

“A war for a foreign woman”:
Gender, Power and Economic Tension in Negril

by

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the intimate relationships between white foreign women and black Jamaican men in Negril, a transnational tourist town located on the western tip of Jamaica. Within the contexts of Negril, relationships between white foreign women and black Jamaican men are commonly considered suspect and ambiguous based on the frequency at which relationships shrouded in economic and intimate exchanges take place. Some female sex tourism scholars recognize foreign women as exerting their racial and economic power over local black men in the destination towns they visit, whereas other scholars suggest that local men exert their gender power over foreign women in their relationships. Upon closer examination of the everyday complex negotiations of power that take place within relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men in Negril, it became clear that the power that operates within the relationships is not straightforward. Both foreign women and Jamaican men exercise different forms of power in order to get what it is that they desire from their relationships. This complicates common misconceptions of foreign women as either wealthy and all powerful or as naïve victims of sexually aggressive Jamaican men, and calls for a more nuanced reading of the negotiations of power in the local contexts of Negril.

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Introduction

Courtney, a German woman in her 30s, was a regular visitor to Jamaica and a dancehall fanatic. We met at The Jungle, a popular nightclub in Negril shortly after she arrived in town with a friend from her hometown. The pair had traveled around the island together before arriving in Negril. Courtney's friend remained in town for a few days before flying home to Germany, although Courtney remained in town for the final three months of my fieldwork. During this time she unexpectedly developed feelings for a young Jamaican man, despite her determination to never fall in love with another Jamaican man ever again.

Early on in my fieldwork, as our friendship was beginning to develop, Courtney was excited by what I was researching in Negril and she wanted to impart what she felt was some of the most important wisdom she learned over the course of her ten years of travel experience around the island and her previous relationship with a Jamaican man. "Rule number one in Jamaica is **never fall in love.**" She imparted this personal wisdom to me based on the relationship she had years ago with a Jamaican man with whom she fell in love with. Their relationship was mostly long-distance, although she visited him on a few occasions for long durations ranging from one to six months at a time. The ambiguity of the relationship was the basis for her confusion and uncertainty regarding the meaning and intentions underpinning the relationship. In many ways he embodied the perfect boyfriend, but at the same time many instances occurred in which she questioned the legitimacy of the relationship when he required financial help, and then further along into their relationship, a visa. Once their relationship ended it was not long before he was posting pictures of his new white foreign girlfriend online. Courtney began to recognize tourism-based relationships with Jamaican men for their economic aspects, and to see all Jamaican men as exploitative. That is, until the next man tugged at her

heartstrings. She tried with all her might to ignore his advances, but there was something about him, he seemed genuine, caring, and compassionate. “I don’t know what I’ll do if he ends up being like the last one,” she said, “I will never, ever, ever be able to trust another Jamaican man.”

I set out to study intimate relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men in the contexts of Negril, a diverse transnational tourist town on the western coast of Jamaica. The relationships aroused a particular interest for me, due to the fact that as post-colonial relationships they appear at first glance purely based on an economic/intimate exchange and a unilateral power relationship grounded in neocolonial ties between the capitalist powers of the West and neocolonial nations such as Jamaica (McClintock 1995). In this thesis I refer to these relationships as “post-colonial” because they can be located within a broader political economy of desire, in which both foreign women and Jamaican men’s desires for one another are informed by racial meanings originally instilled during early European colonialism (Jacobs 2010). For instance, white foreign women view Jamaican men as hypersexual and hypermasculine, and Jamaican men view white foreign women as sexually liberated and wealthy. These are racial imaginings that constitute the cultural legacy of colonialism, and which will be discussed further in Chapter 3. However, here I will note that throughout this thesis I use the term post-colonial due to the fact that both foreign women and Jamaican men are influenced by racial imaginings of each other, which were originally established during early colonialism.

This thesis expands on central debates in Female Sex Tourism (FST) scholarship, which typically frame tourism-based relationships between white foreign women and local black men as a one-sided power relationship in which either white foreign women hold the gamut of power associated with whiteness and their Western citizenship as transnational and mobile subjects, or local black men hold the power associated with local understandings of masculinity and

performances of intimacy. In this thesis I will argue that there is not a straightforward allocation of power within these relationships, and that there seemed to be different forms of power at play, which complicated how the relationships unfolded. I challenge the dominant misconceptions of foreign women as naïve and wealthy, and of Jamaican men as sexually aggressive. In studying the daily complex negotiations of power that took place within these relationships, it became clear that both foreign women and Jamaican men held power within the local contexts of Negril, and that both parties could be exploited.

In this thesis, I focus on the everyday practices of power that take place through intimate, long-term relationships in Negril. While I have taken this focus, this is not to suggest that the larger structures of post-colonial power do not bare significance for the individuals involved in these relationships. I am not trying to contest the significance of neocolonial ties that persist between the capitalist powers of the West and neocolonial nations such as Jamaica. However, during my fieldwork in Negril, I realized the significance of micro-interactions and noticed the complex, constant negotiations of power that would take place within these interactions, which drew my attention to everyday practices such as “the game of love” (Cheng 2010), a game where both parties playfully engage with loving practices and discourses to get what they desire from their relationships. This focus on everyday negotiations of power allows for a perspective of relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men in Negril that is different than much of the scholarship on this topic. By focusing on everyday negotiations of power, it becomes possible to see that power does not only operate unilaterally, in which members of neocolonial nations are powerless (or all powerful) in their individual relationships. This perspective allows a glimpse at something that is lacking in the current scholarship, which tends to focus on questions around the authenticity of the relationships, or on the monetary exchange and the continuation

of post-colonial power relationships. Instead, a key contribution of this thesis is to recognize power as something that is shifting and negotiated everyday in these relationships, specifically in terms of long-term emotional attachments and intimate connections. Within the realm of intimacy and emotional attachment, both foreign women and Jamaican men contest each other's power, and make allowances for each other's power, so that they can continue to get what it is that they desire from these relationships. However, it is through the emotional and intimate connections that this give and take can transpire. The power that takes place in long-term, intimate relationships is much more difficult to name as it is rife with contradictions and tensions. For instance, it is difficult to name the power that influences foreign women to gravitate back to Jamaica multiple times in the same year, or to move there long-term even though they narrate their anger and frustration with the lack of independence they experience in Negril, and at times, the harassment they endure. Furthermore, it is difficult to speculate as to why Jamaican men continue to pursue foreign women regardless of their embitterment when they do not feel compensated for their labour. The long-term, intimate relationships that are central to this thesis allow for a closer engagement with the messy, contradictory, complex everyday negotiations of power between people who are typically viewed in the scholarship as mainly partaking in post-colonial, temporary, monetary relationships.

Courtney and her friend further highlighted the ambiguity that permeates Negril, and tourism-based relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men when they proceeded to carry forth an in-depth discussion on what constituted sex tourism and sex tourists for them. Courtney's friend had hooked up with a few Jamaican guys during the course of their trip, and so she expressed her concern that this made her a sex tourist. "Did you give him anything in exchange?" Courtney asked. "No" she replied. "Ok then you are not a sex tourist" Courtney

replied. I asked Courtney how she would define a sex tourist, and she explained to me that for a woman to be considered a sex tourist she had to meet some combination of the following criteria: unattractive, older than the Jamaican man she is dating, and provides him with a lot of financial support. On the other hand, her friend is young, beautiful and did not exchange anything monetary for the sexual encounter. Based on these criteria, according to Courtney, her friend is not a sex tourist. This conversation points to questions around what defines a sex tourist. In Negril, there was not an agreement regarding the definition of sex tourism, and distinctions around sex tourism were constantly made. It was such that I began to distance myself from terms such as female sex tourism, sex tourists, gigolos, and rent-a-dreads, and chose to define the relationships as transnational tourism-based relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men.

Distinctions and Definitions

Sex tourism is an umbrella term that often evokes the image of men and women traveling to foreign developing regions specifically for the purpose of partaking in exploitative and commercial intimate relations with local people (Oppermann 1999). When I originally set out for my field research I used the term “female sex tourist” to refer to the women whom I wished to interview regarding their relationships with Jamaican men. However I quickly realized that the term female sex tourism/tourist is stigmatized, and does not adequately frame the many implicit aspects and nuances of transnational, cross-cultural relationships that take place through travel and tourism. The women I spoke with resisted these labels, and took offense to them. Scholars have also expressed their ambivalence with using these terms as they see them as analytically limited because the terms invite a focus on the exchange of money for sex (Pruitt and LaFont 1995, Frohlick 2008). For instance, Susan Frohlick (2008) discovered issues with definitions of

sex tourism as they pertain to women who develop relationships with Costa Rican men. She suggests that the women in her research resist the label 'sex tourist' due to its "complicated, gendered and moral weightiness, and also because of the cultural context in which discourses about vacation sex, interracial sex and sex in general are translocal knowledges and thus negotiated" (34). While I recognized that the women who became participants in my research did not self-identify with this term due to the stigma associated with it, I chose not to apply sex tourist/tourism in this thesis because I found it to be restricting in my analysis. Considering that the term is already loaded with meaning, my concern is that if I define the relationships as female sex tourism and the women as sex tourists, this will prompt a specific conversation that centres on sex work, economic exchange and exploitation, and does not leave much room for a more nuanced understanding of these relationships. In this thesis, I aim to bring into focus aspects of the relationships that are not based singularly on the exchange of money for sex and to give attention to how the relationships could develop into more long-term, intimate ones, in which individuals recognized each other as girlfriends and boyfriends, or wives and husbands. In order to emphasize intimate, long-term relationships, I found the term sex-tourism to be too analytically limiting. For these reasons, in this thesis I will be discussing the relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men as just that: relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men, rather than as female sex tourism.

During my fieldwork both Jamaican men and foreign women resisted the labels that they earned from others due to their engagements in cross-cultural, transnational, interracial relationships within tourism. While foreign women resisted the term sex tourist, Jamaican men resisted the terms gigolo and rent-a-dread. As Joan Phillips and Susan Frohlick have both noted in their respective research, Bajan men and Costa Rican men do not view themselves as sex

workers or gigolos but instead as boyfriends and lovers (Phillips 2008, Frohlick 2007). Similarly, the Jamaican men I spoke with, and those who became participants in my research did not consider themselves as prostitutes, gigolos or rent-a-dreads, and the women they were in relationships with did not consider them as such either. Jamaican men in relationships with foreign women are recognized as boyfriends, and I see this as a distancing from terms that are viewed negatively because they are associated with exploitative and commercial exchanges and the commodification of intimacy. Female tourists who engage in these relationships are often enticed by the idea of a mutual and non-commercial intimate relationship that crosses cultural and racial differences, and typically the women have to either come to terms with the economic reality of the relationship, or they choose to ignore their own implicitness within the economy of tourism (Frohlick 2007, O'Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor 2005). On the other hand I found that my Jamaican participants would also tell me that they wanted to be able to have these relationships, but also live independently and make their own way, in the sense that they did not want to be controlled by foreign women's money. For this reason they asserted that they were nothing like gigolos, and my participants would take opportunities to emphasize and prove to me that they were not like gigolos. In one instance, during my first month of fieldwork I was walking to my apartment when a group of Jamaican men who lived in the same complex called me over to their front stoop to listen to music and have some drinks. I had already had some compelling informal conversations with a few of the men, so I was excited at the opportunity to sit with them again. One of the men opened a beer for me, and I offered to pay for it. He was very offended, even angry that I offered to pay for the beer. "Your money's no good here," he said. I sat quiet and confused for a while as I listened to them chat patois, trying to follow along with their conversation. At one point one of the men turned to me and said quite seriously, "we

aren't gigolos, we don't agree with them and what they do, we beat them if we run into them, we will even shoot them. That's why we won't take your money. A gigolo would take it, but we're not gigolos." For these men there was shame associated with accepting money from foreign women. They saw the gigolos as dependent on foreign women, controlled by their money, and they thought that the gigolos caused too much trouble for foreign women by cheating on them and stealing from them. The men explained this to me and suggested that the gigolos also caused problems for the "good, honest" Jamaican men. It seemed as though these Jamaican men were also enticed by the concept of mutual and non-commercial and intimate relationships that crossed over cultural and racial differences.

Over the course of my fieldwork it became undeniably apparent that Jamaican men desired to distance themselves from the image of the gigolo, and so many of the men I met discussed the desire to find relationships in which they did not feel reliant on or controlled by foreign women's money. I believe there are a few possible explanations for this. It is possible that the reason Jamaican men would share this desire for relationships that transgressed economic and cultural differences was in part due to the fact that foreign women desired these relationships. So in order to attract them, they would express the same interests and values. But it is also possible that the Jamaican men wanted to be able to have relationships in which they were not economically reliant on foreign women. Furthermore, the concept of foreign women's "control" of Jamaican men clashes with conceptions of Jamaican masculinity, which I will discuss further in Chapter 4. As I wrote up my field notes that evening I recalled a conversation I had with that same Jamaican man a few days prior. I asked him if he visited the clubs to meet foreign women. He told me he does not go looking specifically for that, which is why he chooses to hang out at the back of the club (meaning he is open to a relationship with a foreign woman

but does not aggressively pursue foreign women). If he meets someone he wants it to be “real.” In order to flesh out these insights, and to stay current with changing circumstances in Jamaican men and foreign women’s self-identification, I will not be applying any of these labels in reference to the men and women with whom I spoke.¹ Instead, I will point to ambiguity as a helpful term that leaves space to discuss the broad range of the relationships that take place through tourism in Negril, rather than defining all tourism-based relationships as revolving around the exchange of money for sex. Furthermore, nuancing the relationships will reveal misconceptions of foreign women as wielding complete economic power in the relationships, and of Jamaican men as sexually aggressive.

Both Susan Frohlick (2007) and Erica Lorraine Williams (2013), among other scholars of sex tourism, use the concept of ambiguity to explain the complexity of relationships between foreign women and local men in both Costa Rica and Bahia, in Brazil. For instance, as Williams explains, “ambiguity comes into play in the context of the globalized tourism industry when sexual relations move beyond more commercial exchanges to encompass intimate and emotional exchanges as well” (3). Frohlick suggests in her research that relationships between tourist women and local men in Costa Rica can be considered “fluid” in the sense that the economic exchange that takes place in these cross-cultural and transnational relationships is “markedly ambiguous” (142). Ambiguity will be discussed further in Chapter 3, however here it is important to note its usefulness in pointing to a wide range of liaisons and relationships that are difficult to define due to the many nuances such as complexities that come into play when intimacy and love intertwine with economic exchange. Some researchers seem to typecast, generalize, and rank Jamaican men and foreign women, which does not allow any space to

¹ The fact that both foreign women and Jamaican men sought to distance themselves from these terms is revealing of the tensions in tourism-based relationships, however I leave it to Others to investigate the use of these terms and their meanings.

understand ambiguity, and the complexity of everyday negotiations of power within the local contexts of relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men. For instance, Joan Phillips seeks to prototype beach hustlers, such as the “rough and ready” beach hustler, the “middle-ranking beach boy” and the “old veteran” (2008). She uses similar typologies for white female travelers, such as “The Situationer, The Repeat Situationer, and the One Nighter” (1999, 190). The problem with such generalizations is that just as the terms “sex tourist” and “gigolo” are commonly used to imply a straight economic exchange devoid of emotional attachments and intimacy, these generalizations do not adequately highlight the nuances at play, such as the different forms of power, which complicates how the relationships unfold in the local contexts of Negril.

I went to Negril with many preconceived assumptions about the relationships and the people involved, such as the idea that foreign women were naïve and ignorant of the economic aspects of the relationships, and that Jamaican men could only be self-interested and driven by monetary gain. The process of ethnographic fieldwork enabled me to learn about the issues and stigmas associated with certain labels and stereotypes, to realize that both Jamaican men and foreign women strongly disagreed with such labels, which opened up new avenues of inquiry that I did not consider before I engaged in fieldwork. In the next section, I will detail my research processes, and will elaborate further upon the usefulness of ethnographic research as a method of analysis in the study of relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men.

Methodology

My curiosity for this topic originated during my two prior visits to Jamaica in 2013 and 2014. During my first trip I backpacked around the island with two of my female friends, stopping in Ocho Rios, Port Antonio and finally in Negril. I remember being amazed by how

many foreign women I saw openly engaging in relationships with Jamaican men, particularly around Negril. Relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men appeared to be much more visible in contrast to relationships between foreign men and Jamaican women. Once I had returned home I immediately started planning my next trip the following year, during which time I traveled to Negril alone. It was during this trip that I began making contacts with Negril residents, and during which time I decided that I would pursue further research on this topic, as I was about to start my MA in Political Economy.

This thesis is thus based on the 4 months I later spent conducting ethnographic fieldwork in Negril, Jamaica from September 2015 until January 2016. In the months leading up to my departure I considered my options for living arrangements based on the budget I was working with, amenities, and location. While it would have been cheaper to live in White Hall, or in one of the surrounding communities a short distance from the tourist district, I decided that it would be more beneficial to live on beach road, where all the major resorts are strewn along 7-mile beach. Most of the major hotels, restaurants, bars and clubs were within walking distance, as well as the famous 7-mile beach, arguably the most popular tourist attraction on the island, making Negril an appropriate choice for the research I wished to pursue.

Suitable living arrangements were challenging for me to find in the first few months of my fieldwork. My assumption arriving in Negril was that this would be easy enough to obtain considering that Negril is one of the more popular tourist destinations in Jamaica. I learned quickly that this was not the case, especially along beach road, which is more equipped for short-stay tourists, and foreign residents or long-stay travelers with the economic means. I moved around a few times during my first few months of fieldwork, which turned out to be beneficial because I found myself in an apartment complex and a cottage site where relationships were

unfolding all around me. Every now and then a new foreign woman would arrive in town to cohabitate with her Jamaican lover. I never imagined that the places where I would live would be spaces of transnational and cross-cultural relationships similar to the beach and clubs. Based on my living arrangements that were in close proximity to the beach, I was able to meet people easily once both foreign women and Jamaican men began to recognize me and become more familiar with me everyday.

Fieldwork consisted of a few methods of gathering data and information, such as interviews, participant observation, informal conversation, and field notes. Participant observation involved consistently visiting sites that Jamaican men and foreign women frequented. The main locations were the 7-mile beach, popular bars and clubs, after hour bars and strip clubs, parties and special events. While these were the more obvious locations where it was easy to spot Jamaican men and foreign women seeking to meet one another, the connections could be spotted all over town, and as I mentioned earlier, even in places that I did not expect to find it such as the apartment complex and the cottage site I lived in.

Informal conversations happened frequently, and I came to find this form of research to be very insightful due to the fact that it was unplanned, spontaneous and open-ended. Conversations were always on a range of topics, but for the most part we discussed the nature of relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men. Most Jamaicans who I spoke to about my research had some input on the relationships, and they were eager to tell me all about “the running’s” (a term used to refer to the particular situation for affective/economic relationships in Negril), and their personal opinions on the matter. But I also learned a lot about working conditions in Jamaica, poverty, social and political issues, life narratives, experiences of violence, the meaning of lyrics in popular music, hopes and dreams for the future, Jamaican

pride, happy memories of growing up in Jamaica, and so much more. When it came to informal conversations with foreign women, the topics differed. Mostly we discussed the circumstances of their relationships, and the anxieties they felt towards their partners. Women shared experiences of being treated as an outsider in Negril, insights on Jamaican men and Jamaican women, stories of how they ended up becoming frequent visitors, and what their lives were/are like back in their home countries. Through informal conversation I also learned that people viewed these relationships as special and different specifically because they were happening in Negril. All of my participants seemed to view Negril as a place where authentic relationships are not possible as they think that all relationships, romantic or otherwise, eventually turn to money. Through the process of informal conversation I was also able to have ongoing discussions with my participants. I could hear about how their relationships developed, and how their feelings shifted over time. For instance, a few of my participants worried that their lovers were cheating on them. Some days I would hear about the fights they were having, some days the women had had enough, and were no longer speaking with the men. They would convey how angry they were for being cheated, and they felt “thieved” in these instances for all the gifts and the money they had previously shared with their partner throughout the relationship. But eventually, they would forgive their lovers, take them back and then forget about hurt feelings. When this happened, money was no longer in question. I made meticulous notes on these conversations everyday. They provide a frame of reference for the recorded interviews, and I will be drawing on them throughout this thesis.

In addition to these informal conversations with dozens of Jamaican men and foreign women, I also conducted more formal, tape-recorded interviews. I interviewed a total of 13 people, including six foreign women, four Jamaican men, and three other participants who were

long-time, regular visitors of Negril. Interviews typically ranged from 30 minutes to 2 hours. I found that my interviews with foreign women were far longer than the interviews with Jamaican men. Originally I set out to talk to Jamaican men in relationships with foreign women, and foreign women in relationships with Jamaican men, although during my fieldwork I decided to also interview two foreign male tourists as well, both of whom have been visiting Negril for over 40 years. While I sought to interview foreign women in relationships with Jamaican men, I also interviewed one female tourist who has been visiting for 30 years and is married to another Negril visitor. I chose to pursue these additional interviews due to the extensive travel experience these visitors have in Negril. Their interviews provided me with insights on Negril before the tourism industry was fully established, and of the different changes they have witnessed over the years. One of the interviewees from the United States has had relationships with Jamaican women, so his interview gave me the opportunity to learn about possible similarities and differences in contrast to relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men. The other two interviewees from the United States have brought hundreds of friends and family on vacation with them over the years, and some of their friends have married and/or have had relationships with Jamaican men and women. They had many insights to share with me from an outside perspective of the relationships. Interviews with foreign tourist men tended to revolve around perspectives and experiences in Negril, what brought them there originally and what brought them back as return visitors, and their perspectives on relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men, as well as perspectives on Jamaica, Jamaican men, and Jamaican women. Of the foreign women I interviewed who had relationship experiences with Jamaican men were from Canada, Germany, England and the United States.

Every week I would aim to spend three days walking up and down the beach, and three nights visiting the local clubs and bars. I observed the scenes, and people, how they interacted, who they interacted with, and I met people, who I later had interviews and informal conversations with. I knew it would be important to be patient with people, since most of the people I was surrounded by were people who were relaxed and on vacation, not interested in being rushed. My focus was on building relationships rather than enlist people for interviews and I found that informal conversations and more in-depth interviews flowed naturally from building meaningful relationships and connections. I also found interesting new avenues of inquiry by this method, because I was not simply conducting interviews and then moving on to the next participant. I learned early on not to turn down unique opportunities to travel up into the cliffs with local friends, to take new routes, and meet new people, in order to stick to a regimented schedule. “Going with the flow” was absolutely essential to learning more about things I could not have anticipated, and to meeting new people. I gained a more in-depth understanding of many different aspects of life in the transnational town of Negril, such as (but not limited to): gender relations, constructions and performances of masculinity, economic issues, working conditions, social issues with public health care access and education, different social spaces (local versus tourist), and tactics and methods of “courting” foreign women, and of avoiding Jamaican men. Everything was a puzzle piece, and some things that I learned early on seemed unimportant at first, but I later realized its significance. I often tell people, “I felt like a detective,” constantly alert, watching, observing, and shuffling ideas and theories. I also wrote detailed field notes about my observations and conversations, which I will be drawing on throughout this thesis.

Ethnographic research was ideal for this particular project since there is still very little research on transnational and cross-cultural relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men (but see de Albuquerque 1998, Pruitt and LaFont 1995, Sanchez Taylor 2006). There is especially very little research on these relationships within the contexts of Negril (for exceptions see Sanchez Taylor 2001 & 2006, Johnson 2012). While my disciplinary focus is in Political Economy, I chose to engage with ethnographic scholarship and to utilize ethnography as my method of analysis in order to tap into the improvisational opportunities of anthropology (Malkki 2007). According to Lisa Malkki, “Not only are anthropologists provoked into methodological and epistemological self-reflection, but non-anthropologists, too, improvising with methods taken from ethnography, can create something new and different” (163). Ethnography allows the researcher to engage directly with the people who are personally involved, and affected by the phenomenon being studied, which implies a more holistic approach to knowledge production compared to quantitative methods. Using an ethnographic process was also ideal in the sense that I was able to keep in touch with my participants and witness developments in their relationships, which sometimes prompted new lines of inquiry that I had not previously anticipated. Long-term direct engagement brought about the added benefit that I could witness the ambiguity and nuances that are present within these complex relations.

This research is very focused on personal aspects of people’s lives, and both foreign women and Jamaican men who seek and develop relationships through tourism are stigmatized and labeled by other community members and visitors. Due to the sensitive nature of the topic in question, I spent time developing relationships and connections with people until they felt comfortable enough to discuss their relationships and experiences with me. While ethnographic research allowed me to learn more about my participants and their relationships as they unfolded,

this was not always easy to achieve. For instance, foreign women in relationships with Jamaican men are often stigmatized. They are viewed and referred to as vulnerable women, and as women who are being taken advantage of. It is always assumed that the woman is paying for this relationship, and that they are not capable of finding a suitable partner back home. Regularly during informal conversation, both locals and other foreign visitors discussed foreign women as if they were foolish and naïve. For instance, I met a Canadian man on the beach who has been a regular visitor and small business owner in Negril for over 10 years. He told me he felt sorry for foreign women who take up relationships with Jamaican men because they are vulnerable, and they are always taken advantage of at some point. He said, “everyone here wants money, and that’s the reality.” I believe these perspectives of foreign women in relationships with Jamaican men played a role in their (un) willingness to open up about their experiences with me. I found early on in my fieldwork that foreign women were always difficult to approach, and I was turned down for interviews a few times. In some cases, foreign women did not want to disclose details about their relationships based on fear that the men would find out that they were talking about them. Some of the women I encountered had bad experiences in their relationships and while they shared certain stories with me they completely ruled out the possibility of going on record, even though I promised to protect their anonymity. I will never forget what one woman who I had the opportunity to sit with on numerous occasions for informal conversation said to me, “They’ll kill you here.” She went on to explain that in Negril everyone knows everyone else’s business. No matter how much you trust someone information travels easily, and you do not want to upset the wrong person by publicizing their personal life story. Concerns pertaining to danger and violence in Jamaica such as the one detailed above came up constantly in my interviews and conversations. As will be further discussed in the following chapters, the

economic tensions in Jamaica, the tense pursuit of foreign women in Negril, and the sometimes aggressive and violent expressions associated with dominant performances and expressions of Jamaican masculinity created safety issues and concerns for foreign visitors and particularly women. However, I also learned that the relationship between danger and violence was not as straightforward or predictable as previously assumed. This sometimes made it difficult for me to find participants to interview. In contrast, Jamaican men were far easier to share discussions and conversations with.

Frequently throughout my field notes I would write about how much easier it was for me to speak with Jamaican men rather than foreign women. There were a few reasons for this, firstly I had my fieldwork primarily during slow season so there were fewer women to approach during this time compared to Jamaican men. Of course it was also easier to speak with Jamaican men due to the fact that they approached me regularly as I was constantly viewed just as any other foreign female visitor to Negril: an opportunity. Jamaican men were more open to discussing their relationships with me, but I quickly learned that in some cases, men would discuss their relationships with me as an opportunity to sit with me and get to know me. In a few cases I had to break ties with regular participants when it became clear to me that they were trying to initiate a relationship. Jamaican men are also stigmatized for being in relationships with foreign women, but there are other reasons for their stigmatization. In this case, men are seen as the ones who are victimizing the vulnerable foreign women, and only interested in money. One Jamaican woman I spoke with told me that foreign women are “crazy” because the men who they fall for are men who Jamaican women would never be interested in pursuing a relationship with. In her words, she told me that Jamaican men are “dead beats. They’re trying to do nothing with their lives and make money for it. They don’t want to work, a lot of these guys they just want to find a woman

who will support them.” They are also often labeled as gigolos, rent-a-dreads, and beach hustlers. However, in contrast to foreign women, Jamaican men were not concerned about speaking with me and sharing details about their relationships. The stigma associated with Jamaican men did not seem to hinder my ability to interview and speak with them, as they were eager to speak with me either to correct rumours, which portrayed them as gigolos and as exploitative, or because they considered me as an “opportunity”, that is a potential woman to flirt with.

Before heading to Negril, I imagined at the onset that I would be speaking with a lot of older white women in the age range of 40-60 years old, and Jamaican men who identified as gigolos or hustlers, in the age range of 20-40 years old. I also thought that the women would be short-stay visitors primarily, and I expected the women to be ignorant of the social and economic issues faced by the Jamaican men who they were in relationships with. In reality, not all of the foreign women in Negril were white, there were also black foreign women who were still desired and pursued by Jamaican men due to the fact that Jamaican men idealized their Western lifestyle,² their perceived wealth as foreigners, and their global mobility. Therefore the conceptualization of whiteness used throughout this thesis is of a certain kind of status and privilege, which is more than just skin colour, however it is often conflated with skin colour. Also, despite my prior assumptions, the women ranged from age 25-83, and I was taken aback by how much insight they had not only on the circumstances of life in Jamaica and Negril, but also on the reality of their own relationships. They were mostly aware of key social, economic, and historical issues in Jamaica. I assume this can partly be attributed to the fact that all of my participants are experienced in Negril, and have traveled to the area for many years gaining knowledge and insight about the circumstances of their relationships. Short stay visitors were

² Throughout this thesis I discuss the Western lifestyle as something that foreign women have and that Jamaican men desire. What I mean by this term is that Jamaican men associate Westerners as having a lifestyle of unbridled economic opportunity and transnational mobility as part of their privileged Western citizenship.

difficult to interview since they were not in town for long, and as such I was unable to interview them. It was much more possible to build connections with women who were long-stay visitors, residents and frequent visitors. Two of the women I interviewed are now foreign residents. Two women are such frequent visitors that they are practically residents, staying in Negril 8 months out of the year. Three of the women are frequent visitors, visiting every year between 1-5 times a year for different durations ranging from a week to 6 months. The typical questions I would ask tourist women were questions about themselves, country of residence, age, education, type of employment they had, relationship status, their experiences traveling through Jamaica and visiting Negril, what brought them to Negril, how they traveled around, the accommodations they chose, perspectives and perceptions of Jamaica, Jamaican men and women, and aspects of their relationships with Jamaican men (see appendix B for a full list of interview questions.) Mainly I was interested in learning more about their relationships, their experiences in Negril, and their perspectives on Jamaican men and on traveling in Jamaica.

One of my interviewees, Mike, is in his 20's and was originally a resident of Mandeville before he moved to Negril. He met his German wife in Negril, and had married her on the beach during the course of my fieldwork. Another interviewee, Nigel is an older Rastafarian man born and raised in Negril. He had been in a few long-term relationships with foreign women. Earl is a Jamaican man who used to live in Negril, and was regularly meeting foreign women on the beach, but had to move to a neighbouring town due to the high costs associated with life in Negril. And finally Nick is an interesting Jamaican interviewee. He was born and raised in Savannah La Mar, but moved to the States to attend university in his mid 20s. He lived there for 10 years before returning to Jamaica to live in Negril. He too married his foreign wife during the course of my fieldwork. The typical questions I would ask Jamaican men were questions about

themselves, where they are from, their age, education, employment, income, and relationships status, what brought them to Negril, the challenges and benefits of life in Negril, perceptions of Jamaican men and women, tourist men and women, and specifics on their relationships with foreign women (for a full list of interview questions please see appendix A). What I was most interested in learning about was their experiences and relationships with foreign women, perspectives of foreign women and on life in Negril, and of growing up in Jamaica.

Originally I set out to interview an equal number of Jamaican men and foreign women, although I learned early on that interviews with some Jamaican men would be challenging. My first interview with a Jamaican man seemed to go very well. The interview was long and detailed, he felt comfortable to share an array of experiences he had had with foreign women. Once the interview was over we both went our separate ways. That night I received some sexually explicit text messages from him, and on a few other occasions afterwards, he texted my phone to request that I set him up on a date with one of my foreign friends. Experiences such as these are quite revealing in light of Jamaican men's distancing from terminology such as gigolo and rent-a-dread, yet at the same time the frequency and the tension involved in the pursuit of foreign women reveals how appealing the idea of a relationship with a foreign woman can be. While these issues presented themselves from time to time, I learned from each experience, and became more aware as I continued my research. While I still had many meaningful informal conversations with Jamaican male friends and participants and four insightful interviews, experiences such as the one detailed above reminded me that the fact that I was a white foreign woman similar to all the other women I was seeking to interview, mattered. Throughout my fieldwork I reflected on my social position and subjectivity in the contexts of Negril.

Subjectivity

In ethnography the researcher is not on the outskirts looking in on the social phenomenon they are researching, but rather they are imbued and implicated in the same social structures and power politics as the individuals from whom they are gathering interviews and observations. As someone who has decided to embark on this research at a fairly young age, in the beginning stages I felt anxious as I wondered whether I had enough life experience (or academic experience for that matter) to be successful in my work. It is not until recently that I realized that there might be different strengths in the perspective of a young 20-something white female researcher. After all, I grew up in Ottawa, Canada, in a place and a time during which globalization has made it possible to cross paths with people from diverse backgrounds.

Up until recently it has not quite struck me just how much I myself (as well as my participants) have been in relationships that are bolstered in similar complex interactions of racialization, gender, nationality, citizenship, and economics that transcend experiences and relationships in tourism. For instance, the hypersexualization, and hyper-masculinization of black men is something that I have witnessed and experienced regularly growing up in multicultural Ottawa. The vocalization of desires for black men is not something that I have only witnessed in popular culture, but on a daily basis as well. A saying that has become common parlance amongst young women, “once you go black you never go back” suggests the very desire to be changed by an “Other” who is perceived in stark contrast to white men, and whose sexual virility is perceived to be so different, desirable, and more primitive. I have had conversations with friends both past and present, whom upon having their first experience with a black man, have gone on to only date and have sex with black men. I have also spent time in spaces, such as clubs, bars and restaurants where I was the only white woman, and I was courted

and charmed as an “Other” in an unfamiliar and new place. And quite possibly the assumption of me in such spaces has likely been that as a white woman in this space, I am there specifically to find a black man to experience a new and different sexuality. I have even come to find that these types of interactions are not only reserved for certain spaces such as bars and clubs that play Jamaican Caribbean music, and are primarily frequented by individuals who have migrated from countries in Africa, and the Caribbean. For instance, as I was exercising in the park by my apartment a few weeks ago, I was approached by a young man who struck up a conversation with me. During this conversation I learned that he had moved to Canada from Central Africa, and that he was excited at this unique opportunity to have a conversation with a white woman. They had never been so accessible to him before he moved from Africa, during which time he admired and desired from afar but could only keep his distance as a young man. These racial desires guided by idealizations and stereotypes of the “Other” are not specific to the contexts of transnational, cross-cultural, interracial relationships in Jamaica, or other parts of the Caribbean, or South America, or Africa for that matter, but rather, as a result of globalization they transcend tourism relations. I have had many years of similar experiences before, during, and after my fieldwork, and these experiences have provided me with a unique standpoint in my work, and in building connections in the field. These desires are inscribed within a wider political economy of desires, where whiteness has come to denote power, capital and status. For instance, anthropologist Karen Kelsky details the phenomenon of the “yellow cab movement” during which time a population of Japanese women began pursuing foreign black and white men abroad for short-term sexual affairs. These pursuits were guided by mythic images of the white/Western man, portrayed as an “object of desire and agent of change” (134). White men are seen as an embodiment of the Western cosmopolitan lifestyle, and a status symbol of upward mobility.

Similarly, based on observations I have made in my research, and based on similar experiences such as the one detailed above, white women are also viewed as “gatekeepers” in a sense, to a Western cosmopolitan lifestyle, and as a status symbol of upward social mobility. For this reason white women are also actively sought after by local black men in Jamaica, and also in diverse countries and cities such as Ottawa, Canada. However, while there are clear similarities to the racialization of desire as it takes place in Jamaica and Canada, it is important to note that there are still vast differences due to distinctive socio-economic contexts in Canada and Jamaica, and the fact that most people do not have the privilege or the means to immigrate to North America. Furthermore, the racialization of desire for both whiteness and blackness has historical significance grounded in a colonial legacy, which will be further developed throughout this thesis.

Much of the research on FST is either missing or lacking a discussion around positionality of the researcher in the field, especially when the majority of researchers on the topic of FST (and the researchers who have inspired my interest in this subject) hold similar, if not the same powers of economic position, nationality, and citizenship, as the female tourists they are studying. Their own visibility as “foreign women with access” (Gross 2013) means that they will be approached, perceived, and interacted with in the same sense that other foreign tourist women would be. In other words, their status as ‘researcher’ does not exempt them from being pursued and considered as an opportunity by local men, nor does it remove their implicitness in the various power relations that are enacted by transnational, cross-cultural, and interracial interactions in tourist towns. This is something that Frohlick (2008) highlights in her ethnographic research on FST in Costa Rica. She suggests that the propensity of researchers to disregard their own “sexual and erotic dimensions” of experience and identity in the field is

cause for concern, as regardless of whether or not we as researchers choose to engage in intimate relations while in the field, we will still be positioned sexually and opportunistically by local men (20). I made many notes and observations regarding my experiences as a white female traveler in Negril. Constantly and on a daily basis I received a lot of attention, and a few marriage proposals. I was regularly asked, “Do you have a Jamaican boyfriend yet?” And I am certain that I owe my luck with Jamaican male participants and friends to the fact that I am a young, white, heterosexual Canadian woman. During my fieldwork, I met a middle-aged Canadian man with whom I had some insightful conversations. At one point he said to me, “if I didn’t know any better I would think that you’re a white girl taking this opportunity to meet black guys.” I was constantly viewed and treated just the same as any foreign female visitor. According to Erica Williams (2013) “the specter of sex tourism” refers to the circumstances in transnational tourist towns such as Bahia in Brazil, and I would argue Negril as well (3). In these spaces there are “broad and wide ranging implications of sex tourism that go far beyond the self-avowed “sex workers” or “sex tourists” (3). Due to the contextual meanings attributed to race and sexuality, and the rate at which transnational and cross-cultural relationships and encounters take place, both visitors and locals may experience a “lack of clarity,” in which all relationships and all encounters become suspect. For instance, all relationships that take place between foreigners and locals may appear suspicious, or inauthentic as it is anticipated that there is an exchange of sex for money taking place. Williams (2013) shares accounts of foreign women who wondered whether their partner’s feelings were legitimate upon learning about the types of economic-intimate exchanges that take place in Bahia. Similarly in my own research, a few of my foreign female participants often shared concerns that their Jamaican boyfriends did not really love them outside of a relationship once the relationship became shrouded in intimate and

economic exchanges. Due to such uncertainties and suspicions regarding the relationships in my research, they are best understood as ambiguous. While many people knew about my research I learned early on that there were some people whom I could not convince that this was the central concern for my visit. Some people thought I had ulterior motives. In Chapter 3, *Imagining Negril*, I share a vignette, which demonstrates this very point that I could not escape the stereotype of the foreign female sex tourist.

Chapter Overview

Chapter 1 “The Political Economy of Tourism in Jamaica,” seeks to historicize the political economy of the tourism industry in Jamaica, and to connect the broader structural effects of the political economy to the local and situated experiences, practices and subjective understandings of relationships in Negril. This chapter will provide an overview of colonialism in Jamaica, the Jamaican economy post-independence, particularly as it relates to tourism, working conditions and the informal economy, as well as a consideration of crime and violence, and gender and sexuality in the region. Chapter 2 “Imagining Negril,” will provide an overview of the town where my fieldwork took place. Here I will share how and when Negril was originally established as a tourist town. I will also share how tourists, locals, Jamaicans in neighbouring parishes, and foreign residents perceive Negril. Chapter 3 “Tourism-Based Relationships between Foreign Women and Jamaican Men,” focuses on the key findings of the relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men in Negril. First I will consider the main arguments in FST scholarship, and then contextualize these arguments based on my key findings on three themes: post-colonial relationships, exploitation, and gender, power and mobility. Chapter 4 “Negotiating Jamaican Masculinity and Public Space in Negril,” considers how local understandings of Jamaican masculinity is dominant in gender relations, how public spaces in

Negril such as the street and the dancehall are considered masculine domains, and how foreign women and their mobility in these spaces can be affected by male power. I will demonstrate here how violence, danger and the imagery of the gun shapes, impacts, and infringes on foreign women's capacity to access the freedom and independence that they once associated with travel and Jamaican culture. Finally, in Chapter 5 "Power and Games," I will argue that the negotiations of power that take place in relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men are not straightforward. While the previous chapter details the local power associated with Jamaican masculinity, and how this complicates foreign women's economic and racial power, this chapter further nuances power by suggesting that foreign women learn how relationships and gender function in the local contexts in order to get what it is that they desire from their relationships with Jamaican men.

Chapter 1

The Political Economy of Tourism in Jamaica

In Mark Padilla's work, *Caribbean Pleasure Industry: tourism, sexuality and AIDS in the Dominican Republic* (2007), he links the large-scale shifts concerning the global political economy with the local, day-to-day experiences and practices, and subjective understandings of the life events of his participants. As Padilla suggests, the macro structural trends of the contemporary globalized world are not as regularly connected back to the subjective experiences and local meanings of specific cultural settings. However, by engaging this intersection of the local and global, we are better capable of understanding the link between the Caribbean tourism industry and its stake in the global economy, and changing constructions and experiences of race, sexuality, gender, and nationality in the Caribbean. Following in suit with Padilla's work, I will begin to layout the political economy of Jamaica, such as colonialism, early settler economies, and 20th C. economies, tourism and the informal sector, crime and a history of violence, and sexuality and gender relations, in order to contrast the significance of large scale cultural, political, historical and economic shifts, with local and situated experiences, practices and subjective understandings of relationships in Negril, a transnational tourist town.

Throughout this thesis I also apply a historical framework to the contemporary circumstances of the relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men. History has played a fundamental role in shaping contemporary intimate relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men, and is particularly evident in consideration of the racialized meanings attributed to white foreign women as sexually liberated, wealthy and globally mobile subjects, and local black Jamaican men as hypersexual, and hypermasculine subjects. These understandings echo the racialized understandings of "whiteness" and "blackness" applied

during earlier colonial encounters, and therefore a historical framework is necessary in order to gain broader understanding of these relationships and the complex daily negotiations of power.

Colonialism/Early Economy

Jamaicans are the decedents of African slaves, who were captured and shipped to Jamaica and forced to labour in the slave/plantation economy, as well as the Indigenous Taino, and European colonialists (Sherlock & Bennett 1998, Delle, Hauser & Armstrong 2011). This global movement began during the Spanish crown colonization of Jamaica throughout the 15th and 16th centuries, and continued to grow during British colonial rule in the 17th and 18th centuries (Delle, Hauser & Armstrong 2011, Sherlock & Bennett 88). The sugar industry was the backbone of the Jamaican economy into the 18th C although cocoa and coffee were also a strong part of the early export economy (Delle, Hauser & Armstrong 2011). Slave rebellions in Jamaica began with the first groups of maroons³ in Spanish Jamaica, and strengthened as the population of African slaves out-numbered the European colonialists into the 18th C. due to a growing sugar and slave/plantation economy (Sherlock & Bennett 133, 1998). The rebellions played a huge role in the 1834 abolition of slavery in the British Empire (Johnson 16, 2012). Sugar exports declined with the ushering in of a new free trade system based on liberal principles in 1846 (Delle, Hauser & Armstrong 18, 2011). The banana became Jamaica's largest export by 1880, and tourism to the island was an adjunct to the banana exports, although in its beginning phases travel by steam ship was only reserved for wealthy travelers, and trips to and from the island took as long as 2 weeks by steam ship (Taylor 1993). Jamaica transitioned from colonial conditions to Independence from Britain in 1962 (Sherlock & Bennett 371, 1998). Outside of British colonialism in India, Jamaica's economy was considered "the largest and wealthiest of Britain's

³ Maroons were enslaved Africans who escaped captivity, and fought a series of wars in order to maintain their freedom (Delle, Hauser & Armstrong, 145).

former possessions,” and it is still shaped by the early influences of slavery, as well as the continued neocolonial and neoliberal project under the auspices of the World Bank and the IMF, which keeps Jamaica impoverished and economically dependent (Dearden 2013, Sherlock & Bennett 1, 1998).

Jamaican Economy, Tourism and Informality

Tourism in the 1950s became another leading source of revenue for Jamaica especially due to advancements in air travel and affordable packages of all-inclusive resorts (Sherlock & Bennett 381, 1998, Pattullo 15, 1996). By the 1970s agriculture and manufacturing output had declined dramatically. In 1972, Prime Minister Michael Manley began to implement policies of “democratic socialism” such as reducing dependence on foreign capital, and improving workers rights with better wages and higher rates of employment (Gafar 241, 1997). Due to detrimental circumstances of the economy such as decreases in exports and remittances during the global crisis around petroleum and finance, the Manley government was forced to sign onto a structural adjustment programme under the auspices of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in 1977 as a last resort (Johnson 19, Gafar 241, 1997). In 2002 and 2003 the government debt had reached 150 percent of GDP, making Jamaica one of the most indebted countries in the world “spending twice as much on debt payments as it does on education and health care combined” (World Bank 1, Dearden 2013). Into the 1990s, while debt began to increase and sugar and bauxite exports began to dwindle, the IMF promoted tourism for Jamaica and politicians dubbed the tourism industry as “the engine of growth” (Pattullo 5, 1996). However, based on a report by the World Travel & Tourism Council (2015), the contribution of travel and tourism to the GDP was JMD128.3bn (just 8.1 percent total GDP). Despite the hopes placed on the growth of the tourism industry, Jamaica was recently named one of the slowest

growing developing countries in the world, and continues to accept loans meant to “help” with debt payments, creating more debt in a country whose economy has been frozen since 1990 (The World Bank 2016, Dearden 2013).

Overall unemployment rates are at 13.5 percent; specifically affecting Jamaican youth (30.3 percent), followed by women (18.5 percent), and then men (9.3 percent) (The World Bank 2016). While statistics are helpful for giving a general idea of unemployment rates in Jamaica, they do a poor job deciphering what this really means based on the reality of working conditions. For instance, tourism is the main formal industry employing over 100,000 Jamaicans, as well as benefitting other local industries in agriculture, manufacturing, service and retail (Oxford Economics 2012). However, tourism is largely based on seasonal aspects, which creates unstable working conditions and income. There are four months during the year beginning roughly in mid-December to the end of April, during which time the tourism season is at its highest point. Outside of these months, working conditions pertaining to the tourism industry are precarious and uncertain at best. According to the International Labour Organization (ILO 2014, 5):

In such a poorly performing economy where the insufficient benefits are unequally distributed and with a government whose limited fiscal resources are pre-empted by debt payments, economic hardship drives the working poor, the unemployed, those who have withdrawn from the labour force, and vulnerable individuals with limited abilities for work to create their own livelihoods for survival.

In March of this year, the national minimum wage in Jamaica was increased from 5,600JAD to 6,200JAD per 40-hour workweek (roughly 64CAD), and 155JAD per hour (roughly 1.60CAD) (Jamaican Observer, 2016). This means that even for those who are fortunate enough to have access to paid work an average working day does not do much to satiate all the basic needs for a comfortable living. Furthermore, during my research I heard about some troubling practices initiated by employers, such as competition for job positions by accepting

smaller wages. What is clear is that employment rates are one thing, but if the employment you have is barely enough to sustain your livelihood on its own, then it is little wonder that remittances from migrants and informal work together stand as the main earner of gross foreign exchange (ILO 2014). The International Labour Organization estimates that Jamaica's informal economy accounts for 43 percent of the GDP (this does not include illegal activities), which means that the informal economy contributes to just under half of the GDP on its own.

During my time in Negril I witnessed a lot of creative and informal activities used to supplement, and even entirely satisfy income needs. For instance many Jamaicans are playing their luck by gambling to survive. Cash pot is a popular lottery game across the island, participants have a 36:1 odd of winning, and the earnings are 260\$ per 10\$ wager (10\$ is the bare minimum you can bet on in order to play). If you were to bet 260JAD (roughly 2.70CAD) and your number was chosen you would win 5,200JAD (roughly 54CAD), which is almost equal to a full minimum wage workweek. According to a recent article published in the Jamaican Gleaner, many Jamaicans with limited options try their luck with cash pot in order to supplement their incomes (Robinson 2015). Of course illicit activities such as dealing marijuana and illegal substances, especially to tourists is one major income generator, as well as independent entrepreneurial ventures such as tour guide services, selling hand made food and crafts on the beach, as well as selling music and CDs. These opportunities and so many more are aligned with the endless possibilities found on the margins of the tourism industry. Jamaican men will commonly wander the beachfront in Negril and approach and introduce themselves to foreign female visitors. With an entrepreneurial demeanour, they politely introduce themselves, hold their hand out gesturing for a handshake, and then hold on to your hand while they engage you and then lead into the services they can offer you. More commonly now, some men have

professional business cards outlining their tour guide services, and some of them use their business cards from their formal jobs in the tourism industry in order to attempt to find independent work initiatives.

Jamaicans access a lot of opportunities through tourists, and in many instances these opportunities transformed into intimate relationships. During the course of my fieldwork Jamaican men would initially strike up a conversation with me and ask if I needed a boyfriend or intimate company. When I would refuse the offer, immediately the question would turn to friendship. For instance I was on the beach mid-day towards the end of December, trying to get in a quick workout. I noticed out of the corner of my eye a Jamaican man was watching me. He kept moving in closer and eventually he was right in front of me. I could tell he was trying to get my attention, but I had my music in my ears so I tried to carry on with my workout. Ten more minutes must have passed before I realized he was not going to leave, so I took my music out of my ears, and annoyed I asked, "Can I help you?" The man on the beach replied, "yes you can help me, I would like the chance to get to know you, I would like to hang out with you, I would like your number." I replied, "I am sorry but I am leaving in a few days." He said, "I just want to show you some respect, I would like to be your friend in that case and keep in touch. When are you coming back?" This story is one of many instances in which I was approached for the prospect of a relationship. I came to find that typically the men would ask questions to find out if I had a Jamaican boyfriend already, or if I needed one. Once I turned down the offer for a more intimate relationship, the question always turned to friendship. The Jamaican man's insistence on forming a relationship with me, whether intimate or for friendship, illuminates the importance of relationships in the local informal economy, and it also reflects the opportunities that foreign women represent for Jamaican men.

This incident thus suggests that it is not just intimate and sexual relationships that are sought after by Jamaican men, but all types of affective relationships. Many Jamaicans work in the tourism sector or on the margins of the tourism sector such as hustling on the beach, and they meet foreigners regularly to the point that they report feeling more strongly affiliated with foreigners than with other Jamaicans. I asked a friend of mine why it is that he prefers to hang around with tourists, and he said his work and his life revolves around tourists. Another friend of mine claimed that from a very young age, his grandpa encouraged him to surround himself with foreigners instead of Jamaicans in order to inherit a similar lifestyle. One informant named Nick said, “you know the saying, the people you hang out with are whom you identify with. Especially when you’re surrounded by people who want, they don’t have no income, they don’t have no education, they’re not cultured, they don’t have good manners, they easily resort to violence if you have a disagreement...” It is clear that working in tourism, and connecting with tourists not just through intimate and sexual relationships, but also through friendships and business relationships and partnerships, offers a key access point to a global cosmopolitan and idealized Western lifestyle. The Jamaicans who I considered to be more “Americanized” and easier to connect with cross-culturally, I termed “the famous Jamaicans” because they were well known throughout Negril by both locals and foreign visitors, and it was common to see them around town with different foreigners on a daily and weekly basis. Their connections and relationships with tourists has brought them a wealth of opportunities, such as travel and business opportunities, gifts, and increased income, and some of the men I know have met their foreign wives and girlfriends through their foreign friends. One of my Jamaican male friends received so many gifts from various friends who visited him just during the four months of my fieldwork that I often called his friends his “fans” and I noticed similar trends taking place for

other Jamaican men as well. In this sense, gifts and income received from foreign friends, not just lovers, plays an important role in the political economy.

The Jamaican tourism industry is the main employer in the formal economy and a huge contributor to the overall GDP. However, Jamaica remains heavily vulnerable economically, and the high poverty rate and huge debt contribute to “volatile and sometimes violent social conditions” which creates problems for the tourism industry and economic growth (World Travel and Tourism Council 2015, Pattullo 47). Throughout the years leading up to my fieldwork, friends, family, and colleagues would tell me stories and facts about the crime and violence in Jamaica, and urged me to be careful. During my fieldwork, both foreign women and men alike shared stories and experiences with me in which they experienced violence or crime during their visit to Jamaica, or stories they had heard from other tourists. In many cases, the Jamaican men I interviewed also shared with me life narratives in which they had escaped violent and abusive situations in their hometowns. Many of these men traveled to Negril in the hopes that they could escape violence and find opportunities for social mobility. In each of these instances it became increasingly clear to me that violence and danger would be important to consider in light of the growing tourism industry in Negril, as well as in terms of foreign women’s relationships and their mobility in Negril.

Crime and a History of Violence

On June 11, 2016, *The Jamaican Gleaner* published a short article outlining very few details regarding the shooting of a Canadian tourist in the popular resort town of Negril. The comment section of the article is filled with posts by people who describe themselves as repeat visitors who upon reading the news are “fed up” with the lack of safety for foreign visitors. One commenter says “after seeing this, I think I will spend my hard earned money elsewhere.”

Another post reads: “It won’t be long until tourists stop coming there,” and suggests to the reader to visit Cuba instead. Crime is constantly referenced as the leading deterrent to tourism and economic growth in Jamaica, and Jamaica is constantly represented in popular culture as a less than desirable vacation spot compared to other “safer” destinations in the Caribbean region, such as Costa Rica (Cassidy and Rabbitt 2014). Certainly Jamaica does suffer from issues with violent crime. While 2014 saw an overall decrease in murders and other serious crimes the homicide rate is still one of the highest per capita national homicide rates in the world at 36/100,000 (OSAC 2015). What is interesting is that rarely does violent crime affect visitors to Jamaica. While there are no statistics to outline crime against foreigners in general, according to The United States Department of State (OSAC 2015), in 2014 “five US citizens were murdered, 36 reported robberies, three reported rape and/or sexual assault, 14 reported aggravated assault, five reported kidnapping (or attempted kidnapping), 10 reports of domestic violence, nine reports of child abuse, and seven other crimes related to harassment and scamming were reported.” While it is not my intention to undermine the seriousness of the above instances, it is clear that the effects of violent crime in Jamaica are a far greater risk towards other Jamaicans. The majority of incidences of crime against foreigners are mostly petty theft and robbery. Polly Pattullo (1996) argues that it is the fear of becoming a victim that bothers tourists, and that fear is widely mitigated by representations of other places. Crime and violence is most definitely an underlining aspect of many Jamaicans livelihoods and is particularly attributed to internal conflicts, such as drug dealing, politics, retribution, unemployment and underemployment, low socio-economic circumstances and institutionalized corruption (Pattullo 97, Mayne 2015).

Violence and crime in Jamaica cannot be attributed exclusively to low-socio-economic circumstances and the vast number of unemployed young men and the working poor (Mayne

2015). While the growth in violent crimes during the political wars and the urban violence of the 1970s and 80s heightened as a result from the worsening economic climate shortly after separation from the British Crown, Deborah Thomas (2011) argues that violence spans back to the beginning of colonial encounters and the growth of the slave/plantation systems, and Jamaica has never fully been able to recover from this. In her book *Exceptional Violence: Embodied Citizenship in Transnational Jamaica*, Thomas demonstrates that violence in Jamaica is the complicated result of socio-historical contexts, such as economic and societal underdevelopment and a history of colonial exploitation. It cannot be properly understood or explained with naturalistic explanations, such as cultural characteristics being reproduced and passed down by each generation. In her work she discusses the spectacularity of violence in Jamaica that is rooted in indigenous struggles, a brutal period of slavery, and post-independence politics and nation building (Mayne 2015, Thomas 2011). Thomas suggests that this climate has led to the resultant logic that Jamaica has developed a “culture of violence” (54). This suggests that violence here is intrinsic to Jamaica and Jamaicans which, “presupposes a kind of savagery, harking back to earlier forms of scientific racism that defined black populations as natural, wild, and uncontrollable” (55). European colonialists fear of the rebellious violence of colonized peoples contributed to how Europeans perceived of Jamaica as a dangerous and violent place. According to Pamela Scully (1995) myths of the black rapist and the rape of white women by black men were spread throughout settler communities and reflected “the anxiety and ambivalence about the appropriate limits of the civilizing mission” (338). Two major rebellions provoked the fear for white women’s safety in the Empire during the mid nineteenth century (Ware 1992, 39). The first was a national uprising in India in 1857 known as ‘The Mutiny’ (Ware 39). The second uprising is known as the Morant Bay uprising, which took place in 1865 in Jamaica (Ware 41).

Fear of colonial uprisings contributed to the idea of white women and black peril, an aspect that still resonates today for the lone Western female traveler to Jamaica (Scully 1995). Culturalist representations of violence shape perceptions of Jamaica and Jamaicans. Thomas discusses the relationship between violence and representation in her work, and she questions “notions of who has the power to create representations, and the relationship between representation and economic development” (4). The representations of Jamaica and Jamaicans have caused negative stereotypes both within Jamaica and the global Jamaican diaspora. Such representations surely affect the travel decisions and perceptions of privileged foreign travelers, and their travel choices within Jamaica. Reports in international news media have also negatively impacted perceptions by portraying Jamaica as a dangerous stopover, affecting tourism to the island (Mayne 2).

I originally realized how important the dialogue around danger and safety was for travelers and tourists visiting Jamaica when I was preparing for my first trip in 2013. Everyone seemed to have an opinion about the dangers that awaited me in Jamaica. I went to the drugstore to buy sunscreen a few days before my flight and the woman at the checkout asked me where I was heading. When I told her my destination she showed great concern and urged me to be careful. “Jamaican men are very aggressive,” she told me. When I was preparing for four months of fieldwork I had to ask my boss at the time for a leave of absence, so that I could return to my job once I was back in Ottawa. He told me, “Make sure you don’t get married while you’re there, we have enough criminals here as it is.” Upon returning from my fieldwork I contacted my old landlord to see if he had any vacancies. He told me over the phone that he was sure he was never going to see me again. “I prayed for you everyday,” he told me. These various dialogues are just a few of many that suggest a very prominent representation of Jamaica and Jamaican men that exists for Canadian foreigners. These are portrayals of Jamaica as a wild, uncontrolled, and

uncontained dangerous place, and of Jamaican men as aggressive, violent, and criminal by nature. I chose to investigate danger and safety in travel and tourism to Jamaica and particularly how this impacted or affected relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men. For instance, I wanted to see how women negotiated these representations of Jamaica as a dangerous place and Jamaican men as aggressive and violent, and the way that this impacted their desires for Jamaican men, their experiences of travel around the island, and their intimate relationships. However, despite these representations of Jamaica and Jamaican men, and the many dialogues around fear of traveling to Jamaica due to danger and violence, there are still lots of tourists and repeat visitors every year, and there were certainly a lot of women visiting and living in Negril during the course of my fieldwork, in order to visit and meet Jamaican men. Considering that both foreign women and men shared with me the issues and concerns they faced regarding safety and danger traveling around Jamaica, considerations and discussions pertaining to experiences of safety and danger are prevalent throughout this thesis, and will be investigated in more depth in Chapters 4 and 5.

Sexuality and Gender

Racialization and sexuality have been closely linked throughout the colonial legacy with sexuality representing a “salient marker of Otherness” and racial differences (Stoler 1989 p. 636). The classification of “Other,” inferior races in contrast to those of European descent have been established through the naming of sexual and cultural practices and livelihoods as uncivilized, abnormal and deviant. Through eighteenth century scientific inventions of race, these classifications of Otherness became embedded in theories of racial difference and primitiveness (Kempadoo 2004, 30). During the late 19th century sexuality was being mobilized around issues of race and pseudo-scientific theories centered on racist stereotypes, which

emphasized whiteness as a marker of superiority, and blackness as a marker of inferiority by suggesting that physical characteristics such as the size of the human skull could determine biological racial differences, grouping races according to physical and mental capacities (Stoler 1995, Skinner 2006). The “operational use” of sexuality during early colonialism was to set whiteness apart from blackness, a process accomplished through the racialization of sexuality and the conflation of whiteness with the ideal, modern, progressive, civilized, respectable sexuality, and blackness with primitive, backward and savage sexuality (Ehlers 2011 p. 320). These racial imaginings have influenced representations of Caribbean men and women as hypersexual for North American and Western European men and women (Kempadoo 2001, 50). According to Kempadoo, hypersexuality connotes the idea that Caribbean people possess overactive, excessive libidos that are pathological (2004, p. 8). Such features have fuelled a fascination with and the desire for the labour and sexuality of racialized women and men, enabling the commodification of supposed difference throughout the global sex trade.

Racial differences of Caribbean people were initially defined in stark contrast to white European colonialists, and thus their forced labour, including sexual labour, was rationalized based on the premise of racial inferiority. According to Kempadoo, slavery involved both the extraction of labour power from African people, and also the slave owners’ rights to sexual access to slaves (Kempadoo 2004, 31). Early colonial ties to Caribbean sex work shows that it was tied to the power and control that white European men exerted over Black female bodies through sexual relations and labour (Kempadoo 2001). Under slavery, black and brown women in particular were commanded to sexually service slave owners, plantation managers, travelers, sailors, clerks, and businessmen, and the region served as a site for sexual adventures and a taste of the “forbidden” (Kempadoo 2004, 40). In other cases, sexual relations with white men during

colonialism offered a form of income-generating activity for women, and sometimes sexual relations were associated with other affective work such as nannies and cooks (Kempadoo 2004, 53). Kempadoo argues that women could utilize sexual servicing to improve economic position and survival as there were sometimes economic benefits, freedom, food, and other luxuries involved (55). In contrast, there is not much evidence in Kempadoo's work that identifies Caribbean men as sexually servicing European women nor is there much record of relations between white European women and black and brown men in the colonies. According to Kempadoo, little is known about the sexuality of white women in the colonies, and their sexual relations with black men (2004, 50). However, fears regarding miscegenation, not to mention fears of white female independence, prompted the protection of European women by European men in order to clarify and sharpen racial lines (Stoler 1989, 640). Therefore, if sexual relationships developed between black men and white women this resulted in severe punishment for black men (castration, dismemberment and execution) while white women were disgraced and ostracized (50). In Chapter 3 there will be a more in depth reading of the history of the relationships between white women and black men. However, here the purpose is to connect black men and women's sexual labour to the global economy originating from an early colonial legacy.

Caribbean nations have relied on sexuality to compete in the global economy, and both prostitution and more fluid types of transactional sexual relations are widely practiced by women, and increasingly males (Kempadoo 2004). The notion of prostitution as work emerged in the region in the 90s, and in some cases it was viewed more favourably in comparison to less lucrative and more demanding jobs, such as domestic and assembly line work (60). Sexual-economic exchanges that take place through sex work in the region, and transnationally such as

in terms of sex tourism, are described as crucial for the sustenance of the region in the face of inequalities that global capitalism has created for the small Caribbean nations (2004, 3). Some researchers have discussed the emergence of neocolonial relationships emerging through the interplay of prostitution and tourism in Jamaica such as Pruitt and LaFont (1995), and O'Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor (1999). Kempadoo suggests that tourist resorts, guesthouses and hotels function as sites where tourists can meet sex workers, and in many cases these arrangements can turn into long-term relationships (71). In another sense, there are also sexual-economic transactions that take place without men and women referring to themselves as sex workers, but instead they are referred to as boyfriends and girlfriends. In these cases there is a transaction or sponsorship of local men and women, and there is no up-front negotiation of monetary exchange (75). This development in sexual-economic transactions is markedly ambiguous, and is more in-line with the relationships discussed in this thesis. Another important consideration is that historical contexts of interracial encounters such as those detailed in Kempadoo's work focus primarily on Caribbean women and prostitution and sexual access of white European colonizers. Contemporary discussions regarding tourism-based relationships are beginning to focus more on foreign women and their intimate-economic transactions and relationships with local black men. The historical and contemporary developments regarding interracial sexuality in the colonies and in the tourism industry bare significance in light of contextual and localized meanings of gender.

Gender has long been an organizing principal in Caribbean society socio-historically and economically. According to Kempadoo, the two sexes have both been discursively and materially produced, and socialized into different gendered values, customs and behavioural norms and expectations. Sexuality has been reduced to heterosexual intercourse and has become

an expression of seemingly natural, biologically driven relations between men and women, through which intimacies with the opposite sex is what makes a man a man and a woman a woman (Kempadoo 2004, 28). Gender and sexuality is constituted discursively in opposition, and any formation other than this, stands apart from the norm of expectation. For instance, Kempadoo presents the term heteropatriarchy, which encapsulates both the concepts of heterosexism and patriarchy and is a structuring principal in the Caribbean region that favours heterosexual promiscuous sexuality and subordinates female sexuality, while it “marginalizes and criminalizes gendered subjects who transgress established sexual boundaries” (8).

Linden Lewis notes that historically, gender relations in the Caribbean have been marked by an asymmetry of power, privilege and resources in favour of men (Lewis 2003, 98). According to Lewis, “a developed and sophisticated European system of patriarchal ideals” were instituted and ingrained during colonialism in the Caribbean region, and “this inscribed male domination into the culture and the political economy” (103). Lewis argues that patriarchy in the region is the effect of historical, economic and evolutionary impacts, and that patriarchal ideals have been reproduced within Caribbean societies even though they do not reflect the current and changing economic and social circumstances. Patriarchy has allocated and determined the value of gender roles and expectations according to Lewis, divisions and expectations of gender roles have been produced through divisions in pre-capitalist society and then were reproduced in capitalist relations of production. The separation of the home and workplace was a result of capitalist societal structuring, and it resulted in the devaluing of women’s labour and of women in general (Lewis 100). Women’s work has historically revolved around the unpaid care of children and the household, and as a result they became dependent on the male wage. Since women’s work is seen as the natural vocation of women, it has largely been devalued in

comparison to men's labour through the initial separation of private and public spheres, the home and the workplace. Patriarchy naturalizes the divisions and it concomitantly naturalizes women's forms of labour in the domestic realm while also devaluing them in relation to men's labour. According to Lewis, the public spheres in the Caribbean still remain largely the domain of men (Lewis 106).

In his ethnographic research on an urban ghetto community in inner city Kingston, Barry Chevannes (2003) demonstrates that the public sphere is still the domain of men in the contexts of Jamaica. In contrast to Lewis's focus on the historical contexts of patriarchal ideals and gender roles and divisions, Chevannes' work is important in understanding how women versus men are socialized differently based on gender roles and expectations in Jamaica, and it sheds light on the division of the public and private spheres discussed by Lewis. In this case, Chevannes demonstrates that there is a separation between the *yaad* (the home, domesticated realm), and the street. The division acts as a socializing agent and as an embodiment of social identity that affects gender relations, and which preserves the patriarchal dominance over women. The street is typically the domain of boys and men, and it is rare to find girls out alone in the streets rather than in school. According to Chevannes, the street represents danger as well as opportunity, and it is where the lessons of toughening and survival are learned as an important aspect of their socialization. In this sense, Jamaican boys learn how to hustle and create a living out of nothing, to defend themselves, and to surmount great odds. Chevannes' research is also somewhat symbolic in the contexts of my research. Jamaican boys and men are also expected to become street smart as a result of the local culture and political economy of Negril, in which many if not most of the economic opportunities for Jamaican men lie on the outskirts of the formal tourism industry. In Negril, I spoke to a lot of Jamaican men who knew the "street code"

very well, and it was with this knowledge that they were able to build trust and connections with tourists, and these relationships could often times turn into many types of opportunities. I often lamented the fact that one of my friends' sons could not go to school, because his father didn't have the money, but he assured me that he would get the best education a boy in Jamaica could receive, and that was learning what it means to survive in the streets.

However, in Negril, women are also a part of the street life in some respects although their participation is different in comparison to Jamaican men. Jamaican women also walked the beach selling handmade jewellery and crafts, fresh fruit and baked goods, offering services of hair braiding and massages, and there were women who would walk the beach soliciting sexual and intimate favours for tourist men as well. However, there were far fewer women engaging in these activities compared to Jamaican men (at least from what I observed.) Women who engage more freely or in certain activities in the public sphere in Negril are locally perceived as women who have lost their morals. Once the busy season picked up, I also began seeing a lot more Jamaican women gathering at the clubs socializing with foreign men. I observed in my field notes that I noticed more women in professional spaces of work such as doctor's offices, the airport, sales stores, and fewer Jamaican men in these more formal spaces of employment. While I did not witness as many Jamaican women hustling to make a living, Jamaican women in Negril are very much active in the public sphere, which suggests that while the patriarchal ideal is that the men are the heads of households and the sole providers, the political economy in Negril warrants that women need to labour outside of the home as well.

According to Suzanne LaFont (2000), gender roles and ideals were largely formed from a colonial era during which time European patriarchy was instituted, and the dominant ideology advocated the Western model of gender behaviour in which the male was head of the household

and the sole provider (238). The upper class of Jamaica adopted Western social norms regarding family and gender, which emulated British culture, but the ideals coexisted with the actual division of labour experienced by lower classes. For instance, LaFont argues that both men and women of low income households internalized the ideals of the male breadwinner and the female homemaker, but women always laboured outside of the home, and after emancipation this continued and fostered a tradition of female autonomy and independence (238). The male breadwinner and female homemaker never became the main practice due to socioeconomic conditions but it was still idealized and reproduced in gender expectations. Furthermore, she adds that the reason behind this idealization of patriarchal ideals can be linked to desires regarding social mobility. Social mobility requires adherence to gender behaviour and expectations within dominant gender ideology. However, due to a limited economic position low-income individuals are unable to fully meet these standards, but rather than rejecting the dominant gender ideology, “low-income Jamaican women and men continue to idealize it, because realization of the dominant model means moving up the socio-economic ladder” (243). According to LaFont, a combination of poverty and women’s economic activity and independence outside of the home has inhibited the fulfillment of gender roles prescribed within dominant gender ideology (233). This results in gender antagonism when the expectations of the breadwinner and homemaker are not satisfied.

In my research, I found that issues with gender role expectations between Jamaican men and women were often used as a reason as to why Jamaican men claimed they were more interested in relationships with foreign women. Jamaican men would tell me that Jamaican women were only concerned about money, and would only agree to intimate relations with them if the men could pay for them. They told me they like foreign women because they have their

own money, and do not need anything or expect anything from them in return for sex. I also mentioned a conversation in the introduction with a Jamaican woman who told me that foreign women are “crazy” because the men who they fall for are men who Jamaican women would never have a relationship with because they are “dead beats. They’re trying to do nothing with their lives and make money for it. They don’t want to work, a lot of these guys they just want to find a woman who will support them.” On both accounts there are clearly unfulfilled gender expectations of the other, especially of the Jamaican man and his role as the breadwinner. Due to the dire economic circumstances in Jamaica, Jamaican men often struggle to fulfill these roles of dominant gender ideology. According to Pruitt and LaFont, the fulfillment of Jamaican women’s expectations for Jamaican men is reliant on economic expectations and his ability to offer financial support (429). In this sense, the Jamaican men face constraints in their fulfillment of gender roles and expectations in Jamaica, although with foreign women they are able to manipulate their gender identity in new ways that do not depend on their abilities to dispense income, and that can also allow them to access relationships and economic possibilities at the same time. In this sense, based on the political economy of local gender relations, relationships with foreign women constitute an emergent way to reconstruct Jamaican masculinity.

This chapter contextualized relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men within the political economy of tourism in Jamaica, by historicizing the contemporary circumstances of the economy, tourism, the informal sector, crime and violence, sexuality, and gender relations in Jamaica and the Caribbean region. In order to understand relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men it is necessary to consider the relationship between the broader structural effects of the political economy originally instituted during the colonial legacy, and the local and situated experiences, practices and subjective understandings of

relationships in Jamaica. The following chapter will build from a broader understanding of Jamaica and the Caribbean, to focus specifically on tourist and locals' perspectives of Negril, a popular tourist destination on the western tip of Jamaica, renowned as a diverse transnational town with a "sex tourism" culture.

Chapter 2 Imagining Negril

Randy: “It’s like 40 years ago I met this woman, and fell in love with her and I been coming to see her ever since. I fell in love with Negril like it was a woman, all right? So I fell in love with this place, like a woman, to think about it like that. She was young and everything, and now 40 years later she got real big, but I still love her, but she got REAL big. You know? She’s big, and I’m a little guy you know? It’s a love hate relationship.”

Chloe: “It’s like I said, something fascinates me about Negril. What I do like about it, it’s one part of the island where you can really have it all. There are nightclubs, lots of choice. It’s the place to be if you love the nightlife. It’s all within walking distance or a short route taxi away. If you need more kind of, nature vibes, the 7-mile beach is right there, a beautiful beach. If you go up into the cliffs there are different vibes there. It’s calm, less touristic; you get into a completely different environment. If you want to explore waterfalls, want to go on a jungle hike, it’s just outside of Negril within an hours reach. That’s what brings me back. And the fact is, personally I’m fascinated by the place. But it is a love hate relationship.”

During my fieldwork in Negril, both foreigners and Jamaicans would describe to me how they perceived or imagined Negril. I realized that the way foreigners and Jamaicans reflected on Negril shared similarities to the ways in which they approached their relationships. For instance, both foreign women and men expressed their “addiction” to Negril, despite what they perceived as its many flaws. Since Negril is a tourist-town, foreigners would suggest that it was a fake place, and therefore the relationships that took place within Negril were not real. They described this as a “love-hate” relationship. There were many aspects of Negril, such as the landscape, the culture, and the laid-back lifestyle that they gravitated towards, however, what they hated about Negril was the commercialization of relationships. In some cases, although certainly not all cases (as part of the reason many tourists would return to the town year after year was because of the meaningful relationships they had developed with local Jamaicans), foreigners felt as though they were targeted for fake relations based on their perceived wealth and privilege as Westerners. On the other hand Jamaicans perceived of Negril as a place of paradise and opportunity compared to other parishes, where there were less economic opportunities outside of tourism.

This chapter seeks to frame Negril as a special place, which attracts both local Jamaicans and foreigners despite the difficulties and hardships that are felt through the tourism industry.

Furthermore, this chapter helps to distinguish how the perceptions of Negril as a fake tourism-town contributes to the “specter of sex tourism” that renders all relationships between foreign visitors and local Jamaicans as suspect.

History of Negril and Tourist’s Early Memories

Negril was once a remote fishing village until the late 1960s at which time the Jamaican Government began to implement strategies in order to make Negril more attractive and accessible for tourism development. This commenced with the construction of an all-weather surfaced highway, linking Negril to Montego Bay, and extending water and electricity services to this isolated area (Rhiney 26). Some of my participants who began visiting Negril at its earliest inception fondly remember the worthwhile albeit drudgingly long trips on the backs of produce trucks, down winding dirt roads infested with potholes. It was during these early years that tourism had not yet been fully established in Negril, and the secluded area specifically attracted young hippies, who would set up tents and camp out along the beach. As Martin remembers: “there was nothing then, it was just lots of trees and they were overgrown, maybe two hotels, and we stayed up here where the sunrise is, paid a couple bucks a day, no water and nothing like that. We had a great time. Back then it was just hippies, very easy living and people would buy water on the backs of trucks and the roads were just gravel and potholes, only electricity in a few places.” According to Sistah: “we would walk down the beach and you could see your shadow from the stars, because there was no lights, barely any hotels, just the sunlight, the moonlight and the stars.”

A number of my foreign participants have fond memories of “the good old days,” when Negril was a well-kept secret, and only in its beginning stages of development. However since the mid to early 70s, Negril has undergone a huge transformation. Today it is amongst the three major resort towns located on the western tip of Jamaica, welcoming over 350,000 stopover visitors in 2008 (Rhiney 26). With such an impressive geographical layout, it is no wonder that Negril is one of the more popular tourist destinations in Jamaica. It is famous for its beautiful 7-mile beach, and the notable scenic views, and more relaxed atmosphere of the cliffs. Negril is also often described as a place with an eclectic gathering of people. There is a variety of accommodations, including all-inclusive resorts, guesthouses, yoga retreats, cottage sites, apartments and condos, which tends to attract a range of foreign visitors, both long-term and short-term travelers, some of whom are interested in delving into the local culture and engaging in some adventures, and others who are more prone to remain on the resort property. However, many of the visitors I spoke with started off on resorts in Negril, and found that compared to other resort towns both within and outside of Jamaica, it is a smoother transition leaving the resorts in Negril to wander around the town. One tourist woman I spoke with suggested, “If you’re a tourist of Jamaica and you’re ready to see what’s off the resorts, Negril is a really good place to start, because the tourism here has been here for so long, it’s more developed. People are more used to seeing you.” People of all ages visit Negril, and it is common to see families on vacation, couples, and single people and lone travelers. Negril is often described as a melting pot of diverse nationalities as well. Tourists travel to Negril from Europe, Canada and the United States, and many foreign visitors have become foreign residents, and business owners in Negril. Every night of the week the clubs and bars have special events, parties, guest DJs and musicians. Negril is also renowned for its relaxed “vibes.” Upon entering Negril, the sign reads: “Welcome

to the Resort Town of Negril The Capital of Casual”. You can throw on a bathing suit and some flip-flops and enter any establishment day or night dressed in your most comfortable beach attire. Most foreigners enjoy the close proximity of all the attractions and accommodations. The beach is close, and you can get to all the bars and clubs by foot. The downtown core and the restaurants and bars hidden up in the cliffs are only a short route taxi ride away.

A ‘Love-Hate’ Relationship with Negril

Negril is widely recognized by both foreign visitors, and local Jamaicans as a paradise, a special place, and a place where opportunity abounds. There is something distinctive about Negril that sets it apart, not only from other areas of Jamaica, but from other destinations in the Caribbean as well. As Martin describes it, there’s an attraction to Negril that always pulls him and his family back year after year. “We’ve got friends that live in Panama we’ve been down there to the jungles of Panama, we’re all sitting at the bars drinking with the locals and all that, yea screwin’ with the locals and givin’ them trouble which we always do no matter where we go with all of us guys. And sooner or later someone always goes, there’s nowhere like Jamaica! Not even Jamaica, NEGRIL.” Many regular visitors claim that they “fell in love” during their first trip to Negril, and “gravitate” back to Negril year after year.

Those who have a fond relationship with Negril often frame it as a “love-hate relationship.” On the one hand, many regular visitors have established long-term connections with local Jamaicans and with other foreigners. They feel as though they are part of an exciting transnational community in Negril that they look forward to returning to year after year. They feel a sense of “belonging.” For instance, Courtney returns to the same guesthouse in Negril because “it feels a bit like coming to good friends...so this is very nice and I feel a bit like home here because I know all of them so good, and their stories.” Chloe claims:

I think I like it because I have some sense of belonging here. When I left for a few weeks, I came back and was excited to be back in a familiar place. I even missed some people who I can't stand I just wanted to see familiar faces again...people are friendlier here, it doesn't mean I haven't had bad experiences but as a stranger, I get treated better than I have in other places.

Randy comes to Negril to “reach out to Jah, to God,” meaning that he seeks a spiritual connection with the people and the place. However, he feels that with the growing commercialization of Negril, spirituality is more difficult to find:

It's so wonderful and so nice all these people came here and with them came everybody in Jamaica that didn't have a job. That's the hate relationship. They have to come here, this is the industry, and this is the work. And because of that they don't really see us, they see a dollar sign, with sandals and a walking stick and hair with a smoke in his mouth. They don't really see the person. And that's, I hate that. Because if somebody is gonna judge me for my worth I certainly hope they don't count the money. Cause I'm worth a lot more than any money I ever had. That's how I feel...they love to see you come, and they hate when you don't buy anything. That's the love hate relationship. They love me, and then I don't buy them anything and then they hate me. And I feel terrible, because I wish I could.

Many visitors see this aspect of Negril as the part of the relationship that they “hate.” They feel dehumanized in some cases, and they feel as though they are treated as if they are “walking ATM machines,” rather than people.

Some visitors feel as though Negril is becoming a more “violent and volatile place” with the growth of the tourism industry. The influx of foreign visitors with economic means has drawn in Jamaicans from neighbouring communities who themselves cannot afford to live in Negril, but they either have jobs in the tourism industry or they travel there to hustle on the beach and in the bars and clubs. Martin tells me:

Well ya its been a slow transition, and I wouldn't even say all good, I liked it 20 years ago, now it's just too commercialized. You see so much of what's going on in Negril in a lot of other places in the Caribbean. Yea. But even now, when we do our walks in the evenings, I'm always looking. Keeping a conscious eye. Well I mean something can

happen anywhere today that's just the mentality of the world today. Love for your fellow man, trust or whatever. That's rare it just doesn't happen.

This love-hate relationship is also described as a contradiction in a sense. Most foreigners I spoke to agree that what they love most about Negril is the geography, and the people. But what they dislike most is the people sometimes, and that usually has to do with the constant hustling. Jane is a long-time return visitor who spends 8 months at a time living in Negril. "I like the people down here. There are those people who can be difficult, but I mean here you find a spot and you meet people and get used to them and joke and laugh and stuff but they're really nice people. I've been to a lot of places on the island and this is my favourite, I just feel comfortable." Sistah tells me: "What I love, I love the people I like the food, well some of the food (laughs) I love the water. What I don't like is some of the food, some of the people (laughs), I still like the water though, that I love." Despite the negative aspects of Negril, the majority of the foreign travelers I spoke to continue to return year after year. A long-time female traveler who lives in Jamaica for 8 months at a time every year, for the past 40 years, told me she is "addicted" to traveling there, and claims that Negril is unlike anywhere else she's traveled to. She's certain it's the same for other regular visitors. Despite the bad experiences she's had, she still finds herself back there, "addicted." A tourist friend of mine even described it as a Narnia for many Jamaicans who go there to meet tourists and get involved with hopes for a better life, and for tourists who crave adventure, "all your wildest dreams can come true."

Negril as a 'Fake' Place of Economic and Intimate Opportunity

Nigel compares Negril to New York or Miami. He's seen it develop from a very impoverished area, into a place where it is possible to earn a decent living. The tourism industry is what makes Negril what it is, according to Mike, a young Jamaican man who ended up

moving to Negril full time after his initial visit a few years ago. “Any skill that you have, you can come here and put it to use, that’s how most people in Negril survive.” Negril is well known and often spoken of in all the parishes around Jamaica:

From when we were small we’ve been hearing about Negril, Negril, Negril, and being from a place where there is no beach you know, we always have this love for Negril. Wanting to come see it and experience it, just give you that more love for it. It wasn’t about for me, getting any woman, nah, or any of that, it was about coming, seeing it and loving it.

Mike was originally drawn to Negril when he heard about the amazing beach, and other opportunities associated with tourism rather than by the hopes that he would meet a foreign woman. However, Earl claimed that the main benefit of life in Negril is the opportunity to meet foreign women regularly. He too recalled growing up and from a young age hearing about Negril on the radio everyday, “I used to hear about Negril from a longer time, and in music and songs, a little cottage in Negril...tourists coming down here, rent-a-dread down here and all the nice things that used to happen here. Nuff pum pum I could get it in Negril.”

Negril has a reputation as a place that both Jamaican men and foreign women travel to in order to engage in intimate connections with each other. According to Martin, even the atmosphere in Negril seems to be more accepting to the development of relationships. “I think it’s more open in Negril, just because of the atmosphere, the beach, the small hotels, you see people up and down the beach all the time, you see all the interactions. In larger cities and different places in the Caribbean it’s different.” The rate of lone female travelers has increased in recent years according to Martin:

I think I’ve seen a lot more...you know, I have, I’ve seen a lot more middle-age women either single or in groups down here, pursuing their fantasies, or whatever their reason for being down here. We always just attract them, we’re always sitting around someplace and they’re around, and we strike up some kind of conversation with them. I mean, I don’t want to be rude or blunt with them, we usually just listen to their story and watch for half an hour. I would say there’s been an increase in that in the last 5 years.

Negril is recognized as a “special” kind of playing field. A foreign woman who visited Negril twice during my fieldwork named Mel, and with whom I became good friends, described Jamaican men living in Negril as “thirsty.” This is in reference to a “thirst” that Jamaicans have for foreign women. Nigel claims that at one point in time:

People used to just come on the vacation to have fun and if they meet a man who they love they can be with them, but now it’s kind of like a hunting spree. It wasn’t like that in the 70s. Now there are more guys on the beach just to hunt ladies and ladies come from the states to hunt guys. It wasn’t like that it’s become like a commercial market now.

Negril is famous for its intensity of men seeking women and women seeking men, both Jamaican men and foreign women travel to this area specifically due to the fact that the environment and the layout of the town make connections and encounters easier. A widely held belief is that relationships are different in Negril, in the sense that they are more commercialized, and as a result less authentic or “real” compared to relationships in other areas. Both foreigners and local Jamaicans whom I spoke with during my fieldwork would contrast relationships in Negril compared to other parts of Jamaica. According to them, if a relationship were to develop out in the countryside, it would be completely different than a relationship in Negril. They suggest that you are less likely to find authenticity in Negril. For instance, a long-term visitor told me: “this place isn’t somewhere to look for love, it’s fantasy here, this place isn’t real it’s purely in design of the tourist imagination.” She said, “If you go to Kingston you will see the difference, even if you step out of that area and up into the cliffs or in the ghetto where real life is happening, you will see the difference.” Negril is often described as a “fake” place, and by extension the people and the relationships are also fake, an aspect that is commonly noted in tourism studies (Bruner 2005). Jamaicans residing in neighbouring parishes also view Negril as a fantasy town. One

woman in Port Antonio claimed that Negril is not “real” Jamaica it’s simply a “tourist trap.” Some of my female participants even posed their concerns with having relationships with men specifically in Negril because of the environment, and they often lament the fact that they have fallen for men there, rather than somewhere else, where the relationship might stand some chance for authenticity. This understanding of Negril leaves foreign women especially on edge in regards to their relationships. The following is an excerpt from my field notes involving an experience I had with a foreign woman who has been living in Negril for five years. At the time we had been friends for three years:

Today I tried to get an interview with someone who has been offering to do an interview with me for the past few weeks. He’s a business owner, co-owner with his long-time girlfriend and I’ve known them both for years now, since I first started traveling here. I’ve also been a regular customer, usually eating at their restaurant a few times a week. I’ve had great conversations with both her and her boyfriend. They’re a great couple, and they have a lot of knowledge as successful business owners here in Negril. A few days ago I went to see if he would finally be able to do an interview. I actually asked her as well but she didn’t want to, she said, “ask my boyfriend, he’s more into that.” I don’t consider her a foreigner anymore although she’s from Germany, originally. So anyways I went by to see if he was free for an interview yesterday. He wasn’t there so I asked my friend where he was and whether he would be around in the evening. She said she didn’t know if he was working or sleeping and so I said I would come back and check later on. Today I went to check again, I get there and usually she’s quite cheerful but today it seemed as though something was wrong. I asked her if her boyfriend was around for an interview, and she replied, “Why do you keep asking for my boyfriend, why do you keep asking me where he is why do you keep coming by here?” I was a bit confused by this line

of questioning, especially since it's not uncommon that I stop by in the evenings to order food and chat for a bit. I've been a friend of theirs for years and at least I knew that my interests were completely business-related. I felt the female sex tourist stereotype working against me. She said, "you can't do this in Negril, you don't understand, you can't, you don't understand what goes on here in Negril." I left the restaurant very emotional, very upset, and shaky. But the whole thing really gave me some perspective on this climate that seems to exist in Negril.

While this experience was upsetting for me at the time, it did bring to light the tension that exists for foreign women and local Jamaican men in Negril, and "the specter of sex tourism" discussed previously in the introduction, within which all encounters and relationships are seen as suspect in the contexts of a transnational tourist town such as Negril (Williams 2013). There are various aspects that help to create this belief that authentic relationships cannot exist in Negril, and which fuels tension, jealousy and mistrust. For instance, the fact that Negril was specifically designed for the purpose of expanding the tourism industry has influenced many Jamaicans from neighbouring parishes and towns to move to or visit Negril regularly in order to find opportunities from tourism. As my participants' comments in this section reveal, there was a time when Negril was seen as new, "untouched," undeveloped, and with less tourist traffic and people. But since the tourism industry took off in Negril, every Jamaican moves to Negril with hopes of social mobility. The town itself is highly commercialized for tourism consumption, and there are rumours and gossip that circulate through the small town, about fake relationships, and Jamaican men who "thief and cheat" foreign women. Stereotypes of foreign women as "sex tourists," visiting in order to "hunt" Jamaican men, and Jamaican men as gigolos "thirsty" for foreign women also affect the reputation of Negril as a place where Jamaican men seek foreign women and foreign women seek Jamaican men is especially intensified. The next chapter will

discuss the central debates and arguments in FST scholarship, and I will expand on the scholarship by identifying key themes in my research that are particularly revealing of the tensions in the relationships between local men and foreign women.

Chapter 3

Tourism-Based Relationships between Foreign Women and Jamaican Men

In a transnational tourist-town like Negril, everyone and yet no one fits the description of a female sex tourist and gigolo, and thus all relationships and encounters appear suspect and all participants as potentially exploitative (Williams 2013). The FST scholarship generally engages with the question of exploitation in one of two ways: either foreign women are discussed as exploiting the local men due to their presumed economic and racial power, or local men are viewed as powerful based on their gender power. In contrast, I consider here how everyday negotiations of power within intimate relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men complicate traditional understandings of how power operates in post-colonial relationships. My focus is on the intimate negotiations that occur in long-term relationships, and which can only be made visible through ethnographic research, including everyday observations. While white foreign women are framed in FST literature as having the upper hand in their relationships with black Jamaican men due to their perceived wealth and their global mobility, localized power attributed to Jamaican masculinity complicates foreign women's economic and racial power (O'Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor 1999). In the local contexts of Negril, performances and constructions of Jamaican masculinity played a pivotal role in foreign women's mobility both locally and transnationally, and the (un) ease by which their experience and mobility was possible. Furthermore, ambiguity caused tension and power negotiations between foreign women and local men due to the fact that they both had concerns regarding each other's motives and intentions within the relationship, and feared being exploited by the other. This suggests that while foreign women may hold the power of transnational mobility, locally it is difficult to

discern who has the upper hand in cross-cultural and transnational encounters and relationships in Negril.

This chapter seeks to engage with the ways in which FST scholarship might help make sense of the negotiations of power in these transnational tourism-based relationships.⁴ In this thesis, I challenge both views that foreign women in transnational relationships with local men are either naïve victims of sexually aggressive men, or wealthy women exploiting poor Jamaican men. More specifically, this chapter focuses on three lenses through which it is possible to understand power, by considering post-colonialism and racial power, exploitation and economic power, and mobility and gender power. Here, I am interested in everyday negotiations of power and experiences of exploitation, which is distinct from Marx's conceptualization of exploitation as structured within the capitalist wage relation in which the proletariat's labour power is exploited by the bourgeoisie (Marx 1976), or radical feminist's conceptualization that expands on Marx to suggest that women are universally oppressed under capitalism and patriarchy, and that female sexuality is always exploited within male – female relations (e.g. Barry 1995). Instead, I am interested in exploitation as a form of everyday power where one may take advantage of the other. While it is necessary to recognize the relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men as post-colonial and thus exploitative towards local Jamaican men (which is why I label them as post-colonial), it is insufficient to account for the complexity of the power dynamics in these relationships, in their everyday enactments. By focusing on everyday negotiations of power and experiences of exploitation, I thus invite a more nuanced reading of these intimate relationships in which both parties negotiate power in their intimate relationships, and both can potentially experience exploitation.

⁴ While I express in the introduction that I will not apply the label "Female Sex Tourism" due to the fact that it lacks clarity and produces stigma, I still draw on FST literature because it offers many insights into the phenomenon of transnational tourism-based relationships.

Framing Female Sex Tourism Literature

There are a growing number of researchers intrigued by tourism related intimate relationships between white foreign women travelers or vacationers and local black men. Commonly discussed in the literature as female sex tourism (FST), the phenomenon has been examined in scholarly work in the contexts of global destinations such as Egypt (Jacobs 2009), Kenya, and Gambia (Kibicho 2009, Brown 1992), Greece (Zinovieff 1991), Ecuador (Meisch 1995), Indonesia (Dahles & Bras 1999), Cuzco/Peru (Bauer 2008), Nepal (Nagel 2000), Argentina (Tornquist 2013), Brazil (Piscitelli 2016) as well as Italy and Spain (Phillips 2008). There is some scholarship on FST and sex work in the Caribbean region in general (Kempadoo 2001, 2004), as well as specific destinations such as Barbados (Phillips 2008), the Dominican Republic (O'Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor 1999), Costa Rica (Frohlick 2007 and 2013), and Jamaica (Pruitt and LaFont 1995, Sanchez Taylor 2001, Johnson 2012).

White women who engage in intimate relationships with local black men in the destination towns they visit are often compared and contrasted with men who travel for sex and intimacy (MST) in FST literature (Phillips 2008, Sanchez Taylor 2001, Herold, Garcia and DeMoya 2001). For instance, it is sometimes assumed that MST involves men who travel specifically to engage in sexual relations with local people, and that these occurrences always involve straightforward sexual/economic exchange, or prostitution (Oppermann 1999, Phillips 2008). This assumption has lead scholars to question whether the term "sex tourism" can be adequately applied to women who travel for sex, intimacy and relationships based on generalized ideas of the "different nature" of men and women, and based on the understanding that local black men hold a greater power associated with their gender (Sanchez Taylor 2006, Frohlick 2007). For instance, in consideration of stereotypical understandings of gender roles and identity

men are often seen as dominating, predatory, and only desiring physical and sexual connections, while women are often seen as subordinated, preyed upon and seeking intimate and emotional connections primarily (Pruitt and LaFont 1995, Sanchez Taylor 2001, Johnson 2012). Questions around whether or not women can be as predatory as men, or engage in straightforward sexual/economic exchanges similarly to men has influenced some scholars to refer to FST instead as “romance tourism” (Pruitt and LaFont 1995). In romance tourism, the emphasis is on courtship rather than exchange, and it is suggested that there is “an emotional involvement not usually present in sex tourism” (423). Within romance tourism, foreign women are guided by idealizations for heterosexual romantic love guided by their own cultural scripts. According to Pruitt and LaFont (1995), in romance tourism, foreign women utilize economic and racial power in order to acquire intimacy and love, and the exchange tends to be less direct or obvious since women seek authenticity and the exchange of money for sex and intimacy would symbolically undermine authenticity (1995). The term is commonly used in the literature to allude to the fact there are inherent “differences” between women who travel for love and intimacy, and men who travel for sex and purely physical purposes (Pruitt and LaFont 1995). On the other hand, there is also scholarship suggesting that FST and MST are closely related as both are predicated upon the same economic factors of power and privilege possessed by the tourists (Sanchez Taylor 2006). While Sanchez Taylor argues that female tourists choose to ignore or overlook an exchange, there is always some sort of exchange taking place whether it is tangible, such as money, gifts, food etc., or intangible, such as status, or the power, access, and opportunity that follows the association with “whiteness” (Phillips 2008, Sanchez Taylor 2001, Gross 2013). While these discussions are important in framing the field of FST, they do not address the fact that scholarship on MST reveals that there are men who also travel specifically to engage in

sexual/economic exchange, men also travel for love, intimacy, sex and romance (Sanchez Taylor 2001, Oppermann 1999). Motivations in MST are also not always straightforward, since some men will pay for intimacy or companionship during their trip, and others will pay for sex and then fall in love unexpectedly. Discussing tourism-based relationships as either purely an economic/sexual exchange, or a romantic endeavour does little justice to the nuances and complexities of power dynamics that exist in the relationships.

Various scholars have theorized about tourism-based post-colonial relationships as ambiguous (Cabezas 2009, Cohen 1982, Frohlick 2007, William 2013). In particular, both Williams (2013) and Frohlick (2007) use the term ambiguity to address the complicated relationships they researched in Brazil and Costa Rica in ways that resonate with my research findings. As Williams suggests, ambiguity defines tourism-based relationships that encompass both commercial and intimate/emotional exchanges to the extent that they become deeply intertwined and clouded. She goes on to note that ambiguity also addresses “the difficulty of identifying peoples motivations, desires, and intentions in these encounters and relationships that often bridge boundaries of age, race, class, and nationality” (3-4). Susan Frohlick also argues that the relationships she studied in Costa Rica are ambiguous, due to the fact that the economic-sexual exchanges are often clouded and indirect (Frohlick 2007). For instance she argues against the assumption that the foreign female traveler is always “free, sexually liberated, and exerting economic power and sexual agency”, and instead suggests, “the reality is much more nuanced” due to the fact that they also involve complexities of gender, power and mobility, which tends to complicate the assumption that foreign women are economically powerful with the freedom and agency to “come and go” as they please (Frohlick 2009, 403). She discusses relationships in the contexts of Costa Rica by considering how “ethno-sexual boundaries” are both upheld and

traversed by foreign women and Costa Rican men who cross ethnic boundaries in search of the sexualized Other (2007, 162). In one sense, foreign women's mobility provides them with the opportunity to travel to and from Costa Rica as they please, and also prompts, "considerable privilege in terms of modes of sociability in the town, including access to men's sexual, personal, familial, and intimate lives" (162). On the other hand, local Costa Rican men wield a different kind of localized power, as they acquire knowledge and social status as cosmopolitan lovers "negotiating masculinity within a moving landscape of sexually available foreign women" (162). Costa Rican men have male power attributed to homosocial practices and intimacy, which they can utilize to regulate women's erotic desires, their consumer power, and their physical movements both within Costa Rica, and transnationally (157).

In Negril, relationships as I witnessed them are impossible to describe strictly as neo-colonial relationships, as purely exploitative or intimate/economic exchange, or as exclusively for intimacy or love. In the following sections, I will discuss further the questions of post-colonialism and racial power, exploitation and economic power, and mobility and gender power. This will be addressed further in the following sections, in which I will locate and discuss what I have determined as the three key findings in female sex tourism literature that I feel most adequately explain the complexity of tourism based relationships, especially in the context of my own research in Negril. I will apply both Williams' (2013) notions of ambiguity and the specter of sex tourism to my analysis of relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men in Negril. Furthermore, I will also apply Frohlick's (2007) conception of ambiguity to argue that gender, race and mobility are not as tightly bound to unilateral, post-colonial power relations as previously argued in FST scholarship.

Post-colonial relationships and racial power

I refer to the relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men that take place in Negril as post-colonial relationships, due to the fact that they are imbued within racial and cultural differences informed by a colonial legacy, and located within a broader political economy of racialized desire. Discussing the relationships as post-colonial is to suggest that the racialization of Jamaican men and foreign women is integral to the maintenance of the neocolonial system, which continues to foster economic and cultural dependence, although Jamaica is seen as a formally independent nation (Loomba 2005, Quinjano 2007). According to Anibal Quinjano (2007), the colonial structure of power produced racial and ethnic social discriminations, which were assumed to be objective and scientific categories of historical significance (166). However, while political colonialism has been eliminated, the relationship between Western culture and others such as Jamaica, continue to be centered on colonial domination, and the distribution of resources and power on a global scale are still clearly delineated based on members of ‘races,’ ‘ethnicities,’ or ‘nations’ of previously colonized populations (Quinjano 169).

I draw on Karen Kelsky (2001), and her argument that whiteness is recognized globally as a marker of power, capital and status. I argue that Jamaican men’s desire for foreign women is also informed by idealizations of whiteness as representing power, capital and a Western, cosmopolitan lifestyle. However, in my research, Jamaican men expressed this idealization in terms of sexual liberation and emotional stability that foreign women supposedly possessed in contrast to Jamaican women. Kelsky’s (2001) research focuses on the “yellow cab movement,” a phenomenon in which a population of Japanese women began traveling abroad in order to pursue relationships with foreign men. Their pursuit of foreign men was influenced by the idealization

of white/Western men as the embodiment of a Western cosmopolitan lifestyle, and symbols of possibility and upward mobility. In contrast, the Japanese women in her research reject Japanese men and seek out relations with white Western men as alternatives who possess good looks, sophistication, kindness, and gentleness, all traits that the women claimed were lacking in Japanese men (138). Kelsky suggests that their idealization of white foreign men is in part influenced by a colonial legacy, which informed understandings of whiteness and racialized people. It has been further influenced by the changing political economy, in which Japanese women have gained the buying power in late capitalist contexts to cross borders to consume what they deem to be an exotic sexual experience (Kelsky 135).

In a similar light, the Jamaican men in my research also idealized and desired those who they read as “white.” Jamaican men are also located within a global political economy of desires, which result from a colonial legacy and which positions whiteness as a marker of power, status and upward mobility.⁵ They compared foreign Western women more favourably to Jamaican women, and in some instances the Jamaican men clearly specified their attraction to foreign women based on the fact that they did not desire or demand money and gifts the way that Jamaican women did. On the other hand, the foreign women I interviewed also idealized and desired black Jamaican men, and compared them more favourably to the men back home in terms of their physical appearance, and their romantic and complimentary demeanour towards foreign women. Foreign women imagined a new and different sexual experience in contrast to the men in their home countries. Their idealizations of Jamaican men as racially different are grounded in colonial representations of black men, and black male hypersexuality.

⁵ It is notable, however, that there were black foreign women in Negril who also received a lot of attention from Jamaican men, and were pursued by Jamaican men in the same way that they pursued white women. This suggests that more research is needed in order to understand how black foreign women are viewed. I suspect that black foreign women are idealized similarly because they still represent a white Western lifestyle as globally mobile subjects.

According to Kempadoo (2004), representations of a different, abhorrent and more primitive sexuality were first introduced during early colonialism by social chroniclers, travelers, historians, sociologists and anthropologists alike, who portrayed Caribbean people as hypersexual, feral, and wild in order to represent a backward and undeveloped image of the region that European colonialists sought to control and secure (1). Historical records and documents commented on sexual arrangements that were beyond the scope of Western European Christian ideologies indicating inferiority, such as polygamy, tribedary, sodomy, rape, adultery, prostitution, incest, as well as what was perceived as lack of sexual modesty (30). These sexual qualities marked the Other as barbaric, even inhuman, and through late eighteenth-century fascination with ideas of racial difference in the emerging academic sciences, they became embedded in theories of racial difference that garnered widespread belief in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (30). Sexual imagery of black female licentiousness was portrayed in order to arouse disgust however it did not deter European male pursuit and sexual fascination with black women (31). European colonizers asserted their racialized, colonial masculine power over black Caribbean women based in part on ideological constructions of black slave women as “sexually promiscuous and immoral and on notions that they were by nature “hot constitution’d” and sensuous in an animal-like way” (Kempadoo 1999: 5). Sexuality during this time was believed to be crucial to the definition and control of the racialized Other, an avenue through which race could be reconfigured, and civilization obtained (34). Blackness supposedly could be whitened through sexual acts, and whiteness conferred class privilege and a possibility of improved economic standing through sexual intercourse (34).

Scholars such as Ann Stoler (1989) suggest that in the European colonies in the 19th and early 20th centuries, sexuality was utilized as a marker of Otherness and difference, in order to

justify European imperial authority. Pseudo-scientific theories based on physical markers of “difference” were developed in order to promote and spread racist stereotypes emphasizing the supposed inferiority of black people, and in contrast the superiority of white people (Stoler 1995). Nadine Ehlers (2011) draws on Foucault’s *The History of Sexuality*, in which he suggests that the category of sexuality “has been produced, used and strategically integrated into all social realms in an operative sense: as a method of organization, control and discipline” (320). However, Ehlers contends that historically race has also functioned in this capacity, and when the two condition one another this marks the “racialization of sexuality and the sexualization of race” (320). Ehlers suggests sexuality has been used operationally in order to portray whiteness as performing the ideal sexuality, and blackness as connected to a primitive, unnatural, and savage form of sexuality by analyzing colonial anti-miscegenation rhetoric (Ehlers 2011). Within anti-miscegenation rhetoric, appropriate sexual conduct was policed based on the maintenance of racial divisions (Ehlers 328). According to Vron Ware (1992: 37) gender also played an important role in the construction of ideas about race and civilization. For instance, English women during the Victorian period were seen as “the conduits of the essence of race,” and they symbolized the morals and principles of civilization to white men. The presence of English women on the colonies prompted the strict regulation of racial relations. During early colonialism relationships between black men and European women were blocked and white women were “protected” by white European men in the colonies due to the belief that white women represented symbols of moral and national purity and the ideal domesticity (Kempadoo 50: 2004). If relations between black men and white European women took place, European women were regarded as morally corrupted and degraded thereafter (50). This also cast suspicions on the fitness of white masculinity because European males had failed to protect

“their” women or command “their” women’s sexual attraction. These attitudes prevailed through the twentieth century. For instance, there was a common belief in Britain during the interwar period that the only white women who would be attracted to black men were women who had “broken” sexualities in a sense – such as prostitutes and social outcasts “whether gold diggers bent on taking West Indians for a ride, perverts seeking ‘pleasure from physical punishment’, or individuals indifferent to or without a reputation to maintain” (Matera 2009). Colonial fears of miscegenation, and the racial constructions of the Other bears an important historical significance for the sexual relationships between white women and black men in my research. While slavery and colonial relations no longer define the relationships between Westerners and Jamaicans, ideas about race and desire continue into the post-colonial period.

In the Caribbean today, both the local men and tourist women are guided and influenced by a desire to connect and to be changed by the ‘Other,’ which is constructed in the local and the tourist imagination by racialized and eroticized stereotypes (Frohlick 2007, Pruitt and LaFont 1995, Johnson 2012, O’Connell Davidson & Sanchez Taylor 1999). Foreign women are influenced by images and stereotypes of the eroticized, racialized, cultural “Other,” which suggest that the black male is hypersexual, and possesses a powerful sexual prowess, and has an overactive libido (O’Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor 1999, Phillips 2008, Kempadoo 2004). The local black Caribbean man is seen by foreign women as the embodiment of manhood, he is “different,” more passionate, more connected to nature, more sexual, and has a rough and aggressive sexual nature (Pruitt and LaFont 1995, O’Connell Davidson & Sanchez Taylor 1999, Johnson 2012). As eroticized Others, local men are assumed to possess “a powerful and indiscriminate sexuality that they cannot control” (O’Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor 49). In the same vein, foreign women in my research regularly told me that Jamaican men do not

discriminate based on looks or appearances. They identified Jamaican men as hypermasculinized, and hypersexualized and placed them in stark contrast to the men back home as the ideal romantic partner and lover.

I found that foreign women perceive Jamaican men as more old fashioned and romantic compared to white men. Foreign women would tell me that Jamaican men give more compliments, their bodies are naturally more “fit” and they are regarded as generally more beautiful than white men. As a case in point, Jane described Jamaican men as “fit, generally, they are really fit. And the one thing that I notice now, I have known black guys before but I never thought about it until I lived here, they are beautiful in comparison to white men.” Similarly, according to Sistah:

The thing about Jamaican men is even if they don't have teeth they're still good looking. Like my friend has one tooth but he's so cute. But at home if you saw [a white man] with one tooth hanging like that, you'd be like man, get yourself to the fucking dentist.

During my interview with Tammy, she discussed how Jamaican men have become famous for their penis size, and highly sought after in this regard. “They think they're the only black men in the world blessed with big penises, they capitalize off of that. It's the only Caribbean country that sells carved penises, you don't find that anywhere else, but here, they think this is their biggest asset.” Tammy points to the commercialization of racial stereotypes of black men, and here it is of Jamaican men in particular. She even suggests that Jamaican men “capitalize” off of the stereotype of the “big bamboo,” a local phrasing I heard used to refer to men's penises. On the other hand, as Sistah and Jane began to discuss earlier, Jamaican men, their appearances and their “nature” are often compared to that of foreign men's as the ideal. A Canadian woman, Sabrina also noted that there seems to be something special or different about foreign women that makes Jamaican men appreciate them more than men back home:

I think men here because they're so... It's hard to say. I don't want to say interested in foreign women, but because they see it as something interesting and special, and different, they appreciate you, whereas at home, to a Canadian guy you're just another Canadian woman, there's nothing special or different about you. But because you're seen as special and different to a Jamaican, they um, appreciate you a little more and do more. It's all about the talk, they've got this smooth talk and know what to say, whereas men at home don't really have that way with words."

Courtney, a German woman agrees that Jamaican men can be more romantic compared to

German men:

They are sometimes very, doing a lot of small things for you like bringing a flower, and if they have food they will share it. They share everything with you and make you feel very good. Like they treat you like a princess.

Courtney values Jamaican men's straightforwardness, that is, the idea that if they are interested in you they will tell you, compared to German men, whom even if they like you they are usually too shy to say it, or too shy to compliment you. "Here you get a lot of compliments what is nice, it makes you feel more woman, and it makes you feel more sexy all the time." Jane told me that it is true that Jamaican men are interested in foreign women regardless of their looks; however, the reason behind this desire is purely economic. "It doesn't matter how old you are, how young you are, how ugly you are, how fat you are, as long as you're white you're a target because that means you have money." Some of the foreign women in my research idealized relationships with Jamaican men because they are viewed as more romantically inclined, considerate and complimentary compared to foreign men.

Some scholars such as O'Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor suggest that the notions of difference and Otherness play a huge role in the tourist's inability to recognize that there are economic factors attached to their relationship and to the adorations of their partner (49). For instance FST literature often depicts foreign women's delight at the fact that local men appreciate all women regardless of their size, shape, age or physical appearance, and it is

commonly believed to be a racial and cultural trait such that local black men are sexually ravenous and unrestrained (O'Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor 1999). Adriana Piscitelli (2016) also argues a similar case to O'Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor, as she suggests that the opportunity for an exotic and new sexual experience with local men in Brazil feeds into the ambiguities encompassing their relationships, making the women unaware of the economic aspects that foreign women experience (274). However, Piscitelli argues that once women gain experience and perspective from becoming foreign residents, they were capable of recognizing the economic aspects pervading their relationships with local men. My research suggested a more nuanced reading, as both foreign resident women, and experienced visitors had such awareness, and Jamaican men too were complexly shrouded in what they recognized as economic and intimate ambiguity. Knowledge of the economic aspects in the relationships did not always dampen women's desire to engage in relationships with Jamaican men. Courtney's story in the introduction demonstrates this point, because regardless of the fact that she recognized the ambiguity and felt as though she had been exploited, this did not stop her from falling in love with another Jamaican man in Negril, despite her strong testament against it. This is because ambiguity is a fixture in a transnational tourist-town like Negril. Many of my participants were well aware of Jamaican men's idealizations of whiteness and the possible economic desires and social mobility they attributed to it, however they still associated the pursuit of foreign women as a bi-product of Jamaican men's hypersexuality. In this sense, foreign women still regarded Jamaican men as hypersexual as a cultural trait, something that all Jamaican men shared, and something they all had in common based on Jamaican culture.

Some experienced visitors and foreign residents I spoke with strongly detested relationships with Jamaican men because of the economic aspects that they felt were an

inescapable aspect of the relationships. For instance, a woman who is practically a foreign resident since her trips to Negril are frequent, would tell me that she loved Negril, but had no desire to be anyone's "White Hope" (meaning that in any and every case, a Jamaican man pursuing her would be solely for economic purposes and social mobility) and thus fervently avoided relationships with Jamaican men. I would suggest that even the desire for women like her to visit Negril regularly or to remain there as a foreign resident is informed by the way their socio-economic and racial position reads in the local contexts as desirable and privileged.

Foreign women, and in particular North American and European ones, are able to experience independence and freedom of mobility by tapping into idealizations of white women's liberated sexuality and economic power in order to transgress local boundaries of gender, power and mobility, which I will discuss at greater length in Chapter 5. However, here I will stress that foreign women, whether they travel to Negril for the purpose of engaging in a relationship, or whether they strongly detest relationships with Jamaican men, are imbued within the same post-colonial idealizations and political economy of desires that attributes a particular meaning to their racialization and gender in the contexts of Negril. For instance, Jamaican men associate their whiteness with a more liberated sexuality and Western lifestyle.

Local Caribbean men also imagine foreign women as "Other," and are guided and influenced by a desire for relationships with foreign women based on stereotypical constructions of them that are influenced by economic differences and racial idealizations. In Joan Phillips research on Bajan men, she found that they described foreign women as more understanding, more gentle, and more wild compared to "prudish" local women who only want money and material things, something that many local Caribbean men cannot offer (Phillips 1999). Local Bajan men are influenced by the recognition of whiteness and the status and privilege that it is

marked with (Phillips 2008). According to Pruitt and LaFont, the Jamaican men they interviewed described foreign women as more tender and emotional compared to local women. Similarly, their idealizations of foreign women as non-materialist women were also based on local expectations of their role as provider and their inability to dispel money to support local women (Pruitt and LaFont 428).

Similarly, Jamaican men's desire for relationships with foreign white women can also be linked to a desire for a particular lifestyle they represent. Jamaican men are allured by alternatives to Jamaican women whose financial and economic expectations of them are not easily attainable because of the current political economy in Jamaica and the lack of economic opportunities. Part of their desire for foreign women is the possibility that they can pursue a relationship where they are not expected to contribute financially and may even gain money or status. As noted earlier, in the contexts of transnational relationships between white, Western women and local Kenyan and Tanzanian men, Gross's (2013) research revealed that white women were understood as "Others" with access to finances and travel to or residence in Western countries by Kenyan and Tanzanian men (2). In her work she investigated the position of foreign woman as "Other," and as one invested with power in contrast to the traditional understandings of "difference within processes of racialization as marginalization or subordination" (3). She suggests that white foreign women in Kenya and Tanzania experienced their race for the first time, as visible Others, even though this process of racialization came with power. She also proposes that local men see them as women who can give them access to a different lifestyle – that is, to money, travel, status and social mobility. The eroticized stereotypes of the Other is central to transnational relationships between white Western women and local black men, and this is apparent in Negril as well.

In Negril, local men similarly idealized foreign women and their Western lifestyle but they did this in specific ways, which reflected the local gender expectations of men as provider, and their sense of failure with local women, as well as the notion of white foreign women as sexually liberated and more emotionally stable. For instance, Earl shared with me that what he finds attractive about foreign women is “their looks, their accents, their skin texture, the way they dress,” and he was very adamant about the fact that he desired strongly to meet and fall in love with a foreign woman, so that she could take care of him and he could live with her in her home country. One Jamaican man named Frequency who I shared some informal conversations with on the 7-mile beach told me that he has always fantasized about white women since the first time he saw them on the blue screen (pornography). He knew all about the wild and crazy white woman and wanted to find one for himself. In this sense his knowledge of white, Western women was mediated by the porn he watched, which reinforced his already existing notion of white, Western women as sexually liberated. According to my friend Alton, “the difference between foreign women and Jamaican women is that Jamaican women are hard, they are rough and tough, they’ve grown up in difficult situations.” But according to Alton, “foreign women are soft and loving, they tell you how they feel, and why they are upset, whereas Jamaican women will burst out in anger, yelling, screaming and cussing.” All of the above accounts emphasize desire for the foreign woman as “Other” based on what these men detail as differences between foreign women and Jamaican women, such as the fact that foreign women are more sexually liberated and emotionally stable.

White women in Negril are visible Others with the economic means and access to Western lifestyles. In this sense, within the contexts of racial desire of white women and the global political economy of desire, they appear more racially privileged in the relationships.

However, Jamaican men may also be able to capitalize off of their racialized position. For instance, foreign women desire their hypersexualized masculinity. In this sense, while it is important to recognize these relationships as pressurized by cultural discourses that developed during the colonial period, this does not completely address the complexities and power dynamics involved in the relationships, as neither foreign women nor Jamaican men hold entirely a position of complete power. As will be further discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, it is not completely clear who has power in the shifting landscape of a transnational tourist town. Understandings of post-colonial relationships can help to identify important contributing factors and to situate these relationships within the global political economy, but they cannot fully explain the extent of complexities in these relationships either, especially as they unfold locally and in everyday intimacies. The following section will discuss issues around exploitation, which is a hotly debated topic in FST scholarship, and a topic that also came up regularly in interviews and conversations throughout my fieldwork.

Exploitation and economic power

One topic that comes up often in FST literature is exploitation. As mentioned earlier, FST literature has considered whether women can engage in sex tourism the same way men do, based on stereotypical assumptions of men as always predatory, dominating, and seeking physical connections, and women as subordinated, preyed upon, and “naïvely” in search of love and romance in a tourist town (Sanchez Taylor 2006). Some scholars such as Sanchez Taylor (2006) have suggested that white foreign female tourists hold a prominent position of power similar to white foreign male tourists based on their exploitative power associated with their racialized positions. Some of the participants in her research were even unaware of their own exploitative capacity based on the stereotypical assumptions of women as always subordinated and always

preyed upon (44). According to Sanchez Taylor, there still exists a tendency to view the local Caribbean man as the one who engages in exploitative practices towards foreign women, whether economically, emotionally or sexually, particularly due to their presumed gender power as men, which makes it difficult to imagine how they can be exploited by foreign women (2006). Other scholars such as Frohlick (2007) also suggest that local black men are the ones who wield gender power associated with localized expressions of racialized masculinity as “Other,” which they utilize to affect the desires of foreign visitors, as well as intimacy “in and beyond sex acts” in order to “lure women into paying them” and to regulate their supposed limitless mobility (143). I found during the course of my fieldwork that both Jamaican men and foreign women would be “on edge,” concerned that they were being taken advantage of, or not getting their fair “cut” or “compensation.” Concerns regarding exploitation featured regularly throughout my fieldwork conversations and interviews, although Jamaican men and foreign women both felt as though *they* were the ones being exploited. Exploitation was regarded as an inescapable result of transnational tourism-based relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men in Negril, and as part of the post-colonial condition.

Frequently during my fieldwork tourists would tell me that women who pursued relationships with local Jamaican men in Negril were always the ones who were targets for exploitation. As Jane’s discussion detailed in the previous section, white tourist women are regarded as targets, and this was obvious to her considering how easily any woman no matter her appearance or her shape, could attract a Jamaican boyfriend. Two white tourist men from Canada in their late 40s also conveyed their confusion regarding the relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men based on the fact that the women were clearly being taken advantage of. One of the men shared his concerns for my own safety, and told me that he would never bring his mother or

sisters to Negril. A few American friends of mine shared concerns over my precarious situation as a researcher and warned me about the company I kept with some Jamaican male participants, “If he’s given the chance he will take advantage of you too, just like all the rest.” It became clear to me that the dominant perspective is that the foreign women are the ones who are taken advantage of. Such perspectives of the relationships rarely leave space for any ambiguity.

During my fieldwork, I was told quite a few stories by women who felt they were financially exploited. This is the main concern many of these women expressed to me, that the men they are with are only interested in their money. In Negril, foreign women were often deterred from relationships because of the stigma associated with being a foreign woman in a relationship with a Jamaican man, as the assumption is that she must be exchanging money for the relationship. This highlights Williams’ (2013) notion of the “specter of sex tourism”, which alludes to how both visitors and locals experience a lack of clarity regarding their relationships and encounters within the contexts of transnational tourist spaces because these relationships appear suspicious and inauthentic, an aspect that was also part of the transnational tourism-based relationships in Negril (3). A few of my participants struggled with this aspect in their relationships. Courtney in particular stood out in this regard. She was older than the Jamaican man she was seeing, and in her opinion the vast age difference between them was a sign that their relationship was inauthentic. Each day she was either broken up with this man, or back together with him. She had a prior relationship with another Jamaican man years ago, and in this relationship she felt that economic expectations grew quickly. Based on this experience, she wanted to avoid this happening again, because once she started sharing money, food, and gifts, it became a regular expectation, and the uncertainty of whether the relationship was authentic or not was a constant torment for her. A common understanding of Jamaican men is that they “trick” women, meaning

that they trick foreign women into believing that they are in love with them but really it is money that they desire. One informant told me that Jamaican men make their money in one of two ways: straightforward sex for money exchanges, or “trickery.” Another woman I met on the beach told me she had learned never to trust anyone in Negril, no matter how much she may have liked a particular Jamaican man. She had upwards of 20 years travel experience in Negril and Jamaica, and many years ago she had fallen for a Jamaican man whom she described as “sweet, genuine, and handsome,” someone she never dreamed could do anything wrong. But years after their relationship had ended, he admitted to stealing money from her suitcase whenever he was with her. Jane had a similar experience; she described her past boyfriend as “a cheat, a liar, and a thief.” She found out at one point during their relationship that he too had been stealing money from her dresser. In other cases, women shared stories with me of gross amounts of money they had lent to their boyfriends, only to find the relationship would end shortly after the exchange. For instance, Tammy had lent her boyfriend money to build a house but the relationship soon ended after that and she never received any money back. Sista sent money to someone who was less of an intimate partner, and more of a dear friend whom she had some casual fun with. She had known this man for over 10 years. He wanted to help her build a cottage in Negril, but once he received the money, he built a large house for himself, and essentially “tricked” her out of her money. Rumours and stories circulated about foreign women experiencing physical and sexual exploitation as intertwined with economic exploitation. While this was a fear that some of my participants expressed, all of my participants strictly discussed economic exploitation.

A Swedish woman who is a regular visitor to Negril suggested that these relationships will eventually “phase out” due to the exploitation of foreign women and issues around their “safety.”

In fact, I spoke to quite a few tourists who had been visiting Negril since it was established as a tourist town, who all claimed that the relationships were in decline due to the exploitation of foreign women. According to one woman who had married and had children with a Jamaican man during the 80s she stated that she has witnessed the slow decline of the relationships over the past few years. In the 70s she said, “women traveled to Negril just to get pregnant. Rent-a-dreads, beach boys, gigolos, they were all out in the open.” She said this is much less prevalent now. This could point to the fact that these women see the relationships as exploitative from a personal standpoint. This could also be linked to the fact that fewer Jamaican men establish relationships on the beach because Jamaican men are trying to distance themselves from the stigma attached to “rent-a-dreads, beach boys, and gigolos.” Furthermore, this could also point to the possibility that foreign women are more careful and less obvious in terms of their relationships. The exploitation of foreign women was the typical perspective, as foreign women and men alike could not see how it would be possible for foreign women to exploit local men.

While many foreign women were concerned with issues regarding their own possible exploitation, some women could not see how Jamaican men could be exploited in these relationships. In their opinion, it was a “win-win” situation for them. They either acquired sex, money, or both. One German woman commented on how the conditions are always in the Jamaican man’s favour. According to her, they always benefit in these types of relationships. She also compared their circumstances to those of women who sell sex in Thailand. She questioned, “How could they enjoy that?” She remarked on how she felt sorry for women who entered into these relationships, but she could not see how Jamaican men could be exploited in the same way due to the fact that Jamaican men are regarded as sexually driven and as hypersexual. While the women in my research had experienced exploitative relationships, it is possible that their own

exploitation made them unaware of their own exploitative power in their relationships. For instance O'Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor (1999) argue that foreign women, and I would add foreign men similarly, hold certain beliefs about gender and sexuality, such that women cannot be exploitative only exploited, which prevents them from recognizing themselves as sexually exploitative (52). This is a cultural belief about women mainly shared by foreign, Western tourists. This became clear to me as I often took the opportunity to confront Jamaican men about the perspectives that tourists had of Jamaican men who pursued relations with foreign women, and as I realized how they saw exploitation differently. Interestingly I heard just as many issues from their point of view in which they felt exploited by foreign women who they engaged in relationships with, which opened up a much more nuanced understanding of the circumstances than I had previously assumed, as I too, saw women as economically exploited.

The Jamaican men in my research interpret their own exploitation as taking place when women visit the island and take advantage of aspects of their identity that have become commercialized in the global tourism industry, such as their sexual prowess, their physical endowments such as their large penises, and their romantic inclination. One of my young Jamaican male participants, Frequency, suggested that women who come to Negril enter into relationships with Jamaican men before they understand the difficulties of life in Jamaica. He said they become “dickmatized” (meaning that they obsessively lust after the racialized bodies of Jamaican men, and the stereotypes of their sexual prowess), and they “meet these skinny little desperate Jamaican men and ruin their lives because they use them up and then they leave, disappear.” I realized quickly that foreign women often expect similar circumstances to what they are used to based on the cultural script of relationships from their heterosexual, romantic expectations back home. They expect rides and escorts around town, company, protection, a tour

guide, and a unique sexual experience. This can be problematic at times when the different exchanges taking place creates ambiguity and a lack of clarity. For instance, sexual and intimate exchanges, along with those considered professional and entrepreneurial in the contexts of Jamaica (tours, taxi rides, home cooking, and sex) often become intertwined. On one occasion I was with a group of friends, some Jamaican men and some foreign women. One woman mentioned that she tried to start a relationship with a Jamaican man who lived in the countryside, and thought that since he is a country boy (opposed to a man living in or around a tourist district where tourism-based relationships are common) the relationship stood a chance at authenticity. But at a certain point his family and friends started encouraging him to ask for things since he was with a white woman. Later on I was with one of the Jamaican men in the group and he was upset by this story. He said, "So what, I guess white women can just come here to a third world country and fuck whoever they want and not give anything in return?" In other instances, Jamaican men shared experiences in which they felt materially or emotionally exploited. One Jamaican man who became a good friend of mine, told me that he fell in love with a foreign woman, married her, and was in the process of waiting for his visa to be approved. But during that time she met someone else, and cancelled the visa. She also had a child with my friend, and now he has very minimal contact with his child. He shared with me his devastation of what it is like to build expectations and a future with someone who has the power to ultimately make the final decision. This instance could be read as a disappointment that the anticipation of the privilege to experience the Western lifestyle fell through; however, during our conversation I asked him how foreign women exploit Jamaican men and he shared this story with me. I chose to share it because it could signal Jamaican men's sensitivity to exploitation based on their knowledge of unequal power relations attributed to economic and racial power. During Earl's

interview, he also discussed an experience he had with an American woman. He spent the duration of her visit with her and her friends taking them on tours around the island and to locals' parties. They were intimate with each other and he began to picture a future with her. But on her last day in Jamaica, she told him that their relationship could not continue once she returned home because she was married already. He was hurt by the experience, and he felt misled by her during her visit. As Frohlick (2013) notes, popular notions are that the men exploit women, but there are also countless stories of men who experience exploitation on their own terms. The Jamaican men I spoke with cited emotional and sexual exploitation, but mainly economic exploitation when they were not compensated for something they thought they should have been, such as sex, and favours such as taxi rides, home cooking, and work related ventures such as tours. Many foreign women in Negril failed to recognize the labour done by Jamaican men because of the ambiguity of the relationship. Rides and tours were seen as outside of the political economy. Foreign women expected local men to do things as part of their friendship or intimate relationships, while local Jamaican men saw it as a labour that should be compensated.

I heard many accounts from women who begrudgingly became caught up in exchanges of money and other things, and women who were "tricked" out of large sums of money. What is interesting is that the men do not brag about what they are receiving, or taking, from the foreign women they date. In fact, they prefer to keep the exchange a secret. Tammy, a Canadian woman in her 60s shared with me some pictures of her Jamaican boyfriend during our interview. She pointed out the nice clothing he was wearing and all the nice jewellery he had on. "I bought all of that for him," she said, "but the funny thing is I'm not allowed to tell anyone." Some of the Jamaican men who became participants in my fieldwork wanted to emphasize to me they did not accept money from the foreign women they dated. They wanted to convey to me that they valued

their independence, and if they accepted money from foreign women this would eliminate their independence, and the women would use money to control them. Rick is a friend of mine who works at one of the local clubs on beach road. He said he is regularly pursued by foreign women for relationships, but this is not something he would be interested in. “The men who come to the clubs to meet women, they’re gigolos. They meet women, and very often they have more than 1, sometimes 5 or 6 at a time.” It is not something he would consider doing himself because for him he wants to have his own money, individuality and work ethic. As he told me: “As soon as a woman is sending the money she will end up controlling something about your life.” Many Jamaican men share similar concerns with being controlled by foreign women’s money. There seems to be a shame attached to accepting foreign women’s money. Perhaps in one sense it contradicts understandings and expectations of Jamaican masculinity. This is a pattern that could also reveal a desire to obtain a similar lifestyle to the Western travelers, one in which these men can live independently, and self-sufficiently. On the other hand, another possibility is that Jamaican men would like to emphasize their distaste for intimate/economic exchanges in order to appeal to foreign women’s growing concerns around economic exploitation. In any sense, the question of economic exploitation is not straightforward, as both foreign women and Jamaican men shared experiences of economic exploitation with me. Within the political economy of tourism, relationships become commodified, and this points to important nuances in terms of Jamaican men’s unrecognized labour, which challenges the common perception that foreign women are the only one’s who can potentially be economically exploited. This will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 5, however in the following section I will discuss some of the foundational concepts discussed within FST literature that deals with the complexities of gender and power within relationships between white foreign woman and local black men.

Mobility and gender power

In Negril, relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men are ambiguous because they encompass both commercial and intimate/emotional exchanges to the extent that they become deeply intertwined and clouded, rendering all encounters and relationships as suspicious. Previous assumptions of the white female transnational subject as economically powerful, and the local black man with localized power of intimacy and mobility are called into question in light of the nuanced negotiations of power, gender and mobility, making it increasingly difficult to identify who holds the scope of power in the relationship.

Foreign women's power is often attributed to their whiteness and their socio-economic position in FST scholarship (O'Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor 1999, Pruitt and LaFont 1995, and Phillips 2008). This power equips them with the upper hand in the relationship, which allows them to "realize the fantasy of their choosing," and ultimately to control the men as well as the duration of the relationship (O'Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor 1999, Johnson 2012). Some scholars such as Susan Frohlick (2007, 2009) argue that these understandings of foreign women as economically powerful, sexually liberated, and with the freedom and agency of mobility, are more complicated and nuanced than previously assumed. For instance, foreign women who visit Costa Rica are free to cross international borders as First World Citizens but the power associated with masculinity in the local contexts of her research complicates this mobility with local understandings of masculine power, which is often expressed in "homosocial practices especially within the domain of 'the street'" (Frohlick 2007, 157). Frohlick emphasizes how localized masculine power plays out in the contexts of homosocial practices by detailing the experience of one of her foreign female participants who received criticism from some of the local men. The men accused her, as well as other foreign female visitors, of moving freely

around the town without ever talking to them, and told her she was not local, and she did not belong there. Frohlick (2007) regards this as a way for local men to negotiate the relationships on their own terms by counterbalancing the women's ability to move locally and transnationally, and by reclaiming the street space as their own (157). She also discusses how local men utilize intimacy, which is something they know that foreign women want, in order to lure them into relationships, to ask for money in return, and ultimately to restrict their mobility. Some of her participants migrated to Costa Rica, or became repeat return visitors in order to pursue the relationships, and in some cases even after the relationships ended (sometimes badly) the women stayed back to try to mend them or pursue new ones. Frohlick argues that this demonstrates how localized masculinity challenges the image of "the unencumbered" foreign female traveler (2009, 390).

During the course of my fieldwork, I too realized that the power attributed to local masculinity played a pivotal role in foreign women's freedom of mobility, and sense of independence in Negril. The following chapter will provide an in-depth discussion of how gender and power is mitigated by, and interacts with, performances and constructions of Jamaican masculinity, which creates tensions in both the pursuit of foreign women, and in foreign women's mobility in public spaces in Negril. Earlier scholarship has suggested that the power lies in foreign women's economic advantage and their access to transnational citizenship and travel. However Frohlick has emphasized that based on her research findings foreign women who visit and migrate to Costa Rica may not have all the freedom and agency of mobility as has been previously assumed in the scholarship. In her work she demonstrates how foreign women's mobility may be complicated by their pursuit of intimacy with local Costa Rican men, which impacts on their transnational mobility, as well as the homosocial practices associated with

localized masculinity in Costa Rica such as the public realm of the street, which is understood as a masculine domain. In the following chapters, I will expand on Frohlick's conception of power and gender in transnational relationships between local Caribbean men and foreign women as more nuanced than previous scholarship has assumed in the sense that foreign women's local mobility is curtailed by the power associated with performances and constructions attributed to Jamaican masculinity. I will examine the ways in which these local cultural expressions of gender shape foreign women's experiences in public tourist spaces and their local mobility. I begin with an examination of Jamaican masculinity in Chapter 4, and consider the ways in which it was enacted in the contexts of transnational tourism-based relationships with foreign, Western women and the implications it had for women's mobility. Ultimately my intention is to challenge the simplistic understanding of power in these relationships, as both foreign women and Jamaican men exercised different forms of power, and both held the potential of being exploited. In this sense, I suggest that gender power in Negril complicates foreign women's racial and economic power.

Chapter 4

Negotiating Jamaican Masculinity and Public Space in Negril

As a foreign woman walking into Bourbon Beach, a popular club located on beach road, you can immediately feel all eyes on you. All along the outskirts of the club, there is typically a ring of Jamaican men, “posting up” (claiming a spot) bidding their weed in the palm of their hand, smoking joints and watching the tourists. On this particular night of September 18, 2015, I chose to stand for a moment on the outskirts with a few local men I know. Every so often I watched as a Jamaican man reaches out to grab the hand of a foreign woman to pull her close, in order to engage her for a moment. In some cases the woman will stop to flirt, but more often the woman will either come up with some sort of excuse to retrieve her hand: “I’m here with someone else, I’m meeting someone, I’ll talk to you later, I’m going to dance,” or she will ignore the advance and continue on her way. Later on in the evening my British friends Suzy and Mel arrived. They are two beautiful young black women with vivacious personalities who regularly visit Negril, and they attract a lot of attention from local Jamaican men. I asked them how they felt about the attention they received in the clubs. Mel said, “They’re [Jamaican men] like vultures. Sometimes there will be one guy chatting you up, when he leaves there will be another guy in a matter of seconds, and then another one and a few guys off to the side waiting for their chance as well.” The Jamaican man as “vulture” suggests that the foreign woman is the “prey” or “preyed upon.” These expressions are often used to depict the scene in Negril, as one in which there is often a tense, and even an aggressive pursuit of foreign women.

A major event occurred later on in the evening that perfectly emulates these circumstances of the “aggressive pursuit” of foreign women in Negril nightclubs. At one point a fight broke out. Some tourists headed straight for the exits, and others began circling around the two Jamaican men who were fighting. While I did not personally see how the fight developed, it

broke out steps away from where I was standing with Suzy and Mel. I could see clearly that one of the men had what appeared to be either his hand or a weapon under his shirt pointed towards the other man. I chose to move away to a safer area while the security and other concerned Jamaican men took control of the situation and escorted the men out of the club. I managed to find my friends who had not strayed too far. We were all relieved that the situation did not escalate, and while I tried to make a joke about running for the exit, Mel suggested that there's no harm in being too safe here since "so many of these guys are probably 'holding' (carrying weapons)". The crowd had drastically thinned out at this point, and many of the tourists who did remain appeared tense. A number of Jamaicans working at the club, the security team, and some of the well-known local men who frequent the club were doing damage control, in other words, checking on the tourists. The sound boy (Jamaican DJ) spoke into the microphone. I could not make out word for word what he was saying but it was something along the lines of "let's keep things peaceful so as not to scare the tourists who are bringing money to our country." In order to bring back the good vibes, the MC hosted some dance competitions to take the crowd's mind off of the fight, and ease the tension. The security guards walked around to check on the tourists, as well as some of the famous Jamaican men. A number of our local friends came up to us and asked, "every ting good?"

I waited until the club was closing in order to talk to the security guard about the incident. He assured me that the club was a safe space, and that this was of utmost concern to himself and his employer and he proved this to me by calling to his female co-worker, "how many guns do we have on the premises?" She replied that they had two on hand, as if the knowledge that they had guns was supposed to reassure me. I asked him for his account of the fight, and he told me that one Jamaican man was chatting with a foreign woman when another man came over to talk

to her as well. The first guy attacked him, and apparently stabbed him in the arm. I told him that it looked like one of the men was holding a gun, to which he replied, “probably.”

The next morning I stopped to chat with some of my neighbours, a group of Jamaican men a few doors down from me. I told them about the events of the previous night at Bourbon Beach, and they immediately laughed to each other and exchanged words in patois in a calm and reserved manner, which seemed to suggest that such an incident was a common occurrence. One of the men turned back to me and said “every night something gwan (goes on) at Bourbon. Those guys were fighting over a tourist, there’s always a war, a fight for a tourist.”

The event detailed above at a popular club in Negril poses a compelling case in which gender and power is mitigated by, and interacts with, performances and constructions of Jamaican masculinity. It is an interesting case that demonstrates the tensions involved in both the pursuit of foreign women and in foreign women’s mobility in public tourist spaces in Negril (such as the 7-mile beach, beach road, local clubs and bars). In the previous chapter I discussed the various contributions in scholarship on FST in terms of power and gender. Earlier scholarship has suggested that the power lies in foreign women’s economic advantage and their access to transnational citizenship and travel (O’Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor 1999). However Frohlick (2007) has emphasized that based on her research findings foreign women who visit and migrate to Costa Rica may not have all the freedom and agency of mobility as has been previously assumed in the scholarship. In her work she argues that foreign women’s mobility may be complicated by localized power attributed to Costa Rican masculinity, and by their pursuit of intimacy with local Costa Rican men. Their intimate ties with local men impacts on their transnational mobility due to the fact that it keeps them returning to Costa Rica sometimes regularly, and in some cases, the women end up remaining in Costa Rica to pursue

their relationships. Furthermore, homosocial practices associated with localized masculinity in Costa Rica that take place in the public realm of the street, which is understood as a masculine domain, can sometimes curtail foreign women's independence and freedom of mobility within Costa Rica. I build on Frohlick's contributions by drawing on her conception of power and gender in these relationships as more nuanced than previous scholarship has assumed. I suggest that foreign women's local mobility in Negril is in fact curtailed by the power associated with performances and constructions attributed to Jamaican masculinity. In some instances, expressions of masculinity such as the "bad man" image in which the imagery of the gun symbolizes masculine power, can impact foreign women's mobility in public spaces in Negril. This challenges simplistic understandings of how power operates in these relationships, since both foreign women and Jamaican men exercised different forms of power, and both held the potential of being exploited. In this sense gender power in Negril complicates foreign women's racial and economic power.

Central to our understanding of dominant masculinity, according to Lewis (2003) is the "exercise of power and the issue of control" (97). Dominant masculine ideology presumes power as entitlement, and often is associated with access to and control over resources, privilege and status, whether real or imagined (97). Ramirez discusses masculine ideologies specifically in the contexts of Puerto Rican society, however I find that his argument is applicable to Jamaica as well. He writes about how the desire for power and control is viewed as fundamental to the notion of masculinity and in becoming a man, and that power and control is intertwined with expressions of male sexuality and sexual desire. For instance, in Puerto Rico sexuality is a central component of masculine ideology. Men should be proud of it as they openly display and practice it. Ramirez suggests,

A real man pleases and satisfies his women while he chases, punishes, repudiates, or denigrates those who do not respond to his advances. Some turn to physical aggression. Sexual harassment and violence are part of the orientation to conquer and seduce women in a complex articulation of sexuality, power, and pleasure (241).

As discussed in more detail in Chapter 1, patriarchal ideals and gendered relations were originally instilled into the Caribbean region during the colonial period, and Caribbean masculinity was disproportionately marked with power and privilege (Kempadoo 2004, Lewis 2003). While not all men have equal access to power in the same way, it is considered an entitlement of manhood within the framework of dominant masculinity. However different factors such as race, class, and sexual orientation affect one's ability to perform dominant masculinity and to access the power and control traditionally associated with it. This chapter seeks to engage with discussions pertaining to certain performances and understandings of Caribbean and Jamaican masculinity so it is important to state that it would be a vast generalization and oversight to frame the discussion of Caribbean masculinity as applying to all Caribbean men, at all times and in all contexts, and the same can be said of Jamaican masculinity. Caribbean masculinity particularly as applied to poor and black identities has typically been discussed, viewed and envisioned negatively. Both Ramirez (2003) and Lewis (2003) warn that in considering Caribbean masculinities, it is necessary to relate the meanings back to economic, historical, and cultural contexts of any given society, so as not to reproduce meanings as naturalized and reductionist. As my discussion of violence and crime in Chapter 1 demonstrates, Caribbean masculinity is often homogenized and framed purely in a negative light within Western imaginings. My intention is not to make the mistake of analyzing Jamaican masculinity as a cultural trait or as ahistorical, but instead as influenced by processes such as colonialism, as well as changing social and economic contexts. As such, I will discuss Jamaican masculinity as it plays out in the contexts of transnational and cross-cultural relationships, and in

light of the tense pursuit of foreign women in Negril, based on my observations and interviews throughout my fieldwork. In other words, I am not as interested in theorizing Jamaican masculinity as I am in thinking about how Jamaican masculinity plays out in transnational encounters, including how masculine power is understood by foreign women and also how men deploy particular versions of manhood in Negril. Furthermore I suggest that Jamaican masculinity has been influenced by the political economy and socio-historical circumstances of Jamaican society, and I examine how this impacts on foreign women's overall experience of travel and tourism in Jamaica, their freedom of mobility as well as their intimate relationships and friendships.

Masculine Power and Control as an Impediment to Foreign Women's Mobility

The opening vignette details one example of how the tense pursuit of foreign women plays out in Negril nightclubs. Foreign women experience a lot of attention from Jamaican men, not only in the obvious tourist spaces but also on the beach, in restaurants and along beach road. I often traveled up into the cliff area, and into the market where there were far fewer tourists, and I received just as many advances from Jamaican men. Some of my participants would indulge in the flirty rapport with Jamaican men, whereas others were fed up and overwhelmed by it. The consistency of foreign women traveling to Negril, and the rate at which Jamaican men in this area have success in the pursuit of foreign women has resulted in an image of foreign female travelers as desiring Jamaican men and their attention, whether or not this was the case. It is certainly not uncommon for Jamaican men to solicit foreign women for sex and sexual favours outwardly in tourist spaces, and along beach road. Often times Jamaican men are less up front however, and will hint towards intimate possibilities by suggesting that foreign women spend time with them, meet them at the club, and exchange contact information. Jamaican men are

aware of foreign women's sexual desire for them, which has been influenced by racialized and sexualized images of black men as hypermasculinized, hypersexualized, and more sexually experienced compared to Western, or white men, as discussed previously in Chapter 3.

The foreign women in my research often shared with me issues with achieving a sense of freedom (of mobility, and to choose whether or not to interact with certain Jamaican men) and independence in Negril and interestingly it seemed that there was tension between foreign women's capacity to access freedom and to be independent in Negril, and the Jamaican ideals of hypermasculinity including control of women's movements and bodies. Ideals of Jamaican masculine control intertwine with foreign women's social position as white women in the local contexts of Negril. Their visibility as white women, who are intensely pursued by Jamaican men, creates tension for them in accessing their freedom and independence. I met Carla on the 7-mile beach, and while she was hesitant to let me interview her she engaged in a few informal conversations with me during my fieldwork. She certainly had an interesting perspective on life in Negril with over 20 years of travel experience to the island. She told me that there is a growing tension in Negril that drives the Jamaican men in their pursuit of foreign women and it's unlike anywhere else she's ever been. As a foreign woman who is no longer interested in pursuing a relationship with a Jamaican man, the constant attention she receives can be daunting: "You can never be lonely here, but there's a downside, you can never find solitude either."

Courtney, a German woman shared similar issues with freedom of mobility and independence due to her visibility as a white woman:

I go to the Jungle if there is ladies night because it's a club and I like to party and dance, but I like more the local parties but its always a bit hard to get there because if you go with a [Jamaican] guy he wants something more after that and he will try, and I don't really like to take route taxis and go by myself...it's a bit more dangerous that things might happen to you if you're not with someone who make you feel safe.

She prefers the locals parties over the tourist clubs on beach road, however the local parties are typically harder to get to, and very rarely do other tourists frequent these parties. It is not a comfortable place to go alone due to her visibility as an “outsider.” However, to attend the party with a Jamaican man can also cause problems since there is a chance he will expect sex in return. Interestingly, in connection to this, a foreign woman named Francine who is practically a foreign resident due to her regular visits to Negril told me that “it’s all about who you know” as the secret to accessing freedom and independence. Knowing the “right” Jamaican men can make all the difference in accessing freedom and mobility. During our conversation she told me that she is happy as a 30-something year-old woman, who is not interested in settling down and having a family. However, in Negril this causes her some difficulties in experiencing freedom without having or desiring a relationship. For Francine, the difficulty with living in a place like Negril comes from trying to dodge proposals and propositions for relationships with Jamaican men. On a few occasions she has even been accused of being a lesbian, due to her constant disinterest in Jamaican men. However, she does not fight the accusations, and she also uses other excuses in order to avoid the pursuit of Jamaican men such as that she already has “too many Jamaican men on the go,” or that she would prefer not to date someone who already has children. Although she suggested that if you remain single for too long people begin to notice and you become a victim not only to criticism but also “they treat you like you aren’t fulfilling your duty if you do not have children, or a man.” Cindy is another foreign woman from the United States who has not engaged in any relationships with Jamaican men, however she is a regular visitor to Negril. During her joint interview with her husband from the United States, she told me that she typically would travel to Negril with her family and friends, but on one particular occasion she found herself visiting on her own. “I was very excited but then all of a sudden I had a slight

panic attack.” According to her husband, her safety was assured by some of the local Jamaican men they had befriended over the 30 years they had been traveling to Negril. “Yah but I got a call everyday [from Jamaican friends] “we’re watching her” and when she would go into town I would get a call that so and so was watching out for her.” The discussion reveals that Cindy’s safety relied on men’s (both Jamaican men, and her husband) control over her body, and her mobility in Negril. This demonstrates the ways in which masculine power is central to women’s mobility in Negril, and reveals how women without men are seen as disrupting the local gender order. The above discussion also provides an example for why it is so difficult for foreign women, such as Francine, to experience freedom and independence that is not attached to their relationships with men, and particularly with Jamaican men. Cindy went on to say, “I think you have to be a strong individual, as a woman to come down here and live here, and to entertain all the things that go on.” In this sense, she views the women who live and travel in Negril as “courageous,” due to the fact that they need to navigate the constant visibility as a foreign woman, the pursuit of Jamaican men, and the male dominance mindset of Jamaican men, on a regular basis.

The above comments help to demonstrate a complicated contradiction in which Jamaican men were often the key to ease of access, mobility, and safety traversing boundaries in Negril, while at the same time Jamaican men could easily inhibit and infringe on foreign women’s freedom and mobility. One Jamaican man with whom I shared a complicated relationship named Frequency features regularly throughout my field notes, and he shared some insights on this tension between masculine ideologies of control and foreign women’s attempts at freedom. I often called Frequency “the philosopher” because he shared complex thoughts and ideas with me in reference to my research, and on so many other aspects of human behaviour, and political and

historical events. He was born in Kingston, and experienced a rough childhood, at times living and sleeping in the streets. He described to me the violence he had experienced growing up with an abusive father, and witnessing friends and family members being shot in the street. He moved numerous times from one parish to the next in an attempt to escape poverty and violence. He is one of many Jamaican men who originally came to Negril as an outsider, in order to take advantage of the opportunities connected to tourism. He was absolutely fascinated with what I was studying, and constantly wanted to share his opinions with me. However at the same time, I found that he was too insistent with me. He would constantly try to convince me to accompany him on drives up into the cliffs, and he would find me on the beach or at the bar while I was engaging in my fieldwork, and would try to pry me away so that he could speak with me privately. I felt certain that while he could be well meaning, the difficulty within the contexts of Negril, and “the specter of sex tourism” is that I read his actions at times as forthcoming in an attempt to initiate something intimate with me (Williams 2013). As soon as I recognized this possibility I attempted to limit our interactions, however he did not take this reaction too well.

One sunny day at Bourbon Beach he came over to me and asked if he could buy me a drink. I told him I was fine but I appreciated the offer and tried to continue with a conversation I was having with a foreign female friend. He appeared upset, and asked if we could speak outside. I was hesitant, but in this moment I was concerned about how the situation might escalate, both in that moment and in the future. I followed him outside and we sat on the curb. He proceeded to tell me that recently I had been very rude towards him, after he had shared so many stories with me. I explained to him that his advances were not appreciated, and that I came here with a purpose, but at times it felt as though he infringed on my sense of freedom. He told me that this was the “problem” with all of the foreign women who visit Jamaica with a certain

out-dated image of it in mind, inspired by Bob Marley's music. He said, "all you foreign women come here expecting the 'One Love', Bob Marley experience. But you don't realize it's not like that anymore. Circumstances have changed here. There's always going to be a Jamaican man who wants to control you."

The above discussion reveals how Jamaican masculine ideologies based on the idealized notions of masculine power and control in gender relations creates tensions in interaction with foreign women's idealization of gender equality and "freedom," especially based on their experiences in public spaces. The double standard of the highly masculinized public realm in Negril poses an interesting case study in consideration of foreign women who visit Negril, and frequent these highly masculinized spaces. Similarly to the contexts of Frohlick's (2007) research, the power that is associated with masculinity in the local contexts of Costa Rica also complicates foreign women's mobility in terms of homosocial practices within the domain of the street. Frohlick (2007) demonstrates how this plays out in the contexts of her research by detailing an experience that one of her participants shared with her, in which she was reprimanded by a group of Costa Rican men who were angry with her for being a visitor of their country and never stopping to chat with them. They told her she should leave, and that she did not belong in their country. In a sense I read her experience as an expression of frustration from these men, that a foreign woman could come and traverse these boundaries of the public and the private and have access to the same power that they associate with Costa Rican masculinity (Frohlick 2007). I would suggest that the fact that the men told her to leave, and that she did not belong there, means that they were reinforcing their masculine dominance, and their control and power in gender relations. In my research I saw similar "homosocial practices" taking place that were interpreted by my participants as instances in which dominance was re-instituted by

Jamaican men during their encounters with foreign women. For instance, one of the main difficulties women shared with me involved the capacity to move around Negril freely, without having to constantly avoid the pursuits of Jamaican men. In a sense they wished that they could blend in more with the local culture. Another constant concern women regularly discussed with me was the concern that Jamaican men wanted nothing more than to exploit them, such as by charging them triple the cost to take a route taxi, or by trying to engage them emotionally and intimately specifically because they are foreign women. Each of these concerns translated into a difficulty for them to move freely, and their independence to make their own decisions based on where they would go and whom they would interact with. Foreign women's difficulties negotiating Jamaican masculinity within public spaces in Negril can be better understood in relation to local gender relations as well. In the following section I will discuss the division of the private and public spheres, and how this translates into contemporary gender relations in Jamaica.

The “Yaad,” and the “Street” Foreign Women Negotiate Public Space and Jamaican Masculinity

LaFont (1995) discusses how dominant gender ideologies instituted during colonialism imposed a Western model of gender behaviour in which Jamaican men were expected to be heads of the household and the sole providers. While this family organization was easily adopted by the upper classes in Jamaica, it was never attainable to Jamaicans of low socio-economic position, and so while the ideals of the “dominant male” as sole provider and head of the household remained intact, the actual division of labour in Jamaica entailed that women also needed to labour outside of the home, and the organization of low socio-economic households has remained primarily matrifocal, regardless of the asymmetry of gender relations and expectations. The gendered division of labour resulted in the separation of the private and public

spheres. As discussed in Chapter 1, Chevannes conducted ethnographic research on an urban ghetto community in inner city Kingston, in which he wrote about his observations of this division of the private and public spheres. In his specific case study he interpreted the separation of public and private spheres as the “street” representing the public and the masculine realm, and the “yaad” (home) representing the private and the female realm. He identified this separation based on his observations of how Jamaican youth are socialized differently based on their gender. Jamaican boys are allowed to wander the streets and are actually socialized to “survive” in the streets, hustling to make a living, but Jamaican girls are more often sent to school, or otherwise encouraged to stay at home. While Chevannes’ case study is particularly focused on one inner-city community, I would like to apply the concept of the street as a masculine domain to the contexts of the street in Negril, based on my observations and in connection to the opening vignette. As I observed in Negril, public tourist space such as the dancehalls, clubs, beach road, and the 7-mile beach were certainly masculine spaces in the sense that Jamaican men frequented these spaces more often, and they were much more visible. As you travel up and down beach road, you rarely find Jamaican women “posting up” (a term used to define groups of men occupying space, often groups of men engaging in homosocial practices), but Jamaican men regularly hang around on the main road offering rides, and selling weed and services such as private tours. Beyond this visibility, it became very clear to me that more professions connected directly to tourism were taken up by Jamaican men. For instance, you will never find a Jamaican woman driving a route taxi, or selling weed. More men than women walk up and down the beach selling hand made goods and services. And Jamaican women do not offer organized tours on the fringes of the tourism industry the way Jamaican men do. However, this is not to suggest that Jamaican women are not involved in the formal or informal tourism industry. I did encounter a

lot of women who worked on resorts, in restaurants as servers, and women typically walked up and down 7-mile beach selling massages, facials, and hair braiding services. In terms of nightlife, I encountered Jamaican women who frequented the night scene, but local perspectives of women who engaged in this lifestyle were different from those of Jamaican men. I learned from informal conversations, especially as I traveled around the island to other parishes such as Ocho Rios and Port Antonio, that Jamaicans view Jamaican women who visit Negril to find opportunities in tourism as “Negril girls.” According to Randy: “This is sin city [Negril]. I know so many [Jamaican] girls who have come here from the country and now they’re Negril Girls.” I heard this term being used more than a few times, and so when the opportunity arose, I asked a Jamaican man I met in Port Antonio what he meant by this. He said all families fear that their girls will leave to Negril, wear fake hair, and fake nails and join the night scene. I interpreted this as a fear that Jamaican women would “lose their morals,” and that by engaging in the night scene, this opened them up to illicit activities and sex work. This depicts the double standard of the public realm, whereas the street opens up both possibilities and danger for Jamaican men, it is not a suitable place for a woman. Jamaican men of low-socio economic status are typically taught how to survive in the streets, whereas the concern is that Jamaican women are not equipped as women to deal with the dangers of street life, and public spaces that are highly masculinized in Negril.

The street as the male domain translates interestingly when considered in relation to foreign female visitors and residents. Foreign women are often interested in engaging in the night scene, they roam around beach road freely and they have the means to travel around transnationally and locally throughout different spaces in Negril, such as the resort areas, local restaurants, and tourist restaurants, the attractions up in the cliffs, and rural areas. However, the

freedom to travel and move can be limited by episodes of dominance in Jamaican masculinity, often expressed through the imagery of the gun. As I will discuss further in the following section, I hypothesize that the gun represents an extension of Jamaican masculinity in compensation for lack of socioeconomic access idealized in understandings of dominant masculinity. Here I suggest that dominant ideals of Jamaican masculinity limit women's mobility in Negril.

Throughout my experience traveling around Negril I have learned that a woman cannot simply say, "no I am not interested, or "please leave me alone." These rebuttals can end badly and have lingering consequences if you upset the wrong person. I witnessed a scene such as this on the 7-mile beach during the course of my fieldwork. As I was taking a walk I passed by two foreign women who looked to be in their mid to late 50s, sprawled out on beach chairs underneath two umbrellas, reading books. I passed by them at the very moment an altercation was heating up between them and a Jamaican man. I stood nearby in case they might need some assistance. The man approached them and tried to offer services to them, including sexual services. The two women were offended by this, and tried to shut the interaction down. I assume that the Jamaican man interpreted this as disrespectful. He yelled and cursed at the women, and continued to repeat, "I ain't no gigalo." One woman attempted to block him out by covering her face with her book, while the other woman covered her ears. The man continued to yell at them angrily, and exclaimed, "If I had my gun I would shoot you." Eventually he began to move along the beach again. Once he was about 10 feet away, he stopped and turned back to them and gestured towards them with his hand shaped like a gun, insinuating gunfire in their direction.

I would suggest that based on some key remarks made by scholars of Caribbean masculinity, Jamaican men depend on hypermasculinized expressions of masculinity such as aggression and violence, and symbolism of the gun due to their marginalized position and

limited access to social mobility in a postcolonial and patriarchal society, which hinders their capacity to engage with aspects attributed to dominant masculinity. For instance, Ramirez (2003) suggests that lower class, marginalized Puerto Rican men value “aggression, forcefulness, violence and phallic imagery” as markers of masculine status, as they negotiate their lack of access to dominant masculinity (127). Carolyn Cooper also suggests that in the contexts of Jamaican dancehall culture, the gun signifies a symbol of masculine power (Hope 116). Building on the work of Ramirez (1999) and Cooper (Hope 2006) I would suggest that expressions of hypermasculinity in Jamaica such as aggression and the image of the gun curtails foreign women’s freedom of mobility and allows Jamaican men to exercise control over foreign women’s bodies.

Donna Hope (2006) discusses the historical and socio-economic factors that play into Jamaican masculine ideologies such as hypermasculinity and its connection to the political economy, and the phallic symbolism of the gun, as a vital extension of masculine power and control within the contexts of gender relations in Jamaica. Hope looks at representations of masculinity through the cultural production and romanticization of violence in dancehall culture and demonstrates how the role of “lyrical don” is overly masculine and guarded from female intervention, which coincides with the wider society’s gender structures of masculine power (127). She draws a connection between the hypermasculinized performative styles and imagery of the dancehall culture with the deteriorating political and economic climate in Jamaica. For instance, due to limited access in post-colonial patriarchal society, and the worsening economic conditions and pressures in Jamaica preceding the structural adjustment agreement, detailed previously in Chapter 1, there is a greater dependence on hypermasculinized expressions of

masculinity, such as aggression and violence as a means of expressing masculinity connected to the provider impetus.

Social and economic pressures in Jamaica climbed to greater heights in the 1990s, and according to Hope it was around this time that dancehall culture relied more heavily on violent imagery and symbols (117). The contemporary images of the gun in dancehall culture are related to the real life experience of violence in the inner cities, as a result of deepening poverty, political violence, narco-culture and the culture of the gun (Hope 117). The political violence of the 1970s has been a central contributor to the gun culture in Jamaican inner cities (Hope 2006, Thomas 2011). According to Thomas, inner city neighbourhoods in Kingston became polarized based on their support for one of the two political parties, the People's National Party (PNP) and the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) during the 1960s/1970s (36). Party leaders distributed resources to their supporters, and guns to the Dons and area Leaders of their supporting communities to assist them in carrying out responsibilities and maintaining authority, such as forcing out minority party supporters (118). However, Jamaica's worsening economic circumstances during the 1980s, including their signing on to the structural adjustment agreement, placed Area leaders and Dons in greater positions of power, and community members looked to them to maintain authority, due to their distrust of the police (Thomas, 36). Political leaders no longer had the funds to support the Dons and Area Leaders, so this economic gap was filled by the rising informal activity that formed around the difficult economic climate of the structural adjustment program (Hope, 118). In connection to the reality of the socio-economic climate, Hope suggests that the transformation of masculine identity idealized within Jamaican popular culture represents real social and political transformations in Jamaica. For instance the image of the Don/Area Leader took rise during the 1980s and 1990s, and now the image of the Shotta is

emphasized in contemporary images and portrayals of Jamaican masculinity in dancehall culture (119). According to Hope:

In Jamaican dancehall culture, the contemporary Don/Shotta is a being whose entire existence is circumscribed and defined by violence, deviance and lawlessness, as defined by traditional, middle-class Jamaican mores. This phenomenon includes the lyrical, symbolic and physical parody of violence that select male artists and their supporters in the dancehall engage in. It extends beyond the lyrical and the physical and enters the ideological that includes a belief in/subscription to use of violence and lawlessness as a means to an ends. It is within this social and ideological deviance that the Don/Shotta carves out his space and finds his freedom and actualization out of the confines of the marginalized spaces (119).

As Hope remarks later on, popular contemporary dancehall artists such as Vybz Cartel speak to the new generation of Jamaican youth who are grappling with issues relating to economic deprivation, gun violence, and gang culture, ultimately carving out a space for them on a broader social platform despite their low socio-economic and marginalized position within the wider society (124). Furthermore, for Jamaican men occupying low socio-economic and marginalized space in Jamaica, the aggressive, forcefulness, violence and phallic imagery attributed to masculine identities of the Dons/Shottas represents an important signifier of identity in light of unattainable aspects of hegemonic masculinity in Jamaica (Hope 127). This performance and construction of Jamaican masculinity certainly had a specific significance within the context of Negril, and in terms of the encounters and interactions between Jamaican men and foreign women.

During my fieldwork the imagery of the gun in performances and representations of Jamaican masculinity became prominently featured in my notes. I learned that some Jamaican men carried a gun for the “visual” effect of power that it established. Some of my participants and friends really wanted to acquire a gun; it was a goal they had in mind, something to work towards. Many young Jamaican men in Negril present themselves as a “bad man,” an image that

originated in the inner cities and that has been further developed in dancehall music. Part of this image involved the idealization of guns and violence, as well as sexual power and control over women as alternate expressions of masculinity in light of Jamaica's economic hardships and poverty. Interestingly, in terms of the dancehall scene, I often experienced Jamaican men coming up from behind me and trying to wind on me. The popular Jamaican dance is supposed to articulate through movement sexual interaction, through such dance styles as winding and daggering. For myself and other foreign women from different cultural contexts, this loss of control is sometimes experienced as dehumanizing and humiliating. However, foreign women need to constantly traverse the highly masculinized spaces of Negril where sometimes you do experience unwanted touching and aggressive pursuits by Jamaican men.

One evening I was at a water party with my British friends Suzy and Mel, celebrating Mel's birthday. At a point I lost them amongst the crowd, and while I was looking for them, a young Jamaican guy came up to me and said that he recognized me from the bar we were at just prior to the party. I did not recognize him or know him at all, so I quickly ended the interaction to continue looking for my friends. Shortly afterwards I found my group of friends, and he was amongst them. He came over to me and scolded me for being rude to him earlier. I was a bit uneasy by his presence because it felt condescending, and some of his remarks were a bit unsettling. I went to the bar to get a drink and I felt something poke me in the back. I panicked and turned around, only to find the young Jamaican guy staring at me. I think he could sense my fear, because he said, "nah, it ain't no gun," and continued to glare at me. He knew he was scaring me, and I think that's exactly what he hoped to achieve. Luckily in that moment a friend of mine was standing nearby, and he saw what was happening. He came over and asked the guy to leave, and he left immediately. I asked my friend, "What is it with Jamaican men and guns?"

He replied, “Some guys just don’t know how to talk to girls.” In light of the contexts of expressions of hypermasculinity that some Jamaican men of low socio-economic and marginalized status emulate, I realized that my friend could be right. As I witnessed in some instances, some Jamaican men use the symbol and imagery of the gun, in order to negotiate the economic gap between the space they occupy as marginalized men, and the ideals of dominant masculinity. As evidenced in this particular instance, Jamaican men may sometimes wield the symbol of the gun in order to compensate for feelings of powerlessness, such as in their failed sexual advances with foreign women.

Here I stress that this was not the only expression of masculinity that I witnessed and experienced during my fieldwork, but rather, there were competing masculinities operating within the transnational contexts of tourism in Negril. I noticed men who emulated a different version of Jamaican masculinity, which I discussed briefly in Chapter 1. I became very familiar with quite a few Jamaican men who frequented the tourism scene in Negril, and were very well known around town by both foreign visitors and locals. I noticed that tourists typically gravitated towards these local men, and in some cases foreign visitors had developed long-term friendships and ties with these men, traveling to Negril to visit with them, keeping in touch with them after they left Negril, and sometimes sending them gifts and money. I often refer to these men in my field notes as the “famous Jamaicans,” a term that I coined because they were famous to the foreign visitors. In a sense, they seemed to embody a more “Americanized” or “Westernized” version of Jamaican masculinity. The famous Jamaicans seemed to be somewhat more relatable to foreign visitors. A foreign woman I met on the beach one day was familiar with one of the men who she claimed is a long-time friend of hers. She said when she met him; she did not think he was Jamaican because his accent is very subtle. She had mistaken him for an American the

first time they met. When she visits Negril she calls him for rides and to buy weed, but it is strictly a friendship. During my interview with Tammy I asked her if there were Jamaican men whose company she preferred over others, and she responded: "I really like the polite and protective ones, I really don't like the abusive and cussing ones, not a big fan of 'the bad man' either." Both Courtney and Jane suggested in their interviews that they prefer the company of Jamaican men who are self-sufficient financially, and thus their relationship with them is not based on an economic exchange. For instance, according to Courtney:

First, I like guys who say 'I have a job'...one guy he always told me, my mom teach me to pay everything for myself. I like that a lot because, its like I said, I don't even want the company umm, nothing else, not the friend, nothing what just depends on I pay everything for him. And otherwise I like guys who are not always playing the bad man, like oh I have my respect in the streets, and I'm a fighter, and this and that, I like guys who are more peaceful and maybe a bit more quiet, they are not meeting you and starting oh you are so beautiful, I really like you, because I am tired of this it is always the same, and they always say, listen I am special, I'm not like the others but everyone say that, and so I am fucking tired of this, so I like guys who are a bit more quiet and a bit more like not starting pushing compliments on you.

Jane also suggested that her most successful relationships with Jamaican men, were with men who did not ask her for any financial help:

And the ones that I like are the ones who don't ask for anything, just want to sit and chat, just be pleasant and quiet and reliable. I mean like my bike taxi driver. He's very quiet, that's how he makes his living. Just for an example this one, he drives slowly because I hate driving fast, he always comes when he says he's going to come, he's always polite and he always...and he, his mother has been in the hospital for a long time he looks after his son, like they all do...like all the men do when they're dumped with one of their children. He's, he cares he seems to care, I will phone him everyday to give me a lift because as I say he's reliable, he's a nice guy, there's never a problem, he's not asking for anything you know? And then I've got one of my neighbors, he's a much older guy and he lives in his little wooden house no water and no electricity, he put his three kids through college. I'm not really sure why he has nothing now; he's just the most gentlest, polite, really nice guy.

In one sense, it is possible that some Jamaican men are more relatable for foreign visitors based on their acclimation to diverse foreign tourists. I also suspect that foreigners prefer the presence of the “famous” Jamaicans because they take a different approach with their encounters with foreigners that is not dominant, but contrasts with the direct approach of some Jamaican men such as those detailed above. This could be due to their different positionality in relation to socio-economic contexts, in the sense that these men are not as reliant on their encounters with foreigners in order to earn a living, and furthermore their encounters with foreign women are not facilitated by a strong desire to meet a foreign woman. In other words, they did not approach them in an insistent way.

The localized power attributed to understandings of Jamaican masculinity complicates and impedes upon foreign women’s mobility and independence in Negril. As detailed above, Jamaican masculinity has been influenced by the political economy and socio-historical circumstances of Jamaican society, and these idealizations linked to aggression and masculine expressions of sexuality impacts on foreign women’s overall experience of travel and tourism in Jamaica, their ease of mobility and sense of freedom as well as their intimate relationships and friendships. The foreign women in my research often shared with me issues with achieving a sense of freedom in Negril and interestingly it seemed that there was tension between foreign women’s capacity to access freedom in Negril, and the ideals of hypermasculinity. It was a complicated contradiction in which Jamaican men were often the key to their ease of access, mobility, and safety traversing boundaries in Negril, while at the same time Jamaican men could easily inhibit and infringe on their freedom and mobility. However, while this chapter focussed on Jamaican men’s localized power attributed to expressions and performances of hypermasculinity, it is not completely clear who holds power as it is constantly negotiated under

varying circumstances. In the next chapter I engage with the concept of “game” to understand the play of power between local Jamaican men and foreign Western women. I argue that Jamaican men treat their relationships with foreign women as a “game” in which they play on what they perceive to be women’s expectations in order to get what they want, which includes money, gifts, social mobility, but also sex and intimacy. However, the foreign women I interviewed became experienced in Negril and knowledgeable about the way relationships and gender function there. In this sense foreign women seemingly “learned how to play the game” by becoming Jamaican, not allowing themselves to fall in love or to become too attached, and by becoming more calculating and careful in their relationships (Frohlick 2013). Some women even avoided intimate relationships entirely, and they shared with me some of the tactics they utilized in order to traverse the highly masculinized public tourist spaces in Negril in which the pursuit of foreign women is constant and at times aggressive.

Chapter 5 Power and Games

“This vision of power [as traditional and patriarchal] can lead some people to conclude that in patriarchal societies all men are powerful and all women are equally subordinated – a rather naïve conclusion, since it does not allow us to understand the complexities of the games and the forces of power that are expressed in social encounters between individuals of different genders and of the same gender” (Ramirez 238).

Francine’s brother Will is visiting her in Negril this week. We were talking about my research and he couldn’t wrap his head around why these foreign women try to start relationships in Jamaica in the first place. I wanted his opinion, as someone who has extensively traveled to Negril. I told him that some of my participants, they tell their Jamaican lovers that if they don’t want a serious relationship, or a monogamous relationship, they are ok with that. They value honesty more than anything. But they tell me so many stories about their Jamaican lovers lying to them and cheating on them. And I asked him, why would the men do that? Why do they continue still to create a romantic façade for the foreign women, and claim to want a monogamous relationship with them, only to turn around and to cheat on them? And he laughed and he said, “Maybe they just love the game.” (December 26, 2015 field note).

As discussed in the previous chapter, performances and constructions of Jamaican masculinity in Negril plays a pivotal role in foreign women’s freedom of mobility and independence. Complexities of gender and power entail that foreign women do not necessarily hold complete freedom and power as previously assumed in earlier scholarship (O’Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor 1999). Localized power attributed to ideologies of Jamaican masculinity creates tension for foreign women, curtailing their local mobility and at times creating a sense of danger for foreign women (in some cases, real danger). Two events detailed in Chapter 4 describe situations in which foreign women turned down Jamaican men and their sexual advances, which resulted in the men retaliating with aggression, invoking images of the

gun. I recall a conversation I shared with a middle aged Jamaican man at a small bar located in the Negril cliffs one evening. He told me that Jamaican men are “trained in the art of war.” He said, “they know how to charm you, they are well-trained charmers, and they will show you their best side in the beginning. They are also all jealous, controlling, territorial, and they will show you this side once they are not getting what it is that they wanted from you.” This conversation was the first time I began thinking about how the actions of Jamaican men could be so “calculated” in their pursuits. His comment certainly sheds light on Will’s discussion in this chapters opening vignette, in which he suggests that relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men can be regarded as a “game” they play in order to acquire what they want from the foreign women. They play on romantic scripts such as love and monogamy as things that foreign women desire from Jamaican men, in order to acquire what they want from them, whether that be sex, money or gifts. However, divisions of power in the pursuit of foreign women and in relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men are not as straightforward, which became clear to me in learning about foreign women and Jamaican men’s social encounters. Both foreign women and Jamaican men exercise different forms of power, and both hold the potential of being exploited. In this sense gender power in Negril complicates foreign women’s racial and economic power. Jamaican men are not the only ones who play the “game” in order to get what they want. The discussions throughout this chapter frame how foreign women and men read Jamaican men’s use of intimacy, love and desire “skillfully” in order to acquire the money, material possessions and social mobility that they desire. However, foreign women also learn how to play the game as well, in order to obtain the freedom of mobility, sense of belonging, and the sex and intimacy that they want in their relationships and encounters.

Foreign women's perspectives of Jamaican men and "The Game"

I draw on Sealing Cheng's (2010) conception of "the game of love," in order to flesh out what I mean by "games" in the contexts of gender and power struggles in Negril. According to Cheng, the economy of desires in *gijichon* provokes performances of love referred to as "the game," which "requires the presentation of self according to gendered and racialized scripts of romantic love in order to get what one wants – money, gifts, sex and so forth" (134). "The game" takes place when negotiations of money and sex converge (139). Within the contexts of *gijichon* clubs in South Korea, Filipina women use love as "a weapon of the weak" in order to negotiate their subordination and pursue aspirational projects through their relationships and encounters with GI patrons (142). I would argue that Jamaican men also draw on scripts of romantic love, monogamy and marginalization in order to attract foreign women to acquire the money, gifts and sex that they want from them. However, in contrast to the Filipina women who use love in order to acquire money, gifts, sex and opportunities associated with a Western lifestyle from their GI patrons, within the contexts of relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men in Negril, the gendered scripts are reversed. According to Cheng, the contexts of the romantic scripts in her research are gender appropriate, "the man protects and supports the woman materially, while the woman offers herself sexually" (140). Conversely, within the contexts of relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men, foreign women feel cheated and tricked for exchanging money in return for the romance, love, and sex that they believe should be free and available to them as women.

Jane, a British woman in her late 60s told me the story of how she first met her 43-year-old Jamaican boyfriend, and her comments are worth quoting at length:

I met him by chance while I was on holiday here and that was fine, and I met him because I thought he was being obnoxious to somebody and so, and then I actually

realized that he was talking patois to this other guy and it was a sort of friendly argument and so that's how I met him. And I thought he was very nice, actually that was the last night I was here on the first time I came out for a holiday. I came back again and happened to go to the same bar and he was there and that's when we kind of met up, and you know, it was good. And then he sort of decided towards the end of my stay he needed some help to buy a television. And I gave it to him, but I never saw him again, I went back to England and he called me in England and told me all this crap like he missed me and that shit, anyway I came back and that's when all the shit started really but although I quite liked him still he did make me laugh in a beautiful way, but also he had such a hard life, haven't they all? He asked me to lend him some money to buy a car, and I agreed, and I opened a bank account for him because he was going to be a plated driver, and I thought, that's fine. I opened a bank account for him so he could pay me back gradually for the car, well that never happened. And it turned out he hasn't even got a drivers license. I mean and he's screwing around and shit all the time. But I mean, I quite enjoyed the first three months we lived together, I quite enjoyed it, I was on the beach I was enjoying it, we went to lots of places. I mean it was last year, I've know him for 4 years and it was only last year that I found out he didn't even have a drivers license. When they're horrible they're really horrible. And they kind of, if you like them in the first place they can kind of twist you. And you're gullible, and it takes a while to really...I mean the guy I was with I loved his body and we had some really good times but he was an asshole, the most evil man I'd ever met in my life. A cheat, a liar and a thief.

Jane reflects happily on the earlier years of her relationship, as she remarks that she was happy, he made her laugh, and they traveled a lot together around the island. She also, however, seems to suggest that her knowledge of his difficult situation as a marginalized Jamaican man was part of the reason that she helped him out financially, by helping him to purchase a TV and a car. In the beginning of her relationship she did not question the legitimacy of their love because she felt she was just helping him by lending him money to buy a TV and a car, rather than giving it to him in exchange for a relationship. However, when she realized that he would make no effort to pay her back, she began to feel tricked and cheated. While she ultimately fell in love for him because he was kind, had a nice body, and a good sense of humour, she notes that now when she reflects on the past she thinks that she was "gullible" because he was "twisting" her to get what he wanted. This suggests that his intimacy and love was a performance, and the monetary expectations in her opinion revealed the falsehood of the relationship, including the intimacy and

the love.⁶ At the time of our interview, their relationship was still continuing, although it lacked the same romance and intimacy as was present initially, it turned into something more calculated as she describes it:

Me: So what keeps your relationship going now?

Jane: My dog. He's always looked after the dog when I hadn't been here. No one else would it's a blind dog. My dog is used to him, I'd like to take the dog back home with me when I go home but he's going to cost me about 4000 pounds. There are a lot of rules; you can import a dog here from England that's the only place around the world because both have no rabies. And I can only assume that's why. So this time around he's going to take care of the dog again when I leave, but I'm going to try to sort things out on my end so I can bring him back to England. Otherwise I'm going to have to put him down because there's nobody I would trust here.

Me: Do you think you would still have a relationship with this guy if there were no dog?

Jane: No, it's emotional blackmail, the only reason he is giving me lifts and taking me to the shops and walking the dog is because where I live it was an unfurnished flat, so I had to buy furniture and a mattress and he wants all of that. So it's kind of emotional blackmail.

Jane believes that the reason he continues to establish a relationship with her is due to the fact that he is waiting to inherit the furniture that she bought when she started renting an apartment in Negril. She describes their current relationship as "emotional blackmail," in the sense that he takes care of her and her dog but his attention is calculated, because there is a motive behind it. It is possible however that Jane's experience of what she deems as her exploitation could make it difficult for her to recognize how she in turn exploits her Jamaican ex-boyfriend. She even admits that if she were not worried about the dog she adopted then her relationship with him would not persist. She also said: "I mean when someone tells me he's got another woman paying for rent on his house, you know, you go through all this. It sounds like teenage stuff doesn't it?"

⁶ This is a popular belief among foreign, Western women, that money necessarily and always corrupts intimacy, because of the idea that a relationship cannot be genuine if it is motivated by materialist goals (see Zelizer 2005 for a discussion of how money and intimacy intersects and coexists in various intimate relationships).

Even at my age, I got mad, really mad. But I heard so much about him, I mean, I heard he'd got some girl pregnant." Over the course of their relationship, she came to determine that he used his relationship with her, as well as other foreign women, in order to acquire the money and material possessions he desired. Yet she too benefited from the relationship because she received rides around town, company, and someone to look after her dog. Despite the fact that she framed herself as being "played" in her narrative, she too played the game.

Tammy is another foreign woman who shared with me her experience in her first relationship in Jamaica, which she perceived as an act he played involving his family, in order to get the money and material possessions he desired from her:

When I first got here 5 years ago I was with this Rasta guy, he was 50 he was a bit older than me at the time, and I thought I had it made because I hung out with his daughter, his son, his mother, his sisters and I'm thinking his mom is 81 there's no way they're hosing me. Oh, they were all in on it and they hosed me for like 90 grand. And then Roger (her current Jamaican lover) came and saved me from them, now he didn't hose me for any kind of money really...I mean yes I've bought him things and given him things, and yes he's a gorgeous young man and he likes things like earrings and rings and bling bling and clothes and laptops, you know nothing too major, not like a house like the other fucker did. When it came time I was trying to buy him a truck for his birthday, he wouldn't accept it, cause he knew he was about to get busted or whatever, he didn't, but no this Rasta was a motherfucker. Toothless. He was the biggest scammer; he had a whole other family in St. Ann's Bay.

Reflecting on this experience, she believes that his relationship with her was calculated in order to acquire the money and material things that he wanted from her. She told me that his whole family was involved. What is interesting here is that she now rationalizes her exchanges in her current relationship as less demanding and more manageable which does not de-legitimize her Jamaican boyfriend's feelings for her. However, she recognizes based on her 6 years of experience living in Jamaica, that there is an economic aspect to all relationships with Jamaican men, but she still thinks it can be genuine. Tammy suggests that Jamaican men use "fake" love and friendships in order to scam women for money:

I don't feel in danger here so much, I mean I know what to watch out for, and here's the thing, we were raised differently, so the things that we have to watch out for we can't expect them ahead of time a Jamaican has to tell us. And my husband has always told me but I never wrapped my head around it because I just never knew that kind of wickedness existed and that it does and when it pans out he says to me, I told yah. You know I'm just kind of like Wow, because I have lived in countries where they do want to scam you for money or whatever but it doesn't involve all this other shit, you know fake friendships and love and all that kind of stuff. They're good, they're perfect little actors. Like I don't know why half of them aren't in LA looking for an acting career because man they'd be rich, they are good actors, I swear to god there's a class in school that's like white woman 101.

My participants unanimously agreed that Jamaican men are calculated in their relationships with foreign women, and their ability to use intimacy, sex and love to acquire the money and material things they desire is regarded as a skill or a talent that they have mastered. Courtney told me during her interview that she knew a lot of Jamaican men who had multiple relationships with foreign women, and they managed to get a lot of things from them. "It's sort of a talent of theirs," she said. Another foreign woman, Sistah told me they are "master-baters," a term she uses with her friends to describe the skillfulness of Jamaican men in using love, intimacy and romance to appeal to foreign women in order to get what it is that they want. According to Randy, Jamaican men are "professionals." They are calculated in their pursuit of foreign women, even to the extent that they purposefully invade women's personal space, and use the right amount of flattery to get what it is that they want.

They're [Jamaican men] experts at not knowing what personal space is. They're experts at invading personal space. When they approach they have a way of really getting next to you. The flattery you need, it's just what you want to hear, all that you've been waiting for, and nobody back home gave you that and now you're here, and somebodies laying it on you big time.

Throughout my field notes I interpreted this skillfulness as "tactics" that Jamaican men would also use in their pursuit of foreign women. At times these so called tactics can be quite forceful in order to get the attention of foreign women and to persuade them to give them a chance. By

forceful tactics, I am referring to approaches that infringe on one's sense of personal space, independence and personal freedoms. Referring back to Chapter 4, I shared a few stories in which foreign women tried to turn down Jamaican men in their sexual and romantic approaches, which resulted in an aggressive retaliation. Interestingly, I witnessed many similar tactics in which Jamaican men would approach foreign women and invade their personal space, and at the same time try to utilize gendered and racial scripts associated with Jamaican masculine ideologies such as hypersexuality in order to pursue the women. Regularly along 7-mile beach I would witness Jamaican men approaching foreign women, extending their hands out for a handshake but then proceeding to hold onto their hands so that they could engage them. The Jamaican men I observed tried to keep foreign women in conversation for long enough so that they could ask the women if they had a Jamaican boyfriend or whether they have "tried" a Jamaican man yet. Sometimes Jamaican man will block foreign women's path forward along beach road by stopping their scooter or car abruptly in their path.

For instance, one night I was walking down beach road from my apartment complex, making my way to one of the local clubs. The roads do not have much lighting at night, so typically I would cross over to the opposite side where the food vendors would set up, I would buy a drink from them, chat and continue on my way. On this particular night I saw a bright headlight in front of me and it was headed in my direction. I stopped and tried to move over, worried that a motorbike might hit me, which I had been warned does happen sometimes. However, the biker stopped abruptly in my path on the side of the road and proceeded to ask me a slew of personal questions about my relationship status, whether I had ever slept with a Jamaican man, and whether he could be my date to the club. I told him I was meeting someone and that I should not keep them waiting, and he told me he would let me go but that he would

check on me at the club to make sure I really was meeting someone, and I was not lying to him. Sure enough, he did show up later on, I caught him watching me from the other side of the bar.

Drawing on Cheng's (2010) concept of "the game," I would argue that Jamaican men also treat their relationships with foreign women and the pursuit of foreign women as a game in which they use intimacy, love, sex, and racialized desire of Jamaican men as hypersexual in order to pursue relationships with foreign women. The discussions and comments shared in this section demonstrate how foreign women and men read Jamaican men's use of intimacy, love and desire "skillfully" in order to acquire the money, material possessions and social mobility that they desire. However, based on my interviews and my observations gathered during my fieldwork, it became apparent to me that foreign women "learned how to play the game" in return, in order to acquire the intimacy, sex, freedom of mobility and independence that they desired in Negril.

Foreign women "Learn how to play the Game"

The previous section details what I refer to as the "the game" that Jamaican men play both in the contexts of their relationships with foreign women and in order to pursue foreign women. Drawing from Cheng's (2010) conception of the game in the contexts of *gijichon* clubs, in which Filipina women utilize love, romance and sex in order to get what they desire from their GI patrons such as money, material possessions and social mobility, I suggest too that Jamaican men also draw on love, romance, monogamy and racialized desires of Jamaican men in order to obtain what it is that they want from foreign women such as money, material possessions and social mobility. However, the complexity of power in the contexts of "the game" is revealing in the sense that foreign women "learn how to play the game" in order to get what it is that they desire from their relationships with Jamaican men such as love, intimacy and sex. I draw on

Frohlick's (2013) idea that the foreign women in her research "learn how to play the game," in order to acquire the love, sex and intimacy that they want from their relationships with local Costa Rican men. In the contexts of Frohlick's research, one of her foreign female participants explained that a woman in a relationship with a local black man must learn how to play the game, and to work *with* the ambiguities of the relationships rather than *against* them (148). Upon realizing that her Costa Rican lover had economic expectations of her, she also learned that she could continue to have the sex and the intimacy that she desired by controlling the exchanges with him so that it felt more like she was "sharing" small amounts of cash and affordable things. In a sense, she tricked him into thinking she was generous in order to acquire the love, sex and intimacy from him that she desired, without feeling as though she was paying for it. She suggests that she "learned how to work with it," and "learned how to play the game" (147). In order to understand how to play the game, her informant had spent enough time in Costa Rica in order to learn about how relationships function within the local contexts.

For foreign women in both Frohlick's (2013) and Piscitelli's (2016) research, it seems as though a central aspect of learning to play the game requires a contextual understanding of the localized politics of desire and power relations in race and gender, and the ambiguity of economic and intimate exchanges. In Piscitelli's (2016) ethnographic work in Ceara, Brazil, she studied how violence intertwines with erotics and notions of love in the frame of ambiguous, sexual, economic and affective exchanges (274). In the relationships she observed, women were at first unaware of "the economic aspects of the relationships and the occasional hostility and subalternization" due to the fact that the women are thrilled by new experiences of heterosexual love and sexuality (274). However, after changing from visitors to foreign residents, they begin to see their partner's economic demands as exploitative and their actions as violent. In a sense,

her participants cumulative understanding of local contexts increased their ability to negotiate local understandings of relationships and sexuality because they recognize that there is a material exchange and a desire for the Western lifestyle, so they rationalize their relationships differently.

I would argue in this sense that foreign women who learn how to play the game, developed an understanding for the local contexts of power through initiatives of becoming and belonging after years of traveling or living in Negril (Frohlick 2009). In the contexts of my research, women had to accept that the economic exchange would follow with any relationship, so they either chose to continue with their relationships and this time to learn how to play the game or they would choose not to pursue relationships at all and instead refocus their attention on the original love that drew them to Jamaica (the place itself, the natural aesthetics, the music, etc.), which still required a skilfulness on their part to dodge the constant and sometimes aggressive pursuit of Jamaican men. For instance, Tammy who was in her 60s told me that when she found out her Jamaican man had impregnated a younger 22-year-old Jamaican woman she went out and found herself a 22-year-old Jamaican man to have on the side. “I was just like, well, if Roger can have a 22-year-old on the side, than so can I.” This was her way of keeping her relationship intact, by “becoming more Jamaican,” as she also told me. Her decision to start another relationship on the side was in part informed by her belief that monogamy was not possible in relationships in Negril and by engaging in the same practices as her Jamaican boyfriend, I would suggest that this allowed her to retain some sense of power and control in the relationship:

I think there are some of them that are genuinely looking for a good woman, I really do. I do think the only way to make it here with them though is that you’ve got to conform; you’ve got to try to be as Jamaican as possible. You know what I mean? Barring the fake nails and the hair, they don’t like that kind of shit. But they want you to try and speak the language, be quiet, like these women don’t speak up, just give thanks, love their

nationality, cook the way Jamaicans do, love them up in a Jamaican way they really love that, you can't just be all north American on them they won't get it.

With over 10 years of travel experience in Negril, Courtney also felt as though all Jamaican men were incapable of being monogamous, and that the love and intimacy in all relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men is essentially an act that they play in order to get what they desire, whether that be love, intimacy or sex. In order to avoid being taken advantage of, and yet still acquire the love, sex, and intimacy that she desired, she shared with me some of her strategies. "Don't put all your bread in one basket" she would say, "when one [Jamaican man] starts acting up, make sure you have a back-up." She had received this advice from a Jamaican woman who told her "if you have a man here, just have him for fun and nothing more, or he will take advantage of you." In this sense, she felt that the only way to avoid being taken advantage of was for her to not allow herself to develop feelings by having another Jamaican man on the side. She still engaged in intimate exchanges but she kept an emotional distance in her relationship, so as not to get to the point again where money, sex and intimacy become too intertwined that she felt as though she was paying for the relationship:

I keep always a bit distance. I try not to fall totally into it because I know too many stories, I know its always ending up same thing, and especially if you are in a relationship and you have a good job and good money and the other have nothing, you will always reach the point you want to help him, and then I will reach the point I will think he is just with me together because he expect me to have more because I helped him, so this is something I always when I have relationship here I always keep it very at a distance a bit and if I feel like my feelings get too strong, I better go away and even when I had my boyfriend here, it was just one time we were together like about three years, but I don't really count all the time because when I was in Germany I didn't act like I'm in a relationship I never was like I have a boyfriend and something so, certain things in Germany happened too, because I felt like I'm sure he will do the same thing here in Jamaica, so and yeah, I don't know I always, I know too much things to really go deeper in a relationship here, so I'm always a bit careful, and when I came here to Jamaica to see him, sometimes when I had a long time here, I sometimes traveled around alone by myself, I don't bring him around and pay everything for him, so I just visit him for maybe a week or two, and then traveled one or two weeks and then go back for two weeks to see him, so that's how I keep it, it was not like keep him traveling with me and,

you know, I didn't want to reach that point where, I pay everything for him because it would make me feel bad. Even if my heart wanted to, I always let my brain fight against it because I didn't want to because I knew that it wouldn't be good for me because there are certain points in these relationships when you reach them, there's no way back. I always try to not reach that point. Even if I wanted to I always didn't do it, and sometimes I even felt like my feelings getting too strong, I just leave tomorrow and just left there, take some weeks for myself and then come back, and stuff because I didn't want to be too attached to someone.

Courtney suggested that the issue with exchanging money with the Jamaican men she dated was that it confused the aspect of love, and made the relationship seem inauthentic. She tried to avoid developing strong feelings by controlling how long she visited the Jamaican men, and she also chose not to travel with Jamaican men around the island. In this sense, Courtney played the game in order to acquire what it is that she desired from her relationship, such as sex, intimacy and company, and she utilized tactics in order to keep herself from developing strong feelings. Still, other foreign women were not okay with playing these games in relationships, and realized that they could not learn to accept the economic exchange as an aspect of their relationships.

However, they still found themselves, as they would say, "addicted" to Negril, desiring to return to the town year after year. Some women in my research felt that the only way to continue to experience their addiction to Jamaica was to avoid any sexual, intimate or romantic affair with Jamaican men all together. Instead, they chose to remain independent, and to take back their independence and freedom, by living alone, and being more "selective" of their friendships with Jamaican men. According to Sabrina, who lived with her Jamaican husband when I interviewed her: "Friendships have taken a lot longer to develop and you always have to be cautious too about who's coming around you. Somebody who gets really excited to see a foreigner then I don't put myself around them because that's a red flag right there." Another foreign woman I met on the beach with over 20 years of travel experience in Negril had a bad relationship experience with a former Jamaican lover in which he admitted to stealing money from her over

the duration of their relationship. She told me she continues to visit every year for up to 8 months at a time, but rather than engage intimate relationships she chooses instead to keep close friendships that do not involve sex or intimacy. For instance, she has Rasta friends who she calls for “company and good conversation, but that’s it.” She also mentioned that she calls them when she wants to go out at night for safety’s sake, “I never walk the streets alone at night.” Another foreign woman who is mentioned in the opening vignette, Francine, was very adamant about the fact that she does not desire a relationship with a Jamaican man. Jamaica has been a regular vacation destination for her and her family since she was 5 years old. Now in her 30s she continues to visit Negril frequently. After witnessing countless relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men, she suggested to me that love is possible but it is “temporary” and that she has “never met a monogamous Jamaican man.” Over the many years she has been visiting Negril, her and her family have established tight connections to Jamaicans who they recognize as their “extended family.” One Jamaican man in particular grew up with Francine, she recognizes him as brother figure. She strongly believes that if it were not for him and the “family” relationship they share, that she may not be able to live in Negril and experience the degree of freedom and independence that she does. This demonstrates how the localized power attributed to Jamaican masculinity, in which foreign women rely on Jamaican men for their freedom of mobility and independence in Negril.

Visiting and living in Negril as an independent foreign woman is not an easy task in light of the tense pursuit of foreign women, and within the contexts of the highly masculine public tourist spaces that foreign women frequent. Foreign women shared with me the “tactics” that they would utilize in order to avoid pursuits and intimate connections with Jamaican men, and yet still gain access to the freedom of mobility and the independence that they desired in Negril.

To pronounce that you already “belong” to another man was oftentimes a successful tactic as many Jamaican men did not want to “start a war” over a foreign woman, a term I heard used in Negril a few times. A Jamaican man with dreads who drove my route taxi to the market one morning explained this to me. When I first entered his taxi he proceeded to ask me if I would marry him. I told him that I was already taken. He immediately retracted his offer, and told me he “didn’t want to cause any trouble.” I asked him what he meant by that remark. He said, “Jamaican men take their relationships with foreign women very seriously here, they will kill for their relationships.” While this tactic worked for me in some cases, it was not always a useful tactic, so when this failed, I would attempt to “flirt back”, to remain friendly and keep things light hearted.

In Chapter 4 I shared a scene that I witnessed, in which a Jamaican man on the beach intimidated two foreign women with images of a gun after they turned down his sexual advances. My German friend was with me when I witnessed the incident, and she said “see, it’s better if you can joke around with them, be silly so they go on their way and do not get aggressive.” Tourist women have to expect sexual harassment as a possibility of travel in Negril, and discussed with me often the best way to navigate it is to keep a light heart when you are approached on the beach for sex, or marriage, a relationship and such things.

I often discussed with foreign women the kinds of tactics they used in order to avoid aggression from Jamaican men. Women would tell me about how it is important to “flirt back” even if you are not interested. In a sense they utilized their image as sexually liberated foreign women as something that Jamaican men desired in order to compromise in these situations without making enemies. One of my participants, Courtney, often received rides around town with a Jamaican male friend on his scooter. She described him as very flirtatious, and he would

often tell her he was attracted to her. She would tell me that she would flirt back because she wanted to keep his company and wanted to continue to get rides around town, but did not let it go beyond this. One day he had helped her get around town so she could buy groceries and other things. He helped carry her things to her room, and then ran inside her room, jumped into her bed and pulled out his penis. She said she had to find a nice way to refuse him since she still wanted access to his transportation and his help getting around Negril. But at the time, she still had to leave him with the assumption that there was still a chance for something to happen so she could have access to him and his help in the future. In this case, I would argue that while Jamaican men play the game of love in order to negotiate their subordination to pursue aspirational projects in channelling love, romance and emotions, foreign women can also learn how to play the game by working with the local understandings of sexuality and gender. As discussed above in Courtney's case, her years of experience dating Jamaican men and traveling around Jamaica has allowed her to understand sexuality and gender in local contexts in the sense that masculine power is attributed to the public realm, and the white women's liberated sexuality is something desired by Jamaican men. She used her sexuality and the possibility of a relationship as her means to ease her access and mobility within the highly masculinized public realm in Negril. Based on the concept of games, I argue that divisions of power in the pursuit of foreign women and in relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men are not straightforward, which became clear to me in learning about foreign women and Jamaican men's social encounters. Both foreign women and Jamaican men exercise different forms of power, and both hold the potential of being exploited in the contexts of their intimate relations. On the one hand, foreign women had the power of mobility, such as to move around freely to and from Negril. However, within Negril foreign women had to confer with local understandings of gender, and in many cases masculine

power restricted their mobility. At the same time foreign women were not powerless in the local contexts of Negril, and because many women desired relationships with Jamaican men, they found ways to negotiate the power dynamics in the transnational town of Negril. As I have shown here, foreign women learn how to play the game, and they figured out how to deal with Jamaican men's attempts to control their mobility and to pursue them sexually. In this sense gender power in Negril complicates foreign women's racial and economic power, however Jamaican men are not the only ones who play the game in order to get what they want from their relationships.

Conclusion

In the transnational tourist town of Negril, relationships between white, Western women and black Jamaican men are considered suspect, because they take place within the contexts of commercialized, post-colonial encounters. Within a broader political economy of desire, markers of cultural and racial differences bore particular significance for the desire that fuels the pursuit of foreign women and Jamaican men. For some analysts, foreign women appear to have the upper hand in their relationships with local men, based on their economic power and freedom of global mobility as Westerners who can easily move in and out of Jamaica. Another misconception of foreign women is that they are the naïve victims of sexually aggressive Jamaican men, and unable to see their own economic exploitation. In this thesis, I challenge these two readings, and instead I examine the complex ways that power operates in these relationships. I have shown that while foreign women may have the power of global mobility, the power attributed to Jamaican masculinity plays a pivotal role in foreign women's freedom of mobility and independence in Negril. Jamaican men can be regarded as both the key to foreign women's cultural access, mobility and safety in traversing gender boundaries, while at the same time, they could easily inhibit foreign women's mobility and independence. As apparent throughout this thesis, both foreign women and Jamaican men exercise various forms of power in the context of their intimate encounters, and both parties carry the potential to be exploited. While I suggest that both foreign women and local men exercise power, they do not have access to the same forms of power. For instance, as white, Western subjects, foreign women exercise economic and racial power. They capitalize on what their status as white Western women signifies for Jamaican men. They thus utilize the idealization of the lifestyle that Jamaican men associate with whiteness to their advantage in order to have access to Jamaican men, and to

exploit them for their labour, time, and sex. On the other hand, Jamaican men exercise a gender power as well as racial power. They benefit on what their race signifies for foreign women, and utilize the racial desires of hypersexual local men and the power of hypermasculinity to their advantage in their pursuits of foreign women in order to exploit them for money, gifts, and social mobility. Therefore, while foreign women have economic power and the freedom to come and go from Jamaica (something that Jamaican men lack), Jamaican men have the localized power of hypermasculinity, in which foreign women find themselves in a complex negotiation of power.

Love in Negril was a constant topic of debate amongst foreign women especially, but also some Jamaican men. Foreign women often described love as it occurred in Negril as fake, temporary, non-monogamous and operational.⁷ Foreign women's perspectives of what love should be were mediated by their cultural script of Western love in which authenticity is seen as diminished by the exchange of money and materiality. Relationships in Negril became complicated within the scope of "the specter of sex tourism" and the commodification of relationships, which, for the foreign women especially, meant that the relationship lacked authenticity (Williams 2013). Indeed, both foreign women and Jamaican men faced stigma for the tourism-based relationships they pursued in Negril, and both were perpetually suspicious of the true intentions and motivations of their lovers within their relationships. As I have argued in this thesis, the specter of sex tourism had several important implications for both Jamaican men and foreign women. Both parties expressed suspicions about the other's intentions. For instance, foreign women shared their concerns that the Jamaican men took advantage of them with sexual and economic demands. Jamaican men were also suspicious of foreign women because they felt as though their labour went unrecognized and therefore uncompensated. This created tense and

⁷ Some women saw love in Jamaica as something culturally different. They suggested that Jamaicans have multiple relationships because you cannot get everything you need from one relationship; different people fulfill you in different ways.

suspicious contexts for the relationships between foreign women and local Jamaican men, which generated power plays that I referred to as “games.” My aim was to capture the complex negotiation of power, and particularly I wanted to dispel myths about foreign women as either economically powerful, or naïvely exploited.

As I have discussed, it became difficult for me to view these relationships within the framework of sex tourism, firstly because the relationships that I researched did not fit into the descriptions and definitions of the term that I previously studied. Secondly, the people also did not fit neatly within the categories of ‘sex tourist’ and ‘gigolo.’ Indeed, the foreign women did not resemble typical tourists. They were more like ex-pats or long-term residents. The Jamaican men I interviewed were diverse. A few of them specifically traveled to Negril to search for foreign women, while others traveled to Negril to develop their business, or because they had heard about the casual vibes and the 7-mile beach. None of the foreign women or Jamaican men could locate themselves within the realm of sex tourism either, even if, as discussed above, all of them felt the specter of sex tourism. I did not want to ascribe the term “sex tourism,” “sex tourist” or “gigolos” to them, because even if it did mediate their relationships, it felt reductionist and may have only focused my attention on the financial aspects of these relationships. For instance, I eventually realized that both parties desire the possibility of genuine relationships crossing racial and cultural barriers. Jamaican men claimed that they too desired to have relationships with foreign women in which they could be economic equals. They struggled against the idea that they could be controlled by foreign women’s economic power within the relationship. It seemed as though this possibility went against their idealizations of dominant masculinity. This would suggest that popular concepts such as sex tourism, gigolos, rent-a-dreads, and female sex tourists are terminology that may be limiting in our discussions of these

relationships, and may not be able to uncover the diversity of relationships, encounters, and experiences for foreign women and Jamaican men.

As discussed above, the significant difference I found within the group of foreign women I interviewed was that they were certainly not typical tourists. Some of them were foreign residents, and the others were practically foreign residents due to the fact that they lived in Negril for long durations at a time, on a yearly basis. Therefore, I was not interviewing women who were experiencing Jamaica and Jamaican men for the first time. If this had been the case, I do not believe I would have had a glimpse into the complex negotiations of power that take place throughout their relationships. These women were considered part Jamaican, earning titles such GER-maican, Jam-ADIAN, and Ja-MERICAN from local Jamaicans. These titles suggest that while they had earned a level of approval and acceptance as experienced visitors and residents, they were still marked as outsiders based on their transnational mobility, their whiteness and their perceived wealth. In this sense, this thesis has shown the power struggles they experienced as white women trying to engage with relationships and fit into communities of Jamaicans experiencing economic deprivation and very limited opportunities for social and global mobility.

Theoretical Implications

This thesis demonstrates theoretical implications for the conception of power as unilateral. According to Ramirez (2003), power is typically rendered as “the capacity to dominate, repress, control, and subordinate the acts and desires of others” (238). Within this definition, it is presumed that the power of some is based on the powerlessness of others (Ramirez 238). Furthermore, Ramirez contends that patriarchy represents the dominant power system, attributing privilege and power to masculinity, while subordinating and devaluing the feminine (238). However, Foucault theorizes power as immanent and emergent from relations

based on divisions and inequalities, rather than a unitary force restricted to one individual or group (Foucault 1990, Ramirez 2003). Within this conceptualization, power is everywhere, and “dominated or subordinated human beings are active entities in the production and re-production of power relations” (Ramirez 239). Within this conception of power, we can begin to better understand the negotiations of power that take place in relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men. Due to the fact that both parties wield a kind of power, such as foreign women’s economic and racial power, and Jamaican men’s gender power, this renders power to be more complicated and nuanced than previous unilateral assumptions would permit.

This research also poses theoretical implications for questions around mobility and globalization. According to Arjun Appadurai (1996), “ethnoscapes” represent the shifting landscape of people globally, affecting the political climate of nation-states and between nations (33). Negril can be read as an ethnoscape with different meanings for foreign women and local men. Jamaican men represent cultural and racial differences in sexuality for the foreign women from North America and Europe who regularly visit the island and those of whom become foreign residents. It is also an ethnoscape for Jamaican men, as it constitutes for them a transnational space where they can also meet transnational Others. Negril also represents, as Frohlick (2007) has termed, a “mobile landscape” due to the prevalence at which foreign women travel to this culturally and racially different space, and at which rate they engage in relationships with Jamaican men both locally and transnationally. Relationships such as the ones researched in this thesis demonstrate new “scapes” of desire and new erotic subjectivities and practices of desire that take place between nations (Frohlick 163).

Contributions/Future Research

The purpose of this thesis was to examine the ways in which power is negotiated in

relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men. Some of the previous FST scholarship has framed foreign women as the ones with the upper hand in their relationships due to their economic and racial power, and their global mobility as Westerners (O'Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor 1999. Pruitt and LaFont 1995, Phillips 2008). However, scholars such as Frohlick have contended that gender complicates the negotiation of power, since local power attributed to Costa Rican masculinity hinders foreign women's local mobility (Frohlick 2007). Upon examination of the relationships and interviews with foreign women and Jamaican men, it became clear that both parties exercise different forms of power, while they compete for what it is they desire from their partners and their relationship.

One of my intentions for this research was to upend common misconceptions of foreign women and Jamaican men who pursue relationships with one another, whether they do so intentionally or unintentionally. In opposition to unilateral assumptions of power, which suggests that either foreign women or Jamaican men are all-powerful in their relationships, this thesis demonstrates that power is imminent and emerges from relationships based on inequalities. This observation also reveals that both foreign women and Jamaican men share the potential to be exploited. The foreign women in my research were not naïve or ignorant of the socio-economic realities in Jamaica. There are also many Jamaican men who do not actively or insistently pursue relationships with foreign women, because they do not depend on them for economic opportunities.

Further research is needed that investigates the circumstance of Jamaican men. I suspected that there is more diversity in terms of economic power, educational background, and family upbringing than is currently discussed in FST scholarship. For instance, based on a few of my interviews, I realized that there was quite possibly an emerging middle class of Jamaican

men in Negril. One Jamaican man I interviewed named Mike was married to a foreign woman, however he stood apart from other Jamaican men in my research because he claimed that he earned more money than his foreign wife. He had also spent a long time living in the United States where he earned a university education and started a business. In contrast to other Jamaican men in my research, he did not discuss issues of economic exploitation. Instead, he shared with me his insights on relationships between foreign women and Jamaican men of low socio-economic contexts. He also shared similar concerns for his safety as a Jamaican man who has “gone a foreign”⁸ and returned to run a business in Negril, as tourists shared with me during their interviews. Another Jamaican man in my research came from a wealthy family, and he was originally drawn to Negril for the same reasons that many foreigners are: the laid back vibes, the nightlife, and the 7-mile beach. He was married to a German woman, and he also appeared different in his pursuit of foreign women. He claimed that he had met his soul mate and there was nothing she could give him that he could not give himself. This is deserving of further investigation, because currently FST scholarship displays local black men as lacking the socio-economic power that the foreign women have, but it is clear that this situation could be more nuanced.

In this thesis I focused mostly on foreign women’s experiences, primarily because I had many similar experiences to them as a white foreign woman living in Negril. Thus, this thesis lacks Jamaican men’s perspectives of ‘the game,’ and their thoughts on foreigners’ perceptions of this game that Jamaican men play in their relationships with foreign women. It would be interesting to investigate whether Jamaican men have had experiences in which foreign women play the game in order to get what they want out of their relationships with Jamaican men.

⁸ This is a term that local Jamaicans use to refer to any Jamaicans who have migrated and lived outside of Jamaica for any period of time. They also call Jamaicans who have gone a foreign “foreigner” to distinguish them as more privileged for their global mobility.

Further research is also needed to investigate the negotiation of power after Jamaican men migrate to live with their foreign wives in North America and Europe. Jamaican men have power attributed to their gender as it is understood within the local contexts of Negril, and with the power of local knowledge they are able to infringe on and inhibit foreign women's mobility. But how is this power and control re-negotiated within these relationships once Jamaican men migrate? Currently to my knowledge there is no research on what happens once they migrate, and it begs further investigation in order to derive a better understanding of the way power operates between foreign women and Jamaican men post-migration.

Furthermore, a constant topic of concern amongst foreign women and men alike is the aspect of danger and safety in Jamaica. Despite the fact that many foreign women and men discussed the concerns they had with crime and violence in Jamaica, it was clear that foreign women still visited Jamaica regularly, and some chose to live there long term. During our interviews some women expressed the excitement they felt in traveling to Negril, and told me about how the adventures they engaged in contrasted with their lives back home. In this sense, foreign women and their engagement with the concept of danger in Negril deserves more attention in future research.

Throughout the process of writing this thesis, I remained fixated on some of the comments that foreign women and Jamaican men made to me, which seemed to point to the personal significance of these complex negotiations of power that I refer to as "games." The final question in all of my interviews was "what are your hopes for the future of this relationship, or your future in general?" Tammy, a foreign woman whose interview is woven throughout this thesis, explained that her family in Canada disapproved of her relationship with her Jamaican boyfriend. They wanted her to come home and fulfill her role as a grandma to her grandkids.

However, she expressed that her relationship, whether or not it was authentic, made her feel more alive. She said, “I feel special and I feel loved and if it’s a lie, than I want to live in that lie. I’m not dead yet.” Another friend of mine, a Jamaican man named Chad, had been patiently awaiting his visa to be approved so he could migrate to North America to live with his foreign wife. On my last night in Jamaica we sipped rum on the beach, and I asked him the final interview question: “what are your hopes for the future of this relationship, or your future in general?” He just replied, “Survival, isn’t that what everyone wants?” Within all of my interviews and conversations I was able to engage with the significance of these complex negotiations of power that I refer to as “games,” at a more personal, visceral level. While some tourists and local Jamaicans were baffled by the rate at which foreign women and Jamaican men engaged in intimate relationships enmeshed within complex power plays, the significance of their intimate ties in some ways, represents an opportunity to propel themselves into what they deem to be a more desirable reality.

Appendices

Appendix A Interview Questions for Black Jamaican Men

General/ demographic:

1. Can you tell me a little bit about yourself?
2. Are you from Jamaica, and if not, where are you from?
3. In terms of race and ethnicity, how do you describe yourself?
4. What is your age?
5. What sort of education do you have?
6. What is your current employment status/how do you earn a living? What have you done in the past to make a living?
7. If you are comfortable, do you mind telling me more or less what is your income like? What do you typically make in a week/month?
8. How would you describe your living situation?
9. Are you currently in a relationship?
10. Are you/have you been married or in a common-law relationship?
11. Do you have children? If so, how many and how old?

Space/Place

1. Can you say a little more about how you came to Negril? What brings you to live in Negril specifically? What are some of the challenges of life in Negril and what are some of the benefits to you?
2. How did you hear about it and what did you hear?
3. Do you stay in Negril most of the time or are there other parts of Jamaica that you spend some time living?
4. Where is your family living? Do you visit them, if so, how often?
5. Which locations do you regularly go to hang out?
6. What do you do for fun and leisure?

Views and Perspectives of Jamaica and Foreign Women

1. How would you describe life in Jamaica/Negril?
2. How do you describe your people? Jamaican men and women?
3. How do you think tourists view life in Jamaica? In Negril? In contrast to other Caribbean destinations?
4. How do you describe/view tourists? Male tourists? Female tourists?
5. How do you think people view men who meet/seek the company of foreign women? And vice versa?
6. What do you look for in a woman?
7. Which ethnicities/nationalities of women do you prefer and why? How are they different?

Relationship Specifics

1. Are you currently in a relationship with a foreign woman? If so how long have you been together? Can you tell me a little bit about her, for instance, where she's from? How did you meet? How old is she? What is she doing to make a living?
2. How many different relationships with foreign women have you been in?
3. How would you describe your current or past relationships with foreign women?
4. Why do you seek the company of certain women? How are they different from Jamaican women? How are they similar? Can you tell me more about what you find attractive in foreign women, and why?
5. How often has your foreign girlfriend visited you?
6. When she is visiting you, does she spend most of her time with you?
7. Does she bring you to restaurants, hotels, and guesthouses with her?
8. Do you travel around Jamaica with her to other locations?
9. Does she provide you with food, drinks, or gifts during or after her visit?
10. Have you ever traveled outside of the country, perhaps to stay with her?
11. How do you discuss and describe your relationship with her to other people?
12. Have you introduced her/previous foreign girlfriends to your friends and relatives?
13. What do you hope for the future? In regards to the relationship you are in, or otherwise?

*Please note: questions are open-ended and flexible, and will shift depending on the person I am talking to.

Appendix B Questions for White Foreign Women

General/ Demographic:

1. Can you tell me a little bit about yourself?
2. Where are you from/which country do you reside in?
3. In terms of race and ethnicity, how do describe yourself?
4. What is your age?
5. What sort of education do you have?
6. What is your current employment status?
7. Tell me about the type of employment you have.
8. How would you describe your household composition and/or relationship status?
9. Are you or have you been married or in a common-law relationship?
10. Do you have children, if so how many? How old?

Travel-Space/Place

1. Can you tell me a little more about how you ended up coming to Jamaica? How did you hear about it? What brings you to Jamaica specifically? What do you think about Jamaica? What do you find enjoyable here, and what do you dislike, and why?
2. How many times have you visited Jamaica?
3. When you visit Jamaica, what is the typical duration of your stay?

4. Which areas of the country do you prefer to stay in and why?
5. What brings you to Negril? How many times? How do you find it?
6. Where do you stay when you are here, and why do you choose these accommodations over others?
7. When you are here, what methods do you use to travel?
8. Do you travel alone?
9. Who do you travel with?
10. Who do you prefer to travel with, and why?
11. Which locations do you regularly go to, to hang out?
12. Have you traveled elsewhere, or are there other places that you also travel to regularly?
13. What do you do for fun and leisure while you're here?
14. If you attend clubs, parties and events, who do you go with? Who do you prefer to go with and why?
15. What has been your experience at dancehall clubs in Negril?
16. What are your feelings of, and experiences with the 7 mile beach?
17. How would you characterize your feelings towards, and experiences walking up and down beach road?
18. What do your friends and relatives back home think about your travels here? Are they worried about your safety, as a female traveller?
19. What do you think about the way Jamaica is seen as a dangerous place?
20. What do you think about the Rastafari movement? Does it have anything to do with why you're interested in Jamaica?

Views and Perspectives of Jamaica and Jamaican men/women

1. How do you describe Jamaica as a country?
2. How do you describe Jamaicans?
3. How do you view/describe Jamaican men? Jamaican women?
4. How do you think other people, perhaps people you know, describe/view Jamaica, and Jamaican men, Jamaican women?
5. In comparison to the men who live in your community/country, what are the similarities and differences?
6. Do you seek out similar relationships back in your home country, such as with Jamaican men specifically? If not, what makes the relationships in Jamaica different or special? If you do seek out similar relations in your home country, how are the relationships similar and different?
7. How do you think people here and in your country view relationships between tourist women and Jamaican men?
8. Are there certain Jamaican men whose company you prefer over others and what are the kinds of personality characteristics they hold that draws you to them?

Relationship Specifics

1. Are you currently in a relationship with a Jamaican man?
2. How many different relationships with Jamaican men have you been in?

3. How do you describe current/past relationships with Jamaican men?
4. What are the reasons for which you choose to engage in relationships with Jamaican men over other men? How do they compare or differentiate?
5. Do you spend most of your time with them when you stay/travel in Jamaica?
6. Do you bring them to restaurants, hotels, and guesthouses?
7. Do you bring them on trips around the country?
8. Do you provide them with food and drinks, accommodations, or any gifts during or after your stay?
9. Has he ever come to stay with you in your country? Can you tell me how that went?
What did your friends and relatives think about this relationship?
10. How do you describe your relationship with him to other people?
11. What do you hope for, regarding this relationship?

Please note: questions are open-ended and flexible, will shift depending on the person I am talking to.

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