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SEX TOURISM

Martin Oppermann
Griffith University-Gold Coast, Australia

Abstract: This article reviews the existing literature on sex tourism and prostitution. The review reveals a relatively narrow definition of what the subject constitutes. This paper proposes a holistic framework that moves beyond the traditional use of monetary exchange as the defining criterion of sex tourism. Besides pecuniary aspects, the framework incorporates several parameters, including intention and opportunity, tourism, length of time, prostitute–tourist relationship, sexual encounter, and who travels. These are used as important criteria in establishing what constitutes sex tourism and/or identifying sex tourists. By adopting this new perspective it is hoped that existing double standards towards sex tourism and its workers are recognized and overcome. **Keywords:** definition, sex tourism, prostitution, stigmatization, sex tourism framework. © 1999 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved.

Résumé: Le tourisme de prostitution. Cet article examine la littérature sur le tourisme de prostitution. L'étude révèle une définition relativement étroite du sujet. On propose un cadre théorique holistique qui passe au-delà de l'utilisation de l'échange monétaire comme critère déterminant du tourisme de prostitution. En plus de l'aspect pécuniaire, le cadre incorpore plusieurs paramètres, y compris intention et occasion, durée temporelle, rapport prostitué/prostituée-touriste, rencontre sexual et qui voyage. Ce sont d'importants critères pour définir le tourisme de prostitution et/ou pour identifier les touristes de prostitution. En adoptant cette nouvelle perspective, on espère que les deux mesures qui existent envers le tourisme de prostitution et les travailleurs du tourisme de prostitution soient reconnues et surmontées. **Mots-clés:** tourisme de prostitution, prostitution, stigmatisation. © 1999 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved.

INTRODUCTION

While some countries may be more renowned for the availability of commercial sex, sex tourism exists everywhere, in Europe, North America, the Caribbean, Latin America, Asia, Africa, Australia or Oceania (Ashworth, White and Winchester 1988; Crush and Wellings 1983; Harrison 1994; Kleiber and Wilke 1995; Launer 1993; Naibavu and Schutz 1974; O'Connell Davidson 1996; Senftleben 1986; Symanski 1981). But what is sex tourism? In the developed world, this term usually evokes the image of men, often older and in less than perfect shape, traveling to developing countries (in Asia, Africa, Latin America, or the Caribbean), for sexual pleasures generally not available, at least not for the same price, in their home country (O'Connell Davidson 1996). Yet in some destinations such as Kenya, The Gambia, and several Caribbean islands, female sex tourists are reputedly more prominent than their male counterparts (Aparicio 1993; Beckmann

Martin Oppermann is Senior Lecturer, School of Tourism and Hotel Management, Griffith University (PMB 50 Gold Coast Mail Center, QLD 9726, Australia. Email <m.oppermann@gu.edu.au>). He is Editor-in-Chief of *Pacific Tourism Review* and has authored or co-authored more than 100 research-based papers, among them over 50 journal contributions. He is also Editor of *Sex Tourism and Prostitution*, a book published by CCC, New York.

and Elzer 1995; Brown 1992; Kleiber and Wilke 1995; Meisch 1995; Pruitt and LaFont 1995; Simmons 1998). In the literature, sex tourism is often reduced to the main motivation being to consummate commercial sexual relations (Graburn 1983; Hall 1992; Harrison 1994; Meyer 1988; O'Malley 1988). However, this is an overt simplification and arguably excludes many other cases and settings (Ryan 1998). Or, according to Kruhse-MountBurton, it "masks the complex process by which individuals choose to seek sexual gratification, first within prostitution, and secondly as part of the tourist experience" (1995:192).

This paper provides a radical departure from this typical definition of "sex tourism as tourism for commercial sex purposes" by looking at five additional parameters—besides monetary exchange—that can and should be used in defining the subject. These variables are purpose of travel, length of time, relationship, sexual encounter, and who falls in this category of travel. It will be argued that these combined parameters provide a more holistic approach to coming to terms with what constitutes sex tourism. To that end, the paper also challenges the interface between prostitution and sex tourism. If one uses the traditional perspective on the subject, then it forms a subset of prostitution (Figure 1). Yet the vast majority of tourists who use prostitutes to satisfy their sexual needs do not travel for that purpose alone. In many cases, this is just a by-product or side attraction rather than the main and sole purpose. O'Connell Davidson (1996) termed these "*situational* sex tourists" (1996:40). For example, many business and conference tourists do make use of prostitutes while traveling away from home (Hanson 1997; Ryan and Kinder 1996). On the other hand, many tourists find sexual gratification as part of their experience without resorting to "typical" sex provider settings and prostitutes. For example, the virtual (sex) tourist has many websites to choose from with a vast array of different options in his/her search in cyberspace (Kohm and Selwood 1998). Some commentators would argue that all prostitution might be considered a subset of tourism (personal communication with Harrison in 1997). Others see the whole of tourism as a subset of prostitution (Graburn 1983). While prostitution and, at least, sex tourism are tightly interwoven, they are not the same. As defined in this paper, sex tourism involves more than the "monetary exchange" so often associated with prostitution. Indeed, prostitution often occurs without any travel involved—arguably, even within marriage where one partner may sell their body for the long term financial security that comes with the marriage.

SEX TOURISM

With a few notable exceptions the topic [prostitution] has not been seen as one for serious intellectual inquiry until relatively recent times. For all the touted liberalism one is supposed to find in universities, academics have been amazingly provincial toward the topic (Symanski 1981: xii).

While the situation has improved somewhat over the last 15 years, a literature review quickly reveals the narrow scope of the majority of

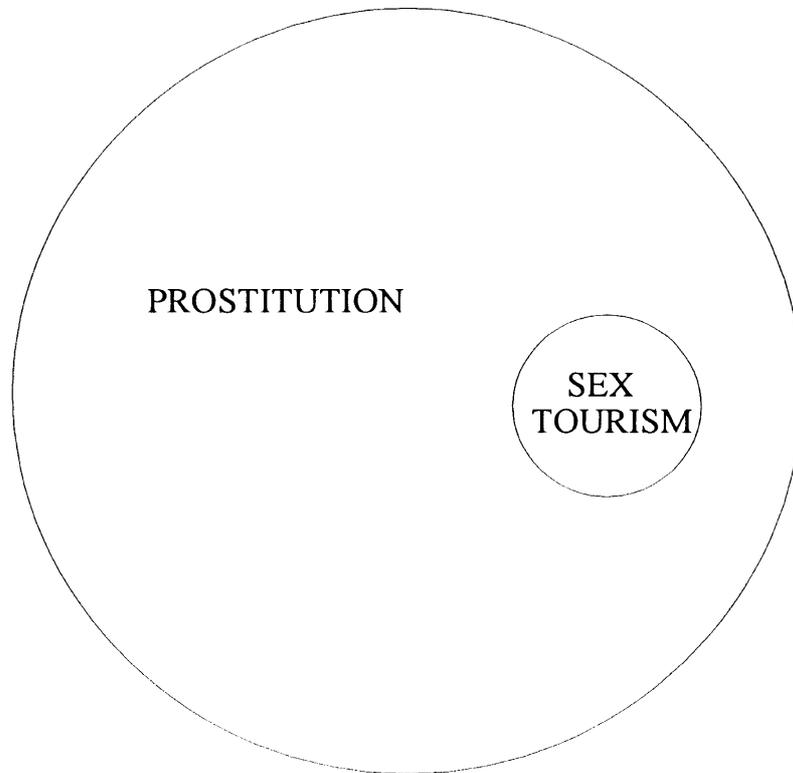


Figure 1. Prostitution and Sex Tourism.

studies that might be considered as falling into the domain of sex tourism research. On one side are those that intend to reveal the male sex tourist flows from the developed to the developing countries. Very often they highlight child exploitation and/or place sex tourism in the context of the exploitation of developing countries (Ackermann and Filter 1994; Graburn 1983; Latza 1987; Maurer 1991; Meyer 1988; Launer 1993; O'Grady 1992; Reinhardt 1989; Renschler 1987a; Schöning-Kalendar 1989; Thiemann 1989). Graburn (1983:441), for example, suggested that

at a psychological level these nations [Third World countries] are forced into the "female" role of servitude, of being "penetrated" for money, often against their will; whereas the outgoing, pleasure seeking, "penetrating" tourists of powerful nations are cast in the "male" role [1983:441].

In the same vein, "a new wave of colonialism appears to overrun developing countries. . . The women in the periphery become the last 'unspoiled resource'—a good that can be traded unscrupulously" (translated from Reinhardt 1989:90).

In contrast to tourists visiting destinations where they seek sexual gratification, even less is known about prostitutes traveling to their

workplace. Even so a large number of “internationals” are working in strip joints, massage parlors, brothels, and walking the streets in most countries (Leheny 1995; Maurer 1991; Schmitz 1987b; Symanski 1981). Often they are sought by sex seekers and brothel owners, as they provide an “exotic” touch (Hanson 1997). Although these women are not always working as prostitutes through their own free will, it is not (or has not always been) only women from the developing countries who are traded around the globe. White slavery was common well into the 20th century, and Dietrich (1989), for example, provided a historical account of how women from Europe were sold into brothels overseas. The current focus on sex destinations in the Third World ignores the fact there is an international market for prostitutes which often replicates the sex tourism routes (Schöning-Kalendar, 1989), sometimes in the disguise of the marriage trade (Ackermann and Filter 1994; Launer 1991; Meyer 1988; Tübinger Projektgruppe Frauenhandel 1989). According to Schöning-Kalendar (1989), the “resource woman” is either imported from the Third World or consumed at the place of production, just like many other resources. However, she also recognizes that prostitution is a survival strategy for many women in the Third World who lack other avenues of gaining sufficient income.

Apart from paedophiles, little attention has been paid to homosexual tourism. Most studies have discussed heterosexual encounters. Sex tourism within developing and developed destinations has also received very little attention (Harrison 1998), perhaps partly because it is difficult to place it in a dependency perspective. However, several authors have noted that domestic demand for sex in developing countries, including Thailand, is of similar if not greater importance than highly publicized international sex tourism (AGISRA 1990; Meyer 1988; Wilkinson and Pratiwi 1995). In Thailand many international sex tourists reputedly also come from neighboring countries in Southeast Asia (Mings and Chulikpongse 1994). According to Latza (1987), furthermore, many Western women can be seen in Gogo-bars and other establishments in Thailand, apparently in a voyeuristic role observing male sex tourist behavior. She notes, too, that female tourists are to be found in massage parlours, perhaps testing out their lesbian nature. Clearly, many red light districts around the world constitute major attractions for tourists who do not pay for sexual services, but rather visit those places for voyeuristic purposes (Ashworth *et al* 1988).

Who exploits whom in a tourist–prostitute relationship is an interesting question. Obviously prostitutes are usually placed in the position of the exploited, as their body is bought for the pleasure of the customer. However, some authors have already questioned if men, for example, actually get what they wanted. “Prostitution in the Australian context is often appraised by clients as deficient, in that prostitutes are criticized for being emotionally and sexually cold and for making little effort to please, or to disguise the commercial nature of the interaction” (Kruhse-MountBurton 1995:193). This suggests that men want more than mere simple physical release which could be obtained by masturbation, and without any payment. As Kleiber

and Wilkes's (1995) study illustrated, men also look for "love" in a customer-prostitute relationship, and are thus "disappointed" at the commercial approach to prostitution in Western societies (see also Kruhse-MountBurton 1995; Symanski 1981). This maybe one reason for some men to engage in planned sexual behavior with prostitutes in developing countries where their money supposedly buys not only sex but also tenderness. The interesting phenomenon of open-ended prostitution, where a prostitute may have several relationships with men (or women) overseas, who all send money between their visits, is yet another area where one might consider the customer has been exploited (Cohne 1993; Odzer 1994).

This paper argues that sex tourism is more than the traditional stereotype. From a review of the literature, several issues emerge that relate to the definition of sex tourism. The included parameters do not allow a simple black or white classification but rather consist of continua (Figure 2). For example, monetary exchange or reimbursement is only one side of the spectrum. On the other side are forms of open-ended prostitution (Cohen 1993) where little or no monetary exchange takes place, at least not in the short-run. Intentions and the actual act are another two end-points of a spectrum and the tourist may shift his/her location on the spectrum as the journey

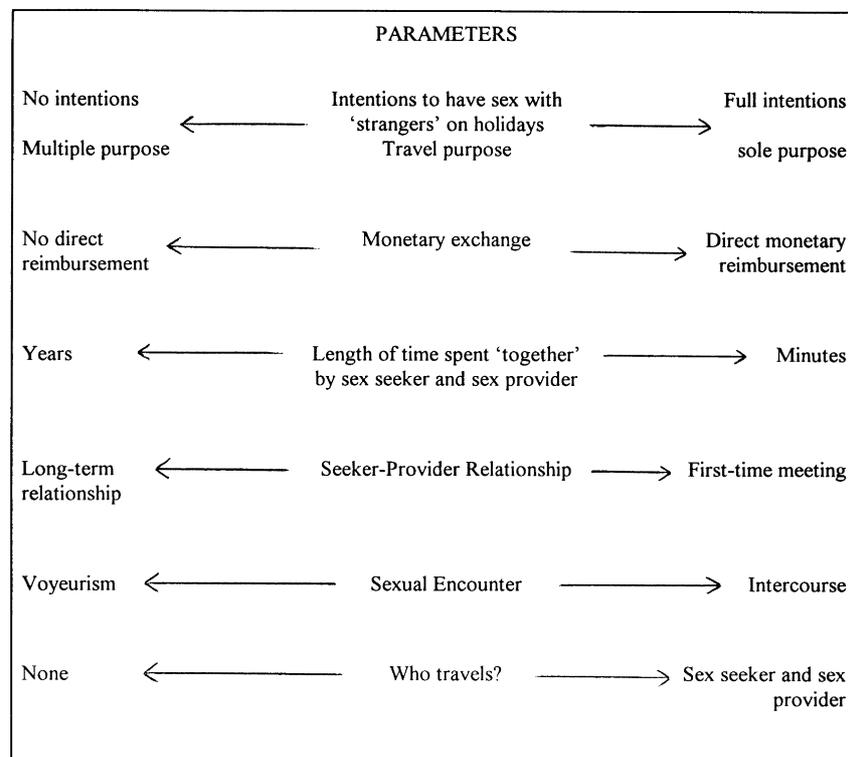


Figure 2. Sex Tourism Framework.

progresses through its time-space dimension. Obviously, travel is a key-concept in the definition and occurrence of sex tourism, but the issue of who travels, the sex-seeker or sex-provider, or both, is much less defined. It should also be noted, that specific sex tourism situations may “score” differently on the identified continuums. They may occupy the extreme end of the spectrum in one or more parameter and at the same time occupy the other end of the spectrum for other characteristics.

Travel Purpose, Intentions, and Opportunities

Tourists are often defined or labeled by their main purpose or activity, for example as business, convention, cultural or pleasure tourists. However, the purposes of travel and the activities engaged in by the tourist are rarely, if ever, the sole purpose and activity. Most forms of tourism involve more than one purpose and activity. For example, cultural tourists might focus on attractions and have a greater interest in the culture of the destination than other tourists but that does not preclude them from enjoying the scenery or, where available, bathing in the sea or enjoying the sun and the sand. Often people traveling together have different interests and, where circumstances permit, may pursue different activities at the destination. This multi-purpose and multi-activity nature of tourism implies that sex tourists need not travel only for sex, or that in a sex tourism situation (as defined within this multidimensional framework), the people engaged have only sex on their mind. If one paraphrases the way other forms are often labeled as sex tourism and sex tourists, the latter have only a higher propensity to seek sexual gratification (other than from their usual sexual partner) than other tourist types. Obviously, this allows for a much wider interpretation of who is a sex tourist and is, in a sense, crucial to understanding the next parameters. Many tourists experience sexual encounters simply because the opportunity arises or because they meet like-minded individuals (Harrison 1998; O’Connell Davidson 1996). In other cases, they simply feel lonely and sexually deprived (e.g., people on conference travel) and use the opportunity of being an ‘unknown stranger’ to buy sexual services. Ryan, Robertson, Page and Kearsley (1996) report that some 13% of their student sample reported having sex with somebody they met while on holidays, with 6% in a similar survey in the United Kingdom. If any of these persons had been confronted with the question “Are you a sex tourist”, it is likely that none would have answered in the affirmative. To what extent does intention to enter into a sexual encounter while traveling need to be present to classify somebody as a sex tourist? Does it need to be pre-planned sexual behavior? Or is openness to such a possibility already enough? What about all those lured by the insinuated sexual encounters in advertisements to book a holiday (Heatwole 1989; Lowry 1993; Oppermann and McKinley 1997)? In a discussion of the “Spring Break Phenomenon” in the United States, for example, Gerlach suggests that students “want to drink, raise hell, and ultimately involve themselves in sexual activi-

ties" (1989:15). Are all Spring Break travelers, in excess of one million students every year in the United States, sex tourists? Or do intention and the actual "act" need to be present to qualify one in this category?

It seems helpful here to draw on data provided by Kleiber and Wilke (1995). To be included in the survey, respondents had to have prior sexual contact with local prostitutes. The survey included two questions of particular relevance to the present issue, namely, whether or not tourists departed intending to engage in sex with prostitutes; and, if so, whether or not they would call themselves sex tourists. In four out of five countries (Brazil, Kenya, the Philippines, Thailand) some 70% of the interviewed tourists answered the first question positively and even in the fifth country, the Dominican Republic, it was still the majority (55%). Yet, only a minority of about 20% considered themselves as sex tourists, ranging from 18% in the Dominican Republic and the Philippines to 25% in Thailand. This avoidance of classifying oneself as a sex tourist, even though intending to seek and actually obtaining sexual gratification from prostitutes, is an interesting socio-psychological phenomenon which requires further research (Günther 1998). Obviously, that research examined only tourists' interaction with paid sex workers, and not interaction with other women, encounters which would be included in the definition of sex tourism proposed here, and also by Ryan (1998) and Simmons (1998).

Monetary Exchange

Monetary exchange is commonly considered the most important characteristic of prostitute–customer relationships and, therefore, of prostitute–sex tourist relationships. However, the field of sex tourism goes beyond the traditional norm of prostitution, as vividly illustrated by such authors as Cohen (1986, 1993) and Odzer (1994), and has a wider meaning than a financial transaction. In case of mistresses, for example, the 'customer' may provide accommodation, clothing, and travel (Hobson and Heung 1998). Even in "typical sex tourism" settings, many sexual encounters seem to occur without a direct exchange of sex for money (Kleiber and Wilke 1995). Pruitt and LaFont argue that, in the case of female sex tourists to Jamaica, "neither actor considers their interaction to be prostitution, even while others may label it so. The actors place an emphasis on courtship rather than the exchange of sex for money" (1995:423). However, while direct monetary exchange for sexual services may not be prominent, and may even purposely be kept out of the "equation", economic gain is the primary motive of both male and female sex providers in such settings (Dahles 1998). This gain may be simply in the form of an invitation, along with an airline ticket, to the sex seeker's home country.

In some developing countries, tourists may simply hire prostitutes on an hourly basis or even be with them for days, even weeks (AGISRA 1990; Ackermann and Filter 1994; Latza 1989). By contrast data from Germany suggest that 80% of encounters between customer

and prostitute lasted less than one hour (Kleiber and Velten 1994). However, nearly 50% of tourists interviewed in a range of developing countries who had relationships with local prostitutes indicated that they had been with the same prostitute for several days (Kleiber and Wilke 1995). The time spent with the same prostitute is obviously a contributing factor to the self-perception of the tourists. Prostitutes are not reimbursed after or before each sexual act. Undoubtedly prostitutes get their customers to pay, but this is packaged in different forms, for example as support for the education of their siblings or as payment for hospital visits (Odzer 1994). This helps give tourists the illusion they are with a “friend”, rather than a prostitute, something they can hardly achieve in developed countries, where the prostitute–customer encounter is very much dominated by the sex–monetary exchange (Kruhse-MountBurton 1995; Symanski 1981). Clearly, the ‘soft-selling techniques’ adopted by prostitutes in developing countries leave room for interpretation of the relationship on both sides. Sex tourists can see themselves as being in love or just being with a woman friend, whereas prostitutes may arguably see themselves as having a string of individual relationships with men who just happen to pay their bills and support their families. O’Connell Davidson (1996) argues that many sex seekers can only attain sexual and psychological satisfaction if they tell themselves that they are involved in a genuine and reciprocal emotional relationship. They tend to spend several days or even weeks with the same provider and are keen to conceal the economic basis of the relationship from themselves.

Relationship between Sex Seekers and Providers

Symanski suggests that prostitution and “normal” relationships are part of a continuum, a notion clearly supported by Cohen (1986, 1993). Prostitutes often start with a sexual service given in return for cash which, over time, may evolve into a relationship of “travel companion” and eventually perhaps even marriage (Thiemann 1989). Similarly, in client–prostitute “business-relationships” in the Western world (Symanski 1981), sex tourists may often return to the same prostitute on repeat holidays (Ackermann and Filter 1994; Latza 1987; Launer 1993; O’Connell Davidson 1996), keeping in contact by writing letters. The repeat customer relationship appears beneficial to both sides, reducing the “risk taking” for both.

Though initially men paid outright for sex, prostitution in Thailand differed from the West in the way women used poverty and the Third World conditions of Thailand to turn the customer/prostitute relationship into a savior/damsel-in-distress relationship. It was hard for men to leave the country where they played the role of hero so completely... Many men eventually married the women they met in a Patpong bar (Odzer 1994:15).

Marriage is certainly an aspiration on the side of some sex providers involved in open-ended prostitution. When does the prostitute, in such a development, cease to be one? With the signing of the marriage certificate? Or, in a different context, how about the case of mistresses or second wives who do not live at their usual place of residence? This

is not uncommon in the former Hong Kong-China border area, where many Hong Kong residents support a second wife (Hobson and Heung 1998). A similar situation exists at the Thailand-Malaysia border and may indeed be present at others, and not only between countries with considerable economic disparities. There is anecdotal evidence of sailors or traveling salesmen having more than one wife, conveniently located in different parts of the country or world.

With the increasing number of female executives, reversed sex roles also become more common. As reported in a popular New Zealand female magazine, the number of male prostitutes or callboys is on the increase, largely serving a female business tourist clientele (Wane 1996). Indeed, Pruitt and LaFont also suggest that some women enjoy the power that money gives them over men.

The economic and social status the women enjoy provides them with a security and independence that translates into power and control in the relationship. Some of the women enjoy the control they have in these relationships and express a preference for keeping a man dependent on them (1995:427).

As women increase their economic and social standing around the world, one might expect more and more female sex tourists and consequently, more male sex providers serving female tourists. What about sex while traveling with colleagues or friends, even if they are not one's usual sexual partner? Such examples may show that once one moves out of the "usual sexual relationship", a range of complex relationships exists which include many not normally considered within the area of sex tourism, but which could easily be constructed as such.

The Sexual Encounter

Turning to the sexual encounter itself, a whole range of questions and issues can be raised. Traditionally, in heterosexual relationships, a sexual act was considered to be penetrative, vaginal intercourse, a definition quite useless in reference to homosexual encounters. More broadly, what are the criteria? Would oral sex, hand jobs, or watching be enough to qualify? There are many places that offer peep-shows, where customers commonly masturbate. Some tourists may simply use such facilities only for that purpose. In Thailand and the Philippines, many places offer sex shows and while prostitutes are also available, the primary purpose of those watching is simple voyeurism (Latza 1987). Ryan (1998) argues that events such as Sydney's Mardi Gras, Auckland's Heroes Parade, or San Francisco's Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Pride parade are also part of sex tourism.

Further, there are also topless bars and shows, some of which offer table and lap-dancing (Thompson and Harred 1992; Schmitz 1987a), where customers may receive sexual stimuli and perhaps masturbate. What happens after the shows is yet another issue, and in some establishments dancers and/or waitresses may also be available for sexual activities after working hours, off premises (Schmitz 1987a; Symanski 1981). Thompson and Harred (1992) report that dancers

have even coined the term “parking lot duty” to describe sexual encounters that supposedly occur in parking lots outside the clubs, as soliciting and prostitution are strictly prohibited in the clubs.

The Internet opens up a whole range of new questions, in that the “customer” is not physically traveling, but nonetheless may be considered a “cyberspace tourist”, or even a “cyberspace sex tourist” (Durkin and Bryant 1995; Kohm and Selwood 1998). Perhaps it is not unlike the “phone sex lines” (Madden 1996) where customers also remain at home but where the prostitute may be on the other side of the world, providing sexual arousal and helping the customer to masturbate. The development of the Internet, with faster video and sound access, may conceivably bring “peep-shows” into the house of the cybersex tourist and, as with brothels, peep-shows or porn magazines, cybersex tourists also have to pay their way into these sites, generally through credit card payment.

The Question of Who Travels

As already suggested, it is not always tourists who travel to prostitutes. Sometimes the prostitute is the business tourist serving the locals, and sometimes both are foreign to the area where the sexual encounter takes place. In many countries, at one time or the other, a male immigrant population has been served by an immigrant prostitute population, brought into the country or region for solely that purpose. In Thailand, until the 1930s, the majority of the prostitutes were of Chinese origin, serving a largely Chinese immigrant population (Leheny 1995; von Krause 1993). In more modern settings, Launer (1993) reports that a considerable number of South Koreans work as Kiaseng women in Japan, and Leheny (1995) and Meyer (1988) also suggest that women from other Asian countries work in Japan as prostitutes. It is also frequently reported that women from Laos, Myanmar, and even Southern China are working as prostitutes in Thailand, and that most prostitutes in Bangkok and Pattaya are from Thailand’s poor Northeast region. As a consequence, while some of these prostitutes are migrants rather than regular business tourists, others enter the country on business or, more frequently, on visitor visas.

The international travel pattern of prostitutes is only one factor. Many work away from home for big events, for example, like the navy coming to port (Launer 1993), hardly a new phenomenon. Symanski (1981) reports that prostitutes traveled with the Roman legion and other armies. In more recent times, they travel to army bases for payday, solicit while traveling in such trains as the Winnipeg–Pacific Coast or Leningrad–Moscow lines, travel from city to city on planned prostitution circuits; follow the snowbirds into the warmer parts of Europe for the winter, or simply commute for the weekend to Las Vegas from Southern California (Symanski 1981).

Aparicio (1993) relates how prostitutes in the Dominican Republic engage in seasonal migration to the respective tourist hubs at different

times of the year. Most are women from the rural areas inland who have migrated to the coast but who return home frequently. Häusler (1993) reports that Indian prostitutes flock to Goa during the high season around carnival and Christmas. She also notes that some upper-class tourists bring prostitutes with them. In Pangandaran, Indonesia, most tourists and prostitutes are Indonesian, but the latter are generally outsiders, although some local women and men are also involved in prostitution (Wilkinson and Pratiwi 1995).

Precise figures on the number of prostitutes are always difficult to obtain and their origins are even more difficult to determine. In 1990, estimates for Switzerland suggest that 20% of all prostitutes were of non-European origin (Maurer 1991) and Schmitz (1987a) suggests that, in the mid 80s, 40% of all prostitutes in Frankfurt (Germany) were from developing countries. In the early 90s, according to the German Federal Police Office, there were some 400,000 prostitutes and about 30% were foreigners (Ackermann and Filter 1994). These prostitutes were estimated to service about 1.2 million customers daily. While some were forced into the trade (Ackermann and Filter 1994), others willingly moved to countries such as Germany because they were able to earn more money than in their home-country. The large share of foreign prostitutes actually means that in many sex tourism settings it is the prostitute who is the business tourist, an aspect of sex tourism deserving more recognition.

This account of the six parameters of sex tourism indicates that the traditional view of sex tourism is inadequate. Such a definition occupies the far right of the parameters identified in Figure 2. In a sense, the "ideal" sex tourist purposely takes a holiday to have sex, stays away from home for at least 24 hours, meets the sex provider for the first time, has sexual intercourse as a result of direct monetary exchange, and obtains sexual gratification in encounters which last a relatively short time. However, this ideal type usually does not exist. In the typical sex tourist settings in South East Asia, for example, several studies have reported that the length of time spent together between sex seeker and sex provider is often several days, repeat visitation does occur, and direct monetary exchange may not always take place. Thus, even in these commonly considered typical sex destinations, the ideal sex tourist rarely exists. One thus needs to move away from overt simplification and develop a wider interpretation of sex tourists and sex tourism.

The increase in parameters used to identify sex tourism settings obviously brings additional problems of definition. As with such concepts as alternative tourism and ecotourism, sex tourism is more a matter of continua than a hard and fast definition. The issue then arises how many of these parameters need to be scored highly for a setting to be defined as sex tourism or a tourist to be defined as a sex tourist. The discussion also indicates that it is inadequate to consider sex tourism as a subset of prostitution (Figure 1). While some forms of sex tourism may also be considered part of prostitution, others are not. On the other hand, much of what is typically considered prostitution may actually fall into the domain of sex tourism, for example when the sex provider is a business tourist. Thus, Figure 3

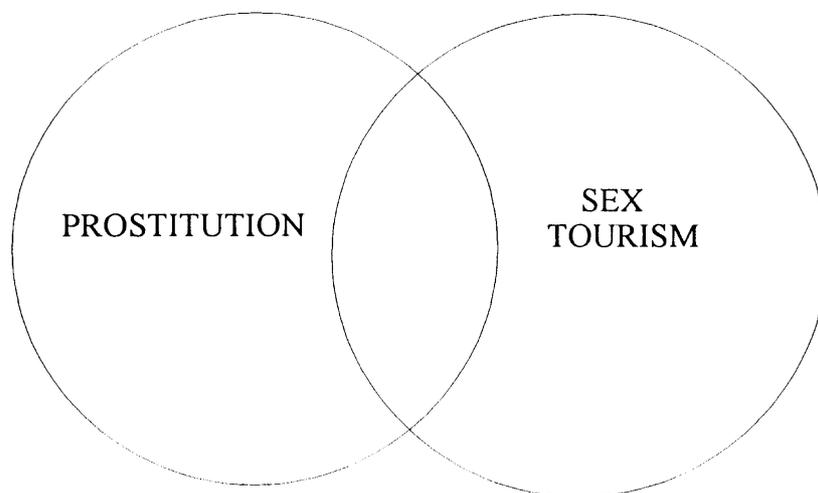


Figure 3. Prostitution and Sex Tourism Redefined.

provides a better representation of the interrelationships between sex tourism and prostitution.

CONCLUSION

This article has reviewed the existing literature on sex tourism, suggesting that viewing the relationship of sex provider and tourist simply as a matter of monetary exchange is analytically inadequate. Data and reports from tourist-prostitute interactions in developing countries suggest that sex seekers often do not see themselves as sex tourists, and that their interaction is not based on monetary exchange. Once one moves away from the superficial definition of sex tourism as intimacy between tourists and prostitutes for commercial purposes, a range of its dimensions becomes obvious. Sex tourism needs to be viewed on a multi-dimensional scale with the most important axes arguably those indicated in Figure 2.

Clearly, the sheer volume of tourist flows and expenditure associated with sex tourism calls for more serious research and for its recognition. After all, the tourism industry has long made use of sex in its advertising (Heatwole 1989; Lowry 1993). Specific areas that have been largely overlooked include the sex provider as business tourist; the nature of repeat business in sex tourism; and voyeurism as a form of it. It is hoped that this article encourages more researchers to investigate the diverse issues surrounding sex tourism in its multi-dimensional perspective, rather than simply taking its inadequate stereotype for granted. Moreover, the simplification of sex tourism as sex for monetary exchange has hampered the recognition of other forms. Arguably, street prostitutes continue to be considered "bad", but mistresses and high-class call girls are accepted, and sexual interaction among tourists is considered "adventurous", while interaction

with prostitutes is portrayed negatively. Further research on such issues should reveal this and other double standards to be what they are and allow a more sensible and less judgemental approach to the complex relationship of sex and tourism. ■

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