and categorise the reality of sex tourism.

There were further discursive negotiations at play. In some sources, a certain nostalgia emerged for the early 1990s, during the early years of the resurrection of Cuba's international tourism industry, when sex work was seemingly more straightforward: in a conversation with a boutique tour company based in Havana, the British founder explained that the 'culture' of *jineterismo* had changed since the early years of the Special Period, when encounters operated within nightclubs and involved spectacularly-groomed Cuban women whose lifestyles were glamorous and relatively carefree. It was still prostitution, she conceded, but it was somehow more *sana*. Since these encounters had become more policed, she said, it moved out of the nightclub scene and involved younger girls; she expressed her sadness at seeing one of her daughter's school friends seated at a café table with an older gentleman who she identified to be a tourist.

In a mirrored discourse, the music teacher Danyel, whom I met near Café Francesa, made the distinction between *prostitución voluntaria* and *prostitución forzada* (involving minors and vulnerable persons), stressing that Cubans were proud to deny the existence of the latter. Similarly, scholarship has also criticised the idea that sex tourism is inherently exploitative, according to the motivation of the local individual involved (voluntary/forced) and according to the financial terms (Ryan, 2000). However, the literature also makes clear that globally, the sexualisation of tourism carries the very real threat of serious issues like the abduction of children into prostitution rings for tourists (Bandyopadhyay

and Nascimento, 2010: 940) and the spread of sexually-transmitted diseases in host countries (Cohen, 1988b). The research findings therefore revealed discourses which implied various and complex justifying frameworks: the reality of sex work was acknowledged, but the Cuban specificity (that it was comparatively less exploitative and therefore justifiable) emphasised important moral distinctions which negotiated its social and moral cost. However, the implication behind the notion that only '*prostitución voluntaria*' exists in Cuba is, of course, that the exploitative dynamic and power differentials often at play between tourists and locals, and the wider issues regarding crime and healthcare, are concealed. It also reinforces the concept that sex work occurs because of a normalised, heightened sexual availability that is characteristic of the host population.

Furthermore, while researchers of Cuba have emphasised that the motivations of women who have sexualised relationships with tourists range from mobility and migration (Cabezas, 2009), to romantic idealisation of the European male (Santos, 2009) and the need to *resolver*, it is paramount to stress that sex tourism is a demand-driven industry. In this sense, although Cuban women and men may capitalise on opportunities using their personal affective resources, the tourist gaze is first directed towards such sexscapes (Brennan, 2004) which have been established in the tourist imaginary through "historical campaigns of sensual publicity" (Bandyopadhyay and Nascimento, 2010: 943). Sex tourism depends on the exoticisation of sexual availability (Kempadoo, 1999) and, critically, economic necessity on the part of the host population (Enloe, 1990: 36). Only one source in the data recognised this essential part of the sex tourism model by candidly explaining, "the combination of relaxed customs, the warm weather and poverty form the perfect blend to make the island [Cuba] a great sex tourism destination" (Cerqueira, no date: no page). The complex differentiations in understandings of underdevelopment in Cuba, and its moral coding in popular discourse, mean that this essential dynamic of host-guest sex is frequently concealed.

4.6 Moving forwards

The circulation of exotic capital through touristic representations in Cuba connects long-standing myths and imaginaries to tourists' appetite for intimacy and alterity. For the tourist, to consume exotic capital is to escape 'civilisation': far from the pressures and infrastructure of work, and from the apparent rigidity that characterises social settings and sexual relations. These wider binary oppositions become reinforced through tourism. While often contradictory, the different aspects of exotic capital coalesce to form a

generalised and sedimented gaze through which tourists' experiences are mediated: tourists and service providers appear to fit into the functions that these texts devise and reinforce notions of difference. The discursive threads that link performances and images of the exotic/erotic, wider representations of normalised sexual identity and the operation of sex work in contemporary Cuba speak of a place that is simultaneously real (a physical place) and imagined (an idealised exotic paradise full of opportunities for hedonistic pleasures).

Although scholarship outlines tourism's power to create and reinforce ideas about sexual difference and sexual identities, especially in Latin America and the Caribbean, this chapter demonstrates that these textual constructions occur in complex and contradictory ways in the Cuban context. In many ways, notions of sexual openness and difference satisfy a persistent imaginary of gendered, and often racialised, eroticism: they respond to tourists' desire to experience intimacy and alterity. The implications of these constructions are threefold. Firstly, they enrol both tourist and service provider into specific performances as exotic capital is circulated and consumed: in the case of the resort *animadores*, for example, sexualised dancing assumed mutual expectations of the *animador* and tourist body, underpinned by mutual stereotypes of rigidity, spontaneity, hedonism, and sensuality. The normalisation of sensuality conceals the work that is required to make exotic and erotic capital work effectively. Secondly, the normalisation of sexual identities through the circulation of exotic capital foregrounds the opportunities for sexual encounter in ways that have been observed to render the terms of such encounters ambiguous. Furthermore, we might understand how, because of the historical palimpsest of sexualised exotic culture, the naturalisation of Cuban sexual identities, spontaneity, and erotic mappings of the city, encourage tourists to embrace sensual and sexualised practices rather than expressly travelling to Cuba to satisfy particular sexual desires. To be sure, that is not to deny the existence of tourists who do so. Rather, it is to suggest that sexualised tourism in Cuba may be understood to be even more ambiguous than scholarship already construes (Cabezas, 2004; Santos, 2009): the combination of discursive, imaginary and material frameworks discussed in this chapter incites tourists of all motivations to engage in sensual and sexual practices. Thirdly, the appropriation of exotic capital conceals and negotiates harsh realities. This chapter demonstrates that both tourists and service providers are complicit in re-creating the pleasure island image of Cuba. The complex ways in which these codes are packaged, negotiated and justified suggests that, as much as exotic and erotic capital are sources of pleasure, and carry sexual promise, they also carry a threat, for example of crime, disease and moral corruption (Sheller, 2003: 20). In addition, engagement with these types of capital

provokes moral and political questions for both the tourists and the locals who may be formally or informally identified as service providers. The need to make these promotional imaginaries accessible, easy and pleasurable involves significant and complex framings, as this chapter has attempted to demonstrate. This is especially true, I argue, of marketing tourism in Cuba, where tensions between the friendly and threatening faces of exotic capital are particularly contentious in political terms.

Secondly, exotic capital is a homogenising force that enables the marketing of tropical destinations (since it draws on and reinforces familiar, long-standing myths about peoples and places), yet complicates claims to uniqueness which are central to tourism's project of nation-branding (Porter, 1990, cited in Martin de Holan and Phillips, 1997: 778). It should be obvious that the exotic representations mentioned in this chapter are not specific to Cuba, as research on neighbouring destinations attests (Bandyopadhyay and Nascimento, 2010; Brennan, 2004; Britton, 1979). Sheller observes that one outcome of the promotion of the Caribbean as a site of touristic consumption is the homogenisation of exotic destinations into merged sites of play and rule-breaking. As such, argues Sheller, "the Caribbean is construed as mostly cultureless and thus all the more suitable for hedonistic 'natural' excess" (2004b: 18; 2004a). However, the data revealed a desire to set Cuba apart as unique both as a global competitive strategy and a means of correcting certain misconceptions of Cuba through tourism. Indeed, Cuba has long sought to define itself – politically, culturally and economically – as distinct within the Caribbean; to emphasise all it has achieved *despite* its geographic condition. Cuban tourism's underpinning of revolutionary socialism particularises the generic homogeneity that characterises Caribbean tourism in general, creating moral frameworks that justify and condemn exotic and erotic touristic practices, as this chapter has shown, and exposing the tensions, contradictions and compromises inherent in Cuban circulations of exotic capital through tourism.

Regarding how these representations of place also attribute values, behaviours and identities to the native population, we can identify parallels with Patullo's observations that "these images are crude: of happy, carefree, fun-loving men and women, colourful in behaviours, whose life is one of daytime indolence beneath the palms and a night-time of pleasure through music, dance and sex" (1996: 142). This chapter has focussed on the latter half of this understanding, but images of embodied, sensualised and sexualised pleasures are just one aspect that emerged through this research. As many of these examples demonstrate, the passionate climate is not built on sex exclusively but rather a general affective wealth involving embodied and emotional pleasures based on notions and assumptions of difference. In the next chapter I will describe how the emotional

capital, expressed through the same “happy, carefree, fun-loving” stereotypes Patullo describes is layered onto those of embodied, exotic pleasures and acquires a Cuban specificity through particular discourses.

CHAPTER FIVE

Emotional Capital

The previous chapter considered the instances when the exotic and the erotic featured in touristic articulations of Cuba as part of a wider market of feelings which, the thesis contends, has been central to promoting and consuming Cuba through tourism. This chapter explores other discourses within the wider affective framework of Cuban tourism, exploring the ways that the commodification of feelings occurs through the production, circulation and consumption of emotional capital¹. Those same exotic-referencing texts also “create an emotional and psychic template for [a tourist’s] vacation” (Cohen, 2010: 147) based on which tourists seek heightened emotional and sensory experiences (Edensor, 2006) and contact with the Other (MacCannell, 1999; Urry, 1990: 98), connecting the macro-level of tourism world-making to the intimate spaces of formal and informal tourism on the ground. As the chapter elaborates, these discourses implicate, organise and reconcile emotional labour in a range of settings.

Caribbean tourism has been particularly noted for normalising crude constructions of emotional traits (Patullo, 1996: 142). Yet there are distinctions within the circulation of emotional capital in the context of Cuban tourism, particularly where emotional capital serves to market Cuba as unique and to mediate political objectives. In order to address these themes, the data leads us to three principal and overlapping concepts, which form the structure of this chapter:

5.1 Affective Otherness: emotional and moral capital

5.2 The industry of affective capital: labour and authenticity

5.3 Negotiating complex emotions

The first section deals with the multiple discourses that constitute emotional capital as a feature of the Cuban tourist product. I then cite evidence of how this capital is made to work: which actors are involved in marketing, circulating and delivering emotional capital through tourist products or services and through which practices. The particular emotional and practical challenges engendered by these exchanges and encounters are the focus of the third section of the chapter.

¹ As per the conceptual framework defined in the Introduction of this thesis, emotional capital here refers to the strategic circulation of feeling in the Cuban tourism industry which is not sexualised or eroticised. My intention is in to distinguish it from other sub-categories or dimensions of affective capital such as exotic or erotic capital, for example.

5.1 Affective otherness: emotional and moral capital

Initial engagement with the topic of emotions in the narrative data suggested that the Cuban tourist experience reinforced Patullo's assertions regarding the crude images of happy, carefree, and sometimes sexualised and pleasure-seeking Caribbean people who have dominated the touristic imagery of the region in general (1996). Such images are naturally rich in feeling, with different discourses of love, romance and feeling, overlapping within a wider spectrum of heightened affectivity. Certainly, most of the sources highlighted a special emotional experience that was intrinsic to Cuba and which tourists were likely to experience as part of their tour. As one travel writer says, "Cuba for me...is the most emotionally involving – and unsettling – place I know; Cuba catches my heart, and makes me count the cost of that enchantment" (Miller, 2001: 12).

The heightened states of emotional stimulation and intensity sought by independent tourists (Cohen, 2004) suggest that the often sexualised 'sensory Otherness' referred to in Chapter Four extends to different emotional experiences. As this section demonstrates, the production, circulation and consumption of emotional capital in Cuban tourism draws together assumptions of intimacy, alterity, and the normalisation of emotional and moral identities.

5.1.1 Marketing *el pueblo*²

In many instances, Cuban sources of data made reference to the attraction and value of the Cuban population to the tourism industry. Reviewing the evolution of state-led campaigns since the early 1990s, it is clear that the explicit inclusion of the Cuban population in marketing is a more recent development. Furthermore, studies indicate that the government initially sought to isolate tourists from the population based on a perceived threat to revolutionary ideals (O' Connell Davidson, 1996: 39; Sánchez and Adams, 2008: 32) and has continued to limit and police host-guest contact in various ways (Cabezas, 2009: 145; Carter, 2010: 128; Padilla and McElroy, 2007: 656; Roland, 2013). However, my research findings suggested that *el pueblo* is now one of the major selling points appropriated by official channels as a component of Cuba's larger emotional

² Used in this way, *pueblo* refers to a regional or ethnic group attached to a singular place. In Cuba, the term is heavily charged in political discourse. Although it is not within the scope of this thesis to fully explore its political currency, here *el pueblo* is referenced in recognition of its origins in Fidel Castro's speeches, such as the 1961 'Palabras a los intelectuales', to denote the moral purity of the masses and their centrality to the revolutionary project and the Cuban nation

capital. The promotional video released as part of the 'Auténtica Cuba' campaign ³ is a montage of Cuban faces. The individuals featured are not tourism workers in official roles, but farmers, fisherman, ballet dancers, school children and general members of the population. Demonstrating that along with historical monuments and natural tourist attractions, Cuban personality is a feature of the tourist product. Indeed, a textbook for Cuban tourism students remarks that "atractivos naturales e histórico-culturales constituyen una poderosa propuesta para el turista.... A esto se añade algo muy valioso para el visitante: la hospitalidad de nuestro pueblo, la seguridad y estabilidad de la sociedad cubana" (Villalba Garrido, 1993: 70).

In general, the data featured countless summaries of Cuban personality traits. There was an understanding, firstly, that the national character could be generalised and singularly encapsulated, and secondly, that such summaries constituted valid and integral information for the tourist. In this excerpt from a state-issued brochure, the emotional characteristics of the Cuban population are highlighted in detail:

It is very hard indeed to put in a few words the concept of Cubanness. Generally speaking it could be understood as the result of ethnic and cultural mixture that finally formed a new and different culture and people. Yet this is just a rush [sic] and incomplete concept. In the light of this statement it would be advisable to define Cubans instead. Cubans are cheerful, jesting, open-minded, loving, tender, hospitable people, but also joking, hyperbolic and exaggerating. Cubans are also enthusiastic people for whom any problem has a solution.... They are finally honourable, patriotic and full of human dignity people (*La Cultura Cubana Le Ofrece*, 2006: 31). ⁴

Many of the attributes listed in the brochure have convenient marketability within the tourist industry: the notion of open-minded and hospitable people can easily be adapted to the influx of tourists and their diverse needs. Furthermore, it situates national identity not simply as a demographic question of racial compositions or cultural history but as a product of emotional characteristics which are in turn generalised and normalised by this representation.

The Cuban population is marketed in response to tourists' prevailing desire to have a personalised encounter in Cuba. This phenomenon is in turn rooted in notions of intimacy and authenticity. Tourists' discourses expressed the pervasive sense that Cuba is

³ Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=99IBtics0wQ>. [Accessed 10 May 2013].

⁴ Translation in the original text.

experiencing transition meant that contact with so-called 'real' Cuban people represents the only means to an authentic experience of the island. Boutique travel companies, in particular, are responding to this demand. Customer feedback on the website of the bespoke tour operator Caledonia, reflects this mandate. One customer recalls that their Cuban holiday was "a very personalised encounter which was what I wanted". Another continues:

We also appreciated the time our teachers gave up to socialize with us, most evenings at least one of the guys would come along and take us out dancing and we had a fabulous night out all together on our last night. This made the experience much more special.⁵

The "personalised encounter" valued by these customers and many others on the same page relates to the tourist's desire to experience contact not in a formal employee-client capacity, but on more authentic, informal person-to-person terms. In the second example, the tourist's experience was made "much more special" by the possibility of spending intimate time with the dance instructor away from their professional obligations to the group. This basic consumption of emotional capital recalls MacCannell's description that tourists value the ability to gaze upon the intimate and personalised spaces over tourism's official 'front of house' (1973: 590).

5.1.2 Happiness and well-being

As a general rule, tourism is imagined to be a happy experience for the tourist (who is distanced from the pressures of home), where they may even reconnect with simple, embodied pleasures, to return home 'happy' as a result: holidays are conventions of feeling, like weddings and parties, in that they are generally expected to be occasions where people feel happy, led not simply by conventions of outward appearance but by conventions of genuine feeling (Hochschild, 2003: 87). Yet tourism also attaches happiness, as a form of accumulated affective value, to places and people: according to the processes that Ahmed has theorised (2010: 21), tourism marketing has reinforced the well-established stereotype of the happy, carefree Caribbean island inhabitant, as Patullo describes (1996: 142). The research findings thus supported Patullo's 'happy' stereotype, and in general, the notion that tourism was a happy experience. In common with the

⁵ Feedback is displayed on the Caledonia website, available at: <http://www.caledonialanguages.com/whatwedo/Tailormade-Cuba/Cuba-feedback.html>. [Accessed 10 March 2014].

contagious tropicalisation of the exotic in the previous chapter, the happy culture inherent to Cubanness had the potential to ‘infect’ and transform the tourist through immersion in the host environment:

This is a land of marked and attractive contrasts; of pleasant, educated, inventive people who are glad to share their joy and to make everyone they meet happy, too.

...the evenings resound to the *sones guarachas, rumbas* and other contagious Cuban rhythms, which fill their streets with a joyous beat

Cuba’s cities have always been enchanting, reflecting the light, the colourful buildings, and above all, the happy, boisterous people...our heritage, handed down generation after generation. It underlies our *joie de vivre*, our smiles and our happiness in sharing the natural and cultural wealth of this land with visitors (MINTUR, no date e).

The very idea that affect is ‘infectious’ and may be ‘passed on’ has been convincingly argued in scholarship (Probyn, 2005; Sedgwick, 2003). We are affectively ‘infected’ by our environments, but equally, “affect leaps from one body to another” (Gibbs, 2001:1), wherein proximity to another’s shame also ‘infects’ the individual with shame. The contagion effects of happiness have also been observed through a focus on close physical proximity to others (Fowler and Christakis, 2008, cited in Powdthavee, 2010: 178). Certainly, metaphors of contagion bolster the naturalisation of this particular strand of emotional capital. There were distinctions, however, in articulations of Cubans’ disposition to be happy as a consequence of socialism. In the first example from the Thomas Cook brochure, Cubans’ natural happiness, and their generous willingness to ‘pass it around’, are strikingly associated with one of the Revolution’s *logros sociales*, which is universal education. Cubans’ happiness therefore emerges as a natural and political outcome. Emotional intelligence, necessary to ‘infect’ others therefore emerges as a natural by-product of the socialist project for education. Nevertheless, the concept that happiness may also stem from “sharing” Cuba with visitors is problematic: although host-guest contact offers opportunities for agency to certain actors who earn a living through contact with tourists, discourses of naturalised hospitality and an ‘open shores’ representation conceal the economic features of those same encounters. Citing happiness also glosses over the particular social cost that tourism has caused in Cuba.

In addition, while in Chapter Two it was noted that eroticised tropical heat inspired eroticised exotic capital, metaphors of natural heat also extended to emotional capital. One Viva Cuba slogan expresses this capital particularly explicitly: “la incomparable alegría de vivir que refleja su gente [cubana] en las más cálidas sonrisas”. Brochures

produced outside Cuba also promise that “it’s not just the waters that are warm, you’ll find the locals are friendly and generous” (Thomas Cook, 2011: 52). This naturalisation of emotional capital may be read as an effort to “[assuage] tourist fears by suggesting that the friendliness, lawfulness and dignity of the [locals] are as natural as the landscapes in which they live” (Cohen, 2010: 77). In a slim brochure seasonally published and circulated by MINTUR, the welcome page also employs this naturalising metaphor, as well as interesting gendered associations:

A su llegada a La Habana en marzo, podrá disfrutar del clima primaveral, y a la vez sentir el calor y la solidaridad de la población capitalina. En su visita...apreciará en particular el trato afable, cálido y respetuoso de la mujer cubana, esa que hoy es abnegada trabajadora, ama de casa, esposa, hermana, hija o abuela. En este mes se celebra en nuestro país el Día Internacional de la Mujer...el calor [con el que usted] será recibido en cada lugar que visite, en este mes donde la mujer recibe el más cordial homenaje de la sociedad toda (*Guía la Habana Para Tí*, 2009: 2).

Warmth emerges as a central metaphor for the contact and experience the tourist is invited to expect, in parallel with the typical climate of the month femininity also comes into play. Highlighting the Revolution’s particular achievements in gender equality, and contradicting the *machista* values embedded in other discourses⁶, tourists are invited to engage with gendered solidarity by receiving *the same* warmth that has been afforded Cuban women, as well as to receive warmth from those women. Taken in a different context, “el trato cálido” could imply erotic suggestion. Instead, it downplays such suggestions, acting as a counterpoint to the island’s reputation for sex tourism, and underlining the early revolutionary project of egalitarianism and its efforts to rehabilitate sex workers (Fernandez, 1999: 82), as well as Cuban women’s rights generally. Essentially, the emotional capital represented here through warmth is one that is both natural, as a logical association of the temperate season and a result of positive egalitarian policies, whose safeguarding of key feminine roles, has in part been reproduced in “el trato afable, cálido y respetuoso”. This representation sees emotional warmth as a matter of both natural and political development.

⁶ For example the *Rough Guide*’s personal safety recommendations for women explored in section 4.4 of Chapter Four.

5.1.3 Connectivity and connectedness

A key finding of the research was that Cuba is represented as a return to uncorrupted feeling, to the stripping back of the senses, since as the Viva Cuba slogan expresses it, “Cuba es el amparo de esencias humanas”. There are multiple layers to this promotional strategy that implicate both tourist and host. Firstly, underdevelopment is marketed as a desirable aspect of the tourist experience, given that it is perceived to mark a contrast (Urry, 1990) to the material excesses of modern Western life at home. For example, tourists responded positively to their experience of Cuba’s limited access to technology. Examples from their narratives included, “I find that one of the advantages of being in Cuba is that my phone will not work. It is quite refreshing to be free”⁷ and “I have been sitting in front of a computer 12 hours a day since 1995 so for me it is refreshing”.⁸ The tourist’s access to mobile technology, in many ways a device that allows greater personal freedom and which indicates higher socio-economic status, was instead viewed as a burden:

From experience, I can tell you that I feel liberated with no functioning [mobile] phone...in Cuba. It is like I have been able to disconnect that ball and chain and really am free.⁹

Plus, there won't be the means of over communication in the form of email, fb [Facebook], iPad, iPhone, etc that seems to kill my creativity.¹⁰

Rather than simply representing an unfortunate fact of the tourist experience of Cuba, the incompatibility of the tourist’s technological devices is instead greeted as a major selling-point. The tourist, up until now apparently bearing the brunt of globalisation, now feels ‘refreshed’ to be distanced from its accoutrements. In many other forum threads, users encouraged others to actively embrace Cuba’s lack of technology and ‘go native’ in this very particular sense. An authored article in the main Lonely Planet website informs that “internet access is difficult and so you’ll find that going offline can be an illuminating experience for those accustomed to constant connectivity” (Gorry. 2011). The feeling of

⁷ Available at: <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/thorntree/thread.jsa?threadID=2157222> [Accessed 12 June 2013].

⁸ Available at: <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/thorntree/thread.jsa?threadID=2298599> [Accessed 12 June 2013].

⁹ Available at: <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/thorntree/thread.jsa?threadID=2218852> [Accessed 12 June 2013].

¹⁰ Available at: <https://www.lonelyplanet.com/thorntree/forums/americas-cuba/cuba/cuba-for-60-days-flying-out-of-miami-please-help?page=5> [Accessed 4 May 2014].

well-being offered by this specific contrast with the conditions of home is, of course, only appealing because it is temporary.

Furthermore, the subtext of these comments is not simply that Cuba's infrastructure supports technology poorly, but rather that Cubans themselves are inherently predisposed to live with more basic conditions: on-going repercussions of the Special Period are glossed over with one claim that Cubans have "an almost bloody-minded determination to be as happy and unfazed by the problems of everyday life as possible".¹¹ Of course, the fetishization of underdeveloped technology in touristic discourses about Cuba is, and is perceived to be, more complex than that in other developing world destinations, since Cuban's access to mobile and internet technology goes beyond material obstacles and touches on national connectivity, and the ongoing US embargo, as well as the limits imposed on internet access within the island (Uxó, 2009).

Emotional capital also formed the basis to positive framings of technological underdevelopment. Lack of internet connectivity, for example, was positively correlated to heightened human connectedness, as has been seen. Therefore, the (imprisoning) trappings of modernity are associated with home, whilst a simpler lifestyle and greater well-being are associated with Cuba: the material and the emotional operate in a system of relative and interchangeable values. Interestingly, this paradigm was mirrored in Cuban discourses which explained the isolation of the tourist's life back home through their dependence on technology over human relationships. Emotional capital is therefore interpreted through difference, as Rafael Hernández summarises in this interview excerpt:

Lo que pasa es que si hay gente que viven solos, porque es una sociedad de capitalismo altamente [avanzado]... la gente vive en soledad, y todas esas nuevas tecnologías de la información refuerzan esa soledad... delante de la computadora, se mete horas y horas hablando con la computadora, pero siguen aislados. Siguen sublimando su necesidad de conectarse con el mundo...el contacto humano es contacto humano. Porque el contacto humano es querer mirarse en los ojos, querer tocar, se refiere a oler el mundo en dónde tú estás.

In this citation, the (advanced capitalist) tourist, longing to seek contact through their technological connectedness, finds in Cuba the highly sensory and embodied connectedness (experienced through seeing, smelling, touching) that they are truly

¹¹ Lonely Planet (2012). Havana for first-timers. Available at <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/cuba/travel-tips-and-articles/76432>. [Accessed 10 May 2014].

seeking. Therefore, while technologies have separated us from our natural human impulses, to be together and to seek human contact, Cuba has preserved this natural social dynamic and, according to Hernández, holds a powerful attraction to Western tourists. In the same interview, Hernández corroborated that the mix of social and cultural groups fostered by the Revolution created the sense of community that is expressed through this same inter-personal connectedness. The growing importance of family and community networks in response to the withdrawal of the state during the Special Period has also been theorised by scholars such as Fernández (2000). Therefore, where greater focus on family, community and personal relationships appears as another natural feature of Cuba's general emotional capital, where contact was spontaneous and normalised, it also implies political and economic factors.

5.1.4 Moral codes

Morality also featured repeatedly in touristic articulations of Cuba's 'affective landscape', with both marketing sources and tourist narratives identifying a strong moral core to revolutionary society. Moral codes run through Cuba's emotional capital in a more broad sense: in the Auténtica Cuba brochure tourists are reassured to "enjoy its attractions in complete safety. Moreover, you'll be welcomed with a smile" (MINTUR, 2011a: 12). For example, the honest nature of the local population also emerged as a powerful attraction within the marketable national psyche, evident in the Viva Cuba tagline "es gente entusiasta y sincera" (MINTUR, no date c: 1). Many of the Cuban sources recognised the power of tourism to relay this moral core and emphasised the need for morality to be demonstrated through contact with visitors. Campaign executives at Infotur also emphasised the need to produce promotional materials that were honest, not simply because tourists whose expectations were met were more likely to book return trips, but also because of a moral imperative to speak truthfully through advertising.

However, an emphasis on moral traits also functions as a marker of uniqueness in the competitive tourism market, in particular responding to notions that the region can be violent and unsafe for the tourist. The following citations come from my 29th February 2012 interview with MINTUR executive Ingrid Hernández, and relate to moral capital in terms of what she saw to be a major factor that made Cuba unique, and in turn, attractive to the international visitor:

[En la campana 'Auténtica Cuba' hay] niños jugando a la pelota en la calle. Esos mismos niños son jugadores profesionales del futuro. Y eso no se ve en otros

países del mundo. Cuatro niños salen de sus casas, están en la calle y juegan a la pelota. Y no les pasa nada con total seguridad. Y realmente es todo un espectáculo, porque hemos visto muchos turistas que fotografian eso porque no lo ven en otros lugares.

Es un país seguro, y todos sienten curiosidad por saber lo que es el socialismo. Eso es innegable. Aunque no lo digan, es un país diferente, que tiene las mismas, o mejores en algunos casos, prestaciones que otros destinos como son Cancún, República Dominicana... Es decir, son elementos que no se pueden ver, digamos, en México, en Cancún, aquí nunca se ve una noticia de un secuestro. Un accidente puede ocurrir perfectamente. Pero es un accidente. No es algo que vayamos a decir que en Cuba hay crimen organizado que peligra la vida de los visitantes.

Across the conversation as a whole, Ingrid's comments reveal certain connections between safety, moral capital, the tourist gaze and Cuban socialism. Evidently, there were certain misconceptions on Ingrid's part, for example that children rarely play outside elsewhere in the world and indeed, in general, anecdotal evidence revealed misplaced but commonly-held ideas that life in tourists' home countries was dangerous, especially for children. During the period of fieldwork I heard Cubans frequently express a conviction that outside Cuba, a person lost or injured in a public place would receive no assistance. In sum, Cubans from official tourism bodies and in many more informal settings were unanimous in their belief that Cuba is unique in distinctly moral terms: further examples of this belief included views on Cuba's low tolerance of drug abuse, low statistics of violence, and according to one Cuban, the state press being the world's most honest. According to the general views of many Cubans, then, foreign tourists' interest in children playing safely in the street symbolises such a contrast that they wish to capture and 'take it home' in the form of a photograph. This perceived curiosity for the safety ensured by socialism is recognised as such by creative executives, who clearly identify moral codes as a "prestación" which sets Cuba apart from regional competitors. Citing tourists' tendency to photograph similar scenes, Ingrid reveals that the tourism industry adopts the same tourist gaze as the camera-toting tourists and re-appropriates the image of children playing for marketing purposes. The images that inform tourists of what is 'authentic' through this marketing campaign therefore form a marker for the prospective tourist (MacCannell, 1999), signalling which elements are worthy of tourist attention – the marker directs the gaze while also taking its lead from it.

Remarks about morality revolved primarily around assurances of the tourist's personal safety. For example, a guidebook from 1993 reassures that "se puede circular y caminar a cualquier hora del día o de la noche, por todas partes, sin temor. No hay mendigos, ni, prácticamente, ladrones" (Politurs, 1993: 22). The guidebooks generally emphasised that instances of violent crime are incredibly low in Cuba. Likewise, on online forums, 'seasoned' travellers admonished first-time tourists who expressed their concerns about personal safety, drawing contrasts against the violence that has come to represent other parts of Latin America and the Caribbean. Beyond the appropriation of morality as a symbol of socialist value systems, there was evidence that emphasised tourist safety as a priority element of Cuba's tourism brand. Ingridis stated:

No sé si has visto una de la imágenes que son.....son tres niños en una piscina. Y hay otro que es un niño haciendo una voltereta en la playa. Ver a un niño, solo, en una playa da una gran medida de cuál segura es la playa. Porque siempre va a estar alguien que va a estar cuidando a ese niño... Aquí, los niños pueden perfectamente perderse en un lugar y siempre alguien con total responsabilidad va a localizar a los padres, para llevarles a un lugar donde pueden ser retornados.

The first image to which Ingridis made reference reflects similar images in previous official promotions, concluding that this message has been pivotal in Cuba's moral capital strategy.¹² Across the range of marketing materials, there is little doubt that the gazer may identify Cubans from tourists; the whiteness of the children in the images just cited, for example, sets them apart from the Cuban children who also feature in the campaign. The message relayed by the image is that tourists' children are safe in Cuba. Indeed, the accompanying strapline for the Auténtica Cuba image is, "Beaches: sunny, safe and spectacular". The paradise that was described in the previous chapter has multiple appropriations for different tourist types: at once open and inviting (sexual) conquest, it is also inscribed with moral codes that set it apart from other beaches in the region. Clearly, marketing directors across the region understand that the degree of personal safety a tourist can expect to find is central to their choice of holiday destination (O'Connell Davidson, 1996: 44). In these texts, however, moral capital is marketed as being especially rooted in Cuban socialism.

Nevertheless, other texts depicted moral codes in different ways. One guidebook acknowledges that "Havana is not a dangerous city...there is almost no gun crime, violent robbery, organised gang culture, teenage delinquency, drugs or dangerous no-go zones"

¹² See Appendix C, Figure 1.

(Sainsbury, 2009: 116); however, the same text also remarks that “theft from hotel rooms is tediously common, with the temptation of earning three times your monthly salary in one fell swoop often too hard to resist...purposeful overcharging is a favourite (and easy) trick” (116). In this citation, the imbalance between Cuban state wages and tourists’ access to cash makes lapses in moral capital inevitable. Tourism appropriates normalised Cuban morality but also compromises it, although this paradox is rarely acknowledged. Fundamental moral codes are not contradicted through these constructions, however; instead, lapses indicate individual opportunism without critically questioning the socio-economic factors that precede it.

5.1.5 Solidarity

The conversion of moral capital into a valid and marketable element of the tourist’s experience frequently revolves around the Revolution’s *logros sociales* or ‘social benefits’ to the Cuban population (Kapcia, 2008: 46). As a conceptual extension of moral and emotional capital, political capital is thus selectively incorporated into the tourist product.¹³ Moving the debate away from a discussion of the ideological and moral clashes of tourism within revolutionary socialism, some scholarly work has argued that Cuban tourism instead allows opportunities to highlight, for example, the Revolution’s commitment to environmental responsibility (Castro, 1993, cited in Winson, 2006), and in general, to foster “both respect for its socialist accomplishments and sympathy for the injustices suffered at the hands of its antagonistic northern neighbour, the United States” (Sánchez and Adams, 2008: 30). In addition to the designation of Cuban political sites that have been the focus of previous research,¹⁴ findings suggested that tourists were especially drawn to gaze on intimate spaces where revolutionary *logros sociales* manifested themselves on a human level: on several occasions during my fieldwork, I noticed tourists clustered around the street-level window of one city-centre school, taking photographs of a classroom in session.

¹³ The interest is not in package tours or volunteer trips specifically marketed through political solidarity networks like Cuba Solidarity, for example, but rather references to political capital across the tourism industry as a whole. Although these specific types of tourism are beyond the scope of this thesis, NGO study tours in Cuba are the focus of an excellent study by Rochelle Spencer (2010): Spencer sees such tours as generally positive examples of a “new moral tourism” (2010: 51).

¹⁴ The focal point of the Museo de la Revolución in Havana is “the pedigree of Castro’s revolutionary movement”: as Sánchez and Adams observe, the museum draws tourists’ attention to the achievements of the Revolution but also functions to “socialize citizens” (2008: 38).

Ambivalent depictions of Cuba as either a developed or developing nation mean that the notion of ethical/volunteer tourism sits uneasily in the Cuban context. In fact, Cuba has typically resisted the intervention of NGOs, and, it should be noted, counts its own substantial humanitarian outreach as the strongest arm of its foreign relations project. Cuba has been framed as an anomaly in terms of international aid and development (Riley, 2008: 3), particularly at the intersection with NGO tourism. However, tourists on the Lonely Planet online forums frequently expressed a desire to demonstrate their political solidarity through volunteer tourism projects. In requesting information about volunteering programmes in Cuba, forum contributors were commonly met with derision and sarcasm from other users, relating to Cuba's unlikely status as the target of Western NGO intervention.

Cravatte and Chabloz note that certain forms of so-called 'ethical tourism' "construct a context for meeting the 'other' by presenting the consumption of this service as an act of solidarity" (2008: 231). Indeed, an important strand of tourism research considers the embodied and emotional dimensions of the tourist experience of ostensible 'responsible tourism' models which satisfy tourists' desire for intimacy as well as political sympathies and ethical motives (Conran, 2011; Mahrouse, 2011). This research observed that tourists visiting Cuba certainly articulated a desire to connect in this specific way as part of a more general emotional engagement. However, while some of these tourists' experiences consciously engage with responsible or community-based tourist ethics via particular packages (such as those organised by solidarity groups), articulations of solidarity featured across a broad range of tours and holiday packages which did not fit into this category.

5.1.6 Hospitality and generosity

Generosity and hospitality also featured in touristic Cuba's marketed emotional capital. One Viva Cuba brochure narrates that "Here, [Columbus] found a natural beauty that captivated him immediately and peaceful, friendly people who welcomed him hospitably" (MINTUR, no date c: 1). As a joint association with the natural beauty and virgin paradise, this Cuban disposition is presented as a natural extension of the landscape. In addition, given the context of colonialism and Cuba's post-1959 anti-colonial stance, this is a remarkable angle on Cuba's timeless openness to outsiders. Other texts also reiterated the notion of hospitality in ways that transfer directly to the potential tourist's personal experience: "[At the UNEAC], everyone greets you like a long lost friend" (Sainsbury, 2009: 18). An interview with a Cubanacan tour guide revealed that Cuban traits of

openness and hospitality have been key attractions to the tourist, as they explained, “los cubanos aparecen representados siempre también muy hospitalarios, muy amables, muy abiertos, muy amistosos...dejan entrar a la gente en su casa.”

Through a naturally generous Cuban spirit, tourists are not welcomed in bars simply as paying customers, but instead, according to one guidebook, as “long lost friends” (Sainsbury, 2009: 18). Under Raúl Castro’s post-2007 policy changes, Cubans have increasing freedom to use their homes to rent rooms and serve meals to tourists, as well as more sophisticated home-restaurant and guesthouse ventures. In this sense, the ‘open doors’ representation that has successfully advertised hotel rooms to tourists across destinations worldwide has a doubly convincing, immediate resonance in the Cuban context: homes across the island have indeed opened their doors as numbers of tourists have steadily increased. Normalising this affective characteristic implies that the lucrative profit that *casa particular* and *paladar* owners stand to expect from such business ventures is secondary to their genuine desire to welcome visitors into that most intimate of spaces – their homes. In this sense, policy changes that sanction touristic micro-enterprises have allowed Cubans to tap into affective capital in more flexible ways and for their own purposes; on the other side of the tourist dialogue, this transition has normalised the Cuban home as a tourist site and hospitality as an inherently Cuban characteristic.

In many respects, the construction of the notion of the tourist-as-friend has problematic implications for the Cuban population, especially in the informal sector. Across the island, many Cubans approach foreigners with the Cubanised-English greeting ‘my fren’, a solicitation used by *jinetes* to lead customers to a commission-paying restaurant, for example, as well as any individual chancing it to see where their encounter may lead. Tourists may seek out encounters with the host population and express most enjoyment when those encounters are friendly but in which no money crosses palms (Patullo, 1996: 46), in which case, Cubans seeking to eke out a living through contact with tourists walk a fine line between, on the one hand, ‘friend’ and, on the other, service provider whose services carry a deserved charge. In light of this dilemma, the representation of Cubans as inherently hospitable and generous brings both opportunity and risk. The specific strategies and work involved in supporting the construction of emotional capital on the ground is discussed in the following section, which considers in particular how the emotional characteristics associated with Cuba are enacted within the industry by its component sectors and actors.

5.2 Making emotional capital work: emotional labour and authenticity

Hochschild's pioneering research (2003; 2012) describes emotional labour as the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display, yet the terms of exchange for this work is often ambiguous. Scholars have explored the complexities of emotional labour in the light of tourism's employment structure, racial and gender stratification (De la Fuente, 2001b), informal sectors (Pérez-López, 1995; Jackiewicz and Bolster, 2002; Jackiewicz and Bolster, 2003; Phillips, 2007), and resort enclaves (Cabezas, 2009). This section, however, aims to highlight how the texts in the corpus instruct, inform and/ or recommend types of emotional labour in a way that allows us to consider how imagined emotional capital becomes converted into tourist product. In addition, since the tourism industry relies on a host of actors on varying levels of formality to actually make images work in 'real life' (Hollinshead, 2004), this section also considers the kinds of activity which organises the circulation of emotional capital in everyday encounters with tourists.

5.2.1 The tour guide as ambassador

The tour guide remains an under-researched actor in the contemporary tourist industry, despite their important and immediate role in place-making through their contact with the tourist (Wong and Wang, 2009: 249). In 1990s Cuba, when tourism spaces were especially demarcated in what has been labelled 'tourist apartheid' (Espino, 2000: 362; Roland, 2006: 157), tour guides were one of the tourist's few contact points with the host population. They may continue to be understood as one of the most 'intense' points of contact, given the prolonged time they often spend with tourist groups.

In Cuba, tour guides are trained by the state in centralised vocational institutions. Research has revealed that, in general, tour guides in many parts of the world perform scripted types of work (Aguiar and Marten, 2010), constituting an aspect of the wider standardisation of tourism workers' roles (Greenwood, 1989). While some relevant research claims that the performance of emotional displays is learnt on the job and not through official channels (Wong and Wang, 2009: 253-254), vocational learning materials consulted in the course of research for this thesis appeared to suggest that tour guides are trained to display, embody and reproduce emotional displays through their labour. A 1997 study commissioned by Havanatur, entitled 'Experiencias de Havanatur en la formación de guías de turismo: Recomendaciones para la conformación de futuros programas de formación y recalificación' provides evidence of some interesting notions of guides' emotional labour. The opening paragraph states:

El ser guía...no es una labor para la que todas sean adeptas, pues, además de la preparación académica necesaria, se requiere tener una excelente actitud en lo referente a las cualidades personales y de conducta, es decir no tener fallas de personalidad, o vicios que puedan menoscabar el desempeño de su trabajo, un alto espíritu de servicio y el deseo de mostrar nuestro país. Un guía con una deficiente actitud con respeto a su trabajo desarrollará un deficiente producto turístico...o bien desmotivar al turista por una inadecuada proyección y/o interpretación de nuestra sociedad, cultura medio y los elementos que componen el producto turístico... por [el guía] su trabajo no solo se limita a interpretar el medio donde está, sino que este va más lejos, es hacerse su compañero de viaje y servirle a tiempo completo.

Making friends (and not simply 'acting friendly') is expressed as an objective for tour guides, whose labour is not fixed in shifts but continues full-time, dissolving the boundaries between the individual's 'work personality' and that of real life. Being a tour guide, in the eyes of this official branch of the industry, is not just to have the right attitude, evident in performative bodily displays (Hochschild, 2012) of sympathy and humour (Wong and Wang, 2009: 252) but to be *born* with the right qualities, that is to say, to have no personality flaws nor any moral failings. A tour guide's work as a key ambassador of the country is as moral as it is emotional, calling on them to personally project and interpret socialist values, as another tourism training text implies: "promovemos el respeto de los valores fundamentales de nuestro proyecto social y cultural". The emotional capital appropriated by guides appears to support the enunciative power of Cuban tourism as a whole, as can be seen from the instruction to guides to "mantener siempre una expresión sonriente y afable ante los clientes, que esté en correspondencia con la hospitalidad y el calor humano, característica del pueblo que representa". In addition, in Cuba, the tour guide carries an especially high level of 'world-making' responsibility in the light of the relative inexperience of the industry, the crucial imperative of its success in terms of the economy, and its troubling social consequences in Cuba: the document reiterates "la necesidad de su reconocimiento social en las condiciones actuales en que nuestro país desarrolla la actividad turística con un peso preponderante en la economía". Likewise, interviews with Cuban tour guides revealed that improvising through affective means – humour, play, and cajoling – was frequently required to compensate for material limitations at short notice, which were frequent in the early 1990s. One former guide revealed that she often relied on charm and humour when scheduled tour-bus route were postponed through failed petrol supplies.

In approaching their role as “portador en todo momento de un mensaje de paz y entendimiento entre todos los pueblos”, the tour guide is required to personify revolutionary values to the foreign visitor, in such a way that they function not just as the representative for the tour company (Wong and Wang, 2009: 257) and nation but also for the Revolution. Conversely, guides must “no hacer el ejercicio de sus actividades comentarios políticos partidarios, ni emotar criterios desfavorables sobre personas o localidades”. In other words, although the overtones of this encouraged moral and emotional capital correlate with political ideology, guides are discouraged from engaging in political conversations with tourists. From observation, I found guides instead adopted provocative humour when fielding tourists’ questions about the Revolution. Indeed, Babb notes that Cuban tour guides may use light cynicism and humour for multiple purposes, including satisfying tourists’ desire to ‘get the inside story’ and mediating difficult realities such as the social contradictions of tourism (2011: 57-58).

Anecdotal evidence suggested that the stresses that emotional labour exacts on the tourism worker (Hochschild, 2012) were also true for Cuban tour guides. One fieldwork observation took place during a tour run by state operator Cubatur, which collects tourists from resorts across Varadero at first light and accommodates whistlestop tours of Santa Clara, Cienfuegos and Trinidad, before returning to the resorts late in the evening. As the last passenger to be dropped back home, I chatted with the female guide, who admitted that the job had certain stresses. In her opinion, the tour was badly designed, and was too tiring for tourists: the extra enthusiasm needed to *animar* the guests fell to her and the two drivers. In addition to this pressure, it was depressing work for them, she said, because tourists tipped badly (based on what they perceived as an unsatisfactory experience), and she felt it did not show these national monuments in their best light: as she was very proud of her country it was disappointing for her to not see these places enjoyed by others. In this sense, there is an emotional mirroring back in which satisfaction through the tourist gaze has both emotional and financial consequences for the tour guide. Given the especially high expectations placed on Cuban tour guides to circulate emotional capital through their contact with tourists, it is unsurprising that their emotional labour involves complex performances, improvisations and, occasionally, the suppression of bad feelings.

5.2.2 Repeat tourism

Repeat tourism is a phenomenon that appropriates emotional capital and emotional labour, often in a very immediate sense, building family-like relationships with locals that may begin with a formalised dynamic but often evolve through multiple periods of contact.

Although relevant statistical data is not forthcoming, one need only listen to the conversations on flights to conclude that Cuba receives a high level of repeat tourism. Indeed, tourism scholarship has acknowledged that actively encouraging repeat tourism is a worthwhile strategy given that it is more economical than recruiting interest from new visitors (Ioannides and Holcomb, 2003: 44). To explore the summative dimensions of this phenomenon satisfactorily would require a different methodology, and greater analysis than is possible here, although it is certainly an area of research worthy of greater attention. Ingrid Hernández introduced some of these themes in our interview at MINTUR:

Además, tenemos un alto porciento de clientes repitentes. Cuando un visitante viene, [muchas] veces en el año... Se alojan por supuesto en los hoteles de Varadero. ¡Pero también se van un fin de semana de visita! Ven los señores que conocieron aquí. ¡Y conocen a sus hijos! Es decir, una relación que va más allá de conocer un lugar o tener una vivencia en un lugar. Son relaciones personales, tanto con los trabajadores como con el resto.

Firstly, Ingrid highlights an under-researched category of repeat tourism, which stands apart from romantic host-guest relationships consolidated over repeat visits and often resulting in marriage (Brennan, 2004: 30) or those that form within the Cuban resort space (Cabezas, 2006; 2009): some tourists may continue to stay within the mainstream tourism infrastructure and maintain ongoing friendships with Cubans outside it. Secondly, the different types of contact that repeat tourism opens up present certain challenges. MINTUR's ambition is that a high percentage of tourists return to Cuba: official sources made clear that the tourist product was to be delivered by service providers with this objective in mind. However, the complex nature of the relationships that develop through repeat tourism complicates the system in place in order to categorise tourists and mediate their connections to the host population. Foreigners entering Cuba are usually required to carry a tourist visa (or a different type of visa) and give details of their accommodation, which must be a licensed *casa particular* if it is not a hotel. Anecdotal evidence suggested that tourists were obliged to circumvent these regulations in order to stay with unlicensed Cuban friends.

Ingrid's terminology maintains concrete distinctions between *trabajador* and *cliente*, yet relationships also thrive with *el resto* as she also makes clear. However, tourists profess to more intimate relationships beyond these distinctions for various reasons. Frequently, close relationships with Cubans purportedly qualified a tourist's expertise. For example, online forum users legitimise their claims to know Cuba 'authentically' by citing their

multiple trips, which may relate to common perceptions that Cuba is mysterious or unknowable in wider political and cultural senses, and that Cuba is undergoing rapid changes: *to know* Cuba in 1990 is not the same as *knowing* it now and clocking up several trips in between. Furthermore, gaining intimacy with a place and people through repeat visits also functions as a way of legitimising the self-identity of the tourist. Those who visit Cuba frequently and over a long time period did not self-identify as tourists in their narratives. The distinction made between different tourist types reveals interesting criteria involving contact and intimacy with the host population: the valued status of traveller rather than tourist, for example, is distinguished “by the [traveller’s] behaviours of exploring places privately and experimenting with local food” (Pearce, 1982: 31). Their claims that contact with Cubans purportedly allows intimate access to the ‘real Cuba’ grants any Cuban the role of gatekeeper. Therefore, while being ‘away’ has large touristic appeal because it is precisely different from home (Urry, 1990), many Cuban service providers capitalise on the concept of a welcoming and familiar sense of home to meet this tourist desire. The data’s references to repeat tourism lent new understandings to the circulation of emotional capital through emotional labour, since it highlights the shifting nature of roles performed by both Cubans and tourists and the currency of their encounters, as the next sub-section elaborates.

5.2.3 Interiority, Intimacy and Family

The tourist’s quest is not therefore only for authenticity (MacCannell, 1973) but also for *interiority* (Cohen, 2010: 162). Drawing on the tourist’s desire to see the ‘backstage area’ of tourist sites (MacCannell, 1973) and stereotyped assumptions of emotional traits, the intimate contexts of emotional capital generate particular types of work. This research has revealed that certain tourist spaces are sold through discourses of intimacy, family and familiarity and that resort workers sustained this image for personal gain through emotional labour. In turn, tourists glean ideas about emotional identities as a national stereotype based on these texts and based on the microcosm experienced inside the resort, hotel, or *casa particular*.

Expectations of intimate, familiar care are first introduced to the tourist gaze through Cuba’s marketing. In promotional materials the tourist is promised that the tourism worker was committed to providing “all the care and attention you could want”, as one introductory graphic promises in the Thomas Cook brochure for Cuba (see Appendix C, Figure 2). Emotional capital circulates here through personalised, intimate and subservient forms of labour (Hochschild, 2012: 94-95). Having “worked hard all year” the

tourist is reassured in his/her role as the consumer of emotional capital. Thomas Cook employs both non-Cuban and Cuban workers, although they are obliged to recruit Cubans as resort representatives. The light-skinned “friendly faces” featured in this brochure, thus, appear to confirm the patterns of racial discrimination that have been said to characterise front-of-house hospitality work in Cuba (De la Fuente, 2001a: 77), although there was no overwhelming evidence to support such patterns in the resort spaces themselves during fieldwork observations.

Indeed, intimacy and subservient care are used to market accommodation aimed at many different tourist motivations. A Cubanacan brochure advertises several hotels in Miramar¹⁵ with the slogan “donde siempre lo esperan”. In this sense, businessmen who are likely to stay in the same hotel on repeat visits should expect to find both luxuries and the intimate comforts of home-from-home, as the brochure reassures: “comodidad, distinción y familiaridad prestigian su servicio”. The text is substantiated by a photo of a smartly-dressed smiling barman. Tourists who wish to revisit the polished luxury of the hotel space – “*distinción*” – as well as a friendly and familiar face awaiting them upon arrival, are given the impression that the staff exist purely to fulfil the tourist’s desires.

Data from resort observations confirmed Cabezas’ argument that “the hospitality sector is highly conditioned and structured to meet a tourist’s needs – physical, emotional and sexual” (2006: 509). The resort space offers superior conditions for the cultivation of intimacy: in a one- to two-week period, tourists who remain within the confines of the resort are likely to develop relationships with those who serve them, as Cabezas and others have noted (2006; Adler and Adler, 2004). A Gaviota¹⁶ manager revealed that staff turnover is very low in Cuban workplaces, including in hotels and resorts, meaning that from year to year, returning tourists may expect to see the same faces, who remember their specific preferences and with whom they may develop relationships. Informal observation in Varadero and Cayo Largo resorts exposed the very familiar way in which the staff interacted with and maintained a physical bond with guests. In the Varadero resort, which was 5* rated, a slightly more professional distance was maintained, although this was intercepted with moments of sometimes intense familiarity and intimacy: bar staff made a show of remembering personal order preferences, *animadores* counselled tourists regarding details of family life back home, and embraced and tickled their children. In a less luxurious resort, staff embraced and kissed clients

¹⁵ A smart area in Havana where a large number of hotels, offices and embassies are based.

¹⁶ Gaviota is a state tour operator run by the Cuban armed forces (FAR).

when greeting them. Nevertheless, moments of embodied, intimate (but non-sexualised) contact between tourism workers and guests are rarely highlighted in the literature.

Articulations of emotional labour emerged in other unexpected ways. Discursive contact between workers and guests cultivated the culture of intimacy in the resort space. According to Cabezas, resort management often implements personalised approaches to service in order to distinguish spaces in the tourist experience from the sterile homogeneity of identical enclaves all over the Caribbean (2009: 35). In addition, discursive strategies of intimacy such as these points of contact also offer the worker opportunities for personal gain. During the period of observation in Varadero, the cleaner of my room left me a series of friendly notes, personalised the official information materials, and left bath-towels in appealing shapes, as well as supplementary toiletries (see Appendix C, Figure 3). Examples shared anecdotally by tourists include the humorous towel arrangements made in their likeness by the room cleaner using their personal belongings (see Appendix C, Figures 4 and 5). These gestures may be interpreted as a subtle, extended invitation to intimate and playful contact. Inevitably, similar efforts are made in each room. However, based on my experience, these displays reminded me of the special care taken which had an intimate and emotional dimension: with the notes of thanks I left in return, these points of contact constituted a form of relationship, although we never met in person. In addition, they reminded me that a real person existed whose work would otherwise be an invisible component of the resort's seamlessly comfortable experience. In turn, I understood implicitly my role in the encounter and left a tip by way of thanks for her attentions. The tourists who inspired the towel figures narrated the anecdote as a highlight of their holiday, and also confessed to being so amused by the absurd efforts made by their room cleaner that they tipped generously. Given the disparity between state wages and the income that may be made from tips in *pesos convertibles*, the potential return for successful emotional labour is particularly high. Management may encourage employees to befriend guests in order to retain their business, and generate a sense of uniqueness (Cabezas, 2009: 35). Yet this research also suggests that resort workers' special efforts may capitalise on the wider marketing of emotional capital, which posits familiarity and care as a Cuban speciality, for their own personal financial benefit.

Intimacy and interiority are also actively marketed and consumed in the setting of the private guesthouse or *casa particular*. Guidebooks from the early 1990s bear scant mention of this accommodation option, whereas more recent publications reflect the fact that *casas* are an increasingly common and seemingly authentic tourist choice. Central to their perceived authenticity is the heightened contact with locals that they allow:

guidebooks typically recommend them on the basis that they are “an ideal way to gain an insight into the country and its people” (McAuslan and Norman, 2010: 43). For *casa particular* owners, the financial incentive of renting a room is clearly extremely high (\$15-30 CUC a night, plus extra potential income for meals, laundry and bicycle hire), but this practice involves extensive, gendered, emotional labour.

The Lonely Planet cites private guesthouses amongst their top Cuban experiences with the following recommendation:

Picture the scene: there are two rocking chairs creaking on a polished colonial porch, a half-finished bottle of rum being passed amiably between guest and host, and the sound of lilting music drifting ethereally through the humid tropical darkness. It could be any *casa particular* on any street in any town, they're all the same. Shrugging off asphyxiating censorship and Cold War-style totalitarianism, Cuba can be one of the most candid countries on earth if you opt out of the government-sponsored resorts and stay in a *casa particular* (Sainsbury and Waterson, 2011: 7).

In the first instance, the tourist reader is invited to open his gaze onto a highly sensory, utopian and ethereal imaginary based on the central uncomplicated friendship between host and guest. The tourist reader's assurance that he or she is guaranteed to find an emotionally involving, intense intimacy at any Cuban guesthouse serves to normalise emotional capital associated with this tourist practice. Secondly, representations such as this set up expectations for interiority not just in the domestic space but within the Cuban system. If this guidebook can be interpreted as informing expectations of different types of labour, renting rooms to tourists seemingly involves providing a “candid” narrative of revolutionary life to each paying guest, extending their role to unofficial political tour guide. Using discourses of authenticity in order to contrast *casas* with sterile resorts and state-managed sites, the face-less official version holds little symbolic value against the prioritised individual narrative accessed through one-to-one contact.

Since the state currently allows but does not formally endorse this type of accommodation option, *casas* are not advertised through official agencies, although unofficial websites are multiplying in order to serve this exact function.¹⁷ For the independent tourist to locate a

¹⁷ Examples include www.casahavana.co.uk; www.casaparticular.info, www.cubacasas.net, and www.lahabana.com

casa, they must refer to a guidebook, and be directed by a *jinetero* for a fee or receive recommendations on a word-of-mouth basis. Simplistic business cards are thus passed on by other *casa* owners or by other tourists. A tourist's satisfaction in terms of emotional capital in the homestay is therefore important for the owner, whose future business may benefit from the tourist's positive recommendations.

Home-based businesses in Cuba's informal sphere tend especially to implicate gendered work, given the widespread intensification of women's domestic responsibilities during the Special Period (Hernández Hormilla, 2011: 113). Studies generally indicate that, in other countries, women are sometimes disadvantaged in self-entrepreneurship in the informal sector through lack of access to capital and business skills (Wilson, 1998) and, especially in tourism spaces, through their marginalisation from public spaces (Tucker, 2009). Instead, the gendering of private spaces opens opportunities to enterprising Cuban women, particularly given that policy prevents property ownership from being exclusively determined by income power. However, the research revealed that renting rooms involved types of emotional labour, reflecting an understanding that the management of emotions in domestic settings is also gendered (Hochschild, 2012: 21). One manifestation of gendered emotional capital in the Cuban home is the construction of the 'second Cuban family', which appeared in many tourists' discourses. One landlady explained with pride that she had regular Italian guests who called her their '*madre cubana*'. In general, I found this to be quite common, especially but not exclusively as a result of sustained and regular contact with Cuba, as the following Lonely Planet forum for users' comments exhibited:

As before, I've come home feeling I've got a lot of family in Cuba. I've travelled a lot, but never found a country quite so embracing. I like being hugged and kissed... The friend I had made last year turned up with hugs and kisses, it felt like coming home. OK, I had brought presents, but at no time did I ever feel that that was what it was about.¹⁸

I have been a godfather (yes, probably one of several since I am a Yuma) to a Cuban boy for over a decade, there have been some outrageous requests at times (a piano?), but I have tried to keep his interests in mind and bring him some good stuff from time to time that will help him with his future studies etc. We stay close and even though the family may be disappointed, I do not feel anxiety over my role

¹⁸ Thread available at <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/thorntree/thread.jspa?threadID=2160600> [Accessed 18 April 2014].

and I believe that what I have provided has been valuable: a connection to somewhere and someone not-Cuban, a few good used computers over the years...And in return I get to visit when I am in Cuba, eat Abuela's stupendous flan, see him grow into an adult.¹⁹

In 1997 I was asked to be godmother to a 2-and-a-half year-old [sic] girl from Santiago de Cuba. However as she got older, it became more about asking for things, especially an iPhone...and much as I love her and vice versa...she is a good girl, very intelligent and lovely (now 16 years old), she still wants that iPhone. Still, I am part of a good family and I do love all of them. The request was made in a letter and I had plenty of time to think it over. I do feel a responsibility to this child, even if she asks for things, I made the choice, didn't have to do it, but it is a real connection to Cuba and even if I am a cash/gift cow at times, I don't regret my decision.²⁰

None of the forum users who made these comments mentioned any direct biological connections to their 'Cuban families' but still referred to their relationships in this way, often adopting the Spanish terms *abuela*, *madre*, *madrina*, *hermano*, and so forth. The families mentioned in the citations provide the basis for a (desired) sustained link to Cuba: a "real connection to Cuba". Indeed, another forum user hints at the permanent link to the island resulting from her relationship, saying "...and I'm *madrina* to a baby in Viñales. This island has got it's [sic] hooks in me and it looks like I can forget seeing the rest of the world!"²¹ One could generally assume that these relationships were initially formed within tourist environments, yet the 'family' tag distances the relationships from this commercial context; indeed, no comments made reference to any solicitation in a tourist text. It is also worth noting that in these examples the invitation to be part of the family comes from its members. Instead, references to aspects of domestic interiority take precedence, such as *abuela's* flan. Underpinning these comments is the issue of the terms of these 'family' ties. To be figuratively (and, for the first commenter) literally embraced by the Cuban family involves discursively circumventing and negotiating the tourist's position 'within' it. The third commenter in particular oscillates several times even within one sentence between her sense of responsibility, her irritation, and her commitment to play the generous

¹⁹ Thread available at <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/thorntree/thread.jspa?threadID=2192736> [Accessed 18 April 2014].

²⁰ Thread available at <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/thorntree/thread.jspa?threadID=2192736> [Accessed 18 April 2014].

²¹ Thread available at <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/thorntree/thread.jspa?threadID=2160600> [Accessed 18 April 2014].

godmother role. However genuine the relationships are felt to be, the conversation never strays far from the economic factors that characterise mercenary relations in other tourist settings. There are frank admissions (“OK, I had brought presents”) and self-awareness of the tourist’s “*yuma*”²² role as “cash-cow”. Although the author of the first comment denies the presence of such expectations entirely, the second and third are more candid, addressing familiarity and intimacy as worthwhile exchange terms for their monetary investments, despite the admitted potential for “anxiety” and “regret”. Romantic and familial connections allow the foreigner to shrug off the ‘tourist’ identity, as Frohlick notes, given “the word’s particular valence as a mass-mediated experience” (2008: 135). In other words, establishing relationships with locals produces the sense of uniqueness within the tourist’s own experience, negotiating their self-identity beyond the mass-tourist who attracts such derision in popular discourse (Cohen, 1973). In fact, the belief that intimacy negates the monetary basis of the relationship is undermined by the admission “...as much as I love her and vice versa... she still wants that iPhone”. The discursive and lived enactment of the ‘Cuban family’ therefore often functions as a legitimising and mediating strategy for both parties.

The implications of emotional labour across all these sites are multifaceted. Cuban workers in resort, hotel, *paladares* and *casas particulares* are thus expected to treat customers as guests in their own homes and members of their own families, much as has been noted in branches of the tourism industry worldwide (Hochschild, 2012: 105). Of course, in the case of small-scale Cuban entrepreneurs using their homes and appropriating emotional capital for income, this is literally true: the home becomes the workplace. The blurring of *customer* and *friend/family* may be consequently desirable for both host and guest, despite the complex work that generating intimacy involves: further research focussed specifically on this phenomenon could capture it to a more satisfactory degree. Touristic home businesses are a significant component of Cuba’s emotional capital, appropriating the ‘open door’ image and many other discourses listed in the previous section as well as contributing to it and allowing its circulation to work through real processes of labour. Tourists who are served by so-called friends and family are not made aware of the potentially problematic issue of being served, especially those who lament the erosion of socialist values through tourism’s service-driven culture: within the domestic space power relations may become euphemised (Goldstein, 2003: 88). Moreover, intimacy eclipses some of the structural inequality on which the encounter is

²² *Yuma* is a Cuban slang term for foreigner, and has derogatory connotations but is also used affectionately.

based (Conran, 2011). Thus, in forming individual relationships, the tourist may feel able to help based on specific requests in order to mediate the larger, unsolvable disparity between their wealth and mobility and that of the Cuban population in general.

5.2.4 The Cuban as emotional ambassador

In order to produce and circulate emotional capital, tourism conscripts individuals beyond the 'emotional proletariats' who constitute the tourism's informal and formal front of house, and they carry out interactive work entailing emotional labour (Macdonald and Sirianni, 1996, cited in Aguiar and Marten, 2010: 178). Tourists in the Caribbean, as Patullo observes, "want locals, whether working in tourism or not, to be friendly" (1996: 145). Despite state efforts to compartmentalise the tourism industry, "as a way of immunizing Cuban society from the evils of international tourism, while simultaneously protecting *turistas* from crime" (Taylor Jr and McGlynn, 2009: 409), touristic contact zones (Pratt, 1992) have proved difficult to control. Fieldwork provided evidence that tourists saw average Cubans (rather than government-sponsored channels) as gatekeepers to the 'real Cuba', based on notions of the state as authoritarian and repressive, as this chapter has tentatively explored. As Cuba has become more exposed to the gaze of tourists and global speculation in general, Cubans become enrolled, and often electively enrol themselves, in touristic encounters as experts of 'what it's really like'.

Scholarship, albeit limited in scope, has drawn attention to the ways in which the state has used tourism to generate political sympathy (Sánchez and Adams, 2008), marking sites of revolutionary significance in state-directed package tours as a way of highlighting *logros sociales* (Babb, 2011); this research, nevertheless, only considers the official work involved in upholding these representations, for example the work conducted by tour guides. Related research generally assumes that the average Cuban is excluded from the circulation of political and emotional capital on these terms, particularly in the sense that the government has historically imposed limits on host-guest contact. However, a major finding of this research located the Cuban population firmly within the positive world-making function that tourism offers Cuba. Theses at Havana's vocational tourism school library with titles such as 'El Cubano: Protagonista en el desarrollo turístico del país' identified the need to exploit not just the "recursos humanos" of those employed through the tourism industry but "en tanto el pueblo, nuestra gente" (original emphasis); thus tourism links its progressive role in the "difusión nacional de la realidad [cubana]" to "su

vínculo con el pueblo cubano”. This thesis acknowledges the risk involved in contact between tourists and the populations, namely prostitution, drug abuse, crime and corruption, but nevertheless cites the features of Cuba’s affective landscape (kindness, human warmth and revolutionary values such as education and solidarity) as exploitable in host-guest contact. The apparent conscription of Cuban citizens as ambassadors for emotional and political capital as part of Cuban tourism’s wider ‘world-making’ function thus adds a new dimension to this field of enquiry.

In this framework, however, the intense emotional labour performed by formal and informal sector workers extends across the population who then perform political and emotional ambassador roles. Marketing materials such as leaflets suggested that friendly contact was something to which the population is naturally pre-disposed. One Viva Cuba brochure says “[Havana’s] residents are only delighted to chat with visitors”; Bayamo’s “generous people are sure to give you a warm welcome”, while in Pinar del Río, inhabitants “simply engage you in conversation” (no date, 36). In the case of tourism workers, and all Cuban citizens, who become emotional ambassadors between their nation as a whole and the increasing influx of tourists, simply performing emotional characteristics is not enough: “the emotional style of offering the service is part of the service itself... Seeming to love the job becomes part of the job; and actually trying to love it and to enjoy the customers, helps the worker in this effort” (Hochschild, 2012: 5-6). In this framing, the warm, welcoming Cuban bears the emotional standard for the socialist state as much as any tirelessly cheerful tourism worker does for their corporate employer, both roles involving the conscious management and display of emotional capital.

5.2.5 Emotional authenticity

Intimacy, interiority and familiarity are strategies for constructing and conveying authenticity. As the examples from this chapter make evident, notions of intimacy do not always centre on euphemised sexual desire. Instead, tourists access intimate affective experiences of Cuba, which they interpret as valuably authentic: Cohen concurs when he states that “a singular focus on sexual intimacy keeps us from understanding an equally strong desire that the Western traveller to the Caribbean has for authenticity of experience, for unmediated contact with the Other in a hypermediated world” (2010: 154). Service providers in all strata of the industry can operate their own emotional resources, such as care, charm, humour and expertise in order to meet this desire for various outcomes, which may be as fleeting as a cash tip.

Authenticity is a keyword that has punctuated promotional touristic materials in relation to Cuba since the resurrection of the industry in the early 1990s. Indeed, the issue of cultural authenticity has also been central to tourism scholarship in general (Boorstin, 1964; MacCannell, 1973; Urry, 1990). However, the data revealed that tourists' discourses overlapped emotional capital and authenticity in interesting ways. Authenticity is central to emotional labour: spontaneous feeling is considered a virtue, argues Hochschild (2003: 22), with high regard for natural feeling over perceived phoniness. But it is not only the images that emerged from the data of happy, hospitable and moral people. The fact that Cuba is largely perceived to be separated from the capitalist world where industries such as tourism become accelerated in ways that inhibit emotional labour (Hochschild, 2003: 124) means that human encounters in the Cuban tourist context - a comparatively 'fledgling' industry (Martin de Holan and Phillips, 1997: 778) – are perceived to occur more frequently and to be more genuine.

Yet discussions of emotional authenticity hint at the tension between the easy naturalised images of solidarity, honesty and hospitality, and the labour involved in marketing and producing them on the ground. As Urry argues, it is not just that contact between the tourist and Other is an essential component of the tourist product but the essence also resides in the *quality* of their social interaction (Urry, 1990, cited in Cohen, 2010: 79). Tourists' narratives therefore supported Hochschild's assertion that the appearance of enjoying the work is, in itself, part of the work (2012: 5): one Trip Advisor forum user commented that "I have asked a few staff if they minded the long hours and they all inferred that they would rather be in the positive happy atmosphere of the resort than at home".²³ Emotional authenticity thus depends, in part, in concealing the stresses and fatigue that this service work involves, and indeed concealing that work is taking place at all. Finally, the normalisation of emotional capital in texts conceals the often complex and troubling emotions that are suppressed or negotiated in order to make the tourist experience pleasurable, as the next section demonstrates.

5.3 Negotiating complex emotions

The tourist experience may successfully market and produce good feeling; however, the data also revealed complex negative emotions resulting from encounters as they were articulated from both sides of the host-guest dialogue. The data suggested that

²³ Thread available at http://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/ShowTopic-g147270-i91-k4354235-o20-Rude_or_indifferent_staff-Cuba.html [Accessed 10 March 2013].

disappointments and dissatisfaction often emerged from both sides in instances when emotional capital was unsuccessful. Negative emotions have been explored in Tourism Studies (Tucker, 2009; Mahrouse, 2011), yet this research has tended to consider the emotions of tourists and locals in separate terms, without examining with reference to Cuba the particular communication between circulated emotional capital and the unique emotional processes involved. Blogs, forum users' comments and anecdotal evidence form a large part of the data examples in this section, which is organised according to the personal, reflective and reflexive nature of their narratives.

5.3.1 Fear and anxiety

Few examples in the data extended the dangers associated with Latin America and the Caribbean to Cuba as a whole, for example, kidnapping, mugging, police corruption, drugs and violence, instead emphasising the safety of Cuba relative to the region. On the whole, feelings of fear revolved around the vulnerability of being a foreigner in an exotic space, revealing the tension between desiring an experience that is Other but not so Other so as to be threatening. One resort guide outlines specific advice: while the resort staff members are to be trusted ("ask reps or the hotel's reception for advice") outsiders to the enclaves should be treated with more caution. The authentic 'immersion' encouraged in other texts disappears: "always sit in the back of the [taxi], and if you chat to the driver don't give them any personal details"; "try not to let people overhear you name or details of where you are staying...If you feel threatened in any situation, remember that you always have the right to say 'NO' at any point" (Thomson, no date: 8). In this sense the enclave is reinforced as the tourist's secure haven and its staff as the only safe and non-threatening points of contact. Clearly, there is a disparity between the moral capital that the majority of the texts claimed as a normalised factor of Cuban society and the underlying threat of crime that, coincidentally or not, limits tourists who consult these texts to certain types of controlled experiences.

However, another unexpected affective side-effect of crime and perceived vulnerability is embarrassment, especially for the independent traveller whose identity and ideology in part relies in not becoming a target through their own fault. In one Lonely Planet forum thread a user describes an incident whereby his bag was stolen from the back seat of his car as he waited at traffic lights, and reflects, "embarrassing as it is to admit that I failed to take precautions that I knew very well I should take, I post this experience as a reminder

to others of what everybody knows, which is that carelessness can be costly”.²⁴ In blaming himself for becoming the target of crime, he reveals a tension between desiring familiar contact with locals, to which the forum users unanimously attested, and the element of risk. Another contributor replies:

By the way, good on you to come on here and tell us. Those of us who consider ourselves streetwise and well-travelled in Latin America would probably be hesitant to do so. It's simply embarrassing. I can say I got robbed for the first time ever a few months back... I was way too drunk and simply being the dumb tourist I otherwise hate with my guard completely down.²⁵

As a basic observation, the online forums serve as communal spaces where these negative experiences can be safely shared with others, purportedly as a way to inform others. In addition, online forums allow tourists to re-negotiate their self-identity as informed travellers: to distance themselves through re-telling their experiences from “the dumb tourist I otherwise hate”. Their distinction from novice counterpoints or their naïve selves thus functions as a form of cultural capital. However intimate a relationship the tourist wishes to foster with the host population, they endeavour to avoid having their “guard completely down”, highlighting the affectively ‘pre-loaded’ nature of all host-guest encounters. Perhaps it is in Cuba, where moral capital is regarded to be especially high – in contrast, even, to other destinations in the region – the tension between fear and desired interiority is particularly fragile.

5.3.2 Guilt and shame

Guilt and shame were the most prominent negative emotions that tourists discussed in the data. On the one hand, ‘first-world guilt’ is not exclusive to Cuban tourism: as Huggan asserts, “Tourism provides ample opportunity for the expression, not to mention the projection, of liberal angst [as well as pleasure seeking]” (2001: 196). Touristic contact zones produce embodied ways of being in relation to particular geographical and historical contexts. In relation to ancestral shame, Probyn notes that “throughout history [contact zones] have often been painful and marked by unequal relations of power” (2005: 113). However, tourist narratives analysed through this research were permeated with guilt in ways that were distinct to the Cuban context:

²⁴ Thread available at <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/thorntree/thread.jspa?threadID=2318805>. [Accessed 2 August 2013].

²⁵ Ibid.

I really feel bad for the people that live there. As part of my experience traveling there, I really wanted to get a feel for what people think. The general consensus is that many people there are desperate to get out. The uncertainty of what may happen if things do change also makes many people uncomfortable... Sometimes, I wish I hadn't gone to Cuba, as I learned things I might not wanted [sic] to have known.²⁶

This tourist is typical in desiring interiority as part of their experience ("I really wanted to get a feel for what people think"), but exposes the bad feelings generated from seeing 'too much'. The tourist's bad feeling centres on Cubans' perceived lack of freedom and uncertain future. The perception of inequality appeared in other examples, despite also being celebrated elsewhere as a marker of authenticity: "Through the Cuban countryside we feel ashamed to have the backseat [of a rented car] unpeopled – all this room we have, all this fuel" (Miller, 2001: 160). Often, in narrations of touristic guilt and pity "white/Westerners are characterised as mediators of the Other's suffering" (Mahrouse, 2008: 89). In fact, the emphasis on positive social indicators afforded by the Revolution throughout touristic texts casts the tourist's understanding of poverty into ambiguity. Many of the narratives aimed to explain Cuba's underdevelopment as relative to other places but paradoxical. Tourists' comparison to other Latin American and Caribbean countries revealed the incompatible application of notions of poverty to Cuba:

However what is much more commonly remarked on by those who travel extensively throughout Cuba is... how lacking is any real poverty compared with the rest of the Caribbean or Central and South America (or indeed parts of North America).

...though you see certain levels of poverty, the discrepancy of wealth is so narrow and the urban problems are so few compared with every other large Caribbean or Latin American city (and many North American cities as well). I saw very little evidence of homelessness, alcoholism, drug problems, serious crime, obvious desperate poverty etc. and the people all look well-clothed and fed and generally healthy and happy.

²⁶ Thread available at <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/thorntree/thread.jspa?threadID=2225208> [Accessed 2 August 2013].

I saw what many would call poverty and ramshackle homes, but no indication of true desperation by Latin American standards, as is [the norm] in essentially all other Caribbean and Latin American cities of comparable size.²⁷

Cuba is generally distinguished from other impoverished countries in the region. In this sense, conciliation of the realities of underdevelopment forms one of the major discursive strategies revealed through this research through which tourists negotiate bad feelings such as guilt. Tourists consistently engaged in comparison of different types of privilege as a way to reconcile the kind of material inequality witnessed through tourism. Given the *logros sociales* that have set Cuba apart in terms of social indicators from other developing nations, many of the sources emphasised cultural, social, emotional and moral wealth:

What do the Cubans have? The dark sea, the huge sky, the clothes they stand up in. Music is the gold, oil, minerals, of Cuba. They have the best architecture, the best climate, the best education (my chambermaid has a PhD), the most beautiful people...What don't they have? Money (Miller, 2001: 61).

In fact, I had several in depth conversations with a new [Cuban] friend, trying to convince him that his life is not s*** and that he should research what life is like in Haiti and other impoverished islands. We even had conversations about poverty in places like the US and other industrialized nations. I shared my experiences of being without work and unable to afford things at times in my life.²⁸

Prevalent discourses such as these examples build on a long-established Orientalist discourse (Said, 1976) regarding the symbolic wealth of the host population and the understanding that the Western tourist has much to learn and to gain from local approaches to life (Mahrouse, 2011: 376). In the first example, the reflective paradigm sets a number of cultural, social and natural riches against the global economy, failing to include that in (post-) Special Period Cuba, the simplistically-dismissed 'money' represented food, fuel, medicine and other essential goods. The second contributor cited attempts to find common ground with his interlocutor, negotiating the complaints of a Cuban friend and reducing their significance via global and personal comparison. The negotiation of symbolic capital as superior to economic capital attempts to level out the uneven ground that is endemic to most tourism. Other discourses of tourists in Cuba

²⁷ Thread available at <https://www.lonelyplanet.com/thorntree/forums/americas-cuba/cuba/cuba/paradoxes-of-cuba> [Accessed 23 March 2014].

²⁸ Thread available at <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/thorntree/thread.jspa?threadID=2225208> [Accessed 18 March 2014].

express the subtext of these two citations explicitly, reasoning, “I resolve to be more like them here, I think we have a lot to learn about how to live life well, and we don't have half their problems”.²⁹ Another post echoes this belief, saying “when people can enjoy life with very little, it is inspiring”.³⁰

Conversely, tourists' comparisons of their own challenges to the issues of the host population may reinforce their sense of entitlement to customer service that is consistently cheerful and polite. The insistence on the symbolic value in underdevelopment by so-called ethical tourists as a negotiation of ‘Western guilt’ (Mahrouse, 2011) was not a consistent paradigm across the data as a whole. In fact, in comparing their own hardships to that of the Cuban tourism workers, some narratives by tourists revealed another strategy to legitimize their right to consume emotional labour, as this Trip Advisor forum user makes clear:

I have had 2 jobs to be able to save enough money...I have gone without clothes, a haircut, cut down on my food bills, sold stuff on eBay to enable me to afford the holiday... The last thing I want when I am on holiday is that [a member of resort staff] is rude, hinting they are struggling, have a sick baby, asking me for things, moaning how hard life is. The majority of us struggle, and we pay a lot more out in mortgage, bills, car tax etc. No matter how tired I was I would be plastering a smile and being so nice to the guests as I know they would show thier [sic] appreciation. At the end of the day it's the tourists that keep the staff employed.³¹

Elsewhere in the thread, this tourist posted comments on the cost of his holiday as a justification for his expectation of good service, in which key components are friendliness towards, and deference to, the paying customer (Hall, 1993). In this most basic sense, there was evidence that the tourist's financial outlay entitled not just access to spaces and services but also to the outward display of positive feeling. Another post in the thread concurs that “part of that job [waiter in a resort] is to present a pleasant face to the public. This is true here or there. Long hours and little money for food isn't [sic] limited to Cubans”. As a discursive strategy that entirely rejects the notion of Western guilt it reveals specific expectations of emotional labour, authentic or not, as allusions to “plastering on” a

²⁹ Thread available at <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/thorntree/thread.jspa?threadID=2160600> [Accessed 18 March 2014].

³⁰ Thread available at <https://www.lonelyplanet.com/thorntree/forums/americas-cuba/cuba/cuba-for-60-days-flying-out-of-miami-please-help?page=5> [Accessed 18 March 2014].

³¹ Thread available at http://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/ShowTopic-g147270-i91-k4354235-o30-Rude_or_indifferent_staff-Cuba.html [Accessed 10 March 2013].

smile or “presenting a pleasant face” make clear. While discourses like this may be prevalent in relation to any destination (especially where all-inclusive resort enclaves are a dominant facet of the industry), there are specific aspects of the Cuban context which influence the paradigm of justification. For instance, there are intimations that the provision of the revolutionary welfare system, which ostensibly reduces the costs of “mortgage, bills, care tax etc.”, dismisses the average Cuban’s ‘struggles’ and further entitles the tourist to recognise their right to consume emotional labour.

Various other discursive strategies allow tourists to negotiate feelings of guilt. Online and anecdotal comments rarely acknowledged their own role in the same processes that have seen Cuba become overexposed and commercialised, particularly in light of their common impetus to ‘see Cuba before it changes’. To reject the tourist label and self-disassociate from other tourist types is a common tactic in underdeveloped destinations (Mahrouse, 2011: 378). In this sense, certain tourist experiences can be dismissed as exploitative, tasteless or incompatible with Cuban socialism in tourists’ discourses in a way that disassociates them completely from it. Physical presence may itself be a proclamation of intentionality (Heron, 2004); that is, an embodied justification of positive motivations that includes contact with locals. Most tourist narratives about the reality of Cuban life on website forums such as Lonely Planet’s hinged on how much cumulative time each individual had actually spent on the island: those who had spent a week (or worse, a week in Varadero) were disparagingly dismissed by others who used their tally of embodied presence in Cuba as a legitimising technique which supported their responsible and informed tourist identity. Mahrouse (2011: 381) observed through her research that, when privilege is recognised and affectively acknowledged, through the feelings of guilt that emerge when being served by a racialised Other, the perceived right of mobility and access is never questioned, so that self-consciousness stops short of considering the network of power relations that enables the entitlement to gaze upon the Other. Broadly speaking, none of the negative emotions tourists described, nor their discursive and behavioural negotiations of them, forced an interrogation of their right to move freely into and around Cuba.

Rejecting the notion of one’s tourist status often related to the denial of privilege. Some sources gave evidence of a conscious choice to attend to privilege by eschewing outward displays of wealth, through particular clothing, accommodation choices and adopted practices as ways of materially ‘going native’: these examples highlight the emotional and embodied nature of attempts to circumvent privilege amidst complex postcolonial and

racialised anxieties. In requesting advice on how to exclusively use CUP (*moneda nacional*) during their visit, one forum user received the following response:

Many of my friends ask me when they go to Cuba, 'How can I live in Cuba as a Cuban'. I usually say that that is hard...but not the least you need a *libreta*, know your neighbours and at least have a Cuban girlfriend, if not a Cuban mother.

The attempts by tourists to navigate Cuba's dual currency reveal negations of privilege with specific outcomes. Firstly, the original contributor's desire to 'live as a Cuban' correlates with common tourist quests for authenticity as observed in scholarly analyses (Cohen, 1988a: 377). However, for a tourist in Cuba to use CUP-only services and goods means effectively eking out state-subsidised benefits intended for the Cuban population: the introduction of *pesos convertibles* (CUC) during the Special Period allowed the state to generate hard currency from paying visitors while Cubans still had access to goods in local currency through their state salaries. The advice of the contributor quoted reveals the particular difficulties in accessing this system but advises that relationships act as gateways to a cheaper and more 'authentic' tourist experience. Indeed, "tourists who want to 'meet the locals' express the greatest of pleasure at encounters which do not involve money: to be invited to a private party; to be given fruit from a yard or help with directions; to be shown around a school or join in a game of dominoes" (Patullo, 1996: 146). Therefore, this example also indicates that the emotional capital of relationships with Cubans also facilitated the denial of privilege which allowed tourists to maintain the ideology of low-cost authenticity, aligning themselves with the host population. This strategy closely fits with Mahrouse's description that "there is a redemptive element to this kind of response insofar as in having to [or choosing to] adapt to less comfortable conditions than they are accustomed to, the participants believe that they are sacrificing some of their privilege" (2011: 381). Likewise, approximately half of the guidebooks published on Cuba carry titles containing terms such as 'survival guide'. In Cuba, however, this is especially problematic since 'opting out' of paying for tourist luxuries, or worse, 'piggy-backing' state-subsidised services, goes against the state's explicit function of the tourism industry: to generate hard currency and to overcome economic crisis.

The reaction of shame highlights the thin veil between the physical and emotional as it produces embodied reactions such as blushing, cringing, and avoiding eye contact. Moreover, discourse analysis appears to be unsatisfactory in exposing the ambiguous affective consequences of host-guest encounters which also involve especially embodied feelings (Tucker, 2009). When shame and guilt are manifested in embodied encounters, it is often difficult to hide. It questions our value system and always produces effects, "small

and large, individual and collective” (Probyn, 2005: xii). Accordingly, shame is often heightened by an embodied encounter: the act of money changing hands embarrasses the tourist, reminding them of the mercenary and unequal nature of the encounter. All-inclusive resorts, where no money is needed within the enclave but rather paid for as a package deal in a lump sum at home, allow this shame to be circumvented; similarly, O’Connell Davidson (1996) reminds us that the practices of sex tourists in gifting meals and clothing allows the transactional nature of the arrangement to be side-stepped.

Shame has the potential to ‘erupt’ during tourist encounters (Tucker, 2009). Hence the skill of reading the bodily manifestation of ‘surprise emotions’ such as shame or what Tucker has described as tourists’ ‘moral discharge’ (Tucker, 2009), is especially important for informal sector workers, where encounters are more likely to be spontaneous and unmediated by formalities. The financial reward for a successful solicitation of a tourist can be high, and frequently dependent, as this chapter has considered, on good feeling dominating potential feelings of guilt and shame. In this sense, the highly affective and embodied encounters that were narrated in the data, and which I witnessed and in which I frequently participated, required careful emotional readings of the tourist’s ‘moral discharge’ and discursive negotiation, as well as personal risk. The following *vignette* from my research diary touches on this fine balance:

Research diary

Fri 13th Jan. Went to Necrópolis de Colón cemetery with Roberto [a Cuban living in the UK] and Paul. An interesting episode developed when the cemetery worker started speaking to us I can’t remember how – I think he overheard us speaking and offered information first. He then became our guide, stressing his expertise, having worked there all his adult life and that his father had worked there before him. All the while we were aware that he would (deservedly) expect a tip. As we left, Roberto offered \$5 CUC, and the cemetery worker asked for more, citing that he had a child (he said ‘baby’ in English, and raised his hand to his mouth) and needed to feed his family. Roberto obliged and handed over \$10. When he then got the tip from Roberto he instead went to hug Paul and made some comment about their countries being *amigos* (although he thought Paul was Scandinavian). Then he said “when will we have freedom?” which we took to be a reference to the US embargo.

As soon as we were out of earshot we discussed the encounter animatedly and immediately started to laugh (out of embarrassment?). We all felt it was perhaps a bit cheeky but not done with bad intent. We were able to conclude that he knew/hoped/relied on us giving him money, and had decided his due tip before it

was given, based on his assessment of our financial status. In fact, Roberto and I were mainly ignored: Paul was possibly identified to be the likely benefactor because of the combined factors of his gender, age and whiteness.

The initial approach was spontaneous and opportunistic: the cemetery was empty of other tourists and the individual in question was engaged in the duties of his job there, before stopping to give us a guided tour. Like many other Cubans, he appropriated his personal resources, his expertise, as a side-line to his state job. Once he started to accompany us we all knew (as we discussed later) that a tip was the intended conclusion to the encounter and, while we were keen to learn from his extensive knowledge of the different tombs, we also felt unable to break the unspoken agreement once it had already begun. Therefore the risk involved on the cemetery worker's part – that he would spend half an hour away from his job and get nothing from us – was balanced by his reading of our body language and his assessment of our potential embarrassment and shame. Embracing Paul and alluding to common solidarity by the ambiguous use of 'we' is an established strategy in emotional labour: referring to a shared situation which is distressing (Hochschild, 2012: 120). That the embrace occurred after the tip had been given smoothed over the residual awkwardness resulting from the embarrassing issue of money. The *vignette* reveals several points of dialogic negotiation, in which emotional and bodily reading of us as tourists, as well as appropriation of the man's own emotional resources, were essential for the final intended outcome: a tip for him and a 'moral victory', for us.

Gestures of solidarity can themselves be a negotiating strategy in the face of complex emotions and the tourist's hyper-awareness of his or her own privilege, as this US writer's narration of an encounter with a hotel staff member exposes: "I told the man I hated the embargo (the blockade, as they call it) and thought it was stupid, which was both true and what he wanted to hear. He gave me a manly clap-grasp" (Sullivan, 2012). Highlighting the delicate boundary between bodily and affective reactions (Tucker, 2009), the guest's efforts towards a display of solidarity was sealed with a physical gesture. Political solidarity merges with wider solidarity of inequality which confirms the tourist as benevolent and evades the issues that tourism helps to create. Such touristic practices are critiqued in scholarship as the mediation of a tourist's desire for intimacy through which wider socio-economic dynamics are obscured (Conran, 2011). Expressions of Cuban solidarity and the embodied gestures that confirm them, such as hugs and hand-clasps, clumsily attempt to gloss over larger power structures on which such encounters are based.

Such intensive emotional labour in informal touristic encounters also often involves real risks, dangers and stresses for Cubans, such as arrest, police harassment, taxation and frequent inspections in the case of *paladar* and *casa particular* owners. Policies to control and discourage the generation of individual wealth or “illicit enrichment” (Jackiewicz and Bolster, 2003: 373) were pursued through regular inspections by officials. One *casa* landlady explained to me her anxiety in visiting offices at the Ministerio de Inmigración (where log-books of guests and passports are checked and fines given for any errors), confiding that she believed such stress had been the cause of her suffering twice from breast cancer. The embarrassment and anger that stem from the subtle racial discrimination in tourism hiring practices and in the demarcation of tourist apartheid have also been observed in directed scholarship (De la Fuente, 2001b; Sánchez and Adams, 2008). Although this research has critically charted the problematic processes that have excluded Cubans from tourist spaces (Espino, 2000: 362; Roland, 2006: 157), less has been written about the resentments and bad feelings that these processes produce within the Cuban population, in the way that Patullo explores this theme in relation to the Caribbean (1996: 83).

Expectations of intimacy, entitlement to mobility and interiority, and the expression of broader stereotypes of Cuban sexual, emotional and moral conduct often give rise to bad feeling in the host population, according to the research findings. The Trip Advisor website, for example, may discourage photographing Cubans while police are nearby³² on the grounds that it may attract unwanted police harassment and not because it might cause offence: the tourist’s right to gaze on and photograph locals is never interrogated (Patullo, 1996: 83). In addition, these misconceptions cause reasonable anger when they appear to give licence to tourist behaviour in ways that are considered offensive. For example, the stereotypes concerning local sexual promiscuity and provocative dress norms in exotic places may alter a tourist’s own erotic subjectivity (Frohlick, 2008), as was elaborated in Chapter Four. In addition, the rituals of ‘ostentatious poverty’ (Bourdieu, 1984: 220) performed by middle- and upper-class tourists on holiday, who go barefoot, for example, or adopt hippy clothing, is counterpointed by the mores of conservatism that tend to govern outward propriety in the Caribbean (Patullo, 1996: 85-86).

³² Trip Advisor. (no date). Havana Health and Safety. Available at <http://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/Travel-g147271-s206/Havana:Cuba:Health.And.Safety.html>. [Accessed 10 March 2014].

During fieldwork, Cubans generally spoke of the offence caused by tourists dressed in revealing beachwear in public, stressing that Cubans have always dressed conservatively and taken care with their appearance, even throughout Special Period shortages of soap and clothing. One incident which reinforces this proposition occurred during fieldwork at a central Habana library, in which two colleagues disagreed over allowing a foreign student to enter wearing cut-off denim shorts and flip-flops, both of which contravened the library's dress code. One librarian became very angry, and in her insistence that rules apply to all library users, expressed her bitterness that tourists occupy spaces in inappropriately informal beach clothes that were until recently closed to Cubans. In this sense, the circulation of affective capital, which encourages tourists to view places like Cuba as a tropical playground, also gives rise to complex emotions in the host population based on norms of propriety, the body and context-specific notions of 'tourist apartheid'.

5.3.4 Rejecting emotional capital

On the other hand, the data revealed that on the Cuban side of the dialogue there were instances of resistance to and rejection of the tourist world and encounters with foreigners. Literature has generally posited Cubans as victims of tourism, rendered second-class citizens in their own country (Sánchez and Adams, 2008) and exploited by sex tourists (O'Connell Davidson, 1996), or has sometimes reformulated the dynamic to expose opportunities for agency and social ascension in sex work (Cabezas, 2006; Santos, 2009). Instead, my research findings, although often anecdotal, revealed that contact with tourists and micro level appropriations of emotional capital were not an uncomplicated or universally sought-after option. While the idea that tourism enables keen Cubans "to live better than their fellow citizens and fraternize with foreigners" (Sánchez and Adams, 2008) rings true for some, on the whole this research project suggested that dealing with the negative emotional consequences of tourism, such as humiliation, anger and frustration (Roland, 2013: 411) often resulted in interesting examples of resistance and rejection through discourse.

There was evidence that Cubans performed acts of resistance through outward displays of negative feeling towards tourists. Cubans' anecdotal references to an apparent 'deterioration' of the service industry during fieldwork, for example, might be framed as small acts of resistance to 'giving good service' by 'smiling, flirting, deferring' (Hall, 1993). One *casa particular* landlady explained that recent changes in the workplace were underlying resistance to positive displays of emotional labour: she believed that Raúl

Castro's zero-tolerance policies of efficiency had reduced over-staffing and prevented workers from siphoning off extras on the side of their job. In the tourist sphere, Cubans commented to me that this resulted in resort workers in certain areas having become "jaded" and that this therefore brought down the value of the experience altogether. Stricter demands, alongside the growing presence of tourists demanding their entitlement to deferential service, may therefore be linked to the theme of resistance as a refusal to conform to expectations of employment. Tourists' narratives certainly testified to the positive correlation between a potential tip and friendly, attentive service in resort spaces, noting that staff working in buffet areas (where tipping is uncommon) were the most likely to fail to perform the scripts of emotional labour, instead being rude to or ignoring customers. In other instances, more expressive acts of resistance to emotional labour appeared in forums:

One morning, as I stood in line to get my omelette with my husband, I experienced something that really angered me and disappointed me. As it was my turn to get my omelette, the cook asked me what I wanted in it, and I proceeded to tell him. He then stopped, mid-egg-cracking, and says to me "It's a hard job I have here. I do this day after day for people". I nodded and smiled. I said "Yes, I am sure". He then became angry. He said "Do you understand what I am telling you?" His voice then became louder. He was obviously upset. I stood there for a moment, not knowing what to say, wondering if I had offended him somehow, and then he repeated "I SAID, DO YOU KNOW WHAT I AM TELLING YOU?" He was almost yelling at this point... and with the tip of his used spatula, he was pushing his 'tip plate' in my direction. He repeated "Lady, do you know what I am saying now"? (I guess I was stunned. I didn't want to believe what I was seeing.) Finally, I said "Yes, I see exactly what you are saying now"....I had suddenly lost my appetite. I put my empty plate down and went back to my table [...] It brought up many emotions that included sadness and disappointment, but even more so than that, I cannot help but think that his display was a direct result of OUR actions as visitors there. The 'Almighty CUC Tip' [given] 'prophylactically' or 'absentmindedly' instead of when it is actually deserved.

These narrations serve to assuage the lingering anxieties produced by the encounter's bad feeling and to re-negotiate the tourist's relationship to their guilt: replies in the thread revealed the complex discursive negotiations involved in resituating touristic guilt. The description of the incident exposes the embodied reaction of shame as the forum user loses her appetite and retreats from the encounter. The story's recounting of failed 'good

service' also reveals the dialogism of the encounter, in which the cook's anger is instantly mirrored in the tourist's shame, sadness, disappointment, and, evident later in the thread, indignation. By partially disassociating from the notion that tourists themselves are responsible for the display of resentment, the post instead implies that tourists' only fault is that of managing badly the system of reward through which emotional labour gains value. This citation therefore exposes the complicated tensions between the production and consumption of emotional and economic capital, especially in Cuba, where gratuities earned through emotional labour often dwarf state salaries but sit uncomfortably with morality and politics.

The acts of resistance described here especially complicate the manner in which texts appear to conscript the Cuban population, as opposed to tourism workers, as emotional ambassadors to foreign tourists. In this sphere, one narrative of resistance is to reject contact with the tourist and the expectation that Cubans crave tourists' money. These processes are complex, and again, merit further study using different methodologies to explore how they work on the ground. In terms of discourse there is evidence that tourist encounters are rejected in a way that acknowledges and actively disengages from tourism's power inequalities. Scholarship has drawn attention to the development of forms of musical self-expression and protest as Havana is remodelled to meet the demands of corporate capital and tourism (Fernandes, 2011: 192).³³

5.4 Concluding remarks

The framework of affectivity marketed through Cuban tourism draws on assumptions of otherness, in which representations of human warmth, generosity, happiness and morality are further highlighted as unique through their intersections with notions of egalitarianism and revolutionary socialism.

Through notions of intimacy and alterity, contact emerges as a central theme, which can be understood through a combination of key factors, including the increasing importance and diversification of informal tourism services and contact zones (Pratt, 1992). Through host-guest contact emotional capital often becomes synonymous with authenticity in

³³ One example, 'Callejero', released by Moneda Dura in the mid-2000s, tells the story of a young Cuban man who rejects the demands and promises of a middle-aged female tourist: refusing claims made by *luchadores/as* and their families that sex work generates agency (Santos, 2009), he exposes the exploitation loaded in her invitation and rejects the notion that this stereotype reflects universal Cuban reality.

Cuban tourism. Crucially, this draws on and extends previous the focus of previous scholarship on different romantic and emotional relationships in the touristic region (Brennan, 2004; Cabezas, 2009; Santos, 2009) to those touristic experiences that are articulated through wider discourses of feeling, such as friendship, family and human solidarity. Echoing the previous chapter, many of the research findings touch upon the highly embodied nature of these affective experiences, emphasising the thin distinction between the body and the emotions.

Narratives of negative and positive emotions on both sides of the host-guest dialogue serve to highlight those elements of emotional capital which were most desired and expected in the first place: indeed, both hosts' and guests' narratives of affectivity underscore the mutual expectations and feelings intrinsic to the Cuban tourism encounter. The processes by which tourists discursively negotiate the power disparity of the touristic contact zone and preserve the responsible tourist identity have been developed in the literature (Mahrouse, 2011; Tucker, 2009). However, this chapter has expanded this theme to consider the specific nuances of the Cuban context, in which interconnected notions of happiness, connectedness, resourcefulness, morality, poverty, well-being and privilege are extensively negotiated through discourse. Central to these negotiations is the threat of feelings such as fear, guilt, shame and anger to compromise the successful marketing and pleasurable consumption of Cuban tourism. In other words, both macro and micro levels of tourism discourse negotiate bad feeling.

In addition, the chapter revealed the sense in which the articulations of touristic texts of emotional capital provide scripts for various gendered and emotional labour. Certain types of emotional labour identified in this chapter contribute to the lesser-researched phenomenon whereby the macro-level of tourism representation regulates feelings and work in intimate Cuban spaces, such as the home. In this sense, as Hochschild explains, "in managing feeling, we contribute to the creation of it" (2012: 18). Despite normalised emotional characteristics, then, the data revealed the considerable effort and labour involved in living up to the representations of emotional capital in the Cuban context: it is undeniable that tourism work that circulates emotional capital offers both personal opportunities and limits. Lack of material resources is negotiated by the wealth of emotional resources, holding value both for those who work with them, as the previous section demonstrates, and those tourists who seek them within a tourist experience. The complex system of exchange that occurs within these encounters, who orders its terms, and how, and Cuban tourism's wider currency of symbolic capital, are the topics of the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

Making Sense of Affective Capital

A central theme of this research has been the circulation of affective capital in the tourist gaze and in the tourist experience of Cuba. Touristic texts have been shown to normalise Otherness and affective traits, behaviours and practices in the host population. Furthermore, the findings have revealed that texts often mediate the host-guest dynamic, informing expectations and organising types of emotional labour, particularly in intimate settings. The thesis has also explored how, on the micro level of tourist spaces, both tourists and service providers reinforce or disrupt affective stereotypes of sexual and emotional openness, morality and political solidarity, for example, and the reflective negotiations of those processes in hosts' and guests' narratives. Connecting the textual articulations of affective capital to these reflective and embodied negotiations is a way to capture lived experiences of affect in Cuban tourism as well as to critically analyse the discourses that constitute them (Saukko, 2003: 3). In particular, the normalisation of Cuban affectivity in travel literature, guidebooks and marketing has been explored as a way of revealing the complex forms of labour that constitute the affective experiences of Cuban tourism, and, crucially, the unequal terms on which touristic encounters are based. This chapter reflects on the larger picture that emerges from these findings. The paradigm of affective capital is here applied to wider questions, regarding not only the politicisation of the tourist encounter, but also regarding tourism as an expression of Cuba's place in the world in economic and political terms. For example, does affective capital pay? What does it add up to?

Firstly, this chapter develops some of the initial reflections described in Chapter Five, in discussing the ways that affective capital, including intimacy, contact, and exoticism, for example, come to gain monetary or material value and are exchanged within a tourist currency, addressing the question of how, on the ground, affective capital is actually traded, gifted or sold. Secondly, this analysis takes the articulations of symbolic capital that emerged from the data in chapters Four and Five, and considers the ways in which those capitals were also discursively combined or layered to alter their meaning. While echoing wider scholarship's argument that some types of symbolic capital may become 'mingled' with other forms, such as social capital with human and cultural capital (Bourdieu and Passeron 1979; Viladrich, 2005: 536), this approach yields fresh insights into the culture of Cuban tourism. The third section relates to a larger reflection based on whether the macro level articulation of affective capital can be interpreted as a kind of world-making function in ways that some scholarship has analysed in relation to the tourist gaze (Hollinshead, 1999; Horne, 1992; Pearce, 1982; Urry, 1990). The central reflection

that emerges in this chapter is that Cuba is a unique context in terms of the connections between affect, capital and tourism.

In order to introduce these larger reflections of the thesis, this chapter is divided into three main sections:

6.1 The currency of affective capital

6.2 Capital as palimpsest

6.3 Making sense of capital, affect and tourism in the context of the Cuban Revolution

6.1 The currency of affective capital

The previous chapters have aimed to illustrate how experiences, places, traits and people become desirable and valuable through Cuban tourism; furthermore, they have touched upon the kinds of discussions of symbolic capital, its relative value and complex exchange rate that make up an overarching touristic currency in which feelings, power and money intersect. In general, tourism tends to partially invert everyday notions of value and currency: given tourists' often greater spending power in certain places, especially when money has been saved to be spent expressly on holiday, "ordinary people are transported to luxury" (Patullo, 1996: 142). Notwithstanding those who holiday to 'slum it', travelling to Cuba temporarily alters the tourist's economic capital in this sense. However, given Cuba's social welfare system, and the comparatively higher cost of tourist prices, the difference in spending power is perhaps experienced to a lesser extent than elsewhere in the region.

The specificity of the contemporary Cuban context makes the notion of currency even harder to interpret, as much for the foreign tourist as the researcher attempting to discover its terms: the thesis has demonstrated that touristic exchanges are not straightforward, particularly in affective, intimate and/or informal encounters where types of payment are unclear and discursively negotiated, often leading to highly affective and conflicting outcomes. Indeed, given the anxieties that buying particular affective experiences provokes in tourists, and the general discursive separation of intimacy and the economy (Hochschild, 2003; Zelizer, 2005) this research contributes some new observations to the ways in which affective currencies have been analysed in different contexts (Brennan, 2004; Huppatz, 2009; Törnqvist, 2012: 102). Furthermore, affective capital is often

produced and consumed in various liminal, informal, and intimate spaces, by different actors, and through a range of motivations. This is increasingly the case in Cuba, where micro-enterprise legislation continues to open up informal touristic contact zones (Pratt, 1992) which enable tourists to embrace intimate, one-to-one encounters as experiences of an authenticity which is ostensibly under threat. As the thesis has already revealed, encounters appropriate affective capital in a range of scenarios (such as the impromptu encounter in the cemetery that was described in Chapter Five) which have not yet been the sustained focus of scholarship, partly owing to the difficulties of capturing the sum of these encounters and analysing them in a satisfactory way. Nevertheless, this section aims to reflect on the sense in which a currency is dialogically negotiated through the many different types of encounters this thesis has referenced, and across the broad spectrum of affectivity.

Ethnographies have thoroughly interrogated the ambiguous exchange terms of sexualised touristic relationships in Cuba, in particular drawing attention to the tourist's tendency to 'gift' meals, clothing and nights out (O'Connell Davidson, 1996), in a way that is more evocative of a holiday romance (Cabezas, 2004). O'Connell Davidson understands these exchange practices as a denial of the economic basis of a relationship; instead, the tourist interprets the encounter as a "genuine and reciprocal sexual-emotional relationship" (1996: 43). Such 'situational' sex tourists disassociate from 'macho men' sex tourists who are upfront about the 'money-for-sex' terms of their relationships (O'Connell Davidson, 1996: 44). Similar disassociations from the paying sex tourist figure are consistent across scholarship on female sex tourism (Frohlick, 2008; Sanchez Taylor, 2006). The literature also indicates that disassociation from monetary terms can also protect the self-identity of the Cuban partner from social stigmatisation and police harassment (Santos, 2009). As such, instances in the data in which erotic and emotional capital corresponded to an acknowledgement of economic value were limited to the discourses of World Sex Guide participants, who discussed sexualised encounters through a monetised currency of aesthetic corporeality ("there are plenty of 7-8's for the taking for \$30-\$40 for a few hours").¹

Tourists' and service providers' narratives in Chapter Five made clear that the ambiguity surrounding the economic currency of affective services extends beyond the realm of romantic and sexual host-guest relationships. On the one hand, tourists expressed that they felt entitled to the fulfilment of certain good feelings based on their spending:

¹ Available at <http://www.worldsexguide.com/guide/Caribbean/Cuba/> [accessed 8th December 2011].

narratives of disappointment and anger in experiencing rude or 'greedy' customer service in the resort space attested to this expectation. On the other hand, affective services, such as the intimate gestures of effort, care and expertise demonstrated by actors like the cemetery worker, the resort chef or room-cleaner, or the *casa particular* landlady, are recognised by both parties to incur a fee. Although few guidelines in touristic texts directed the tourist to this fact, it is universally understood that there is something to remunerate. In this sense, an emotional 'ledger' appears to operate (Hochschild, 2012: 79), in that, as the consumer of affective capital, the tourist implicitly understands that there is something to pay back. Therefore, although affective services in both informal and formal settings may carry the promise of financial reimbursement, they are also characterised by risk, since those terms are unestablished.

Gifts represent one of the main ways in which tourists repay affective services. The data suggested that tourists often gave used clothing, toys and other items, rather than monetary tips, underscored by a range of motivations that are specific to Cuba. During the early years of the Special Period, many guidebooks advised tourists to take scarce goods, such as pencils and toiletries, to leave as tips instead of cash. While cash-tipping in the formal tourism sector is more usual now, gifting practices are still extremely common. Some tourist narratives describe their gifts as chosen specifically to ostensibly mitigate the effects of the US embargo, or counteract the perceived inefficiencies in state distribution, for example by taking medical supplies and vitamins, seeds, and stationery. Gifts can thus be considered as gestures of solidarity. In addition, gifting appears as an expression of 'ethical' or 'responsible' tourism, based on the idea that hard currency is a corrupting force which worsens local hardships, although the exacerbation of local inequalities by the broader processes of international tourism remains unacknowledged in these discourses. Rather, cash tips are avoided based on the tourist's sense of political and social responsibility, which is heightened in Cuba. Kath Bateman, who runs cultural exchange tours to Cuba through Caledonia Languages, explained this phenomenon in a personal interview on the 12th February 2012:

There is a survival culture; this is something I explain to our guests. In other words, if you are chatting to someone for a long time, they've shown you good company, introduced you to a new place or given you a history lesson, or if you've learnt something about the country, don't begrudge a few dollars. If you can give more than ten *centavos*, do. But don't give ten [dollars] because it upsets the balance in the host culture.

It is important to note the sense of reciprocity that structures encounters such as these: if someone shares their personal resources (time, expertise, personality, good company), a reward is expected. However, Kath's comments highlight the delicate economic balance in the host culture that the tourist is expected to navigate through giving. Through gifting clothes, medicines and other goods, the tourist maintains the sense that they are behaving ethically and responsibly, given that Cuba, through its image as the 'last bastion' of socialism, is seemingly more vulnerable to the corrupting forces of capitalism and a risk of 'McDonaldisation' (Ritzer, 1998: 135) than other destinations.

However, I interpret gifting practices, or, to be precise, tourists' avoidance of cash tipping, to be symptomatic of the tourist's ongoing negotiation of larger inequalities and colonial anxieties. The sense that one has made a difference on an intimate or personal level, obscures the larger structural inequalities amidst which the encounter takes place, and instead reframes the question of inequality as a question of individual morality (Conran, 2011: 1455). This dynamic is exemplified in one tourist's description of a personal gift to a Cuban school:

To help balance the effect of the unfair commercial blockade, two friends and I decided to bring something for a Cuban school. Before leaving we bought 100 cheap ball point pens for about US\$16 and when I was in Santa Clara I donated them to a primary school. The head mistress, teachers, and the teachers were all quite moved and happy, and I was so impressed that my friends and I are now preparing a parcel of pens, pencils, erasers, and solar calculators to mail to Cuba (Stanley, 1997: 68).

Donating cheap pens to a school on a personal basis gives the tourist the sense that he has made a difference in counteracting the US embargo. Similarly, another tourist explains his motivation to deliver medicines to local surgeries as "a great way of paying back the hospitality I have been shown".¹ The hospitality shown to this tourist, presumably on a personal or familial level, is 'repaid' through one of the channels of the revolutionary state; notably, this individual feels a debt is owed for the emotional capital from which he has benefitted, through hospitality, that gifting serves to equalise in their view. In this sense, the general consumption of affective capital is apparently paid back through politically-motivated gifts. In this example, the success of the original exchange impresses the contributor so much that he is inspired to repeat the gifting (many Lonely Planet forum users also discussed their desire to send a care package to new friends in Cuba after a holiday). My aim is not to critique the first tourist's naïve and arguably misguided attempts to single-handedly help to offset the deep social consequences of the

embargo (for example by turning up uninvited in the middle of a school's timetable), but rather to examine the negotiation of exchange described in the passage, involving emotional, monetary and practical terms. The tourist brings stuff – and receives feeling. For the relatively small outlay of \$16, the tourist receives a large emotional reward: expressive gratitude from all the school's children and staff. Gift-giving provides the tourist with a sense of immediate, uncomplicated good feeling; it appropriates the tourist's primary capital source (economic) without involving cash, which may feel vulgar, remind the tourist of their privilege, and/or expose the tourist to further 'exploitation'.²

Overall, then, gifting allows the emotional rewards of being the benevolent Westerner without the potential for negative emotional reactions. Gift-giving equivocates the power dynamic, either mimicking the kinds of uncomplicated reciprocity of friendship (by not involving cash), or allowing the tourist to feel they are demonstrating voluntary generosity. In general, the feel-good factor of being a generous tourist is even easier in Cuba than in other destinations given the disproportionate imbalance between tourists' spending power and Cuban state wages: one may easily part with \$10 CUC tip (roughly £6.50) and know that its value in relation to the average state salary is considerably higher. Similarly, tourists leaving behind cheap or used goods which used to be especially difficult to get hold of in Cuba, let alone afford (for example, imported cosmetics, toiletries and clothes), feel they have 'made a difference' and 'reset' the emotional ledger, despite the effortlessness of the donation. As one female tourist explained to me in Varadero, "Every time I come to this resort I bring a load of old clothes I no longer want...the staff are just so grateful". Likewise, an online forum user recounts the emotional pay-off of his low-price gift: "Nothing like seeing those people [*casa particular* owners] light up when I gave them a cheap pair of reading glasses... In fact, cheap reading glasses probably hold the record for the *most appreciated vs. my cost* of anything I have brought (my emphasis)."³

Evidently, these exchanges presuppose a myriad of ways to affectively and psychologically 'pay' the debts of the touristic encounter, revealing the anxieties that surface when this reciprocity is incomplete: this argument stems from the negotiation of negative emotions described in Chapter Five. The expression of gratitude is therefore an important part of the reciprocity of gifting: running through all of these tourist narratives is the sense of dialogism or 'mirroring back'. Appreciation for gifts thus acts as a link in the 'chain' of the encounter, with other links constituted by feeling, embodied displays of

² All-inclusive resort space represents the ultimate cash-free utopia: money need never cross hands since package holidays are often paid in advance in the sending country.

³ Available at <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/thorntree/thread.jspa?threadID=2315618>. [Accessed 10 May 2014].

affect, (concealed) emotional labour, money, and the overarching host-guest power dynamic. Thus, tipping and gift-giving are fraught with the risk of emotional failure: one guidebook urges tourists “to be prepared to have your gifts rejected...The Cubans are a proud people” (Stanley, 1997: 69). The denial of ‘gift-for-good-feeling’ exchanges therefore exposes the fragility of the links in this figurative ‘chain’. In this sense, the back-and-forth negotiation of good and bad feelings that was described in the previous chapter is central to the organisation of reciprocity in the affective currency of Cuban tourism.

Although notions of reciprocity appear to run through the currency of affective capital, it seems impossible to argue that, at least in the context of Cuban tourism, the rules regarding the value of feelings are led by “the promptings of an unseen director” (Hochschild, 2012: 85). Admittedly, texts like guidebooks and vocational materials, for example, do appear to mediate the host-guest dynamic. However, these research findings complicate Hochschild’s assertion that in encounters where a service has been given, the feeling rules that govern the ledger of emotional reciprocity are “analogous to the exchange rate of dollars to pesos” (2012: 79). While there is an international standard for exchange rates, there is no such thing for feelings; they can be inflected and structured by all kinds of social categories. Indeed, Hochschild does acknowledge this ambivalence, noting that only in moments of inappropriate feeling is there a sense that a prior notion of reciprocity existed all along (2012: 78).

Instead, the data suggests that where affective services are provided, the rules about what such services are worth in monetary and affective terms are negotiated on an *ad hoc* basis, often spontaneously, involving complex readings of the embodied expressions of feelings: in simple terms, the rules are often made as they go. In narratives where tourists reflect on exchanges, including for example the perceived gratitude of the Cuban recipient, they continue to negotiate this currency discursively. In informal settings in particular, hosts and guests rely on trust as a basic tenet of symbolic currencies (Viladrich, 2005: 538); the indeterminate obligations and expectations of each party lead to the kinds of bad feelings described in Chapter Five, and the vague sense that exchange norms have, in fact, been violated. This complex balance is even more fragile in the context of tourism, where the basis upon which touristic encounters rests is already unequal, and in which the temporal window of reciprocity terms is complicated through the typically transient nature of encounters.

Given the unspecified terms of affective currency in Cuban tourism, the question persists as to whether the gift economy of affective capital can ever offer mutual benefits to the seller and consumer. This debate has especially divided researchers of sex work, many of

whom emphasise the agency that romantic and affective-sexual relationships offer to the 'seller' (Agustín, 2007; Santos, 2009); those relationships might also establish "a radical resistance of racist decrees of social segregation and dominant assumptions of gendered orders" (Törnqvist, 2012: 37). Others contest that, in conditions of poverty, sexualised labour is rarely an empowered choice, and that these practices strengthen global hierarchies of gender and race (Bandyopadhyay and Nascimento, 2010; Kempadoo, 1999; O'Connell Davidson, 1996). Similar controversies extend to other intimate and affective services beyond the scope of sexualised tourism, given the framing of emotional labour as psychologically costly to the worker (Hochschild, 2012) and the claim that monetised relationships are not always immoral or oppressive (Cabezas, 2009: 22).

The issue of whether these practices symbolise agency or exploitation relates to a broader question of how we frame symbolic capital, in terms of service, gift, or commodity. For example, to understand sex work under the banner of sexual slavery excludes the exploration of "new forms of flexible, contingent practices that may contain elements of partial commodification" (Cabezas, 2009: 21). We might therefore interpret the purchase of intimacy, sex, family, and other elements of Cuban tourism's wider affective economy through Cabezas' reasoning that, in informal and/ or freelance arrangements, "the provider has some control over producing and appropriating the surplus value" (2009: 20) and is able to determine the intensity, duration and currency of feeling.

This thesis has explored the ways in which discourses from both sides attempt to circumvent the asymmetries of power in tourism by engaging in the production and circulation of affective capital as opportunities both for personal gains and agency. Yet the research findings also make plain the disadvantages of participating in symbolic currencies without clearly specified terms. Furthermore, particularly outside the formal tourism sector, political and public discourse may not always empower those who do this kind of work. The various moralistic understandings and definitions of *jinetismo* based on race and gender factors lay bare the complex social responses to the host-guest encounter in Cuba.

More importantly, the debate surrounding agency and exploitation also hinges on the context of inequality which precedes the touristic encounter. While Cuba is not associated with the same indicators of poverty as other destinations in the region, most Cubans have fewer choices, and less mobility than the tourist they encounter, with those power differentials being especially marked during the early years of the Special Period. In the sense that Cubans are educated, cosmopolitan and subject to different social indicators which have not experienced the same level of interaction with global structures as

elsewhere in the region (Frohlick, 2008), mobility still dictates the host-guest power dynamic to a certain degree. Mobility both stands in contrast to and enables tourists to consume the types of affective capital circulated through Cuban tourism (Frohlick, 2008: 137). It would be inaccurate to suggest that Cubans engage with tourists for purely financial motives, yet this overarching inequality, and the ultimate authority that the tourist has to dictate the terms of the currency, are impossible to deny in light of these findings. Therefore, tourists' articulations of negative emotion, such as shame or guilt, cannot, despite Tucker's protestations (2009), sufficiently represent a "positive disruption in the otherwise colonial relationship between tourist and other" (Tucker, 2009: 444).

Moreover, it is difficult to connect the symbolic currencies of this micro level to the macro level in terms of Cuba's place in the world through tourism: that is, how affective capital, as a series of promotional strategies, discursive scripts and embodied and emotionally-invested practices, operate globally. One conclusion drawn through this research is that affective relations with tourists, in which personal affective resources such as friendship, care, sexuality, family and expertise are appropriated strategically, offer Cubans some negotiations of hierarchies and hardships, but these relations *simultaneously* reinforce affective stereotypes through the wider processes of tourism. When transposed to the global space, the flows of affective capital that flow through touristic articulations of Cuba and their appropriation on the ground fortifies the affective dynamic between the island and the global North.

6.2 Capital as palimpsest

The second reflection developed in this chapter approaches the notion of symbolic capital in Cuban tourism from an angle that has been previously unexplored. This analysis takes the articulations of symbolic capital that emerged from the data in Chapters Four and Five, and considers the ways in which different affective, cultural and political codes were also discursively combined or 'layered' in ways which mutually altered the meaning of affective capital, subsequently making Cuba a unique context for studying affect and tourism.

In itself, the notion of affective capital that has been used throughout this thesis contains layers of exotic, erotic and emotional capital; it speaks of an inherent wealth of embodied and emotional pleasures, encompassing assumptions of intimacy, interiority, authenticity and Otherness, which are homogenously packaged within the tourist product for consumption. The research has indicated that naturalised exotic capital appeared simply as an extension of Cuba's allegedly naturally heightened affectivity, where racialised sensuality and promiscuity, sensory Otherness, hedonism, and romance effectively

intermingled with human warmth, family, community and connectedness. However, at the same time, the appropriation of affective capital in texts such as marketing campaigns, guidebooks and travel literature may provoke friction with revolutionary aspirations and Cuba's social fabric when it appears to give tourists licence to consume embodied pleasures (for example, tourists' tendency to conflate the connotations of nostalgic hedonism with sexual promiscuity in contemporary society). Touristic textuality lays the foundation that certain types of affective and sexual experiences are possible, natural and uncomplicated.

The naturalisation of homogenous affective capital itself is not unique to Cuba. The intersection of emotional and erotic capitals in touristic texts of this region may serve to neutralise the seediness that has been associated with other sex tourist destinations: one potential outcome (unfounded, given the limits of this project and its methodology) is that, in touristic relationships, locals' motives might be more likely to be seen as genuine or rooted in real love. However, one hypothesis that this research proposes is that the co-existence of these symbolic capitals in the Cuban context with moral and political discourses had specific outcomes.

For example, it may be argued that the intersection of erotic capital with political and moral capital in touristic representations allows some of the exploitative practices that might be associated with other destinations to be negotiated and to some extent mitigated. Discourses from both sides suggested that, because of revolutionary welfare programmes including those devised to guarantee full employment, individuals were unlikely to be forced into sex work through poverty. Central to this negotiation is the sense that in Cuba, urban poverty does not appear as starkly as in other countries in the region: economic motives that would typically force locals into such practices do not 'translate' in the same way in Cuba. In an online forum thread about the paradoxes of contemporary Cuban society, one user epitomised this outlook by reasoning "it's not as big a deal for them to sell their bodies as it is for us...I wouldn't say they necessarily do it out of desperation, more like they do it because they can, and it's easy money".⁴ The appropriation of emotional and moral capital through the marketing of touristic Cuba as friendly and safe is, for some tourists, the ideal backdrop for sexual promise (Cohen, 2010; O'Connell Davidson, 1996: 45). Similar views from official sources were reflected in those on local and familial levels too: this leads on from the difference proposed by music teacher Danyel (in Chapter Four) about *prostitución forzada* – the kind that exists

⁴ Available at <https://www.lonelyplanet.com/thorntree/forums/americas-cuba/topics/paradoxes-of-cuba>. [Accessed 10 May 2014].

elsewhere and exploits minors and other vulnerable people – and *prostitución voluntaria* in Cuba: in other words, Cuban prostitution might stem from frivolous motivations for a superficial lifestyle, not desperate basic needs. Official discourses which associated sex tourism with the practices of a few deviant individuals, rather than a reflection of the moral basis of the revolutionary society in general, also negotiated the painful realities of contemporary tourism through moral frameworks. In this way, this thesis contends that moral and political capital do not appear to present an obstacle to host-guest sexualised encounters, but rather act as a way to negotiate the pressing questions of economic desperation and poverty that otherwise force confrontation with difficult realities.

In addition, emotional capital – in particular, the claim to a naturalised disposition towards happiness – was layered onto political and moral capital for different ends. In Chapter Five, I argued that the state promotes happiness as a result of socialist governance and that particular social policies, including those that support social equality, layer emotional and political capital. According to such a view, the image of normalised hospitality is also played out as a reflection of the aims of the Revolution's domestic and internationalist agendas; this observation adds to scholarship which has argued that the government, through its control of the tourism industry, selectively appropriates emotional and political capital as a way of generating international sympathy for the Revolution and negotiates the development of the industry for its own purposes (Sánchez and Adams, 2008). Furthermore, tourists' discourses that praise the resourcefulness and resilience of the Cuban population, in the face of ongoing post-Special Period austerity and the continuing US trade embargo, tend to frame the naturalised emotional capital (through enduring happiness) within the political, economic and social context of contemporary Cuba. In this way, the political and the emotional are layered as further proof that locals' happiness extends beyond the conditions of poverty that tourists might find off-putting, normalising the emotional identity and reinforcing the myth of the happy, carefree, tropical native. Thus, while this stereotype persists in touristic narratives elsewhere across the region, the layering of emotional capital with political capital (through socio-political projects for well-being and happiness) is unique in the context Cuba. Finally, while symbolic capitals are discursively layered in the research findings, the evidence shows that both sides feature an overarching detachment of erotic, emotional and moral capitals from economic capital. As a mirroring strategy to this Orientalist paradigm, the layering of capitals to make tourist experiences more palatable is worthy of critique.

Reflection on the ways in which types of capital are mutually mediated in these strategic ways through Cuban tourism suggests three central functions for both tourists and service providers. Firstly, as this critical approach has generally suggested, affective capital

allows both parties to negotiate the often harsh realities encompassed in tourism and the complex, ambiguous and costly (in many senses) dialogism of the touristic encounter. These negotiations often circumvent the practical, moral and emotional challenges of performing affective services, including the social stigmatisation of the service provider, as well as the anxieties endemic to the tourist self-identity, since “being a tourist is deprecated by almost everyone” (Bruner, 2004: 7, quoted in Frohlick, 2008: 134). Secondly, marketing symbolic wealth through political achievements makes Cuba a unique destination in a competitive marketplace often characterised by homogeneity of tourist experience (Cabezas, 2009: 35; Sheller, 2004b: 18). Thirdly, symbolic capital serves a compensatory function: in terms of the strategy of the Cuban tourism industry, an emphasis on affective and political wealth mediates instances where the tourism infrastructure is underdeveloped and access to resources is hampered by external forces such as the trade embargo, evident in the focus on moral capital in permanent exhibitions at the Museo de la Revolución, for example (Babb, 2011). On a more intimate level, observations revealed that affective capital often compensates for those material shortcomings, in the case of tour guides using humour and charm during delayed trips (for example when there was no petrol available).

Based on these interpretations, this framing of the palimpsest of capital has two implications in particular for both Tourism Studies and Cuban Studies. Firstly, while Tourism Studies has tended to apply affective readings of tourism to specific tourism behaviours and typologies (Graburn, 1983; Smith, 1989), this research suggests that tourists engage with a variety of different affective experiences which are inflected by the consumption of affective, moral and political capital. Tourists do not, therefore, correspond directly to scholarship’s dominant typologies. Instead, this thesis has tended to group common processes and practices rather than categories of fixed identities made manifest. Interpreting Cuban tourism as the circulation of different types of symbolic and economic capital is one way of doing this. Similarly, the negotiation of good and bad feeling in tourism may not be limited to those who self-define or have been defined by scholars as reality tourists (Mahrouse, 2011), volunteer tourists (Conran, 2011) or those who claim a desire to live ethically through tourism (Tucker, 2009). An under-explored area of research, given the findings of this study, is that touristic discourses engage with sex and affect in ways that expand the idea of sex as a component of tourism beyond the category of sex tourism (in other words, as a feature of Cuba’s wider sensual geography) and blur the boundaries of the sex tourist identity, since motivations that include sex can also include a desire to fulfil feelings of solidarity, community, home, family, and friendship; this viewpoint adds a new dimension to related work which challenges the categories of sex

work and sex tourism (Brennan, 2004; Cabezas, 2009). Categories of tourist experience may thus be conceptualised as being more porous than scholarship has suggested.

Secondly, the palimpsest of symbolic capital described in this section may problematise what some scholarship has interpreted to be deep contradictions in Cuban tourism marketing and practices in the light of revolutionary ideology (Pope, 2005; Scarpaci et al., 2002; Sánchez and Adams, 2008), and instead engage with and expand Babb's understanding of Cuban tourism as an "ambivalent mix" (2011: 54). Thus, the reflections of this thesis suggest that revolutionary goals in human, moral, cultural and political capital and tourism's reliance on exotic, erotic and emotional capital are perhaps not as mutually exclusive or mutually contradictory as suggested by scholars such as Cabezas (2009: 3). Rather than framing the strategic marketing of tourism in the context of the Revolution as distinct – as having two faces (Scarpaci et al., 2002), or being Janus-faced (Sánchez and Adams, 2008), this research's emphasis on the flows of symbolic capital, and particularly capital's compensatory, negotiating and competitive functions, depicts a more complex interface between the two. As such, this framing also addresses the question of the apparent 'rupture' that tourism has been seen to represent to the Cuban Revolution and overall legitimacy of tourism's world-making function. This is the subject of the next section of this chapter.

6.3 Making sense of capital, affect and tourism in the context of the Cuban Revolution

A core motivation for this research has been to demonstrate that the specific context of Special Period and post-Special Period Cuba calls for new understandings of theories of tourism and affect. This chapter has firstly illuminated this Cuban specificity through the ways that notions of reciprocity, value and capital have different meanings which have an impact on encounters on the ground. Secondly, it has emphasised Cuba's uniqueness in terms of the implications of symbolic capitals as they intersect in the tourist gaze and through the touristic experience. In this third section, these two dimensions are brought together to ask, based on the macro political level, what does currency mean, and what does capital *do*? The analysis revisits the theories of tourism as world-making discussed in Chapter One to suggest that we cannot easily situate Cuba within certain paradigms prevalent in Tourism Studies.

The notion of a palimpsest of symbolic capital highlights that the function of tourism is distinct in Cuba than in other contexts. Ingrid Hernandez emphasised in our 29th

February 2012 interview that what Cuba had to offer was a *multiplicidad de opciones*, in which multiple touristic experiences were marketed for consumption:

Tratamos que nuestra diferenciación sea vista a través de los muchos productos que podemos tener para [turistas]. En este momento, tenemos la mayoría pero no son desarrollados como queremos... La mayoría de nuestros países competidores, son fuertes en sol y playa y hoteles todo incluido. Nosotros también lo tenemos pero tenemos mucho más. Por ejemplo, nosotros tenemos una seguridad en las calles, que otros países no pueden proveer. Tenemos un proyecto socio-político y tenemos un sistema político-social que es diferente a lo del cualquier país del mundo.

Indeed, as Babb notes, this peculiar combination of tourist attractions, through which exotic, erotic, emotional, moral and political capital are appropriated, is precisely what sets Cuba apart globally and accounts for the industry's soaring profitability (Babb, 2011: 53), despite the issues prompted by underdevelopment. In this sense we need to 'read' tourism in Cuba in a different way, not in a way that sees all of its component parts as inherently conflictive but rather as sitting together in uneasy but often mutually-reinforcing and mutually-altering ways.

In this way, although we see in contemporary Cuba evidence of tourism's power to articulate what ought to be celebrated about places (Hollinshead, 2004: 31; Horne, 1992), particularly in emphasising uniqueness and symbolic wealth for political and economic ends, Hollinshead's argument that tourism world-making may define and legitimise a population (2004: 36) does not sit comfortably in Cuba. Rather, this thesis proposes that circulations of capital are a means to sell uniqueness *through* tourism but also, crucially, to retain uniqueness *in spite* of tourism. Nor does the typical impetus to develop tourism observed in other destinations correspond to the Cuban context. Instead it is more relevant to characterise Cuban tourism development and promotion as a series of relatively short-term compromises, emerging in the context of crisis, and to adopt the notion of 'hybrid transition' (Colantonio and Potter, 2006) in that tourism may be interpreted as simultaneously saving the Revolution from collapse and as a catalyst for further social and political change (Babb, 2011: 51). Economic success of the tourism industry may not, therefore, be viewed as necessarily contradictory to political aspirations, although, of course, it always carries the threat of transforming and destabilising those aspirations.

However, neither is it completely accurate to read tourism as a vehicle for political messages, but rather as a channel which appropriates the changing idea of the

Revolution in limited, problematic and sometimes contradictory ways. Continuing to use the framework of capital, it is clear that the state only sees the appropriation of political capital as a type of partial commodification: at our MINTUR interview, Ingrid Hernández was careful to stress that although the fruits of the Revolution are visible to the tourist, and although MINTUR recognised tourists' desires to gaze on facets of the Revolution in often intimate spaces (like schools and homes), the uniqueness of the Cuban Revolution was not something that they chose to exploit systematically as an attraction:

Sí, por supuesto es una fascinación. Pero, a ver, por darte un ejemplo. Ningún dirigente político nuestro hace las cosas para que se sepan. Nuestros dirigentes hacen las cosas por y para el pueblo. Y si explotaron eso de manera turística, ese dirigente político tiene que dejar de hacer parte de su trabajo, para ofrecer entrevistas, para comparecer en congresos. Es decir que ya no es un dirigente político, es una figura pública. Sería un locutor, un cantante, un artista, pero no un dirigente político. Es decir, podemos, perfectamente...nos encanta que participen con nosotros en el primero de mayo, pero no lo concebimos para que los visitantes participen con nosotros...es una actividad de los cubanos.

While the value of capitalising on this symbolic resource was recognised, this interview at MINTUR revealed that political capital was not considered another point of unbridled tourist access. Tourists' quests for cultural difference (Urry, 1990), authenticity (MacCannell, 1973) and interiority (Cohen, 2010: 162) mean that Cuba, until recently a seemingly impenetrable, forbidden and, now, an apparently changing place, becomes an incredibly desirable destination. Nevertheless, political capital is drawn into the marketable affective landscape with certain conflicts and compromises. Firstly, the tourist product is not shaped by tourist imaginary and demand alone, since "[tourists'] inclinations to consume and subordinate other cultures as they consolidate their own greater power... [are] often tempered by their vulnerability as they are swept away by desire and as their hosts contrive to manage tourism in their own interests" (Babb, 2010: 9). Secondly, the Cuban case reminds us that the nation state can never fully control "the viability of its tourist facilities" (Cabezas, 2009: 35). Besides, the many other texts which constitute the tourist gaze expose the limits of state branding to promote certain values and experiences. Thirdly, as this thesis has shown, tourism's world-making function does not transpose seamlessly from the macro level of representation (in marketing, guidebooks and travel literature) to the micro level (of host guest encounters). The personalisation of values in the Revolution could result in tourism workers upholding values in a unique way in Cuba (Hernández and Dilla, 1992: 36); the data does appear to suggest that Cubans and tourists fit into the certain roles that touristic texts dictate, yet this analysis suggests

that actors should be viewed as enacting performances which are dialogically and bodily negotiated on the ground rather than merely living specific identities. In sum, actors in different formal and informal tourism spaces, whilst navigating social, cultural and economic constraints, often unintentionally mediate and normalise myths, stereotypes, narratives and interpretations, and suppress or deny others (Hollinshead, 1999) through their engagement with tourism. As a result, the *petits récits* of service providers on the ground (Hollinshead, 2004: 37), as ambivalent and contradictory as this research has demonstrated, coalesce in the wider tourist imaginary. Just as both macro and micro processes appropriate different types of affective capital in different ways, both macro and micro levels can serve to support and undermine the revolutionary trajectory by privileging certain storylines over others (Babb, 2011: 53). Hence, the global geography of intimacy is not only a set of economic relations in terms of living conditions and economic driving forces, but clearly also a struggle over imaginaries and world views.

Finally, to speak of Cuban tourism as a form of cultural and political world-making, we must acknowledge that its resurrection coincides with, and in many ways symbolises, a specific, pivotal moment in the revolutionary trajectory. In addition, the kinds of spaces of encounter, profit and representation that tourism has opened up respond to and reflect, in part, the rapidly-evolving dynamic of state-civil relations. Furthermore, the value of Cuba's symbolic capital in international relations outside tourism has been cast into a new light following the Sixth Party Congress. Whereas internationalist missions had before operated through the symbolic currencies of humanitarianism and moralism, despite significant costs to the state, Cuba will now seek where possible, "to be compensated for at least the costs of the collaborative solidarity it offers other countries" (Farber, 2011: 280). Broadly speaking, tourism represents a window through which some of these wider economic and socio-political contradictions, challenges, successes and failures become visible to the world.

6.4 Concluding remarks

This chapter further demonstrates that when it comes to analysing affect and capital in tourism, the recent Cuban context presents different questions and implications than that of other destinations. Some of the key differences are situated in the dialogic negotiation of what affective capital is worth, both in the discursive and lived realities of the tourist encounter, the layering of affective capital with other symbolic capitals and the wider function of affective capital in the touristic imaginary of Cuba and the Cuban Revolution.

Reflections on the value of affective capital as part of an apparent touristic currency have been demonstrated this to be complex, particularly in the ambivalent terms of affective, intimate and/or informal encounters, and moreover as tourists respond to notions of guilt, solidarity and reciprocity which have been shown to be heightened in Cuban tourist spaces. It has been argued that the strategic appropriation of personal affective resources may represent moments of agency in hardship, even if the currency of affective exchange favours Cuban service providers. In a parallel reflection, the identification of affective capital's compensatory, negotiating and competitive functions in this chapter suggests a more complex relationship between Cuba, the Revolution and tourism than has been previously theorised. Indeed, reflecting on the conclusions of Chapters Four and Five, processes of representation and exchange reinforce affective stereotypes, amalgamating apparently distinct tropes which have been explored as, in fact, interconnected. It is clear that theories of touristic world-making and symbolic currencies need careful application in the contemporary Cuban context, given the state's efforts to reconcile tourists' expectations, economic limitations and political and social compromises, while competing in the global tourism market. It appears necessary to refashion theories and paradigms: the concept of affective capital proposed by this thesis may be one of the ways to do that.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusions

The rapidly-changing context of contemporary Cuba represents a key moment in which to explore the contradictions and complexities of the affective workings of tourism. The central aims of this thesis were to reflect this social context, the representation of Cuba as an affective landscape, and the lived realities of the circulation and consumption of affective capital. The interplays between these three factors have revealed various economic, political and cultural tensions and contradictions. Rich data and mixed methods have allowed me to develop several new insights in understanding Cuban tourism through affect and capital.

The key contributions made by this thesis are twofold. Firstly, in describing the ways in which Cuba is articulated in touristic texts, this research reconfigures tourism's world-making function through the framework of symbolic capital; it challenges assumptions and theoretical models that are central to Tourism Studies and cultural studies of tourism, gaining new insights from the application of this theory in Cuba. Secondly, in looking at the lived realities of these discourses, and connecting the macro representations of tourism with their enactment on the ground, the thesis critically engages with the kinds of negotiations relating to emotional work, bad feelings and currency by both parties of the tourist encounter; this perspective extends important scholarship on tourism and affect in new directions based on the specificity of the Cuban context. The central argument is that Cuba is a unique context in which to study touristic circulations of affective capital, offering several valuable contributions to both Cuban Studies and Tourism Studies.

7.1 Articulations of affective capital in touristic Cuba

Touristic texts, such as marketing, guidebooks and travel literature have the power to legitimise and define a place, shape tourists' expectations, and reinforce or contest understandings of places and populations. The research conducted for this thesis is especially timely, then, given the period of pivotal change that Cuba is currently experiencing and the central window that tourism offers the wider world: what these representations express matters. In particular, this thesis has aimed to locate Cuba as a site in a loosely-theorised global 'affective geography': places which are points on a map of the global affective economy (Brennan, 2004; Cabezas, 2009; Crouch, 2010; Pope, 2005; Pruitt and LaFont, 1995; Savigliano, 1995; Törnqvist, 2012). However, this research also looks at tourism's power to essentialise places and peoples through an original lens, by exploring how Cuba is marketed and consumed through the paradigm of affective capital. This research draws on and extends this scholarship through an original notion of

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affective capital, framing it as composed of interrelated exotic, erotic, emotional and moral capitals.

A central conclusion is that Cuba becomes synonymous with affectivity through tourism, that this shapes tourists' expectations and reinforces certain stereotypes through wider binary oppositions. Analysis has demonstrated that touristic texts normalise particular affective traits, landscapes, encounters and experiences, often through notions of Otherness based on certain affective traits, such as exoticism, promiscuity, happiness, community, morality and hospitality. It has also described the marketing and narration of experiences of sensory immersion, nostalgia, hedonism, human warmth, solidarity, family, intimacy, interiority and authenticity, in ways which also reinforce affective stereotypes. In addition, my analysis suggested that touristic texts also demarcate certain sites as spaces for play, sexual opportunity and intimacy.

Concerning tourism's world-making power and flows of affective capital through tourism, however, Cuba is clearly a unique case. Acknowledging that the tourist gaze is constituted by a multiplicity of texts, I have looked at those texts that market, mediate and narrate the tourist experience of Cuba, and have identified a series of tensions, motivations and actors. This approach calls into question pervasive assumptions that the revolutionary state's manipulation of the industry is one-dimensional. In other words, that the resurrection and development of tourism is not simply contradictory in the context of social and racial equality, purely a reflection of profit-driven motives and an inevitable transition to capitalism, or a strategic projection of socialist values in order to generate political sympathy. Instead, I have suggested that the appropriation of affective capital by government tourism bodies is situated (albeit uneasily) between the interconnected dynamics of policy, market competition, economic imperatives, tourist demand and the strategic projection of the revolutionary value system. It is undeniable, based on my findings, that the marketing of affective capital reinforces sexual and emotional stereotypes, and continues to fuel the flows of affective economies between the Latin American and Caribbean region and the global North. However, for Cuba, this promotional strategy has also offered a means for economic survival during crisis. Furthermore, articulations of normalised affective capital respond to tourists' quests for intimacy and interiority, and well-established imaginaries of eroticised exotic capital, for example; yet I have also shown that Cuba appears to strategically market moral and political capital to compete with rival destinations. Thus, by reading different types of symbolic capital as 'layered' through tourism (see Chapter Six), I have amalgamated tropes which are too readily dismissed as mutually-exclusive: although seemingly contradictory, together they

coalesce to form a generalised and sedimented gaze, through which the tourist experience is mediated.

7.2 Affective negotiations on the ground

Another central motivation and objective of this research has been to make connections between the macro levels of representation and those performed everyday by service providers and tourists on the ground. Chapters Four and Five revealed that the industry's multiple actors on the local level strategically reinforced certain codes and suppressed others, in addition to those narratives of government bodies and large foreign corporate operators. In addition, it has shown that touristic texts often function as cultural scripts, dictating norms, arbitrating types of affective work, and encouraging and mediating different types of affective encounters between hosts and guests. As such, the research has been designed and conducted within the broad imperative of Cultural Studies: to capture phenomena through both lived realities and the discourses that constitute them (Saukko, 2003).

I have shown that both tourists and service providers, in different formal and informal settings, circulate and appropriate capital in strategic ways: to negotiate the potential for bad feelings, compensate for material lack and qualify claims to uniqueness and authenticity. The conclusions drawn in this thesis tentatively suggest that strategic appropriations of affect on the micro level of tourism satisfy personal motivations of many kinds, through a dialogic perspective of both host and guest. This perspective provides various new understandings to the host-guest encounter in Cuba. Firstly, my findings challenge approaches to Cuba's informal sector, which has often been theorised through discourses of resistance to, or struggle with, the revolutionary state. Instead of a simplistic bottom-up or top-down approach, therefore, I have attempted to reflect the more complex picture that emerges between the affective underpinnings of the macro levels of representation and those of encounters on the ground. Affective service providers may indeed reinforce larger stereotypes and appear to follow the cultural scripts of affective scripts. For example, a Cuban's strategic appropriation of affective capital, or personal affective resources in wide-ranging forms such as sexuality, warmth, humour, charm and expertise, meets tourist desire for intimacy and interiority, and is often commoditised. However, rather than dichotomise these appropriations as exclusively characterised by either oppression or agency, I have attempted to show how service providers in both formal and informal tourism sectors engage with opportunities for personal gain amidst

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various political and economic constraints, including constraints produced or exacerbated through tourism.

I have selectively identified some examples of affective labour in the thesis, but they could be said to reflect a larger engagement in different types of affective work performed by an extensive range of actors, in various ambiguous, flexible, informal and formal scenarios. A smaller contribution to Cuban Studies made by this thesis, therefore, has been to introduce Cuba's expanding category of affective entrepreneurs: examples include the affective work of resort workers such as *animadores* and room cleaners, *casa particular* owners who provide the 'second Cuban family' experience, and tour guides. The *vignette* described in Chapter Five, about the encounter in the cemetery, hinted that there is much broader range of spontaneous, unstructured encounter led by affective strategies and work taking place in Cuba's tourist spaces than have been observed. While it is not within the scope of this thesis to fully explore the terms of these encounters, and ethnographic methods may prove more appropriate, affective entrepreneurship and emotional labour in touristic Cuba remain under-researched topics which are nevertheless incredibly pertinent in order to understand the constantly-evolving landscape of informal markets and private enterprise in Cuba. However, the findings of the thesis still contribute to the significant field of knowledge on emotional labour (Hochschild, 2012) and its manifestations in Cuba's formal (Cabezas, 2009; Santos, 2009) and informal tourist spaces, the latter being particularly under-researched.

Moreover, articulations of intimacy have not only been understood through notions of sexual desire. Instead I have highlighted the many different types of tourist encounters which appropriate affective capital, beyond the studies of sex tourism which dominate scholarship on affect and tourism. This extends previous scholarship's almost singular focus on sexual and romantic relationships in the context of Caribbean tourism to those touristic experiences that are articulated through wider discourses of feeling, such as friendship, family and human solidarity. By looking at affective capital as it becomes normalised and consumed through mainstream tourism, as this thesis has done, we might understand tourist typologies as being less rigidly-defined than previous research has suggested.

In analysing the ways in which tourists interpret and consume affective capital, this thesis makes valuable contributions to an important area of Tourism Studies which adopt a critical view of tourist behaviour, tourist narrative and affect. Tourists frequently try to discursively negotiate their consumption of the affective landscape, and specifically their right to consume affective services and gaze on intimate spaces. I have argued that

articulations of affective capital often reveal attempts to circumvent the asymmetries of power, protect the self-identities of both host and guest, and side-step bad feeling. For example, Chapter Five argued that tourist narratives and some touristic texts had a tendency to highlight the symbolic riches of connectedness, happiness, morality and safety. However, the Cuban context reveals original reflections on these typical touristic negotiations, departing from the established approach of critical studies: this research has also demonstrated that these negotiations may reflect tourists' efforts to express political solidarity, and their conflicted notions of inequality, given Cuba's complex social indicators and high levels of human capital. Although predicated by unequal terms, a reading of the host-guest encounter as automatically oppressive is inaccurate. Instead, through the dialogic approach adopted through this study, I have attempted to reflect the back-and-forth nature of discursive and lived negotiations, in which the currency of affective capital is not solely defined by money and power, although these factors fundamentally skew the basis on which host-guest encounters operate.

7.3 New directions for research

These findings make crucial inroads in the important task of reflecting the rapidly-evolving 'culture' of tourism on the island, as it experiences both significant policy changes from within and various external pressures. This thesis has attempted to give an overview of the ways in which affect flows through the larger articulations of the contemporary tourist gaze of Cuba, and through touristic encounters. With greater scope and time to focus on specific mediums of the tourist gaze, or specific spaces and contexts on the ground, research could be extended into many of the themes of this thesis. For example, the *casa particular* symbolises a fascinating space in which to explore in greater depth how the macro-level of tourism representation regulates feelings and affective work in the intimate domestic space: this field of enquiry is almost entirely absent from recent research on Cuba. In addition, although race and gender appear as vital factors in the findings of this thesis, the objective was not to produce a reading of affective capital through a single lens of gender, class or race. However, these and many other frameworks could be extremely useful to studies of Cuban tourism, especially as certain social groups continue to experience the outcomes of policies concerning private employment and welfare differentially (Farber, 2011: 277).

Furthermore, the research's critical analysis of tourists' and service providers' affective negotiations to level the uneven ground of tourism is also not exhaustive. A deeper

Conclusions

analysis of the ways in which Cubans may deliberately reject the notion of normalised affective capital and pursuits for interiority, intimacy and authenticity could extend efforts made by this thesis to reflect the dialogism of the host-guest encounter, and move away from the tourist-centric tendencies of Tourism Studies. Instead, greater focus on the narratives of the Cuban population, and tourism workers in particular, could counteract this problematic tourist-centricity. Resentments and bad feelings provoked by the promotion of affective capital for consumption are a complex, but worthy, facet of tourism's affective negotiations.

In this thesis, affective capital has been argued to be a central facet of Cuban tourism articulation and experience. However, the framework of capital could also be expanded to include appropriations of human capital in health tourism, for example, which appears to be an increasingly important branch of Cuba's tourism strategy. In particular, this focus could explore how political priorities of human capital and welfare in the sphere of Cuba's globally-renowned healthcare system become strategically appropriated through tourism. As a parallel to this thesis, this line of enquiry could also investigate how affective work such as care becomes incorporated into this specific aspect of the competitive Cuban tourist product.

Health tourism draws another source of capital – human capital – beyond the sphere of revolutionary society and politics and into the sphere of tourist gaze and consumption. Just as the narrative of *resolver* once characterised the imperatives of early Special Period tourism development, and everyday life, strategy is now more obviously at the centre of revolutionary tourism policy. Under Raúl Castro, the Cuban tourism industry continues to compete in the global market and attract increasing numbers of tourists. Following his proposed retirement in 2018, the picture of these developments is unclear. In light of future developments, and given the impact of the lifting of recent sanctions on foreign travel for Cubans, it will be fascinating to see how the interplay between tourism, affect and capital continues to shift.

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Figure 1: Resumen provided in application for a research visa

Resumen de la investigación doctoral de Rebecca Ogden

Soy una estudiante doctorado en Estudios Culturales Latinoamericanas de la Universidad de Manchester en Inglaterra, trabajando bajo la supervisión de la doctora Par Kumaraswami. Soy miembro del Foro Cubano de Investigación (Cuba Research Forum) en la Universidad de Nottingham.

Mi proyecto doctoral examina la cultura del turismo en Cuba, desde los años noventa hasta el periodo actual. Las investigaciones previas sobre este tema se han enfocado en el turismo sexual durante el *periodo especial* (O' Connell Davidson, 1996; Brennan, 2004; Cabezas, 2004). Este estudio propone que la industria del turismo contemporáneo funciona y se comercializa bajo un sistema simbólico que incluye a los sentimientos y el afecto. Sostengo que hay una red compleja de encuentros en el turismo, que supone imaginarios y discursos sobre sexualidades, lo exótico, el amor y la solidaridad humana. Por tanto, mi hipótesis cuestiona trabajos previos que ponen el foco únicamente en los encuentros sexuales entre turistas y cubanos.

El proyecto también utiliza un marco metodológico distinto para explorar este concepto. A fin de abordar este tema, estoy en el proceso de analizar el discurso de varios textos publicados y artículos que representan un diálogo entre Cuba y el Reino Unido. El objetivo de mi visita a Cuba será encontrar más ejemplos de este tipo de textos para ampliar dicho análisis. La búsqueda se basará en múltiples ubicaciones en la isla: en La Habana, Viñales y Varadero. Específicamente, buscaré materiales promocionales (folletos, carteles, etc.), ejemplos de narraciones/historias de viaje, y números de revistas como *Temas*, *Bohemia*, y ediciones como *Granma*. Las instituciones que tengo contemplado utilizar para realizar la búsqueda de este material son la Biblioteca Nacional, la Biblioteca Central, y el Instituto de Literatura y Lingüística. Además, estoy contemplando la posibilidad de consultar a académicos pertinentes de la Universidad de la Habana, el Centro de Estudios de la Economía Cubana, y funcionarios en el Ministerio del Turismo.

Figure 2: Research ethics declaration form



School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures

Research Ethics Declaration Form

When completed this form should be returned to the Postgraduate Office (Room S.3.11) by the date specified in your PGR Handbook.

The form should preferably be typed. Where handwritten please use BLOCK CAPITALS.

Surname: OGDEN

Student Number: 57004264

Forename(s) REBECCA

Programme: LATIN AMERICAN CULTURAL STUDIES PhD

Title or brief description of dissertation/research project

A study of the way touristic encounters in contemporary Cuba are articulated through text and image.

Declaration

I have read and understood the Guidelines on Ethical Procedures in Research, and discussed them with my PhD/MA dissertation supervisor.

Signed: Rebecca Ogden

Date: 1 November 2011

My research involves (please indicate **Yes**, **No** or **N/A** for *all* these statements):

Appendix A

- use of surveys or questionnaires **NO**
- use of interviews or focus groups **YES, INTERVIEWS**
- audio- or video-taping of participants or events **YES, AUDIO-TAPING INTERVIEWS**
- persons involved in illegal activities, prisoners or parolees **NO**
- access to personal and/or confidential data without the participant's specific consent **NO**
- administration of any stimuli, tasks, investigations or procedures which may be experienced by participants as physically or mentally painful, stressful or unpleasant during or after the research **NO**
- observation of participants without their knowledge **NO**
- students or staff of this University **NO**
- the elderly **NO**
- people from non-English-speaking backgrounds **YES**
(SPANISH-SPEAKING CUBANS - IN INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED IN SPANISH)
- persons whose capacity to give informed consent may be compromised (e.g. anyone under the age of 18, anyone intellectually or mentally impaired) **NO**
- anyone who has a physical disability **NO**
- patients or clients of professionals **NO**

If you have answered **Yes** to any of these questions, please outline your research and give an account of the way in which ethical issues are addressed. You should:

- summarize the project's methodology, including methods of data collection and analysis;
- indicate how participants were recruited (if any incentive is offered, this must be justified);
- describe the research procedures as they affect participants and any other parties involved;
- comment on issues of consent, confidentiality, risk to participants, etc.

Your statement must be signed and dated, and countersigned by your supervisor to indicate that s/he has discussed the ethical issues with you, and

agrees that the involvement of human participants/human data/material is essential for the proposed research topic.

Ethics Declaration

Project Title: Understanding Cuban Tourism: Affect and Capital in post-Special Period Cuba

Methodology:

This qualitative research project principally uses secondary sources for data, including archival material, cultural production and artifacts (brochures, literature, newspapers, journals, etc.). However, some corroborative interviews are anticipated during the research trip in Cuba. All conversations conducted in person and by telephone will be audio taped with permission of the subject to ensure accuracy of the data.

Given the ethical considerations of using human subjects for data, I will be sure to obtain signed consent, explicitly explaining the purpose of the data, its use once gathered and the confidentiality of the information disclosed. If subjects prefer to remain anonymous in the writing up of the data, this option will be respected. Due to the high profiles of the academics and officials who will be my participants, I do not expect them to request anonymity but would respect such a request if it was made.

Participants will be approached by email, requesting a conversation, before departure for fieldwork in January. Additional interviews with individuals associated with these participants may be arranged using institutions as 'gatekeepers' such as the University of Havana. As Cuba is a Spanish-speaking country, all the fieldwork will be conducted in Spanish. My supervisor and I are confident that my Spanish is of the appropriate level to conduct fieldwork in Spanish in a competent and sensitive way.

No incentives will be given to any of the project participants.

It is hoped and expected that interactions with these human subjects during fieldwork will effectively corroborate the text analysis that constitutes the principal methodology of the project.

Sincerely,

Rebecca Ogden
16 November 2011

Figure 3: Interview participant consent form

MANCHESTER
1824

The University
of Manchester

School of Languages, Linguistics and
Cultures

AUTORIZACIÓN PARA PARTICIPAR
EN LA INVESTIGACIÓN

TÍTULO DEL PROYECTO: Understanding Cuban Tourism: Affect and Capital
in post-Special Period Cuba

Nombre de estudiante: REBECCA OGDEN

Instituto: School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures, Universidad de
Manchester

Voluntario

Please read this and if you are happy to proceed, sign below.

Declaración de autorización
Entiendo los procedimientos descritos. Se le han dado respuestas satisfactorias a mis
preguntas y estoy de acuerdo en participar en este estudio. Sé lo que tengo que hacer y que puedo
abandonar el proyecto en cualquier momento.

Firma

Fecha

Nombre

.....

224

Appendix A

.....

Firma del investigador

En mi juicio, el participante está dando de manera voluntaria y con pleno conocimiento autorización y posee la capacidad legal y el conocimiento para dar la autorización y participar en este estudio de investigación.

Firma del investigador

Fecha



Figure 1: Coco-taxis in Habana (personal photograph).



Figure 2: Empty beach landscapes in various brochures.



Figure 3: Tropicana leaflet produced by Infotur.



Figure 4: Infotur leaflet depicting a street party.



Figures 5 and 6: Resort animadores (in red and white sporty uniforms) lead guests on the poolside dance-floor; and later mingle seamlessly with the other hotel guests once the party is underway (personal photographs).



Figure 1: Images of children in state-produced marketing materials.

it is your perfect holiday...



It is being available on the high street, over the phone or online 24/7



It is getting you there safely, on time and in comfort



It is a friendly face and a warm welcome when you arrive



It is being with you, so when you need us, we're on hand for anything at all

It is your holiday. You've worked hard all year and you deserve the very best. That's why we're with you every step of the way. To help with planning your holiday; booking it at the right price; getting you there and back home safely. And in between, providing all the care and attention you could want - when times are good, or when we can make them even better. So when you need a holiday...

Figure 2: Thomas Cook brochure graphic.

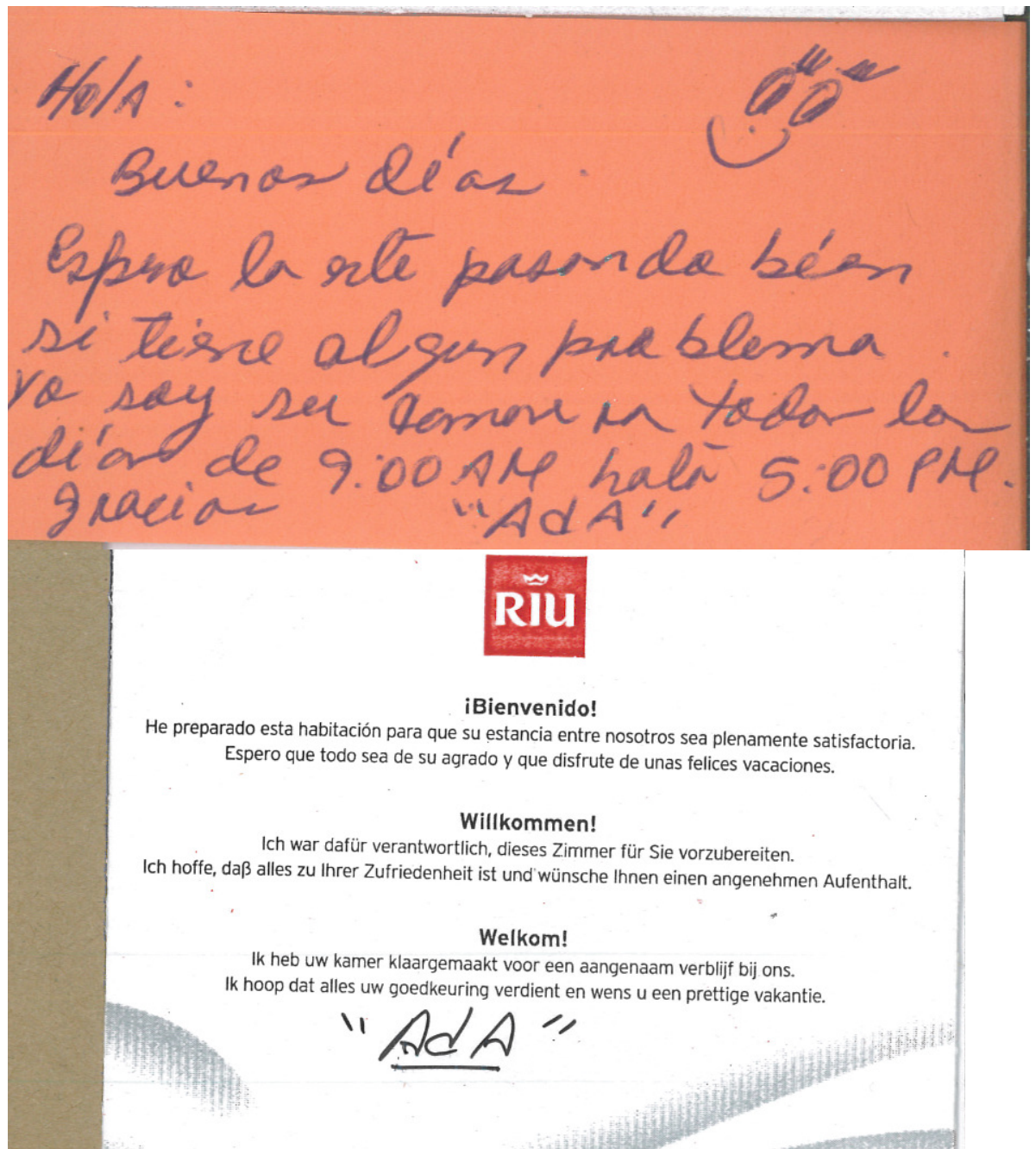


Figure 3: Examples of notes and personalised information left by the room cleaner.



Figures 4 and 5: Towels and blankets arranged in elaborate forms in a resort bedroom.