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1. Introduction

Female sex tourism has only recently emerged as a concept in Western society, even though it has arguably always existed in one form or another. The rise in awareness of women travelling exclusively for sex is undoubtedly and extricably linked to the growth of gender equality and feminism. It became apparent as early as 1960s which was interestingly the era that marked the beginning of the Western sexual and gender revolution. The increase of package tours, as well as the acceptance of women travelling alone or with friends, brought about the first accounts of female sex travel. The setting invariably involved sun, sand and sea and therefore locations such as the Mediterranean initially, and then more prominently the Caribbean provided the fourth “s”, sex.

Since the mid 1970s, the Jamaican writer, Trevor Rhone, was a keen observer of post-colonial Jamaican society and wrote about sex and prostitution which were increasingly becoming an integral part of the tourist industry. His socially provocative play, *Smile Orange*, went without the same recognition that was bestowed on later works of literature addressing the same theme. The lack of its widespread popularity might stem from its focus on the explicitly Jamaican locale and characters or, it could be argued, that the theme was deemed too controversial for its time and Western society.

The concept of female sex travel did not break through into the Western consciousness until later, and very little Western literature explored the theme until the late 1980s. Willy Russell’s kitchen-sink drama *Shirley Valentine* familiarised, and to a certain extent glamorised, the concept of a woman travelling without a husband and being sexually rewarded as a consequence. The play’s, and later the film’s, immense popularity evoked empathy from housewives nationwide and presumably played a significant role in the surge of female sex tourism throughout the Mediterranean.
Equally, at this time, the American woman’s Mediterranean was the economically poorer Caribbean. By writing *How Stella Got Her Groove Back*, Terry McMillan did the same for the American divorcee as Russell did for the British housewife. The novel became a national phenomenon and was also turned into a film. Since then, female sex tourism to the Caribbean has interestingly soared, provoking questioning concerning the impact of such literature on the female psyche. It has, to an extent, initiated the dismantling of taboos surrounding the issue. Both *How Stella Got Her Groove Back* and *Shirley Valentine* have had such a profound impact within the field of sex tourism in the Caribbean that the locals often refer to British female tourists as “Shirley Valentines” and African-American women as “Stellas” (Belliveau 43).

The most recent play, Tanika Gupta’s *Sugar Mummies*, elaborates on female sex tourism and is the most explicit and insightful in its scrutiny of the subject. This is clearly due to her thorough research which took her to Jamaica where she personally encountered local sex workers interacting with female tourists.

There is nevertheless ambiguity surrounding the subject as women, in contrast to their male counterparts, are reluctant to directly associate themselves with sex tourism and refer to the sex workers as prostitutes. Therefore, taboos surrounding the subject still persist. Questions are thus provoked concerning firstly, the types of women embarking on such sex travel adventures and, secondly, their motives for doing so. As such, this thesis seeks to place particular emphasis on the female characters and their motives for sex travel, yet the male reasons for sex work will nevertheless be given relevance too. Recurring themes are interwoven throughout the texts such as the escape to an “alternate reality”, gender and racial power struggles, as well as conflicting perceptions of what constitutes romance and prostitution and will thus be categorised accordingly. Finally, subsequent to close analyses of the texts and the above mentioned themes, the physical and psychological impacts of female sex tourism will be examined and questioned.
2. Female Sex Tourism

Haven't you heard about this stuff? It's called tropical fever or something. I mean think about it. You went to an exotic place that from what I heard is pretty close to paradise and you meet this fine young boy who of course any woman in her right mind would want to screw and they you do[…]. (How Stella Got Her Groove Back 258)

It is common knowledge that men, quite frequently, travel for the purpose of sexual pleasure. The most common destination is Thailand and supposedly Thai “massage parlours” where women provide a wide range of pleasurable experiences to male clients. However, the lesser known fact, which has prompted very little interest in modern society, is that Western women have found more ways (and locations) than one to tend to their personal, or specifically sexual, needs. While Europe’s Mediterranean provides many female tourists with an appealing choice in men (e.g. Greece and Shirley Valentine), the Caribbean and its sex workers, most commonly Rastafarian men, have become increasingly popular for many European and North American women:

With the new economic power, many Euro-American women are seeking an identity beyond the confines of the traditional gender scripts offered in their cultures […]. With the ease and popularity offered by mass tourism, part of this negotiation is being conducted around the world as women travel independently of men. Free from their own society’s constraints, female tourists have the opportunity to explore new gender behaviour. (Pruitt and LaFont 423)

The notion of female sex tourism was originally born in the Mediterranean and spread throughout the world especially flourishing in the Caribbean since at least the 1960s. As with the age (the 60s), it might have initially taken the form of a
social rebellion, allowing women to indulge in behaviour deemed socially unacceptable (or masculine) at home.

Some sexual encounters even develop into long-term relationships highlighting the complexity which surrounds terms such as “prostitution” or even “sex travel” as women (as well as their male counterparts) would reject such terminology even if the relationship began as such. Interestingly, these days around 10,000 Western women a year marry foreign men they have met abroad and bring them to their own countries. This might be seen as a Western woman’s way to convey "a power reserved through history for male military conquerors" (Belliveau 6). Thus, subconsciously, Western women have arguably adopted the previously male strategy of acquiring a partner from abroad and making them their spouse.

The literature that is available, however scarce, provokes significant questioning in relation to feminism and its ideals whilst undermining popular notions of what women seek in a partner and exploding common gender myths. Belliveau cites travel sex as being "a leading indicator of the state of feminism and real increases in female power" (6). Therefore, by exploring the theme of female travel sex, the modern Western woman’s function and power (as well as insecurities) can be exposed.

It is significant that female sex travel predominantly takes place in third world countries and especially the Caribbean. The Caribbean is widely regarded as offering limitless sexual opportunities and the Jamaican male, in particular, is often regarded as the embodiment of masculinity by the Western woman and his ubiquitous sexual prowess has been mystified to the absurd (the underlying irony being that Jamaican men tend to class "experimental" sex as dirty). Conflicting social values (brought about partly by sex tourism?) permeate Jamaican society: they are sexually aware yet vehemently homophobic, or the men are "tender and caring" yet domestic violence is rife.
While female sex tourism is prevalent throughout the Caribbean, it is at its most extreme and explicit on poverty-stricken islands such as Jamaica. Sex tourism is less explicit (i.e. women do not always have to continuously pay for the man) in the French Caribbean islands which are more prosperous, therefore "[w]omen who anticipate that they would quickly tire of a foreign man sponging off of them should only visit islands administered by France or the United States" (Belliveau 79).

Seeing a local (most commonly a Rastafarian man) in the company of a foreign white woman has long become the norm in Jamaica as well as other Caribbean countries (Manning 1982 qtd. in Pruitt and LaFont 424). This norm is clearly evident in a 1974 account of a tourist woman who got involved with a Jamaican man when she states that “everyone knew Jamaica was the place for women to have affairs. I had propositions all over the place and flattery, flattery, flattery” (Amber 102 qtd. in Gorry 29).

The Jamaican man "sponges off" the female sex tourist to ease his financial hardship and thus steps conveniently into the role of holiday "boyfriend" for the financially sound Western woman. The notion of "romance tourism"\(^1\) emerged as a means to differentiate between the more "complex" relations of the female sex tourist and the sex worker. In Jamaica women are at liberty to "hire" a "boyfriend" for the duration of their stay either implicitly through gift-giving etc or explicitly wherein each detail may be negotiated through, what basically is, a pimp:

Today the scene at Negril sounds a bit out of control. A hotel frequented by German women includes a male "guide" in the room price, and a glass-bottom boat driver procures men for tourists who "tell me what he should look like, smell like, even fuck like". (Bindel qtd. in Belliveau 68)

\(^1\) Pruitt and La Foint coined the term in 1994, see Kempadoo 14
Thus the Jamaican hustler adopts the role of the "hot-bloodied lover" and repeatedly re-enacts the stereotypes and clichés for the benefit of the female sex tourists who lap up the compliments eagerly and "bask in the feeling of being admired quite absent at home" (Belliveau 80). He might also temporarily escape the harsh reality of his existence and even welcome the attention and praise showered on him by the Western woman but denied in his own social environment:

In general, men feel a desire to please when they receive tender attention and encouragement, rather than criticism and rejection. A poor Caribbean man, considered one of life's losers by his own women, may pour his best efforts into pleasing a wealthy tourist for whom his financial status is of much less relevance. (Belliveau 71)

It can be argued that the arrangement is therefore mutually beneficial in its delusion and can bring about a (possibly false) sense of self-affirmation and worth to a certain extent.

That this type of phenomenon has become commonplace is clearly seen in the fact that these men have been subsequently labelled "rent-a-dread":

There are t-shirts, postcards, and cartoons making jokes about them for tourist consumption. Popular songs also comment on these relationships. Romance tourism liaisons are sufficiently common to encourage at least one American tour operator to consider creating a promotional brochure complete with pictures of men available as companions so she could broker the relationships from the United States before the women leave home. German women embark on these ventures frequently enough that an expression has developed in Germany that "The men go to Thailand and the women go to Jamaica. (Pruitt and LaFont 424-425)

Many Caribbean countries have a poor socio-economical background and due to the natural beauty and climate of the region most of the countries have invested in tourism as a salvage point of their economies. As Pruitt and LaFont emphasise of Jamaica in particular "[…] the government [has] increasingly set the course of
the nation’s economic future on the sights of the next planeload of tourists.” (424).

Needless to say, with an influx of single women (regardless of age and looks), Caribbean men have found an opportunity to improve their economic situation by getting involved sexually and romantically. Pruitt and LaFont suggest that this type of tourism should not be considered as sex tourism as neither party regard their acts to be an exchange for money; but due to the mutual benefit and the exploration of these new relationships the term should be labelled as romance tourism (423). That both parties prefer the state of denial is further demonstrated in an argument that “professionalization in tourism [...] finds one of its expressions in the ability of the service personnel to provide ‘personal service’ – a form of ‘staged authenticity’ (MacCannel 1973 qtd. in Gorry 44) in which relationships based essentially on economic exchange are camouflaged to appear as if they were based on social exchange” (Cohen 415 qtd. in Gorry 44). Hall (266) makes a valid point by identifying three main problems with sex tourism research, which may explain why many researchers simply refer to it as romance tourism:

1. The seeming blindness of many tourism researchers to actually acknowledge that a link exists between sex and the tourism industry, particularly in respect of sex as a motivating factor for travel …
2. The extreme difficulties to be had in conducting research on tourism prostitution, which is typically an illegal informal activity, often with substantial crime connections …
3. The lack of common methodological and philosophical frameworks with which to explain the complex web of gender, productive, reproductive and social relations which surround sex tourism. (qtd. in Clift and Carter 9)

Be as it may, even though the gender roles are reversed from the traditional male tourist-female prostitute pattern, the fact remains that, romantic or otherwise, these relationships remain money-driven. Choosing a more tolerable term does not change the reality as it stands, it only makes a taboo more sociably
acceptable to the point when it ceases to be one. Therefore, what is
(unjustifiably) called romance tourism by many, will in the course of this thesis,
be referred to as sex tourism.

Whilst sex tourism is rife throughout the world the prevailing female sex tourists
tend to "the exotic", i.e. Southern Europe, sub-Saharan Africa and the Caribbean
(articulating a typical preconceived Western woman's fantasy of the ultimate
male stereotype). Yet, whilst the Southern European males don’t usually expect
cash or gifts in return for their affections, the poverty-stricken Africans and
Caribbeans predominantly perceive their roles as work and rarely embark on any
sexual encounters with Western women without the promise of cash or gifts of
some sort. Such encounters in the Caribbean would usually fall into "the travel
romance" category whereby the "gigolo" acts as a temporary boyfriend for the
holiday duration receiving cash payments, gifts and food in return.

Through conducting research in Belize, Gorry states that most of the foreign
women she interviewed decided to travel due to the inadequate state of affairs at
home like “social isolation, social loss, unhappiness, and a sense that they were
no longer “experiencing” or “living life” (76) and were therefore in want of a life-
changing experience. The locals either criticised foreign women or, for lack of
better explanation, condemned them to be failures and rejects in their own
cultures. This could be seen as the locals’ way of justifying Western women’s
actions (who fulfil their desires through monetary transactions) by labelling them
as outcasts who were incapable of having the life they desired in their own social
sphere, as one local elaborates, “It’s usually a 40-50 year-old who’s running
away from problems […]. They’re always dealing with problems; and they
couldn’t find a guy back home their age, so they come here, and the guy sucks
them dry. They live off these women” (Gorry 75).

The assumption that they get “sucked dry” by their temporary or long-term
holiday boyfriends could be assigned to the women’s gullibility, however it is only
fair to suppose that they are aware of the circumstances but are simply in denial as their want to live out their fantasies is more valuable than reality. Driven by a deeply rooted dissatisfaction with their lives, it is not unusual that women create an alternate reality - a reality in which they can be sexually liberated and experience the pleasure that was missing from their lives, as one woman says: “I feel like I’ve been dead for the past 10 years – I haven’t felt a passion for anything, nothing turned me on. I want to experience things” (Gorry 77).

Furthermore, women engaging in sex travel may be “suffering” from a midlife crisis brought on by menopause. With the massive hormonal turmoil taking place in their bodies they begin to re-evaluate themselves and possibly take risks in order to deal with their psychological upheaval whilst experiencing the ultimate life-changing adventure, as is demonstrated in Gorry’s analysis: “You know I’m not crazy about the idea of being promiscuous. I mean I look like the town whore… but I feel like this is my last hoorah” (92). Thus, it could be said that, in their eyes, the end justifies the means.

3. Stereotypes

YOLANDA: [...] You hear these ladies on the beach mouthing on, ‘He’s big, he’s like an animal, untamed, primitive, he’d fuck you in the sand and wouldn’t think anything the matter with it...’ Jesus. (Sugar Mummies 2.3.80)

Generally speaking, there are certain stereotypical traits assigned to tourists from different cultural backgrounds. Shirley, in Shirley Valentine, points out the narrow-mindedness of British tourists in Greece who very often criticise anything unfamiliar and foreign. Thus, when it comes to her countrymen Shirley notes that “[...] everythin’ was wrong – the sun was too hot for them, the sea was too wet
for them, Greece too Greek for them. They were that type, y’ know, if they’d been at the Last Supper they would have asked for chips.” (2.24).

Contrary to the British tourists described in *Shirley Valentine*, who are nostalgic for a piece of their own culture abroad, Joe in *Smile Orange* criticises American tourists in Jamaica as being too needy and greedy:

> JOE: Me not serving dem people at number 5 again, you know.
> RINGO: What happen?
> JOE: Me go to di man, nice and polite like, and ask him, ‘What can I bring for you this evening, sir?’ You know what di man said to me?
> RINGO: No.
> JOE: Him say me mus’ bring everything.
> RINGO: Everything on di menu?
> JOE: Yes everything. So me try and explain to him dat if him have di fish den him can’t have di steak. Is a choice. Di man look on me and tell me dat him come on a package and everything inclusive […] Him mention to him wife dat him out to get him money’s worth. Him ask her if she hungry, she say no. Him say dat don’t matter, she have to eat. (1.1.114)

Regardless of such general cultural clichés, foreign women travelling abroad unaccompanied are at liberty to free themselves from the constraints of their own culture and may reinvent themselves individually. Whether they know it or not, they are still bound to the cultural stereotypes that have been imposed on them within their new locality in that the men are aware (through experience) of the cultural differences between a single American woman travelling abroad or a British woman for example.

The types of single women who travel for sex tend to be "[…] in [their] 30s or 40s, white or Japanese, adventurous of spirit and in a faraway locale" (Belliveau 43). Therefore, the women seduced and interested in a relationship with Jamaican (Caribbean) men range in "[…] nationalities, ages, social and economic background" (Pruitt and LaFont 425). Women are mostly white although there are also examples of European and North American women of African background (e.g. Stella, Yolanda and Naomi).
These women are likely to either have had a string of relationships, to be sexually open-minded and to have a sense of adventure, explicitly seen in Kitty and Maggie (Sugar Mummies). They also might have been unlucky/unhappy in a previous relationship and thus seek a holiday fling to fill some kind of void. Female cultural differences might also play a significant role.

Therefore, if a woman is American “[…] she may not believe in having casual sex and may shock herself by swiftly falling for a foreigner” (Gorry 76 qtd. in Belliveau 44). If a woman is British, she “[…] may either have many sex partners at home (Gillies 340 qtd. in Belliveau) or conversely, be acting out of character, having much more sex than usual (Carter 337 qtd. in Belliveau). She may also consider alcohol and casual sex an integral part of holidays abroad (Pitt-Kethley 7 qtd. in Belliveau).”

Accordingly, the hustlers tend to express preference for a particular cultural background, as Ringo in Smile Orange demonstrates to Cyril:

> You have to check an’ hear which country dem come from by di way dem talk. You have English, American and Canadian. Forget about di English, dem too mean. Di American and di Canadian accent is almost di same. Concentrate on di American, and it will do for di Canadian. (1.1.123)

In addition to the generic labels, female sex tourists (regardless of their origin) often display certain traits on a deeper, emotional level. Thus, stereotypes of married/divorced, lonely and discontent women can be assigned to the majority of female characters in Sugar Mummies as well as the heroines of Shirley Valentine and How Stella Got her Groove Back.

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2 Gorry's quote used in Belliveau does not correspond to her primary text in a pdf format.
3.1. Female Stereotypes

Terry McMillan’s *Stella* embodies a number of Western female stereotypes. She’s the archetypal successful Western woman living the American dream. Her success is measured by her material belongings such as her cars, her Californian villa with swimming pool, her numerous investments which enable her to maintain her high standard of living even when made redundant. While it stands true that she has had a successful career in the finance sector and that she has made a number of profitable investments, she was pushed into the former by her husband and the latter was initiated by her American lover Leroy.

Her pampered lifestyle has arguably turned her into a snob who looks down on the stereotypical American housewife figure: „I believe from the bottom of my heart that dusting polishing and vacuuming are entirely too tedious never-ending and boring tasks and there are so many other things I would rather be doing which is why I hired Paco in the first place. He is worth the money.” (*Stella* 17).

In contrast to Stella, Shirley Valentine fulfils the old-fashioned housewife stereotype that Stella rejects. Her life revolves around the monotonous routines associated with a working class English housewife in the Thatcher era. The gloomy backdrop of Liverpool in the 80s during the depression, where unemployment rates were amongst the highest in the UK, reflects the person Shirley Valentine has become. The kitchen is her social environment and her companion is the wall, as her husband works all day and her children have moved out. Shirley never had any career prospects and her intelligence was underestimated and undermined from an early age after which “[she] was never really interested in school” and she “became a rebel” (1.1.10).

As an African-American woman Stella has undoubtedly broken through conventional social barriers. She has managed to work her way to the top in a
predominantly white as well as male dominated business sector. Yet her loneliness is prevalent: “[…] I make a shitload of money and my family is proud of me because I’m the only one who has actually made it to the top but all I know is that it is lonely as hell up here and I don’t particularly like it.” (Stella 33)

Whilst Shirley Valentine does not have the means to have hired help in the house nor has she ever had a career like Stella, they are both equally lonely and emotionally discontent. Both characters have spent most of their energy on trying to be good parents and good wives, which simultaneously proved to be emotionally draining and guilt inducing.

When Shirley’s grown up daughter comes back home she realises that she immediately falls into the role of “Auto-Mother” and is expected to attend to her needs. Shirley’s need for companionship and understanding were, however, neglected:

Millandra, I’m really pleased you’ve come back home because I’ve really missed y’. I mean, I’ve never said that or whinged an’ whined because, because, I believe that kids have to have their own lives. But there’s many a time y’ know, many a time that I would have loved to sit down with y’ an’ talk, go to town with y’, have a meal with y’, share a laugh, just, like not as your mother but as another human bein’. But I couldn’t because you had your own life, your own friends, your own interests – none of it to do with me.” (Shirley Valentine 1.2.18)

When Stella’s son spends time with his father, it brings about a sense of relief and freedom as there is:

No week-on / week-off revolving carpooling and forgetting it’s my week and being afraid to call the parents of the abandoned children who are all standing in the rain for an hour after I forgot them because they are all-including my own son- too dumb to call somebody else.” (Stella 15)
Stella nevertheless continuously strives for self-awareness and independence from any kind of male domination and believes that “[…] if there’s ever going to be a change in [her] behaviour or [her] personality [she] will do it [herself] […]” (28). This is in vivid contrast to Shirley Valentine, who has completely lost all sense of self, her values and ideals: “[…] “I used to be Shirley Valentine… I used to be Shirley…” […] What happened? Who turned me into this? I don’t want this. Do you remember her, wall? Remember Shirley Valentine?” (1.1.12).

The theme of female loneliness is taken up with the character of Stella as well and, like Shirley, she misses what or who she used to be: “I used to be this creative person and I had energy and a thriving spirit […]” (Stella 18). Shirley also embodies the lonely female stereotype: “I wanted to go an’ see someone, someone I could talk to. But there wasn’t anyone. I never felt so alone in me whole life. I used to know so many people. Where does everyone go to?” (Shirley Valentine 1.2.17).

Similarly, all the female characters in *Sugar Mummies* represent images of female loneliness and the yearning for something more in their life, whether it is companionship, love or adventure. Maggie longs to be held in a man’s arms because it “[c]hases away all those lonely nights and stops the questions.” (2.4.89). The questions she is referring to are questions asked by many single women at her age, like “[…] why am I here on my own? What’s wrong with me if I am so great – why am I so single?” (2.4.89). Kitty, like Stella, has had a successful career, yet she never settled down or had any children. Being in her late thirties she is lonely and, unlike her friends who “all have their own lives now” (2.4.88), she has not been lucky enough to find a suitable partner. And, as seems to be the case with all the female characters embarking on a sexual adventure, she is at the point of self-reflection. However, it should be noted that characters such as Stella, Shirley and Naomi do not initially set out on a sexual adventure but nevertheless find one.
The stereotype of a woman in her mid-life crisis and her age awareness is a recurring theme which typically allows the character to reflect on the meaning of life. Stella “[is] not angry about being forty-two but it feels like [she is] slowly but surely catching up to [her] mama because she was only forty-two when she died [...]” (Stella, 23). Likewise Shirley, being of the same age as Stella, feels like she is stuck in a rut and that “[...] once you’ve reached your forties life gets a bit jaded an’ y’ start to believe that only good things are things in the past.” (Shirley Valentine 1.1.2-3).

The men are undoubtedly aware (and arguably take advantage) of the women’s emotional needs and they try to fulfil the roles which have been imposed on them by Western women, especially regarding their sexuality.

3.2. Male Stereotypes

Concerning the physical appearance of a Jamaican man, a dreadlocked hair style seems to be particularly appealing to a Western woman. The hair became a part and a symbol of Rastafarian culture. Ironically, it came to represent a resistance against the superior culture that came to enslave the African man. As such, dreadlocks symbolise “[...] the strength of the lion, and signify pride in African heritage and represent strength [...]” and “[...] a power source for the Rastafarian” (Pruitt and LaFont 430). However, it could be argued that this power and resistance against the superior culture paradoxically become suppressed as Rastafarian hustler men become inferior to dominant foreign women for the purpose of financial gain.

Furthermore, Rastafarian men (and women) stereotypically smoke marihuana or “ganja”, as they consider it to be a part of their religion. While some tourist women gladly indulge, others, like Yolanda in Sugar Mummies, object and find it less attractive:
YOLANDA: [...] You smoke too much.
REEFIE: Holy smoke.
YOLANDA: Give me a break.
REEFIE: Give me a line of communication to Jah.
YOLANDA: Makes you completely high.
REEFIE: First step to Jah. (1.2.39-40)

Nevertheless, the Jamaican hustlers’ lifestyle choice is generally deplored by their society. They are accused of not being real Rastafarians as they use their religion for economic reasons and personal interest. While the rest of the community are locked in the constant struggle for survival and work for a low wage insufficient to fulfil their basic needs, a local hustler is condemned for choosing the easier way to earn a living by selling his body to a white woman. As such, a hustler is stigmatised as a prostitute yet he seeks to vehemently deny it (Pruitt and LaFont 433).

Dealing with rejection and contempt, the hustler finds a sense of security in his peer group (i.e. other hustlers). This is particularly evident in Sugar Mummies where Reefie, as the older and experienced hustler, poses as a role model to Antonio and Sly. Similarly to Sugar Mummies, Ringo in Smile Orange has Joe’s support and trust no matter what bizarre situation he finds himself:

JOE: Yes man. I will cover for you. [...] 
RINGO: Boss. You is a boss.  
JOE: Is so, me good, man. Coast clear.  
RINGO: You are a bitch. Boy, you lie, you know. Is a good thing you and me is friend. If you ever tell a lie on me A wouldn’t stand a chance. (1.1.108-110)

Therefore, generally speaking, the peers support each other, no questions asked, and they “create an internalized culture where success in seduction is proof of masculinity” (Gorry 103).
Moreover, Caribbean men are objectified in the eyes of women. They are hyper-sexualised in terms of their physical attributes as they are seen as having beautiful and muscular bodies and being athletic, agile and above all good in bed. They are:

KITTY. Tall and strong.
MAGGIE. Big, luscious, kissable lips.
KITTY. Real men.
MAGGIE. Much bigger than white men. The Big Bamboo.
KITTY. Jamaican Steel.

_They both laugh._

And it’s not over in two minutes. They can keep going all night.
MAGGIE. And they’ve got the rhythm – so they can move – so athletic.
KITTY. Such supple bodies.
MAGGIE. “Once you’ve had black, you never go back. (Sugar Mummies 1.1.25)

In *How Stella Got Her Groove Back*, Angela as a conservative woman voices what is generally considered to be the Jamaican male stereotype in America. Her depiction that Jamaican men “[…] all got fire hoses for dicks” (44) reflects the Western women’s tendency to objectify Caribbean men. The more open-minded and adventurous sister, Vanessa, further emphasizes the stereotype by advising Stella to “take plenty of condoms with [her] and get some from all those young Jamaican boys with big flapping dicks- do one a day if you can handle it, girl […]” (46).

Ringo in *Smile Orange* expresses the importance of fulfilling this particular stereotype when he asks Cyril if he is “well blessed” (1.1.118).

Apart from being good in bed, the black male is invariably considered to have a sense of rhythm and therefore show a superiority and a willingness when it
comes to dancing, a trait which white males stereotypically lack. It is thus no coincidence that most sexual encounters begin in Caribbean dance halls.

In contrast to the Western clichés about Caribbean males, the local stereotypes are much less romanticised. For example, Holly in *How Stella Got Her Groove Back* voices the Jamaican woman’s stereotypical perception of Jamaican men who [...] have no money, hardly any class at all, they can’t dress [...]” (184).

The reality is that the men are poor, come from rural areas of the island and often live in shacks without water and electricity. Most male characters come from broken homes usually due to the father’s incessant womanising. Fathering numerous children is one way of asserting their masculinity as they cannot do it through career opportunities in the same way the Western male does. It is thus:

[…] not uncommon for one to encounter a third cousin on one’s stepfather’s half brother’s sister’s side. Similarly there is a relatively high occurrence of great aunts and great uncles on one’s mother’s boyfriend’s father-in-law’s side. […] For instance it is quite usual for a Jamaican to meet his English cousin while visiting his Chinese half sister at his Barbadian father’s house in the Tibetan highlands. (*The How to be Jamaican Handbook* 48)

Reefie from *Sugar Mummies* is a prime example of the promiscuous, ganja-smoking Rastafarian who has fathered numerous children and never took any responsibility for them. When Yolanda tries to understand why he never cared, he nonchalantly replies that he “let them free” (2.9.110).

The sex workers or the hustlers embrace the ultimate stereotype of a womaniser. The hustling connoisseurs like Reefie and Ringo can step into any of the roles required due their vast experience and knowledge of how to “treat a lady” (*Sugar Mummies* 1.1.24).
Unlike most of the Jamaican characters in *Sugar Mummies* and *Smile Orange*, Winston in *How Stella Got Her Groove Back* is not represented as a Jamaican hustler as such, yet his charms and seduction techniques would arguably say otherwise. In contrast to the hustlers in *Sugar Mummies* and *Smile Orange* he has had the advantage of a good upbringing and education (or at least he makes Stella and thus the reader think so). Therefore, his character is not entirely compatible with the poor, rural, Jamaican man’s stereotype; his father is a surgeon, his mother is a nurse, both living in Kingston. He has had moral values instilled and conveys an underlying respect for women, e.g. he seemingly shows a sense of indifference to material things yet open-handedly accepts them.

While all of the afore-mentioned stereotypes paint a vivid picture of Western women and their exotic gigolos, there are multiple deeply rooted reasons why women seek fulfilment abroad in the first place and why men assist them in doing so.

4. Reasons for Female Travel Sex

I thought to meself, my life has been a crime really – a crime against God, because ... I didn’t live it fully. I’d allowed myself to live this little life when inside me there was so much. (*Shirley Valentine* 2.27)

There are multiple reasons influencing women’s willingness to travel abroad and seek fulfilment, be it emotional or sexual. Loneliness, age, failed marriage, loss of a friend or self serve as driving forces for promiscuous behaviour abroad for the majority of female characters in *How Stella Got Her Groove Back*, *Shirley Valentine* and *Sugar Mummies*. 
Reasons for female casual travel sex might stem from psychological, physical, cultural and thereof social or economic issues. Belliveau interestingly categorises them as being: 1. identity loss, 2. sexual connoisseurship and fantasy fulfilment, 3. search for healing, affection, sexual worth and love, 4. man shortage and a revolution in mate selection, 5. widespread, involuntary female celibacy, 6. dating war and 7. commodification of sex (85).

4.1. Identity Loss

The female sex tourist is freed from the social constraints of her home and is subsequently at her liberty to assume an alter-identity and act accordingly. A holiday fling allows a woman to indulge in sexual adventures that might be frowned upon in her own social environment, and thus liberates her from Western sexual morality which often dictates that sex requires a meaningful relationship. Losing her identity in the alternate reality, she is able to expand her sexual boundaries as well her taste in partners.

The loss of self may stem from a dramatic breakup or divorce. The loss of a loved one within a particular stage of a woman’s life is cited by Belliveau as one of the driving forces behind a sex tourist’s quest for a foreign man, i.e. to fill the void left by the previous relationship: "A marriage breakup shocking in its swiftness started the process of unravelling the thick hawser that once welded intimacy only to love. Foreign men sliced away the final strands." (2).

Most of the female characters in How Stella Got Her Groove Back, Shirley Valentine and Sugar Mummies have experienced disenchantment with relationships and men in general due to unhappy marriages or divorce.

As a woman of forty two years of age, Stella begins to question her life’s worth and reveals a deeply rooted dissatisfaction with it. Despite her success and wealth she feels like she should have made different choices regarding her life.
As a creative person she opted for a career in business rather than art since the latter was inadequate by her husband’s standards and did not provide sufficient economic means. Giving up on her artistic dreams and following her husband’s wishes resulted in a loss of spirit and energy:

[...] I used to be this creative person and I had energy and a thriving spirit and I would design and conceive and sometimes actually manufacture what I used to call functional sculpture aka handcrafted furniture that people in fact solicited and paid me real money to make for them [...] but then it became so hard to like pay the rent and then this husband I ended up saying yes to when I should’ve just said no convinced me that I could use that MBA I got and like combine it with that MFA I also had [...].

(Stella 18)

Unsurprisingly, Stella blames her marriage for the loss of her dreams and passion. She spent years married to a man who “[...] bored [her] to death. Living with him was like spaces and slippery floors. [...] [She] wanted him to respect [their] differences. [She] ended up telling him that he should’ve married himself, and later that he should try fuck himself”(24). Consequently, she becomes cynical and adopts a radical view that marriage invariably means a loss of true self. Thus, Stella devalues marriage as an institution, claiming that “all [her] married friends are mostly miserable. They’re just in it because. They started it.” (27).

Western ideas of commitment are gradually dissolving and in the midst of discontent and possible sexual deprivation it follows that men most commonly resort to having affairs, yet women stereotypically turn a blind eye and live under the illusion that everything is as it should be. By embarking on sex travel, Stella, together with other female characters (Sugar Mummies and Shirley Valentine), breaks out of the traditional stereotypical role and assumes superiority while managing to escape her marital bonds and succeed independently by achieving her desired goal in the long run - the goal of sexual and emotional gratification.
Much like Stella, Shirley is miserable and in desperate search for the meaning in her life. She is not happy with her marriage and with the person Joe, her husband, has become. Amongst his many flaws he also

[…] likes everything to be as it's always been. Like his tea always has to be on the table as he comes through that door. If the plate isn't landin' on the table just as his foot is landin' on the mat, there's ructions. […] I'm not sayin' he's bad, my feller. He's just no bleedin' good. (Shirley Valentine 1.1.2-3)

Therefore, assuming inferiority and playing the role imposed on her, she is stuck in the same daily routine with the kitchen wall as her only companion. She realises that, under normal circumstances, women should be valued as individuals and ought to have their own opinions, yet all sense of normality and logic dissipates within the context of marriage:

Marriage is like the Middle East, isn't it? There's no solution. You jiggle things around a bit, give up a bit here, take a bit there, deal with the flare-ups when they happen. But most of the time you just keep your head down, observe the curfew and hope that the cease-fire holds. (Shirley Valentine 1.1.4)

In contrast to Stella, Shirley reminisces fondly about her past and remembers the days when she used to be happy. She weeps for the days of affection and love long past, remembers the better times but cannot figure out when it was that she lost herself and her self-esteem. Marriage for her is not a dead-end institution as Stella perceives it, thus she remembers how “[…] she used to laugh with Joe – when the pair of them did things together […]” yet “[…] somewhere along the way the boy called Joe turned into “him” and Shirley Valentine turned into this and what [she] can’t remember is the day or the week or the month or the… when it happened.” (1.1.12-13)
Maggie’s bitter attitude clearly comes as a consequence of her broken marriage and being abandoned by her husband:

MAGGIE: Look I know the score. I was married. I know how it goes. Staying with a man is about settling for second best. It’s an economic contract. […] You have kids, you nurture them, teach them, love them, they grow up and leave you. And then your man leaves you too.” (Sugar Mummies 2.4.90)

She has become a “[…] wizened old [hag]” (1.6.66) after being repeatedly used, abused and abandoned by men. Therefore her reasons for travel sex are purely for sexual gratification whilst reasserting control and to some extent her self-worth.

While Yolanda does not specifically elaborate on her marriage it can be presumed that it has gone stale and she gets no sexual gratification out of it as her husband has become merely her best friend and the father of her children. She repeatedly comes back to Reefie (for the sixteenth time in five years). She is fully aware of Reefie’s professional occupation and is under no illusion regarding their future prospects. She neither wants Reefie as a full-time partner nor is she willing to leave her husband as “there are some things you just don’t do” (Sugar Mummies 2.8.109), which reflects her somewhat contradictory old-fashioned Western values and further highlights her identity crisis.

Furthermore, her loss of identity arguably stems from the burdens associated with being a successful businesswoman, mother and wife living in the developed West. Her reasons for sex travel are invariably linked to the strain that comes with trying to fulfil these roles simultaneously. Although her choice of profession is not clear it is implied that she works hard, is under a lot of stress and consequently seeks escape to a calmer alternate reality. In contrast to her home environment, she sees in Jamaica a natural beauty which can bring her to tears:
YOLANDA: I ain’t never seen so many stars. I can’t speak, I can’t breathe. It’s so dark around me but the stars…oh my…twinkling, winking, Jesus…it was beautiful. And I lost count of how many shooting stars I saw. One…two…three…four…Hundreds of them! I cried all over again.

Can’t see the stars in New York – not like that. (2.3.78)

Loss of a loved one (not necessarily a partner) presents another powerful reason for sex travel. As Stella takes pride in her accomplishments regardless of the undesired occupation, her lifestyle and monotonous daily routines leave her with feelings of emptiness and despair. Her sense of loss has been further intensified by the death of her best friend resulting in hesitation when it comes to social contact. She has isolated herself from her family and friends and is haunted by her loneliness even though she longs for the familiar bond: “I wish I could call Delilah. But I can’t. She’d only been my best friend since college and we only talked on the phone every other day and she was the most brilliant person I ever met and we could talk about anything […]” (Stella 29).

Naomi exhibits a loss of self through her inherent need to discover her origins and go back to her roots. She has felt empty since her mother’s death and is trying to fill the void with a sense of belonging: “[...] I want to know who my dad was. [...] I should’ve done this a long time ago.” (Sugar Mummies 1.4.50). Like Shirley, her travelling motives are not of a sexual nature. Although she doesn’t find the Jamaican father she was looking for, she nevertheless finds a Jamaican lover.

Moreover, Shirley’s general sense of loneliness is made vivid through her “conversations” with the kitchen wall and the play’s use of monologue. Thus, the symbolism of the wall and later the Greek rock emphasises the intensity of her solitude and discontent. Shirley initially believes that a vacation will solve her problems as “[...] the only thing [she] ever wanted to do was travel.” (Shirley Valentine 1.1.9). Unlike Stella, Shirley did not have a prosperous career,
but like Stella she did not fulfil her dreams and ambitions. Although by all means capable, her self-esteem vanished as a consequence of mistreatment during her school days. The headmistress took “no fancy” for Miss Valentine and seriously underrated her intellect, stating “[…] that Miss Valentine will not go far in life. I feel this is just as well for, given her marks in geography, she would surely get lost.” (1.1.9).

Due to the years of neglect by herself and others, Shirley's loneliness follows her to Greece anyway and the self-fulfilment she craves doesn’t happen initially, as Costas points out: “[…] dreams are never in the places we expect them to be.” (.27). Her loneliness cannot be extinguished until she rejects the person she had become and embraces what the alternate reality has to offer.

Finally, to experience a sense of complete identity loss is arguably not probable in the sense that an individual usually has some awareness of the situation or society they are in or going to (women going to the Caribbean, for example, regularly go there with an image of what they are going to encounter and have often been recommended by friends): "We are not purely reactive creatures, however, with a new setting dictating our behaviour. While many psychologists emphasise situations, others emphasise the personality, and most see an interaction between the two"(Belliveau 90). To what extent the female sex tourist adapts to her new environment surely then depends on her personality and her willingness to remain loyal to her obligations left at home.

4.2. Sexual connoisseurship and fantasy fulfilment

An interest in casual sex abroad might act as a trigger for the female sex connoisseur to seek fantasy fulfilment abroad without being labelled derogatorily by Western society. For such women "[…] extensive sexual investigations at home will lead to the slut label, so travel romances provide a more discreet way to experience a variety of men"(Belliveau 94).
The female sex traveller is thus at ease within her alternate (exotic) reality to push and cross various sexual boundaries and indulge in fantasies whether related to the act itself or the partner. Sexual encounters with men of different races from various cultural backgrounds can be explored and lovemaking skills compared, hence the clichés of southern European or Caribbean men. These men of course equally compare their Western female counterparts which has lead to a proliferation of slang terms throughout the Caribbean such as "rent-a-dreads", "sanky pankies", "Shirley Valentines", "milk bottles" “ultra white and in need of filling” for foreign white women, and "Stellas" for foreign black women (Belliveau 43).

While Stella and Shirley have only just discovered it, Gupta’s Sugar Mummies seem to be true connoisseurs of sex travel. While they frequently come back to the Caribbean (Maggie) or Jamaica in particular (Yolanda and Kitty) to fulfil their sexual fantasies, it becomes evident that each character is troubled in some way.

Maggie, as the travel sex connoisseur, implies she has travelled extensively throughout the Caribbean. For instance, she mentions her experiences in the Dominican Republic, whose hustlers interestingly define themselves as the best lovers in the world. Her liaisons are purely sexual as she refuses any form of emotional attachment. This reveals her intrinsic mistrust and hostility towards men in general, made apparent throughout the play in her communication with and about the men.

Kitty seeks to fulfil her racial fantasy of being with the exotic other, as Sly observes she “[…] keep going on about my skin – so black like dark melted chocolate. Like you is doing something naughty.” (Sugar Mummies 2.2.72).

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3 Kempadoo in her book Tourism and Sex Work in the Caribbean portrays the Dominican sex workers as being more willing to please women sexually. For example, oral sex is not a taboo for them as it is for Jamaican hustlers. Their services are significantly cheaper than those of the Jamaican hustlers, hence Maggie’s comment about everything being “dirt cheap out there” (Sugar Mummies 1.1.23).
Yolanda also fulfils the role of sex connoisseur and experienced sex tourist yet denies such labels. She claims she comes to Jamaica to have some fun and emphasises her difference to other female sex tourists and “[couldn’t] be doin’ what all them other tourist do” (Sugar Mummies 1.3.79). She implies she is not as promiscuous as the other female sex tourists and arguably validates her actions through financially supporting one sex worker rather than multiple ones. She nevertheless falls under the category of experienced sex tourist due to her repeated visits to the country and use of Reefie’s services.

While Shirley is by no means a sexual connoisseur, she nevertheless achieves sexual fulfilment. Concerning her sexual desires, not only has she been deprived but she has in fact never discovered the charms of sexual pleasure. Referring back to her first sexual experiences, Shirley claims that she was never really fond of sex, as back in the days of her youth, it was “[…] a case of “in out, in out, shake it all about […]” thus “the only thing that trembled for [her] was the headboard on the bed. But y’ see, the clitoris hadn’t been discovered then had it?” (Shirley Valentine 1.1.5). The underlying tragedy and wretchedness of her situation are cunningly disguised through comedy, local dialect and Shirley’s exquisite sense of humour:

I was about, about twenty-eight when I first read about it, the clitoris. It was dead interestin’. […] When I first read the word I thought it was pronounced clitoris. I still think it sounds nicer that way, actually. Clitoris. […] Well, anyway, that’s how I thought it was pronounced when I first mentioned it to Joe. We were sittin’ in the front room an’ I said, “Joey. Joe, have you ever heard about the clitoris?” He didn’t even look up from his paper, “Yeh”, he said, “but it doesn’t go as well as the Ford Cortina.” (1.1.5-6)

It is thus not surprising that, with age, her sexual curiosity started growing and with it a possibility of a new adventure abroad. Shirley does not search for sexual gratification initially yet it comes as a bonus when she gets involved with her
Christopher Columbus (i.e. Costas), who helps her discover “the island of clitoris.” (2.25).

Finally, as previously unattainable sexual fantasies at home increasingly, and more easily, become a reality for Western women within a foreign exotic setting, they will of course cease to be fantasies. "However, this begs the question, as a fantasy is by definition an improbable situation residing only in the imagination, of what becomes of a once-taboo desire when it can be effortlessly realised for the price of a package tour to Jamaica, Greece or Kenya" (Belliveau 102).

4.3. Healing and the search for affection, sexual worth and love

Women often embark on sexual adventures to revalidate their self-worth and thus undergo a process of healing. The search for affection and emotional fulfilment is a permeating cause for women to engage in travel sex, particularly after experiencing a break-up or despair from a previous relationship or disenchantment with a current one. A casual holiday fling might help a woman to forget her pain whilst reaffirming her faith in herself. In this sense her sexuality and self worth are revalidated. Thomas (206) argues that:

[to] have sexual intercourse with an attractive and popular male [while on vacation] was seen as a positive reflection on the woman's own desirability. This reinforcement of sexual attractiveness was perhaps particularly important for those women whose trip had been motivated by a bad or broken relationship at home. (qtd. in Belliveau 109)

Such "healing" sexual encounters may also have long-term positive consequences. A holiday fling abroad, for example, might even result in a revitalisation of a faltering relationship at home as the woman rediscovers herself and her needs (as in Shirley Valentine). Some initially casual encounters even result in long-term relationships or marriage as prolonged carefree physical
contact develops emotionally (e.g. Stella). A woman might find that "somewhat paradoxically, given the general perception of readily available sex in the developing world, tropical men can sometimes be much more married-minded than men in the West" (Belliveau 108). Belliveau attributes this and Western men's commitment phobia to a lack of family pressure on them to marry (instead they are encouraged to wait, e.g. by mothers who think no one is good enough for their sons) (108).

The most powerful and decisive catalyst for Stella's holiday is undeniably her "search for affection and sexual worth". She realises that she has been lacking sexual fulfilment in her life even while she was married and even more so after her divorce. She undeniably longs to revalidate her sexuality:

> It wasn't until a year and a half ago that I realized I had not felt the warmth of a man's body next to mine, that my lips hadn't trembled, that my breasts hadn't throbbed or between my legs hadn't been wet from anybody's hands except my own, and it made me sad, but I didn't know what to do about it. (Stella 26)

Moreover, seemingly righteous and often conservative and judgemental, she acts freely even within the moral constraints of her society. Driven by sexual desire, she has an affair with a married man yet still remains sexually deprived: "[...] he's started banging me the way he probably bangs his wife, like he's a slug, and I don't like kissing him one bit and I'm at the point now where I just can't do it anymore. Sex should not be cumbersome." (28).

Taking into account her age, bitterness, loneliness, loss of self/other and most importantly sexual deprivation and arguably her search for the "last hoorah" (as the foreign woman in Belize calls it), it is clear that Stella goes to Jamaica with the anticipation of some sort of "healing", yet she continuously denies it. Finally, through what seems to be a long and subtle seduction process, Winston gives her back the "groove" considered to be lost: "[...] he kisses me again and I am
turning into mush inside and I haven’t felt this in a gazillion years since maybe college and I feel like I could cry because I’ve been waiting to feel this magic I’ve forgotten how the magic feels [...] (142).

4.4. Man shortages-and a revolution in mate selection

The lack of suitable partners is cited by Belliveau as another, purely demographic, reason to look for sexual fulfilment abroad. Therefore, "[when there are] too many unattached men in one area and too many unattached women in another, travel may provide a much better opportunity for meeting a potential lover than staying at home" (110).

A disproportionate number of available males to the number of females may leave women with little choice but to look elsewhere for companionship. Older women are dealt the harshest blow when it comes to finding a (single) mate. Women who get married in their 20s and 30s and then become divorced later will find the "mating pool" much more limited, as men in the same position tend to seek younger partners and thus significantly reduce the number of potential suitors available (Belliveau 111). These statistics are dramatically more dismal in urban areas with a larger population of females and homosexual males, so the concept of modern (heterosexual) female loneliness is all the more prevalent.

Maggie’s age and closing opportunities surrounding the mating pool at home severely diminish her chances of finding a suitable partner. This is particularly emphasised when she reveals lamentable reality:

MAGGIE: [...] Back home I get the odd shag every now and then with some loser in my local pub. None of them can perform. By the time the morning comes, can’t stand the smell of them in bed. Have to boil the sheets to get rid of the stench. All my dreams slowly melted away. (Sugar Mummies 1.6.65)
Not surprisingly, and as the circumstances allow it, Maggie expresses frustration culminating in her violent behaviour towards Antonio as he too fails to perform and, thus, becomes another man who disappoints her.

In addition, Belliveau cites homophily (finding a mate similar to yourself) as becoming increasingly difficult and irrelevant due to such man-shortage as well as women’s increasing prosperity:

The capable, prosperous woman may reach a dating dead-end sooner than her middle-of-the-road sisters and feel even more pressure to seek romance on the road. Evidence of this can be seen in female university professors, heiresses, executives and entrepreneurs found in Caribbean love zones. (118)

So as homophily becomes progressively revised or even irrelevant, the prosperous Western woman might find herself looking for a potential mate abroad. The qualities she valued highly in a partner in her Western social environment such as education, professional power or wealth are transformed into more practical or emotional virtues in the foreign man. Additionally, "[in] place of a formal education or high job title, women find pleasing such virtues as practicality, confidence and prowess in the physical environment" (Belliveau 123).

In spite of being less educated, having less professional experience and being generally much poorer than the Western man, the foreign man is often able to display a self-confidence and physical prowess which easily surpasses that of his Western counterparts. This confidence is translated into his amorous attentions and enables him to express himself freely. Flirtations and praise are thus showered on the woman, who might find it a refreshing change from the usual Western passivity or inertia in romantic relations. Belliveau thus argues that "[a] foreign man who listens to and praises a Western woman, it seems, can leapfrog
a more accomplished Western man- for the foreign fellow’s admirable ambition also leads him to work so hard [...]” (124), and this takes precedence over the Western male’s attributes, such as his economic advantage.

Kitty in *Sugar Mummies* longs for a deeper emotional attachment, even though she initially denies it. With a significant lack of opportunities at home she hopes to find a solution in the alternate reality. She has “lived on [her] own for so long” (1.3.48) and is under the illusion that “men here certainly know how to treat a lady” (1.1.24). Her discontent with a life of being single becomes increasingly pronounced. Kitty reveals that she despises her job, her lifestyle in general as well as the hardships of Western society.

She furthermore realises her biological clock is ticking and she admits to wanting children. Her choice of Sly as a potential father seems like a final act of desperation. Needless to say, by declaring that “[she] is not fit to be a mother” (2.10.119) Sly ruthlessly crushes her dreams.

### 4.5. Widespread, involuntary female celibacy

Women who actually desire sexual contact but find it unavailable serves as a further potential reason for seeking holiday sex (see Belliveau 127-131). Possibly due to the afore-mentioned man-shortage, single heterosexual women might be left simply without the possibility to have sexual relations; remarkably, a large number of single women abstain for long periods in such scenarios. The female physical urge for desire that cannot be fulfilled is dramatically underestimated in Western society- the general misconception being that sex is a necessity for men whilst it is not for women.

Maggie thus has “the odd shag” (*Sugar Mummies* 1.6.65) at home and Stella has an affair with a married man to satisfy their sexual needs in the absence of
suitable long-term partners. By doing so, they would presumably be categorised as immoral “sluts”, whereas single men in the same situation would not be labelled so harshly.

Belliveau admits that "widespread, involuntary celibacy follows inexorably from aspects of Western social structure, especially the tendency of men to marry younger women and high divorce rates" (131). There must be therefore a significant change in social attitudes to eliminate the plight of these women. Belliveau admits that Western society is slowly manoeuvring its position in regard to the correlation between age and attraction (122). The common myth that attraction necessitates youth (predominantly from a male’s point of view) is gradually changing and, whilst this is encouraging, the situation is still far from ideal.

4.6. Dating War

Changing gender roles, professional competitiveness and socio-economic issues have brought about a form of dating war in Western society. Belliveau highlights this as a reason which provokes Western women to seek sexual gratification outside their own social environment (132-133). One of the greatest paradoxes of Western society is that as society progresses, equal rights advance and gender stereotypes become blurred, women increasingly yearn for the old masculine stereotype whilst men lament the loss of what they perceive as femininity:

The entire West (and perhaps the world?) seems to suffer from Affection Deficit Disorder. What do Western men do about it? They seek the archetypically feminine woman in Southeast Asia, Latin America and other areas. Meanwhile Western women seek the archetypically masculine man, often from Africa and its New World diaspora, or Southern Europe or Polynesia. (Belliveau 135)
As travelling becomes easier and therefore travel sex becomes increasingly available, cultural identities and differences between the genders are compared, which tends to intensify the dating war at home. In the Caribbean, for example, the women generally find their men "overbearing, tiresome and unable to provide material comfort" (Belliveau 137) whilst the men equally complain and compare their local women unfavourably with female Western tourists who are "more tender and emotional than Jamaican women" (Pruitt 428) and "better educated, wealthier and more worldly" than Belizean women (Gorry 85 qtd. in Belliveau 137). These complaints tend to be typical of a developing society in which old-fashioned gender roles are the norm. Western women in these new alternate realities may temporarily (and conveniently) abandon their feminist morals and rights continuously fought for at home.

Kitty is arguably a victim of the dating war. Due to a man shortage she has been unable to find an appropriate partner, while all her friends are married with children. She fulfils the modern day successful woman role, having devoted her life to her career. The lack of available men serves as a ground for sex travel, she, however, exhibits other motives for seeking sexual gratification in the Caribbean. Initially, she nonchalantly exhibits a willingness to engage in casual sex, which is later transformed into a desire to settle down and have a family. This implies a lack of available and suitable men in her own society.

4.7. Commodification of sex

Simply put, Western women are able to afford to pay for sex and therefore:

[...] well-to-do Western women now travel and pursue pragmatic exchanges with sex partners in the developing world, where foreign men provide compliments and romance in a transaction designed to appear less cold than Western prostitution. (Belliveau 140)
Due to the dramatic disparity in earnings, Western women are in a position to financially support a man in a developing country. In the Caribbean she might cater to the financial needs of her temporary "boyfriend" but would rarely call it prostitution. Women may feel comfortable handing over cash explicitly in return for sexual favours, or some prefer to offer rewards implicitly. Either way the poorer male expects to be financially compensated. Thus Stella, for example, showers Winston with presents (Nike Airs, CD player, CDs, T-shirts, backpack, sunglasses etc) and notes that "[…] Winston has like nothing, and this might make him smile, let him know that someone, that I am thinking about him." (Stella 255). On the other hand, Reefie (on account of Yolanda’s and other women’s money) makes a substantial profit:

YOLANDA: Reefie’s a man of means now.
ANGEL: Him hab plenty money.
YOLANDA: You know he has a house in the mountains?
ANGEL: Him build it with his own bare hands.
YOLANDA: Part owner of a glass-bottom boat.
ANGEL: Hmmm…hmmm…
YOLANDA: And now he’s building a boat! (Sugar Mummies 2.3.76)

Statistically speaking:

Going rates for sex with foreign men have been reported as anywhere from $30 for an hour (Jamaica) to $150 to $225 for a full night of top-end sex(in Jamaica and Bali). With the average per capita income of both Bali and Jamaica hovering around $10 per day, men must be pleased to earn as much as 20 times a typical income- by getting laid. (Belliveau 144-145)

By paying for sex women are asserting their control over the encounter (and arguably thus the man in question) in the same way that Western men have been asserting control over women for centuries in similar ways. For those women left unhappy due to a previous or current relationship, to take control of their sex life in such a way might help them on the road to self-reaffirmation. Belliveau argues
that "[an] unemployed beachboy who receives a car radio or a motorcycle in return for sex fulfils natural desires via a natural act and receives a reward" (145). So the relationship is mutually advantageous, although, the question remains as to whether these men, who are paid to sleep with women they find unattractive, are "fulfilling their natural desires".

5. Reasons for Male Sex Work

SLY: Kitty. Me already have a ‘oman and tree pickney. Me ‘ave to work to feed dem. (Sugar Mummies 2.10.118)

There is an inherent correlation between deteriorating economic conditions and increasing prostitution. Globalisation and thus a growing tourist industry furthermore facilitate male and female prostitution. Contrary to some sex tourists’ opinions it must be continuously kept in mind that sex workers are initially

[…] motivated to enter into sexual exchanges not through personal desire but in order implicitly or explicitly to obtain money or goods. It would be wrong to assume that male prostitutes are therefore more powerful in relation to their clients, even though they may be more powerful in relation to female prostitutes. (Clift and Carter 45)

So referring to them as "boyfriends" or "girlfriends" is utterly delusional.

Jamaica’s economy is wrought with unemployment, poverty and debt and on the

[…] national level there is a conscious decision to promote tourism to answer to Jamaica’s economic woes. The industry, which formally emerged in 1891, has now become the leading earner of foreign exchange and employs directly and indirectly one in every four Jamaicans. (Tulloch 1998 qtd. in Kempadoo 126)
Caribbean male sex workers are torn between conflicting social roles imposed on them by their own society (by the women or their peers) as well as Western society. They are simultaneously and paradoxically glorified, sexualised, exploited and undermined. Contradictory opinions regarding the sex tourist who objectifies them are therefore likely:

Most hustlers have conflicted feelings about tourist women. A man might tell members of his peer group that he doesn't like white women and doesn't "need them", and yet spend countless hours in their company. As a result of their sense of lower status, hustlers are overeager to become romantically involved with tourist women, over-needy of the woman's love, and generally too quick to replace love with hatred if they feel rejected or turned down. (Gorry 102)

A deeper feeling of revenge stemming from their resentment towards privileged white society might resonate in their (sub-) consciousness. It could be argued that the male sex worker, in his hyper-sexualised role, feels for once in his life a certain superiority to the white man as “[his] need to avenge himself against the white man and white society in general by ravishing and thereby degrading and destroying that society’s symbol of purity while at the same time asserting the black male’s superiority over the white male” (Cumber Dance 26 qtd. in Gorry 102).

Many of the Jamaican men find that getting involved with a foreign woman is the only way out of their poverty as they seek an opportunity for economic and personal prosperity. A large number of male “hustlers” (i.e. men who chat up or hustle tourist women) originate from rural areas of Jamaica (e.g. Antonio and Cyril) and, as many of them are illiterate, they also hope for a chance to obtain means for further, if any, education (Andre and Winston). Coming from a rural area gives them an advantage inasmuch as they can offer island tours due to their good knowledge of the terrain (Pruitt and LaFont 428). Not only can they benefit financially, but a beautiful landscape combined with a man’s knowledge of
the wild is normally a winning combination for impressing and seducing a woman. Furthermore, rural and uneducated men, moving towards the urban and resort areas, searching for job opportunities in the tourism sector are mostly rejected from any formal jobs as they are deemed unskilled and incapable (Pruitt and LaFont 428). Therefore, they are left with no other choice but to try and make money by hustling foreign women and with any luck get a plane ticket abroad. An excerpt from field notes demonstrates Jamaican men’s desire to meet a foreign woman:

[...]It was a slow day, not many tourists were in town and none had ventured to Sunrise Beach that day. The guys were chatting about how slow things were.
  “Nothing’s going on. No money is flowing.” Scoogie complained.
  “That’s right. Nothing is happening around here. I just want to get me a white-woman and get out of here. Go to America and make a real money,” said Driver.
  “Yeah, you have to link up with a white-woman and get her to fall in love with you if you want a break…. “ “Yeah man, you have to hook up with a white-woman. I mean look at Decker, Jah Red, Collin, even Punkie. All gone foreign just since this year,” said Scoogie…. (Pruitt 147 qtd. in Pruitt and LaFont 429)

According to Pruitt and LaFont another reason for getting involved with foreign women is that a great number of Jamaican men (questionably) consider foreign women to be more emotional and gentle (428). While the male sex worker’s motives are predominantly financial, there may be circumstances in which they gain emotional fulfilment. However, due to their involvement with foreign, especially white sex tourists, the men are stigmatised and rejected by local women (Pruitt and LaFont 428). The question remains, however, if men's emotional need would still exist if it were not for financial compensation. Arguably not- judging by the above-mentioned quote.

The Jamaican man’s quest to earn a living does not only concern the basic means of livelihood but also his manhood and reputation. In order to be a proper,
respectable man he is expected to “[maintain] a household, while the reputation factor central to achieving status as a “big” man is based partially on virility displayed by sexual conquests and fathering many children” (Handwerker 1989, Smith 1956, Wilson 1973 qtd. in Pruitt and LaFont 429). Therefore, another underlying motive for male sex work could be the affirmation of masculinity.

Much like Western society used to be, it is expected from a male to provide for his family in Jamaican culture. The Jamaican expression “no money, no talk” demonstrates how a Jamaican woman expects her man to have an income of some sort or she will not consider an intimate relationship (Pruitt and LaFont 429). With this in mind, through his work as a hustler, he asserts his masculinity whilst being released from the pressure of providing income. However, choosing an easy way out of obtaining money through casual sex and companionship with foreign women, the hustler arguably gives up his dominant position. As he is naturally unwilling to accept the new subordinate role, he tries to re-establish his dominance through his local knowledge by controlling the external environment. He will try to control where she goes or what she does, choose their meeting points (bars, restaurants, hotel rooms etc.) and get her to pay for all of it (Pruitt and LaFont 430).

All the Jamaican characters in Sugar Mummies, Smile Orange and How Stella Got Her Groove Back reflect the harsh reality of poor Caribbean societies, in that their lives are permeated by struggles for survival and quests for economic prosperity. Men (in particular) and women resort to prostitution as they run out of options to improve their lives. Angel paints a colourful and deeply tragic picture of the socio-economic situation in Jamaica:

ANGEL: Everyone suffrin’ – lookin’ for the next dollar. Fishermen in Whitehouse Bay, mek more money dese days hauling nets full of cocaine rather than fish. Dem yout’ earn more selling ganja on de beach than workin’ as a grill chef. You see dem fourteen year old girls up in Bourbon Beach selling their bodies to old white men? (Sugar Mummies 2.3.86)
Men similarly “work” Negril beach to sell their bodies to (old white) women and do it equally out of necessity as their last means of survival.

Underlying all of Sly’s immoral actions, including the lies he sells to women, is the necessity to put food on his family’s table. In comparison, Ringo in *Smile Orange* works to support his family yet attempts to rid himself of the responsibility as his wife becomes increasingly demanding. The gravity of his financial status is, however, underestimated through the extensive use of humour and the bizarre circumstances Ringo creates for himself. He is represented as the ultimate hustler whose persona revolves around the quest of extorting money, be it from tourists or locals. He stereotypically leaves his family to earn a living through prostitution while creating a web of lies: “[…] me is a waiter at di hotel. If you see my missis come looking for me, tell her dat A lef’ di job and A gone to work in Port Antonio” (*Smile Orange* 1.1. 94-95).

Cyril’s motive for entering the hustling business is to earn more money than “[…] chopping sugar cane in di country […]” (*Smile Orange* 1.1.117). Like Antonio in *Sugar Mummies* he is a poor rural boy who seeks to help his family financially. While Antonio wants to buy his “gran” an “all chrome and nice and shiny” washing machine (*Sugar Mummies* 1.4.54), Cyril as the oldest child has his “[…] poor mother wid di whole heap of children in di country depending on [him]” (*Smile Orange* 1.1.119-120).

In vivid contrast to these regular beach/hotel hustlers are Andre (*Sugar Mummies*) and Winston (*How Stella Got Her Groove Back*), who aspire to become something better through education. However, given the economic situation in Jamaica their dreams of becoming qualified chefs are not feasible without the help of a financially superior Western woman. By accepting financial support they are paradoxically (like the hustlers they criticise) forced to accept their inferiority to fulfil their dreams.
The theme of escape is interwoven throughout the various perspectives (both female and male). Each character displays a desire to escape (mentally or physically) their respective, and often harsh realities.

Furthermore, *Sugar Mummies'* Angel could be perceived as Negril's spectator in that she, through her work, can observe the various encounters on the beach and draw intuitive conclusions regarding the behaviour of both the female sex tourists and the hustlers. She is aware of the cruel social reality as it is in Jamaica and concludes that the “only way forward is of dis island” (2.7.105) and, therefore, advises her son Andre to do the right thing as he has “a chance to escape” (2.7.106).

The subject is further elaborated on in *Smile Orange* by Miss Brandon, who is willing to give up her only valuable possession, i.e. her sexuality, for the chance of escape as she states: “I not giving away my pearl for nutten. Is all I have […] you know how long I been trying to get a permanent visa to go to America?” (1.1.112). Yet tragically she loses her pearl and gains nothing in return as her plan backfires and the “wooden-footed” man she was ashamed to be seen with leaves her behind.

In *How Stella Got Her Groove Back* Winston symbolically wears an aftershave called *Escape* implying his desire to leave the island. Coincidentally Stella’s initial attraction to him is triggered by his aftershave, perhaps symbolising her need to escape from the sterility of Western society (exemplified through her cleanliness and hygiene obsession).

As the Jamaican characters search for means to escape poverty, the Western female characters seek escape from various personal issues as well as the moral constraints of their society, and the alternate, more liberating reality enables them to do so.
6. Alternate Reality

JOE and RINGO: [singing]
Jamaica, Jamaica, beautiful Jamaica
you swim all day, drink all night
wake up in the morning
and di sun is bright […] (Smile Orange 1.1.106)

The rise of reggae music in the 1960s and 70s, especially with the popularity of Bob Marley, was responsible for a sudden increase of foreign interest in Jamaica. The sound, an apparent relaxed lifestyle (smoking ganja) and the appeal of dark-skinned men with dreadlocked hair started to attract tourists from around the world. To Western women, Jamaican men are generally considered to be “[…] more passionate, more emotional, more natural and sexually tempting” as well as a representation of “[…] the archetypal masculine” (Pruitt and LaFont 430).

With the growth of tourism and an availability of package tours came a woman’s need to explore herself outside traditional boundaries and gender roles (Robinson 6 qtd. in Pruitt and LaFont 425). A woman is no longer dominated by a man in a traditional sense but her economic power in a foreign environment gives her opportunities for adventures whilst the “empowering experience” liberates her from “[…] traditional gender roles and expectations” (Bond 1992 qtd. in Pruitt and LaFont 425). Her choices of actions abroad, particularly if she travels unaccompanied, are inconsistent with her role in Western society, in which she would never consider behaving in the same way, as she is tied by certain social boundaries and norms and would therefore be stigmatised as promiscuous and undesirable.

Thus the setting of the female sex tourist’s encounters is significant. The complete otherness of the location to her home environment seems to bring about a sense of freedom of expression that might otherwise be socially
 unacceptable at home. Thus within the new, alternate reality a certain "loss of self", as Belliveau argued, can be experienced outside the realm of familiar social surrounding (90). This provokes an opportunity for self-reinvention or to take risks that might be inconsistent with her normal behaviour at home.

*Shirley Valentine, How Stella Got Her Groove Back and Sugar Mummies* evoke a process that seems to begin with the anticipation of an alternate reality and ends with a form of catharsis following the sexual encounter. The alternate reality itself gives the characters license to behave (abnormally for some) extrovertly or reconnect with their former selves which have been forgotten through marriage, children and/or careers.

The initial emotions relating to the alternate reality for these women might be ones of fear, especially for those who are travelling by themselves (Stella) or with another female companion (Shirley) for the first time. Some, like Shirley, have forgotten their sense of self and are "frightened of life beyond the wall" (Shirley 13). In her domestic environment she imagines an alternative (and happier) self in the alternate reality:

> Look at that sun an' the way it's shinin'. Look at the sea, the sea. Smell the honeysuckle. Can't y' just taste those olives, those grapes. Look, wall, look at that woman, that lovely woman – doesn't she look serene, sittin' beneath a parasol, at a table by the sea, drinkin’ wine in a country where the grape is grown. (*Shirley Valentine* 1.1.14)

Other, more experienced sex tourists such as the female connoisseurs in *Sugar Mummies* are more aware of what the alternate reality has to offer but experience feelings of anticipation nevertheless. When Kitty and Maggie first meet on the beach they compare notes concerning Caribbean men which imply they have had sexual encounters there before. Their use of strong (and often vulgar) language indicates their anticipation of sexual adventures yet to come.
The anticipation of paradise creates feelings of excitement and a new-found sense of adventure and so the loss of self (i.e. the Western, moral self) begins.

Shirley, in *Shirley Valentine*, begins to imagine the new, adventurous things she will do in Greece that she would not consider doing at home:

I’m goin’ to the land beyond the wall. I’m gonna sit an’ eat olives on a Greek seafront. An’ I don’t even like olives. But I might like them in Greece. They eat squid y’ know. An’ octopus – they do. An’ I’m gonna eat it too. I don’t care. I’m gonna do everythin’. I’m gonna try anything. Like I used to. Unafraid. Without fear of anythin’ new. I’ll be Shirley the Brave. (1.2.21)

Whilst amusing, her language is both poignant and tragic. The use of dramatic, short sentences, accentuates her hesitancy, which transforms into bold powerful promises to herself. Her working class, Liverpudlian accent and sense of humour inspire empathy with many women in similar situations and so, from the very beginning, the audience wants her to go to this alternate reality and reinvent herself.

Although both Stella and Shirley maintain from the outset that their journey is not a sexual one, they both (in anticipation of their journeys and what will come out of them) go shopping for clothes such as, "somewhat sexy sundresses" (*Stella* 41) bathing suits and underwear. Shirley amusingly steps into the role of the alternate self when she first sees her neighbour Gillian on her shopping trip and jokingly seeks to justify why she is buying new underwear by exclaiming, "[…] Oh no, Gillian, these aren’t for Millandra, I’m buyin’ these for meself. Of course, I shan’t be wearin’ them for meself, I shall be wearin’ them for my lover."(*Shirley Valentine* 1.2.17). The real silk underwear is later given to her by Gillian, who was "never brave enough" (1.2.20) to embark on such (sexual) adventures herself, which highlights both female camaraderie on such subjects as well as a depth of female understanding.
Their symbolic shopping trips and their new clothes mark the beginning of a psychological transition and a new-found willingness to reassert themselves outside their normal environment. They both also make light-hearted comments about having sex whilst on holiday, which implies that there is some anticipation of a sexual encounter, at least on the sub-conscious level. Stella jokes that she might "feel like getting naked" (Stella 42) whilst Shirley finally answers her daughter’s misgivings sarcastically:

Yes, that’s right, Millandra – I’m goin’ to Greece for the sex; sex for breakfast, sex for dinner, sex for tea an’ sex for supper.” Well, she just ignored me but this little cab driver leans out an’ pipes up, “That sounds like marvellous diet, love.” “It is,” I shouted back, “have y’ never heard of it? It’s called the ‘F’ Plan. (Shirley Valentine 1.2.19)

The more open-minded of Stella’s sisters, Vanessa, understands that the alternate reality can act as a means for self-reinvention and especially if you are alone, free from judgement: “[...] Angela said you want to go by yourself and she’s such a square and I don’t blame you cause this way won’t nobody have to be all in your business and you can turn into a whore and nobody’ll ever have to know but call and tell me if you do.”(Stella 46)

The female characters tend to get (or maybe need) support and encouragement from other females, which arguably encourages their anticipation of sexual adventures and dissipates their fears. This is evident through Shirley’s neighbour, Stella’s sister and her friends, Miss Brandon and her telephone friend Masie (whom she reveals her innermost thoughts) and the “sugar mummies” contact with each other.

The female characters, often urged on by other women, embark on their sex travel with a new sense of self and start to take "risks" that they would not normally take in their own society. The theme of displaying skin or nakedness is recurrent and is perhaps a metaphor for the longing of self validation; showing
your body implies that you are either comfortable with yourself or confident about your body. Disrobing thus could be seen as a symbol of leaving the past self behind and acquiring a new-found confidence.

As Stella’s confidence increases, her clothing becomes skimpier, tighter, sexier and she even starts to not "wear panties which is becoming a habit for [her] down here" (Stella 129) in the alternate reality of Jamaica. She eventually builds up enough confidence to go to the nudist beach, where she finds herself "sliding [her] straps down and then stepping out of [her] suit and the sun feels good on [her] ass and breasts and shoulders..."(214). The paradisiacal setting of the alternate reality invariably provokes such exhibitionism or freedom of expression.

Gupta in *Sugar Mummies* also hints that nakedness is associated with confidence and freedom. Maggie as the experienced sex traveller is comfortable in her nudity (maybe only in the alternate reality), while Naomi retains her Western conventionality:

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NAOMI: That nudist stuff, really doesn’t turn me on. All those bits [...] MAGGIE: Oh I don’t know – it can be quite liberating.”( 1.1.27)
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Shirley’s naked scene is also symbolic in that it is the major turning point in the quest to reinvent herself. By stripping off completely and jumping into the sea, she arguably leaves all the social burdens and associated inhibitions of her home behind. She can only then regain the sense of confidence and adventure she used to have in her youth: “[…] An’ when I stood there, on the edge of the boat, naked as the day I was born, about to jump into this water that was as deep as forever, I felt as strong an’ as excited an’ as bloody mad as I did when I jumped off our roof.”(*Shirley Valentine* 2.29)
In the alternate reality of Greece she is able to take such risks and is rewarded with a renewed lease of life. She is the one who then instigates the actual sexual act which makes her transformation complete.

In *Sugar Mummies* the women who are willing to show more of their skin tend to be the ones who express themselves more bluntly. They speak to each other about men and sex in ways that would be deemed highly inappropriate in Western society.

Subsequent to the initial anticipation and "abnormal" behaviour brought about by the alternate reality, the sexual encounter might be seen as the ultimate loss-of-self act. Homophily is irrelevant in the alternate reality and consequently we see middle-class, educated, career-oriented women with much younger, "ganja-smoking" and usually uneducated men or even Rastafarians (as in Yolanda's case in *Sugar Mummies*). These liaisons would be socially unacceptable in their home environments, so the new exotic setting allows them a temporary licence to behave (or misbehave) so overtly sexually.

In agreeing to sleep with Winston, Stella experiences an initial sense of panic: 
"[...] did I really just tell this boy that I would fuck him [...] well if I do nobody really has to know it could be our little secret [...]" (*Stella* 118). She is fully aware of how her actions would be frowned upon in her own social sphere and her concern about "[...] what if people see us what are they going to think and say?" (126) is the natural reaction of a well-respected career woman in Western society. She has to constantly remind herself that "[...] no it isn’t America" (126), it’s the alternate reality of Jamaica and people “[...] do do that kind of stuff down here, don’t they?”(189). Her own society would label her "Sally the Slut" (173) for her promiscuity but in the alternate reality she is at liberty to flirt and experiment sexually with whomever she pleases. She embarks on another sexual adventure with Judas and is shocked by her tendencies to act out-of-character in Jamaica, where she is "sinking low" and "losing her morals"(207). She realises that,
"damn, maybe there are more of them out here than I ever imagined [...]" (206). While her behaviour in the alternate reality is that of a female sex tourist, her refusal to see it as just sex travel is in vivid contrast with her more experienced counterparts (like most of the women in Sugar Mummies). Her sister voices what should be the usual nature of travel sex:

Haven’t you heard about this stuff? It’s called tropical fever or something. I mean think about it. You went to an exotic place that from what I hear is pretty close to paradise and you meet this fine young boy who of course any woman in her right mind would want to screw and then you do, but most people would just do it drop it and come on home. Get on with their normal regular life. Why can’t you just do that? (Stella 258)

The theme of being with "a boy" as opposed to a man is further elaborated on in Sugar Mummies, where Kitty and Maggie are "seduced" by the likes of the infantile Antonio and the cheeky Sly. They are, like Stella, fully aware that their actions would be morally inappropriate in their own countries, where it is still controversial for older women to be with younger men (although it is the norm for older men to be with younger women). In the alternate reality their sexual fantasies of being with young, agile men can be realised temporarily in the knowledge that they "wouldn’t do this back home"(Sugar Mummies 1.1.25).

Maggie exhibits a certain bitterness which raises questions about what her past relationships were like. She is blatantly in Jamaica as a sex tourist and her opinion on having sexual encounters with young men is that "it’s not illegal to have a good time"(Sugar Mummies 1.1.25). She exudes an authority over the men in the alternate reality of Jamaica that presumably wouldn’t be permitted at home in England. She subjugates Antonio with her "superior" social and racial status to the point of humiliation. His emotional breakdown is a metaphor for the harm that such power struggles can bring about. By tying him to a tree, she asserts her control over him, and underlying the slapstick humour on the stage are darker colonial slavery associations. Again, this behaviour of racial
dominance would be completely shocking in Western society, where political
incorrectness and racism is viewed with disgust. However, in the exotic (but
nevertheless third-world) alternate reality it is tolerated to a certain extent for
financial gain. Angel implies that there are more women who behave similarly
when she says to Antonio: “ANGEL: You mustn’t get mix up with dey kind. Dey
mess wid’ you, abuse you. Dey no good.” (Sugar Mummies 2.1.69)

Sly fulfils the boy sexual fantasy like the expert he is; he is fully aware of the role
he has to play in order to make the alternate reality all the more exotic for the
woman. Angel sees through the delusion when he says: "Dem touris’, dem buy
de fantasy wid hard cyash and tink it real" (Sugar Mummies 2.3.80). Sly tells Kitty
he is younger than he actually is because he knows that’s what she wants to
hear and by doing so he will be financially compensated for helping to fulfil her
fantasy. When she says that she, "would never go out with a twenty-two year old
back home” (2.2.72), she is making clear the contradictory nature of her two
selves, the morally-constrained self in her own society and the sexually-liberated
self in the alternate reality. The selves are not compatible and belong to the
environment, just like the men. She tells Sly that she is "not introducing [him] to
anyone”(2.2.75) when he offers to visit her in England. Like Stella, she knows
that their relationship would be regarded as highly inappropriate, especially as
she is a teacher and therefore a role model.

While Shirley does not seek to fulfil sexual fantasies with young, racially different
men, her sexual encounter with Costas nevertheless has an exotic otherness in
which she can temporarily lose her moral sense of self. Costas is there to make
her "dream come true" (Shirley Valentine 2.27), which could be interpreted
sexually as she exhibits a longing for sexual gratification that was never provided
by her husband. In a sense Costas makes her dream come true by giving her the
orgasm she had always been curious about.
7. Romance and Prostitution: Conflicting Perceptions

JOE: I will touch di ground if I can find a dollar bill down dere.
RINGO: […] A will bend over backward and do it too. White people must pay dem way. […] Exploit di exploiter. God Laughs. [Ringo laughs]. (Smile Orange 1.1.107)

Women travelling alone (or in the company of their friends) to the Caribbean are predominantly aware of the fact that they are more than likely going to be chatted up by a local man and are therefore at leisure to seek the form of relationship that suits them.

The same works from the point of view of a local man. Due to his past experiences and observations of foreign female tourist behaviour, a Jamaican man will feel free to establish contact if a woman is not already in the company of another male. This sort of established and repetitive behaviour has been labelled by a local writer as “the sexualisation of routine encounters between a female tourist and a local Jamaican male” (Henry 1980 qtd. in Pruitt and LaFont 426).

The men in Jamaica, Barbados and Belize frequently prey on the single woman tourist and it is widely accepted that

[...] if the woman travels on her own or with a female friend the [Barbadian] beachboy is more likely to impute sexual motives to her than if she is accompanied by her family and children. His estimate is based on the probability that the tourist has freed herself from customary ties as a deliberate choice and that this act of liberation is connected with curiosity. (Karch and Dann 262 qtd. in Gorry 57)

Whether women give in to this kind of courtship naturally depends on their own agenda. Most of the men who succeed in their intentions are rewarded in more ways than one. Some of them are economically provided for during the encounter or “relationship” while others might even be rewarded with a one way
ticket away from home and its economical hardships. A great number of men might keep in touch with their “girlfriends” and in return they might be sent money, gifts or return tickets and a chance to visit foreign countries (Pruitt and LaFont 424).

A woman will seldom feel offended or annoyed by the constant attention she receives from a local man. In fact, this attention flatters her and makes her feel desirable, even more so if she is (as previously observed) romantically and sexually neglected in her home environment.

Pruitt and LaFont suggest that the Jamaican man has a different view of a woman when it comes to her physical appearance. While she might be considered overweight and therefore unattractive by her own culture’s standard, he will find her figure desirable (426). More substantial figures are generally deemed alluring in the Caribbean, in direct contrast to Western society’s obsession with thinness.

A Caribbean hustler displays an aptitude of complementing the female figure in all its various forms and Gorry gives an account of one in particular, who testifies that “older women were better in bed, overweight women had nicer breasts, and thin women showed more of their genital area” (85). The hustler then, presumably with some financial reward in sight, seems to readily accept any female form and finds positive physical traits in women which would be ignored in their own social environment. The sudden abundance of compliments, often after periods of neglect by Western men, are bound to resonate and give rise to a new-found self-esteem. So “if you have wrinkles, some extra pounds and breasts that have seen perkier days, there is still someone who will call you beautiful” (Amber 104 qtd in Gorry 85).

Regardless of figure sizes, a woman’s age and beauty and what it means to be “pretty” arguably remain the same in both Western and Caribbean cultures.
The Caribbean gigolo is, however, predisposed to benevolently shower the Western woman with compliments despite his natural inclinations, if he is financially compensated. Thus the importance of a monetary exchange should be particularly emphasised. The experienced and prosperous hustler has a plethora of imaginative and readily available responses to a woman’s perceived inadequacies. Sly in *Sugar Mummies* as the archetypal womaniser demonstrates such natural talents. Therefore, if a woman is overweight Sly “[likes] de girl with de big batty. More to hold on to [...]” and if she is older “[he] no wan’ the kitten, [he] wan’ the cat.” (1.1.29). Yet when dating “[...] dem mampi, ugly ‘oman.” as Andre calls some tourist women, Sly simply suggests “close your eyes and imagine you is with Beyonce.” (1.4.53). His use of language, especially in his Jamaican dialect, is unquestionably amusing and provides the play with theatrical comic relief.

Moreover, female notions of sex work tend to differ significantly from male ones, provoking a questioning of gender stereotypes as:

> [...] male sex workers in the Caribbean do not necessarily self-define in the same way as women who are in the same position. Instead of being identified by terms such as prostitute, *puta*, whore or sex worker, the men tend to be identified as “beach boy”, "island boy", "player", "gigolo", "sanky panky", or "hustler", and "romance tourism" is the name given to the relationship they enter into with women tourists. While this creates a separate discursive space for male actors in Caribbean sex work and can easily be interpreted as a strategy to distance men from the stigma of prostitution or as an expression of denial by North American and Western European women about their own involvement in prostitution relations, it also points to differences in constructions of masculinity and femininity in the region. (Kempadoo 24)

Male sex workers are usually portrayed as the temporary "boyfriend" or "lover" and are able to retain and even reaffirm their masculinity and virility through these roles and, unlike their female counterparts, are able to partially maintain a sense of self-worth. They are usually "not controlled by a pimp or any other third party, nor is their status affected by their sexual behaviour in the same way that a
female prostitute’s status is affected” (Sanchez Taylor 1997 qtd. in Clift and Carter 45). The black Caribbean male stereotypes hark back to colonial era symbolising “the essence of an animalistic sexuality that both fascinates and repels” (Kempadoo 50).

It can thus be argued that, by seeking sexual encounters in third world societies, the female subconsciously longs for the temporary reinstatement of bygone gender roles which are embodied and hyper-sexualised in the black male stereotype. It ought to be emphasised, though, that sex travel is a temporary escape or adventure which can allow the Western female sex tourist to embrace a role that she would reject in her own society. For that reason, it is interesting that Western women who engage prostitutes abroad rarely call it prostitution and distance themselves from such labels whilst the sex worker (as well as the tourist industry) perform accordingly. Thus it was argued by Kempadoo that:

The informal nature of the sexual transactions in these resorts blurs the boundaries of what constitutes prostitution for Western women just as it does for Western men, allowing them to believe that the meals, cash and gifts they provide for their sexual partners do not represent a form of payment for services rendered but rather an expression of their own munificence. (Kempadoo 49)

Tanika Gupta, through her personal research in Jamaica, stresses the importance of defining such “romantic” relationships primarily through economic dependency. Sugar Mummies thus portrays the hustlers’ peer group as controlled by “de Lion”, Reefie, who represents the king of the herd and is therefore regarded as a pimp, at least by Western notions of what a pimp is. Sugar Mummies makes Reefie’s role, as well as the role the others have to adopt, abundantly clear:

REEFIE: If I fix you up you get one hundred dollars a night or fifty dollars a fuck. They pay you directly […] and you pay me forty percent.” (Sugar Mummies 1.4.56)
The money transaction for the “romance” is further made blatantly obvious by Sly who, like Reefie, profits from women either directly or indirectly. In a final act of desperation and provocation, Sly reveals the true nature of his and Kitty’s “romance”:

SLY: [...] You hab to pay for each lickle second me spend wid you. Evey lickle compliment costs. One cent for every step me tek wid you, every footprint in de sand. One dollar for me to say you is lookin’ good; five dollars for me to hold you tight; ten dollars when me say me care for you. You pay for every kiss, every whisper, every stroke, every fuck [...]”

(Sugar Mummies 2.10.120)

While the hustlers assume to like big “batty”, in reality the only big thing they are interested in is a woman’s purse. When the chance of profit dissipates, “love” and compliments stop, as is notable when Sly yet again demonstrates to Kitty: “Mek me tell you. Tek a long hard look at yourself and tink straight. What man would want a desperate, ugly, bitch like you?” (Sugar Mummies 2.10.120).

Andre, refusing to get involved, is clearly aware that the doings of the hustlers are simply make-belief and should not be confused with genuine emotions:

ANDRE: When I look in de mirror, I see me. I know who I is. What you see? Gigolos? Whores? Lying to dese harpy ‘oman – pretending you like dem. How you do it? It make my flesh crawl to see you at ‘work’. Rubbing oil into dem fat, white whales, playing de obedient loverman. Always pretending. (Sugar Mummies 2.6. 100-101)

The female Western characters tend to express different, conflicting perceptions concerning ideals of love or romance whilst some are aware that what they are doing might be classified as hiring prostitutes (although they might initially reject such a notion). Yolanda and particularly Maggie realise that men are “taking [their] money, making [them] buy [them] drinks, food, giving [them] a place to
sleep for the night.” (*Sugar Mummies* 1.6.64). Kitty’s perception, however, changes from what seems to be realistic to a completely delusional one. While she “[has] every intention of enjoying [herself]” and “window shop for a bit […]” (1.1.26-35), her opinion gradually begins to change as she starts believing in the fantasy Sly sells to her. Her catharsis is evident when Sly bluntly points out that “for someone who is so educated, [she] is remarkable stupid” and “[he] said what [he] said cos that what [she] want to hear” (2.10.118-119).

Every suspicion or truthful revelation is marked in stage directions with a “Beat”, thus highlighting the difference between real and false intentions as well as fantasy and reality:

> SLY: Tink about what you sayin’ Kitty. We not know each other well enough.
> KITTY: What more is there to know? If a thing feels right.
> SLY: But it have to go two way ‘oman. Me have to feel de same.
> KITTY: And you don’t?

*Beat.* (*Sugar Mummies* 2.10.117)

The beat in the stage direction is significant in that it acts as a moment of self-awareness or reflection and it also provokes questioning from the audience similar to Harold Pinter’s dramatic use of pauses to encourage the audience to think beyond the safe confines of the play and relate the themes to the harsh reality of society.

Although Shirley in *Shirley Valentine* is not in the Caribbean, her actions abroad are nevertheless comparable and, unlike her fellow female sex tourists, she never loses touch with reality and responds to Costa’s flattery with “aren’t men full of shit?” (2.26). In contrast, Stella is mostly delusional and utterly seduced by the notion of romance. She relates to her delusion when she states:

> We who have labelled ourselves Ms. Fucking Perfect Personified have not caught on yet that our perfection is merely a figment of our very own
distorted imagination and I should know because I’m in that forty-and-over club for Emotional Subversives in Denial About Everything. (Stella 124)

She ultimately believes most of Winston’s stories and only occasionally expresses her doubts. The reality check only comes with aggravation (caused mostly by Winston’s failure to contact her regularly), often conveniently expressed through the stream of consciousness narrative. Thus, in one of her many moments of rage and paranoia, Stella reflects on their first meeting and suspects that:

[…] maybe he is a real gigolo like Richard Gere was in that movie, and Winston did conveniently sit down at the table behind me, didn’t he? He’d probably been watching me waiting for me to do something that would prove I was some gullible middle-aged lonely broad from America who hadn’t been fucked in months and would probably drool at the sight of a fine young man such as himself. Maybe he sensed it. (Stella 371)

Such moments of catharsis suggest that Stella is ultimately aware of her reality yet consciously rejects it for the less painful fantasy.

Trevor Rhone’s Smile Orange further provides a tragicomic insight into the workings of the tourist industry in Jamaica. Contrary to the popular pattern of hospitality and what is to be done to accommodate the tourists, Rhone demonstrates the necessity of a reversed concept of what tourists can do for the local community. “Exploit di exploiter […]” (1.1.107) Ringo says, and indeed he does.

A true master of hustling, Ringo exhibits his experience and knowledge of the “business” through constant role-playing and conveniently adapts to any kind of situation for the purpose of financial gain. Much like the Sugar Mummies hustlers, Ringo and Joe perceive women tourists as merchandise they can make profit with:
RINGO: [...] Hey, so how di season going so far?

JOE: A group from di States coming in today. [...] Plenty pickings. (*Smile Orange* 1.1.102.)

Ringo’s “wisdom” is mostly apparent through the lessons he gives to Cyril, who, similarly to Gupta’s Antonio, is a young rural, inexperienced boy who is left with no other choice but to play the role Ringo imposes on him. Thus Ringo advises him to “[...] fix yuh clothes, man. If you going to work wid me, den you have to look better den dat. You not only have to look better [*sniffs*], you have to smell better den dat. Understand?” (*Smile Orange* 1.1.116). Most importantly, Cyril has to remember to cash in for all the services rendered:

RINGO: [...] most important, you have to charge dem. Yes, you have to charge dem. Not directly, but you have to make dem pay, right? Give dem a sob story. Tell dem dat yuh mother dead, or dat bailiff threaten to take away yuh things, or dat yuh baby sick in di hospital. You have to work dem over, and if you work dem good, you busy every night. And don’t forget how yuh poor mother wid di whole heap of children in di country depending on you. Dat is a good story to give dem. (1.1.119-120)

Tragically, Cyril’s greatest asset and advantage with women is his “sob story”. Coming from an impoverished rural part of Jamaica and as the oldest child, he needs to help his mother with eleven siblings (his father has stereotypically left the family).

Generally speaking, the play’s underlying tragedy of the fight for survival is heavily disguised through humour and the use of vernacular. Another tragic character is Miss Brandon, who, like all the male characters, resorts to a form of prostitution hoping for a better life and more importantly an escape from the country: “[...] Di bed business? If push come to shov, me jus shut mi eye and do it. Di man have di money and I want to go [...]” (*Smile Orange* 2.127).

Mocho Beach Hotel is primarily a setting where women do not stand a chance of success. Foreign women are caricatured and local women’s (e.g. Miss Brandon)
hope for a better life eventually diminishes. Everything men do is money-driven and every notion of romance is thus ridiculed. Joe and Ringo demonstrate their perception of women who get carried away with romantic fantasies and thus confuse a monetary-based relationship with love:

JOE: Oh yes, I forget one did hang on to you last year – Gladys, di chick from Georgia. [...] I heard it was a hot romance.
RINGO: Dat will never happen to me again.
JOE: I heard it was a hot romance.
RINGO: Nonsense! Is money I was looking. [...] A did so want to see her go back A had to see her go on di plane man. [...] ‘Don't make me go back, Ringo baby, we had such a good time!’ Jesus Christ, man, di woman carry on wid one thing! How she going to be lonely because is just she and her dog live up north. One piece of bawling and screaming. A embarrass! Di more A try to pull away from her, di more she hang on to me [...] (Smile Orange 1.1.104-105)

Women’s role in the “macho” world of the Mocho Beach Hotel is thus highly derogatory. While Ringo’s web of deceptions incidentally gets a tourist killed and yet make him a hero, Miss Brandon’s role as the unsuccessful woman hustler leaves her short-sided. Her moment of catharsis and ultimate defeat is evident in the final stage directions: “A jet roars over. All are frozen in tableau till it has passed. Then MISS BRANDON knows she has lost.” (2.155).

7.1. Seduction Techniques

The most apparent indicator of a woman’s willingness to indulge in an exotic/sexual affair is, as already mentioned, her choice to travel unaccompanied. Another factor a hustler considers while “on a job” is a carefully timed approach and, according to Zinovieff (209), for Greek hustlers (also known as kamakia) “[once] a conversation has begun, half the battle is won, and many kamakia (hustlers) aim to have sex with their prey in the same day or evening”
If it happens that their efforts don’t bear fruit they consider the entire encounter “a complete waste of time”, and are also known to use the expression “I ate dog poison” (Zinovieff 210 qtd. in Gorry 57).

Shirley also suggests that Greek men’s flirtations sound very convincing to the point of being sincere and believable: “But the thing about him, the thing about Costas was, when he gave y’ a load of guff – he believed it” (2.26). Costas’ technique is to make Shirley feel good about herself and although obvious, does not include a direct sexual proposal:

[...] “Tomorrow, you want, to come with me? I take my brother’s boat. We go all round the island?” I just shook me head, “No”, I said, “it’s all right. You’ve been dead kind as it is. [...] “You afraid?” he suddenly said. “No” I said, “but ...” “You afraid,” he said, nodding, “you afraid I make try to foak with you.” I didn’t know where to put meself, but he just laughed. “Of course I like to foak with you. You are lovely woman. Any man crazy not to want to foak with you. But I don’t ask to foak. I ask you want to come my brother’s boat – is different thing. Foak is foak. Boat is boat. I come fetch you tomorrow. I bring wine, I bring food and we go. Tomorrow, I just make you happy [...]”. (Shirley Valentine 2.28)

In Jamaica and other Caribbean countries a hustler also pays careful attention to small clues like dress code (modest or provocative), length of a skirt, brand of sunglasses or even the title of a book a woman is reading. A beach towel may also serve as a clue for “availability”. Moreover, if a towel carries a hotel insignia a woman will be viewed as more difficult to reach as resort hotels have tighter security and no guest policy whereas an apartment hotel insignia on a beach towel means easier access to a woman’s room (Gorry 58). Similarly, while Sugar Mummies hustlers seemingly have free access to the women not residing in a tight-secured resort, Stella has to “[ask] for the evening pass which costs [her] sixty bucks [...]” (Stella 290).

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4 As opposed to the Caribbean hustlers, in the case of Greek “kamakia” a successful courtship has sex as the end result, with no financial compensation involved.
Some hustlers may target only older and stereotypically unattractive women as they may be “[…] more appreciative and willing to support a Caribbean lover”, or they may prefer to seduce European women as they are, through experience, “[…] more unrestrained and responsive to short-term sexual adventures” (Gorry 59). As Reefie in *Sugar Mummies* demonstrates: “Me only go for de older ones – young pretty gyals – dey look nice but dey don’t have no cash. Dey wan’ a man for free. But de older ones – you show dem a good time and they’ll be generous. […]”(1.4.57).

All of these aspects play important roles in the seduction process and “are all weighed up in the balance of favourable or unfavourable impression” (Karch and Dann 252 qtd. in Gorry 58).

Seduction techniques may vary due to the experience of a hustler. Possibly the most “controversial” technique would be that of a direct sexual proposal. A hustler would initiate conversation about the woman’s sexual life and in turn, offer his expertise to make her experience richer. This type of bold directness is risky and therefore does not guarantee success.

Furthermore, according to *The How to be Jamaican Handbook* the inexperienced hustlers use more overt and clumsy techniques (not to say they don’t work) as they “[display] incredible gaucherie, they are apt, early in the mornings to jog slowly along the beach clad in G-string-like wear, slowly enough so that their expertise in isolating muscle movements may be discerned” (38). In contrast, the more experienced hustlers are more subtle and patient:

They sit around just looking cool and virile. At all beaches where they are able to reach an accommodation with security men, you will see them in the background, shirt off to reveal a firm and lightly muscled midriff (with, as noted, a few racy scars), and there, enigmatic behind mirrored glasses, they sit and groove, the soft rhythms of Marley and Burning Spear emanating from their blasters. They sit there in the certain knowledge that those two fat-thighed school teachers from Iowa or the lab technician from Hamburg who have been here two days already without seeing the real
Jamaica and who are eager for the great experience on this one week out of a year routine, will soon walk by to make some astute, conversation-creating comment about his “dreadlocks” or about “raygay” music…” (The How to be Jamaican Handbook: 39)

His experience gives him the confidence that this seduction technique is guaranteed to have the desired effect. The two “fat-thighed school teachers” will use the obvious as a conversation starter and the hustler is then certain that the prey in question has been caught. He will offer them/her the luxury of his services as a private tour guide and display an array of traits (local knowledge, verbal proficiency, craftiness) which women find particularly attractive. As Reefie and Sly point out:

REFIE: [...] The ladies, they like to see reefs and fish and coral and tings. [...] After they see nature, they all relaxed and happy. 
SLY: Den you move in for the kill. 
REFIE: Nature takes its course. You getting me? (Sugar Mummies 1.4.58)

Ironically, Western women coming from highly-industrialised societies greatly esteem the fact that “[rasta] men derive their identity from living off the land and rejecting an industrialized society way of life” (Gorry 114). As they have fought for, and accomplished, near equality in their own societies, it seems like they are nostalgic for traditional stereotypes of masculinity. Precisely the notion of a hustler’s uncorrupted manliness and his confidence is an admired trait which is repeatedly highlighted by many researchers. Gorry gives an example of a woman living in Belize describing local men as “very confident about their masculinity – not like the guys in the States who are unsure whether to be manly or something else” (176). Likewise Reefie states that “we better than their white men. They ain’t up to the mark, so when dey come out here and see that we black boys healthy and look good and ting, they wan’ try something new” (Sugar Mummies 1.4.57).
There is a general assumption that a Western man has, to an extent, lost his confidence and thus the charm needed to impress a female counterpart. But, of course, this must be loosely applied and seen as a very broad generalisation.

7.2. Types of Liaisons

Female sex tourism can take various forms and Belliveau categorises them as being the following: travel sex (intimate acts around and involving sexual intercourse, including initial attraction and flirting), casual travel sex (immediate "no-strings attached" sex or holiday flings with strangers), anonymous sex (in which the two parties don’t know each others names before the act), travel romance (where the encounter is viewed as a temporary relationship) and platonic friendship (which comprises tourists being welcomed into local circles and usually form longer-term relationships) (13).

Women have different ideas of a potential relationship they may encounter on their trip abroad or to Jamaica in particular. Some will only go on a short package holiday, find a man, or, as is mostly the case, a man will find them/her and they will engage in a sexual relationship that will last as long as the stay. It is also frequent that some tourist women choose more than one holiday partner as their initial choice in a man gets replaced by another, more desirable one (Pruitt and LaFont 435). A hustler is therefore always faced with the possibility of rejection. Many Jamaican men express a feeling of being used by foreign women in the sense that they function as a mere sexual fantasy fulfilment. These women often have no serious intentions and therefore a relationship will only last as long their exotic desire does (Pruitt and LaFont 435).

Moreover, a Western woman, who might be considered undesirable in her own culture, might also use her lover to fulfil her wish to be a mother (Pruitt and LaFont 427). According to Pruitt and LaFont, there had been instances of women who use Jamaican men to have a “brown baby” (435). The men might be used
for their physical appeal and masculinity to conceive a genetically strong infant, yet the women would surely prefer their own economically-superior society to raise the child. With feelings of resentment, after being used and dominated by a woman, these men will often use their masculinity and strength to recover their superiority. There is a tendency to resort to violence in order to re-establish control, as is evident in the lyrics of song by Shabba Ranks:

Me, me, no woman can rule me.  
Now me is a man and me have me a woman.  
But if she try to rule me, me have contention.  
She could get a broke foot and get a broke hand.  
And me rule she, she no rule me.  
If me tell her say A, she can’t tell me B.  
And if me lift up me hand you know she feel it. (qtd in Pruitt and Lafont 435)

Others may travel to Jamaica hoping to find a man with whom they will form a serious relationship and try to maintain it upon their return home. The desire for a meaningful liaison abroad comes from a dissatisfaction with the men at home as they are mostly “inattentive, preoccupied with career, unemotional or confused about their role (Pruitt 1993 qtd. in Pruitt and LaFont 427). When, or if, a relationship is established, a woman will travel to Jamaica on a regular basis to meet her lover. While separated, she will regularly keep in touch, send letters, presents (e.g. branded clothes, technical goods etc.) and money, as well as pay for his trips over to her country in question.

Coming from a decent economic background, Western women travelling to the Caribbean are seen as financially able to make their wishes come true. Regardless of age, size or cultural background, their economic stability is what makes them primarily attractive to Jamaican men.

Therefore, as previously mentioned, it is quite common to see an older or middle-aged woman in the company of a younger man. As long as there is money to exchange hands, all the racial and gender boundaries become temporarily (and
conveniently) blurred and, as Pruitt (1993) states, “the economic and social status the women enjoy provides them with a security and independence that translates into power and control in the relationship (qtd. in Pruitt and LaFont 427). The gained power also allows a woman control over a man in the sense that he gives her all the attention or affection she needs, as opposed to the lack of the same in her own society. The Jamaican man, therefore, is very attentive and passionate and as one Jamaican says:

[...] the men appeal to her emotions with flattery and compliments and do things for her to make her stay in Jamaica easier and more pleasant. They appeal to her sensual side saying ... if you come to Jamaica and never sleep with a Rastaman, the true, natural man of Jamaica, you never really experience Jamaica and yourself. (Pruitt and LaFont 427)

The hustlers’ job then is to seduce women and make them feel good about themselves. However, the seduction as a job description must come across as being genuine otherwise certain types of women (i.e. interested in a romance-like experience) might reject a hustler as they are reluctant to be valued or used for their money. Similarly, Reefie in *Sugar Mummies* advises young Antonio how to successfully seduce a woman and make her experience all the more satisfying and authentic:

REEFIE: Some tips Antonio. Never look at you watch. You have all di time in the world.
ANTONIO: Got it.
REEFIE: Always you look in her eyes.
ANTONIO: Sure ting.
SLY: Be cool. Don't go too far wid de compliments. Den dey suspec’ you fakin’ it.
REEFIE: Mek her feel like she de only ‘oman for you. Den, maybe she call you back. (2.6.97)

The experienced hustler thus becomes so good at showing (or faking) his affection that only an experienced female sex tourist can see through his motives. Gorry gives an example of an insecure woman who is deluded by her “relationship” with a hustler and is enlightened by a female sex travel
connoisseur: “Yes, he loves you, he loves you very much – and when the next
girl comes he’ll love her very very much [too]” (67).

Furthermore, if a woman falls for the initial flattery it is possible that she, after a
while, may become tired of a financially dependant liaison as she gradually
expresses the need for a relationship that is based on emotions rather than
transactions. Therefore, some women tend not to last in these types of
relationships as they simply feel the need for something more meaningful. Janet,
a foreign resident in Belize says:

I moved away from Herman because he didn’t respect me as a friend--
wanted me to keep giving him things. The first year we were just friends--
then we got close. The first year a brought him back a present, the next,
hed asked me what I had for him this time – no greeting or anything. Yeah
sometimes he would expect me to pay for things. If we were at a bar he
might turn and say: “So aren’t you going to buy me a drink?” with some
kind of resentment in his voice. (Gorry 52)

Another woman (who had also moved to live on the island) expresses her
feelings of doubt concerning her foreign boyfriend’s emotions and love-making
skills as they seemed rehearsed and fake:

He knows a lot of positions but there wasn’t much caring in it – at one
point he was telling me to do this and that and I just said, stop, this isn’t
working; there’s no emotion here. You can tell he’s done it a lot. He has a
lot of experience. He knows all the lines, from the moment he kisses you,
you can tell he’s done it a lot.
[Gorry] You mean it’s mechanical?
Yea. Well it had been a long a time since I had been with someone, so I
guess there was a need. I think the guys view it as a job, as a career. Roy
would rather make a living with his dick than doing anything else. (Gorry
53)
7.3. Problems

Turning a holiday affair into a meaningful and long-term relationship may turn out to be more challenging than most women think. Led by a fantasy, a woman will not take into account potential obstacles that may prove to be difficult to overcome. Complications tend to arise when the relationship evolves outside the “safety” of the tourist resorts. A woman, who decides to leave her home country and live with her exotic lover in the Caribbean, will more than likely never be accepted by the local community and be cast as an outsider (much like her Rasta boyfriend who is ostracised for getting involved with a foreign, white woman).

Furthermore, unless she is financially independent and wealthy, she may find herself gradually running out of savings and is therefore prone to losing her eligibility as a long term partner. Subsequently, driven by her own insecurities, she may be in constant fear of getting replaced by another, more desirable woman who will have means to support her man (Pruitt and LaFont 434). Gorry (51) gives an example of a mid 30s French woman, Helene, who came to Belize on holiday with her husband. Apparently the two had a very dysfunctional relationship; he constantly tried to make her feel insecure regarding her looks and weight. Therefore, both of them ended up having an affair while on holiday. When the husband went back home, Helene decided to stay and live with her new boyfriend. After a year or so spent on the island she had spent all of her savings as she took on the role of financial provider and consequently started to feel insecure about whether her boyfriend was with her for the money or if his feelings were truly genuine:

I don’t want to feel like I’m paying for sex. I don’t want to be the older white woman who found her younger black guy. That happens a lot around here. I sometimes feel like an old hag/chicken. And when I look at a couple like ___ and ___ (mentions the names of a foreign woman and her much younger Belizean lover who lived on the mainland) I wonder if I look like them to others. Sometimes I wonder if I’m too ugly. I feel ugly that I have to pay for everything. (Gorry 52)
It is, however, more commonplace for the Caribbean man to join his girlfriend in her more affluent society, as it may provide him with opportunities unavailable in his home environment. The Western woman, on the other hand, is faced with the challenges of maintaining a long-term relationship based on opposites. Whilst it may work in the temporary alternate reality, other factors have to be taken into account back at home, where she might find herself as the target of communal and familial disapprovals and judgements, whether for racial or inequality reasons. Stella reflects on this particular problem by saying:

Shit. The neighbours! What about the neighbours? Who am I going to tell them he is because they will ask they ask about anything that looks new and Winston will be a new addition on the block and a tall handsome one at that and with a Jamaican accent and everybody knows I went Jamaica this summer and they will think I probably bought him or blackmailed him or kidnapped him and how will I account for his presence? I mean who is he? (Stella 363)

Moreover, the lack of education and Western society’s different set of values will make it difficult for a Jamaican man to adapt or find formal employment. His once attractive abilities he acquired by living in rural Jamaica (being a skilful man of nature, a tour guide etc.) will no longer be deemed necessary and useful (Pruitt and LaFont 434). Therefore, he loses whatever dominant role he had in the relationship and becomes completely dependant on his female counterpart, a role in which he is unlikely to remain comfortable.

These significant problems are vividly presented in Gupta’s Sugar Mummies where both sides (Western and Jamaican) express their doubts about the functionality of long-term relationships. On the one hand, there is Kitty, who, while unhappy with the demanding lifestyle of a modern, capitalist society (in the UK), becomes seduced by the idea of living a more relaxed and romanticised life in Jamaica. Jamaicans, on the other hand, seek whatever means to escape the poverty-stricken life and the hardships they are faced with on a daily basis. Both however, are blind to the real problems they are likely to encounter.
Kitty, in her delusion, does not see the “real” Jamaica and the everyday struggles Angel emphasises to Andre:

ANGEL: […] Look at your oldes’ brudder in Kingston. He work so hard. Him clever but him never have enough. Him can barely afford to send him dawtas to school. Me live in tin shack, no runnin’ water, no car. When it change? It always the same. (Sugar Mummies 2.7.106)

Kitty willingly turns a blind eye to the brutal reality and the fight for survival in the Caribbean. She believes that men are “effortlessly thin” and does not connect it to poverty and hunger, but simply states that “[…] it’s the way they’re built- part of their nature” (2.4.87). She fantasises about moving to Jamaica and thus desires to “jack in the job [in Manchester], use [her] savins to buy a place out [there] and set up home with … someone” (2.4.88). As previously observed, her wishes are virtually unrealistic and impossible due to the fact that she is neither wealthy nor financially independent thus, as Sly implies, her economic advantage would eventually cease to exist:

SLY: You hab money to survive out here? Without a job?
KITTY: For a while. Then I’m sure I could get a job- teaching even.
SLY: Yes. But you cyan survive on what de schools pay teachers here and I cyan look after you… (2.10.115)

Moreover, the men who seek to escape poverty and start their lives in the developed West, through their relationships with Western women, may encounter various social and psychological problems. The lack of education and different cultural backgrounds in general, would certainly make it difficult for them to fit in. In a role-reversal Kitty points out to Sly that his hope of gaining financial security would fade away without proper qualifications, and, to achieve any kind of professional progress requires continuous intellectual effort:

SLY: […] Me hear there are plenty jobs in your country.
KITTY: Plenty shit jobs yeah. But you have to have some qualifications to earn a decent wage. And even then- it’s hard. (Sugar Mummies 2.2.74)
Due to their financial dependency on Western female tourists and the embedded patriarchal system of values, men are likely to express superiority in other ways than financial. Maggie further addresses the problem to Naomi, who is hoping to have a more meaningful relationship with Andre: “He will always be financially beholden to you and eventually it drives men mad. They can’t cope unless they are breadwinners (2.11.122). Otherwise, in order to heal their broken egos, men are bound to resort to their only strength through physical violence:

ANTONIO: You see Earl is back?
ANDRE: Me see him.
ANTONIO: Say America no good.
SLY: Wha’apened to his milk bottle? She trow ‘im out?
ANTONIO: He tell me she no good – get there and she as poor as us. Live in tiny apartment high up in de sky. Bath the same size as our sink.
ANDRE: Me hear from his sister he slap him milk bottle around too much. Neighbours complain, police come around again and again and then him get arrested and deported. (1.4.52)

Therefore, it could be argued that, due to the vast socio-economic, gender and racial differences, the relationships are hypothetically doomed from the very start, and as described in *How Stella Got Her Groove Back*:

[... ] what this really was – according to an article I read on the plane – is called a “fling”. A fling is when you go on vacation and get wild and crazy with someone you don’t know and have the best sex and everything is so euphoric that you wish you could feel this way forever but because there are usually geographical problems and maybe language barriers and major cultural differences and say vast disparity in age do not – repeat: do not – take this shit seriously [... ] (236)
8. Gender and Racial Power Struggle

This is the reason why I often hate men. They’re all alike. You can’t depend on them for shit. They’re weak. I do not for the life of me understand why God even gave them balls when most of the time they act like they don’t have any.[…] We’re the ones who can show these simpletons how to be men because we raised them […]. (Stella 127-128)

In the post-colonial era the Caribbean island countries had to come to terms with their identity and culture. Following independence from decades of colonial rule, the poverty-stricken Caribbean countries were left with the problem of organising and redefining themselves economically and socially. Countries such as Cuba internalised culturally, rejecting the international market and Western influence, while countries like Puerto Rico and Trinidad and Tobago fully embraced Western capitalism. Jamaica was torn between the two and while foreign capital was initially encouraged, the emerging National Party (in the early 70s) endorsed Cuba as their role model rejecting American imperialism (see Raphael Dalleo).

The conflicting attitudes gave rise to separatist ideals and the cultural scene reacted accordingly. Thus, on the one hand, the revolutionary Rastafarian type came about, voicing anti-colonial ideology and criticising injustice within society. They continuously expressed resentment towards White domination and saw black people as victims thereof (see Raphael Dalleo).

On the other hand, there were those who endorsed Western capitalism and with it the dramatic rise in tourism. Tourism became the most important part of Jamaican industry but is ironically still dependant on the white man (foreign investors, hotel managers, property owners and tourists are predominantly white). This concept is particularly emphasised in Rhone’s Smile Orange in which the owner runs the hotel from New York. It goes without saying that the tourist sector has had a huge impact on reinventing and promoting racial stereotypes.
Therefore it is arguably to blame for further breeding racism and emphasising racial differences.

*Stella* as an educated, black (but Western) woman is fully aware of the social disparities caused by the effects of colonialism. This has resulted in her inherent disgust for Western tourists, white men in particular: “[…] I wouldn’t want to give white men the pleasure of seeing my black body considering they used to rape us when we were slaves […]” (*Stella*, 114). She also sees black people as being, at least physically, superior in that “most of the black men here look like line-backers […]” compared to the “[…] old white men with their fat wives […]” (88).

The hotel hierarchy in *Smile Orange* subtly alludes back to colonial models as well. As afore-mentioned, the owner resides in New York and thus, like in the old colonial absentee landlord model (see Raphael Dalleo), he directly profits from his black inferiors. The tourist sector could arguably be seen as a new form of colonialism. Rhone further emphasises racial disparities by placing a coloured man (lighter skinned black man) as the assistant manager who is directly responsible for the smooth running of the hotel. The telephone operator is given a higher social status than the black waiters by her titles of “Miss Brandon” (officially) and the “Afro-chick” (unofficially).

Social and class differences are also highlighted through the language the characters adopt (see Morris x)\(^5\). Therefore, O’Keefe (the Assistant Manager) uses standard English (the language of the upper class) and the black waiters speak Creole highlighting their lower class status. Miss Brandon switches between the two- changing her register from formal to informal depending on whom she is talking to: “[…] Him is nutten but a wart on di devil backside! […] Hold on a little. Mocho Beach Hotel. Good Afternoon. May I help you?” (*Smile Orange* 1.1.94).

\(^5\) *Introduction* to *Smile Orange*
Rhone further elaborates on this theme by depicting different attitudes that Jamaicans have against each other, depending on their profession and thus their social rank. This is explicitly seen when the hotel’s Social Director comes to the restaurant for dinner and Ringo refuses to serve her stating: “[…] if is me she waiting on to serve her, she goin’ starve to death” (1.1.115). When O'Keefe asks him to explain his actions, his excuse is:

RINGO. […] di black people who come to di hotel treat waiters like dirt, like you still cutting dem garden up in di hills, an’ if you don’t serve him right away him say you snob him, an’ him is di first man to report you, you know, sir. I ‘fraid o’ dem too, you know, sir. Dat’s why di waiters in any hotel avoid them. […] dem don’t respect us, you know, sir; call us boy an’ gas something or other. If a man don’t respect you, you can’t respect him back, sir. (2.137-138)

The greatest racial power struggle, however, remains prevalent between the well-off white Western tourists and the struggling black Caribbean locals. The local communities, whether they reject or accommodate foreign capitalist values, are nevertheless aware and constantly reminded that their well-being depends on them. Consequently, they have to be at the Western tourists’ disposal and unwillingly accept their dominance. Ringo is under no delusion when he tells Joe that “[w]hite people love to see black people bow down […]” (Smile Orange 1.1.107).

Mrs. O'Keefe’s racist tendencies are directed towards the female staff, whom she ignores. While she happily uses black men to satisfy her lust, she paradoxically looks down on their female counterparts, implying her assumed racial superiority. Her character is comparable with the old, white, colonial male stereotype who used women at their leisure and obtained foreign wives as trophies. Instead of the white man who both disrespects, yet uses black women for sexual gratification, she has the black husband, multiple affairs and no respect for the people as a whole.
Miss Brandon emphasises the disrespect shown as she passes judgement regarding Mrs. O’Keefe’s behaviour (cheating on her husband) and ignorance (not bothering with a greeting): “[…] Di woman shouldn’t really do him dat all the same. Not wid a waiter. And you want to see her pass through here last night. She come and ask me to get her husband on di phone, never even tell howdy […]” (2.127).

Regardless of her racial tendencies, Mrs. O’Keefe is under no pretence when it comes to hustlers and the way they work. She has in that respect become somewhat “Jamaicanised” as she is even quicker to come up with excuses than the hustler (Ringo) himself. According to The How to be Jamaican Handbook one of the most common excuses Jamaicans use are in connection to punctures on a vehicle (78) and that is precisely what she suggests to Ringo on the phone: “Ringo: […] Di taxi got a puncture, oh, oh, and I was only helping you to change di tyre. You are di greatest! Right, A want you to cover me […]” (2.131). Therefore she almost becomes a part of the hustler’s peer group.

Themes of white racial superiority are also highlighted in Sugar Mummies. They are implicitly expounded through the female characters ordering the men around from the first scene on. The first thing Yolanda says to Andre is “you’re grilling me lobster for lunch, you hear?” (1.1.26) and Maggie hands Antonio her suntan lotion and says “what are you waiting for?” (1.1.32). Furthermore, racial inequality is highlighted by Naomi’s experience as she briefly notes that her mother was ashamed of having her because she was brown (i.e. Naomi’s mother was a white woman who had an affair with a Jamaican man).

Such light-hearted remarks or actions become explicitly racist towards the end of the play. This is evident during Sly and Kitty’s argument when Kitty says “I’ll bring the manager in and have you whipped. Have you thrown in jail you fucking black bastard. NIGGER!” (2.10.120).
Whereas white Western women indulge in racial sexual fantasises and are looking for the exotic other, Stella assumes affinity with the local culture and repeatedly claims it is a “black thang” (62-103). In this respect she mocks white tourists (appearance, music taste, dancing skills etc.) as the stereotypical Caribbean male does (e.g. *Sugar Mummies* they are laughing at women). She is “[…] disgusted by white men salivating over her naked body […]” *(Stella* 214) and she hates white women (like Bo Derek) “[…] for stealing our braids and having the nerve to put extensions and beads in and for thinking she was all that. […] Can’t we have anything to ourselves?” *(Stella* 206). Her constant racial prejudice in the end turns out to be as demeaning as the white tourists’ sense of superiority which she initially intended to criticise, putting them therefore on the same level.

*Stella*, regardless of her race, would be the type of woman who would assume moral superiority over her fellow white sex tourists (although she would never put herself in that category) like Maggie, Kitty and Yolanda from *Sugar Mummies*.

Furthermore, the theme of prostitution can also be read in terms of gender power struggle wherein one party seeks to command the other and subsequently establish its superiority. It seems obvious then that Caribbean male sex workers are not only used for sexual gratification but are exploited as a means for Western women, by using their superior social, racial and economic status, to assert their authority over a man to a degree not permitted in their own society. So the female sex tourist’s sexual liaisons abroad become more of "a desire for an extraordinarily high degree of control over the management of self and others as sexual, racialized and engendered beings" *(Kempadoo* 37). This is reminiscent of the predatory male behaviour of the colonial era; thus, the Western woman can, herself, adopt traditionally Western male attributes outside the realms and constraints of her own environment. "That sex industries today depend on the eroticization of the ethnic and cultural Other suggests we are
witnessing a contemporary form of exoticism which sustains post-colonial and post-cold war relations of power and dominance” (Kempadoo 37).

This theme is made evident in Sugar Mummies when Sly clearly acknowledges the racial power struggle inevitable between the hustler and female sex tourist:

SLY: And how am I suppose to respec’ a gyal like you? You tink me a savage, a house slave. You look at me and you is jealous of my skin, but glad you is white, You tink you is superior.
KITTY: I am superior because you’re nothing more than a prostitute. (2.10.119)

It is interesting to note that Western male sex tourists draw parallels with female sex tourists in that they can equally exhibit a longing for old-fashioned stereotypes in third-world countries in which “women and girls are at their command, Blacks, Hispanics and Asians are serving them, shining their shoes, cleaning their rooms and so on. [Thus] all is as it should be” (Clift and Carter 43). Whereas the male sex worker is usually encouraged to be sexually aggressive and dominant, the "ideal" female sex worker is weak, passive and subservient (or at least pertains to be) and embodies traditional clichés of what constitutes femininity.

The underlying paradox of such sexual transactions is that, while both male and female sex tourists objectify and subjugate the sex workers simply through the act of paying for (and therefore controlling) them, they may seek to "humanise" them by alluding to them as willing sexual partners. Kempadoo elaborates that:

It is not always enough to buy access to touch and sexually use objectified body parts. Many clients want the prostitute to be a "lover" who makes no claims, a "whore" who has sex for pleasure not money, in short, a person (subject) who can be treated as an object. This reflects, perhaps, deeper inconsistencies in the discourses which surround prostitution and sexuality. (40-41)
Gender struggle presents a problematic issue in the scope of female sex tourism. As noted before, while women are financially superior it is presumed that Caribbean men will attempt to establish their dominance through means other than financial. However, while male characters exploit women in any way possible, Rhone nevertheless symbolically concludes that in a world where money conquers all, the impoverished will always remain inferior. When Ringo offers an orange to Cyril he initially refuses as “dem say it will rotten out mi balls,sar” (*Smile Orange* 2.154). Eating oranges are superstitiously connected with loss of manhood so, when Cyril finally succumbs after some persuasion, he is accepting the symbolic emasculation which necessitates sex work (see Morris ix)\(^6\). Thus the play’s title *Smile Orange* has tragic undertones which convey the subjugation of poverty-stricken males forced to resort to prostitution and accept their inferiority yet “smile” while doing so.

9. Impacts of Female Sex Tourism

ANDRE: Don’t sell yourself.
ANGEL: Don’t sell your soul.
ANTONIO: It’s me body, not my soul. Dat’s all dey is interested in.
ANGEL: So why you cry? (*Sugar Mummies* 2.1.70)

The impacts of sex tourism on female tourists tend to be predominantly positive. In *Shirley Valentine* and *How Stella Got Her Groove Back* the characters are physically and psychologically rewarded and their sexual experience results in self-affirmation and self-rediscovery for Shirley, on the one hand, and an unrealistic marriage proposal for Stella on the other. Rhone’s *Smile Orange* and Gupta’s *Sugar Mummies*, however, hint at the negative consequences of sex

\(^6\) Introduction to *Smile Orange*
tourism by focusing mainly on the, often detrimental, psychological impact that sex work can have on the male characters.

It shouldn’t be forgotten that female sex tourism, like all prostitution, is inexorably linked to poverty, class or social status and equally has the potential to result in violence, emotional instability and long-term psychological problems.

The negative impacts of sex tourism such as "tourist harassment, rising HIV rates, family destruction and resultant hostility of black women towards white tourists" (Belliveau 79) are becoming increasingly evident.

The Caribbean and Jamaica in particular markets itself as being a hedonistic holiday destination so the dramatic increase in sex tourism is unsurprising. Kempadoo argues that

[...] there is a particularly unsubtle way of marketing Jamaican tourism and a strong suggestion that sex is readily available in Jamaica. Both the potential clients and the Jamaican population are clearly targets of the marketing strategies promoted by the tourist board and other agencies who situate Jamaica and Jamaican culture on the world map. (135)

Thus, economic hardship combined with rising tourism and globalisation as well as exploitive marketing, serve as fundamental reasons for the explosion of sex tourism in Jamaica. Prostitution invariably leaves long-term negative psychological and emotional traces. These might be translated into the insults and physical abuse often vented towards Western women in the Caribbean as "the most likely source of antagonism toward foreign women were feelings of ethnic and economic inferiority." (Gorry 101)

There has been little research into the impacts that increasing prostitution has had on Jamaica. This might stem from the insistent refusal of female sex tourists to admit that what they are engaging in is prostitution and the men are prostitutes rather than "players" or "gigolos". As Jamaica’s economy heavily relies on foreign
investments, the implicit message is to give the tourists what they want. The sex workers then, arguably, act out the role requested of them and the tourist industry, and to an extent the government, tacitly encourages such behaviour. It remains a tragic contradiction that sex workers are morally judged for their actions as having an "immoral means of income" whilst the tourists who pay for it are often referred to as "pleasure-seekers" (Kempadoo 152).

Sex work in Jamaica, as with prostitution throughout the world, can invariably result in physical and mental abuse, psychological or social problems, as well as impacting the sex worker’s physical well-being.

The psychological effects of such work are rarely elaborated on in the Caribbean especially when it comes to male sex workers; as they play the role of the quintessential and hyper-sexualised male it is presumably taboo to talk about their inherent feelings, yet surely

[…] they are influenced by the ideologies of morality expounded in their society and have internalised feelings of guilt, secrecy and unworthiness surrounding their occupation. Nonetheless, the sex trade provides relatively higher incomes than other low-paid, low-status jobs, which come with their own problems. (Kempadoo153)

Such psychological impacts are evident through the majority of the male sex workers in *Sugar Mummies* and *Smile Orange*. Rhone’s Ringo, seemingly unscrupulous, alludes to his personal humiliation as a result of hustling when he says “Di things a man have to go through to make a dollar sometimes you shame of yuhself” (*Smile Orange* 1.1.105). Cyril’s shame symbolically comes in the form of eating an orange which means, for him, the acceptance of his emasculation. The psychological impact of the foreign sexual encounter is at its most tragic in Miss Brandon’s character. While she gives up her “pearl” for the man she is ashamed to be seen with in public as “people chat too much” (*Smile Orange*
2.126), she loses everything in the end while her hopes for a better life fly away with the jet her “boyfriend” is in.

Gupta goes even further in underlining the misfortunes of her characters in *Sugar Mummies*. They are all, to a certain extent, subjugated and exploited. Antonio is gravely humiliated by Maggie who ties him to a tree, beats him and leaves him tied up all night. His desperation and its obvious psychological impact are vividly described in stage directions: “ANTONIO weeps. He collapses on the floor [...] [he] scrabbles around in the sand, scraping up dollar notes, shoving them in his trouser pockets, weeping like a child all the time” (2.1.68-69).

Kitty’s use of simile to describe Sly who “[eats] like a savage” (2.2.76), demonstrates her underlying sense of superiority which triggers Sly’s rage and consequently his humiliation. Not being able to act on it emphasises his loss of self-worth as “he needs this job” thus “despite his humiliation, SLY remains sitting on the edge of the bed” (2.2.76-77).

Furthermore, although portrayed as a strong character, Reefie nevertheless reveals that his line of work has left a tremendous psychological impact on him as he is ashamed of the person he has become and is thus unable to tell Naomi he, in fact, is her father:

*REEFIE is silent*

ANGEL: Why not tell her? Why you hide de truth?

*REEFIE looks away. He is close to tears.*

REEFIE: Look at me Angel. What am I? ANGEL: A man. REEFIE: Me cyan admit to her...not want to disappoint her. What her fadder is. Me ashame of what I am. Me ashame. (2.11.125)
Yet again, Gupta uses a Pinteresque-like pause or “Beat” as well as silences to emphasise the tone of the play which transforms between the comic and the tragic enabling the audience to comprehend the gravity of the specific situation. The psychological impact is therefore emphasised through the use of language, symbolism as well as various theatrical devices.

Another impact of prostitution is the disruption it may cause within local communities. The black male sex worker being paid for by the white tourist for example, will of course breed resentment on a larger social scale and recalls notions of the slavery years and Western society’s dominance. Therefore, “Participants in the sex trade are not only a visible reminder of the racial subordination of locals to tourists but their activities are also often a source of tension and dispute for older family members and partners with whom some continue to reside” (Kempadoo 77).

The physical well-being of the sex worker is also impacted through their lifestyle which would invariably necessitate drinking, partying and often drug taking and sometimes unprotected sex. HIV poses the greatest health risk to sex workers and most at risk are “a quarter of sex workers, many of them teenagers [...] addicted to hard drugs such as crack and cocaine” and who are “[...] more likely than others to engage in unprotected sex” (Kempadoo 77). The ultimate tragic figure in Sugar Mummies, is Angel’s husband who, represented through the use of back-story as a gigolo, falls victim to prostitution and eventually dies of AIDS. His downfall is dramatically described through the use of short sentences and pauses:

ANGEL: Last time me see him, he a walking duppy. ‘Tin, eyes all up in his sockets...walkin’ so slowly...No ‘oman look at ‘im now. (2.3.81)

[...]

ANGEL: He die. Las’ night. In him dirty room, on him own. (2.11.126)
Furthermore, both sex workers and sex tourists are constantly faced with the threat of abuse. Significant rises in tourist harassment complaints has lead to stricter security measures within the resorts, as is seen in Stella’s upper class accommodation where Winston can’t get in without a pass. However, the security of the sex worker is often deemed irrelevant. In fact, instead of protecting sex workers, authorities are often the perpetrators of abuse and "[…] police harassment may include jailing, physical abuse, and fines. In order to try and save themselves from these experiences, sex workers are sometimes expected to pay bribes to the police in the form of money or free sexual services" (Kempadoo 315).

Thus, the sex workers are forced to protect themselves and by doing so form close networks (peer groups) which support each other and provide a sense of security which is deprived of them by their own country. Reefie, similarly, as an authoritative figure, provides protection to “his” sex workers. Maggie’s humiliation of Antonio cannot be punished legally but Reefie nevertheless ensures she is penalised accordingly.

Finally, it can be argued that sex tourism must be seen for what it is - clearly defined and not euphemised in order to properly deal with such negative impacts. It should therefore be recognized as professional services which have been rendered and paid for and the occupation made properly legitimate so that sex workers might then have the right to safe working environments. Deeply rooted moral and religious convictions would have to be set aside in order for such changes to come about. Although it remains unlikely that the situation will improve unless the sex tourists (especially the women), who financially and psychologically support this system, recognise the impact of their actions.
10. Conclusion

Close literary inspection of what constitutes female sex tourism (and how it differentiates to male sex tourism) has revealed diverse complex concepts and reasons. Russell, McMillan and Gupta demonstrate the underlying similarities in women’s behaviour.

While *Shirley Valentine* is primarily set in Greece, it is important to emphasise that the Mediterranean was geographically the more accessible and affordable destination for all the British, working class women, who engaged in sex tourism. Shirley is the representative of women of her era and class and, as such, she becomes a type of role model. Particularly in her role as the archetypal working class housewife and mother, she feels trapped in the confines of her social and moral prison, and her sexual encounter in the new alternate reality results in her subsequent psychological and sexual reinvention.

*How Stella Got Her Groove Back, Sugar Mummies* and *Shirley Valentine* reveal that the main reasons for female travel sex are a loss of self, bad marriage or divorce, closing opportunities surrounding the “mating pool” (particularly evident through advancing age) and a general sense of loneliness and sexual neglect. One of the most profound injustices in Western society is the presumption that women’s libido dissipates over time and, unlike their male counterparts, they are suppressed from expressing (at least openly, as it is deemed vulgar) desire for sexual fulfilment as they get older. Older divorced women often find their relationship possibilities the most unfortunate and it is made all the more tragic by witnessing their ex-husbands, or men generally of a similar age, developing liaisons with much younger women. Thus women’s bitterness regarding the state of affairs in Western society is understandable. Maggie in *Sugar Mummies* is the personification of such bitterness but its extremity, highlighted in her humiliation of Antonio, leaves the audience questioning the severity of her reactions. As she acts as a stereotype of other divorced and disenchanted Western women in their
50s, her situation and the systematic mistreatment she has received at the hands of men is all the more dire, yet to adorn the old colonial attributes of the Western male (who has brought her such misery) in the Caribbean doesn’t seem like the right answer. The tragedy is that such women, as they get older, are deemed increasingly unattractive (by the media as well as by men) and they are bitterly aware of such parallels of female beauty with youth. The rise of cosmetic surgery, for example, has only increased the pressure on women to stay younger-looking (and therefore attractive) for longer yet the fundamental issues pushing women to do this are largely swept aside. If women can’t compete and "hold onto" their youth, they are categorised as non-sexual beings, so seizing opportunities to reassert their sexuality in the Caribbean is thus unsurprising. Therefore, they can engage in travel sex to fulfil their basic needs and sexual (or racial) fantasies, at least for the duration of their holiday.

Trevor Rhone’s *Smile Orange* contrasts vividly to the other works of literature in that, by writing from the Caribbean sex workers point of view, it clearly demonstrates that poverty continuously serves as the underlying problem of Jamaican (and Caribbean) society, and while the countries rely on tourism as the bread-basket of their economies, prostitution and human exploitation are likely to arise. The situation cannot, arguably, get better until the local communities are more integrated into, instead of being locked outside, the large tourist complexes. The male sex workers who move between the two conflicting worlds of society are perhaps dealt the harshest blow. They are looked down on and criticised by their local communities, objectified and used by female tourists and the tourist industry whilst receiving no legal support for their work. The psychological impact of their work should also be given significance as previously mentioned. Rereading the texts with this in mind makes the younger characters such as Antonio in *Sugar Mummies* and Cyril in *Smile Orange* all the more tragic as their initiations into the field of sex work will turn their initial hopes of financial stability into the shame exhibited by all of the more experienced sex workers.
As observed, in the course of this thesis, women quite often euphemise sex travel and refuse to openly associate it with prostitution, often preferring to romanticise their relationships with Caribbean men. Thus women who hope to find a long-term partner are seldom aware of the difficulties they are likely to encounter. Problems are therefore bound to arise due to cultural, racial as well as age differences. It might be interesting to note that Terry McMillan had, herself, been married to a Jamaican man many years her junior, yet their marriage resulted in a publicised divorce due to the surfacing of her husband’s previously suppressed homosexuality. Nevertheless, McMillan denies any connections between her personal experiences and her novel *How Stella Got Her Groove Back*.

Moreover, the themes of women’s deeply rooted loneliness and dissatisfaction, as well as the “business” of the Caribbean hustlers are, in these works of literature, mostly presented through the use of humour as a means to provide comic-relief to, what is actually, such a grave and serious topic. Language, in particular, serves as an important device to emphasise cultural and racial differences.

While Rhone’s *Smile Orange* (1970s), Russell’s *Shirley Valentine* (1980s), McMillan’s *How Stella Got Her Groove Back* (1990s) and Gupta’s *Sugar Mummies* (2000s) chronologically present the literary topic of female sex tourism (and arguably attempt to popularise the theme), the Western audience still remains ignorant thereof. Another attempt to bring the topic closer to the public consciousness has been made recently (in 2012) by an Austrian film-maker Ulrich Seidl with his film *Paradies “Liebe”*. Seidl addresses the topic of female sex tourism by presenting a middle-age female sex tourist (in her 50s) choosing Kenya as her holiday destination. Perhaps Seidl will be more successful in penetrating Western consciousness of the subject which still persistently remains

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7 Terry McMillan and her ex husband appeared couple of times as guests on Oprah Winfrey’s show, where personal details of their marriage and his sexuality were publicly revealed. (Video clips are available on YouTube)
rather narrow-minded despite plays such as *Sugar Mummies*, which has been the most honest and direct account of female sex tourism so far. Finally, it seems that modern Western society needs to re-examine its system of values and accept women as sexual beings regardless of their age.
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