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Bodies, Borders, and Sex Tourism in a Globalized World: A Tale of Two Cities—Amsterdam and Havana

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Globalization has stimulated an increase in the movement of bodies across borders as the poor migrate in search of work or safety, and the rich travel the globe as tourists in ever-larger numbers. This article explores how these global forces shape the production and consumption of sex tourism in two very different cities, Amsterdam and Havana. By combining political-economic, feminist, and postmodern theoretical perspectives with global ethnographic methods and data, we examine how abstract global forces find concrete expression within the practice of sex tourism in very different cities. We analyze four institutions that mediate between the global and the local in these sites: the tourism industry, labor markets, the sex industry, and law and policy. We argue that patterns of sex tourism in each locale are increasingly over-determined by global economic forces, connecting the practice of sex work in both cities with the broader phenomenon of globalized sex tourism.

The great drama of the last quarter of the 20th century was the collapse of socialism and the subsequent attempt to refashion the world into a single capitalist system managed and controlled from a small core of “global cities” scattered around the world (Amin 1990, 1997; Greider 1997; Hoogvelt 1997; Mander and Goldsmith 1996; Sassen 1996, 1998, 2000a). This process of integrating the world into a single capitalist system—typically termed “globalization”—is often cast as an unprecedented political-economic development (Karliner 1997; Korten 1995). Others suggest that today’s “globalization” is essentially a contemporary expression of the historical project of creating a worldwide capitalist system, a project that extends roughly from the rise of mercantile capitalism in the 1400s to the present (Friedman 1999; Hirst 1996). Whether it represents a novel form of political-economy or is just a resumption of the pre-socialist urge of capitalism to command the globe, the current era of globalization is characterized by unprecedented movement of material, information, finance, and bodies across borders.

In this article, we examine how globalization facilitates the growth of sex tourism, as well as the particular character of sex tourism in different locales. As others have already detailed (Opperman 1998), “sex tourism” is a protean term that attempts to capture varieties of leisure travel that have as a part of their purpose the purchase of sexual services. Clearly the concepts of “prostitution” and “tourism” are both central to an analysis of sex tourism, but neither term captures the full meaning of sex tourism. “Sex tourism” highlights the convergence between prostitution and tourism, links the global and the local, and draws attention to both the production and consumption of sexual services. The growth in sex tourism over the last two decades is well established (Kempadoo and Doezema 1998; Opperman 1998). In this article,

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we focus specifically on how the global forces shaping this growth connect the practice of sex work in two disparate cities with globalized sex tourism.

Our analysis of sex tourism has two closely related goals. First, we explore the *global forces* that shape the production and consumption of sex tourism. We argue that global forces influence the production of globalized sex tourism via the increased movement of bodies associated with migration and tourism. Global forces also shape the consumption of sexual services by fostering tourism as an industry aimed at those who have the resources to travel and purchase what they desire, thus, facilitating the commodification of both male desire and women's bodies within the global capitalist economy.

By examining sex tourism as a product of global forces, we hope to shift attention from individual "prostitutes" as social problems to "sex tourism" as a form of global commerce that is transforming sex work, cities, and human relationships. Most writings on the sex trade take prostitutes as the starting point for analysis of sex work. This leads to an overemphasis on individuals, particularly women, as deviant or pathological for their participation in the sex trade.¹ It is our view that an adequate analysis of contemporary sex tourism must consider how the meshing of the supply and demand curves for sex creates a transnational business like any other.

A second goal of our analysis is to foreground cities as strategic sites of globalization and further, to identify some of the mediating institutions that connect cities to the global forces shaping sex tourism. As Sassen (2000a:143) points out, "Large cities in the highly developed world are the places where globalization processes assume concrete, localized forms. These localized forms are, in good part, what globalization is about." The exchanges of money, ideas, and commands that comprise globalization must always take place *somewhere*, and the modern city is that somewhere, the place where "key global processes ranging from international finance to immigration" are constituted (Sassen 1996:131). When analyzing a single city, however, it can be difficult to assess the extent to which the local is shaped by larger, global forces. Comparative work such as ours, makes it possible to observe the way that global forces serve to create *global connections* between practices in disparate places. In this article, we explore the global connections between sex tourism and two cities with very different histories: Amsterdam and Havana. As our analysis will evidence, although sex tourism differs in each city, the impact of globalization is evident in the changing character of a variety of common mediating institutions that link each city to the global economy and to globalized sex tourism. Because sex work always occurs in a localized context, it is typically treated as an individual adjustment to local economies and local cultures. We contend, however, that in some places global forces increasingly over-determine the localized experience of sex work.

In pursuing the goals outlined above, our approach to sex tourism is both theoretical and ethnographic. Employing political-economic, feminist, and postmodern theoretical perspectives, we seek to further understand the relationship between sex tourism and the emerging, global capitalist order. We do this by utilizing the methodology of "global ethnography," as outlined by Burawoy, et al. (2000). Global ethnography combines traditional ethnography with ethno-historical information as a strategy to analyze the impact of globalization.² Because globalization operates across time and space, traditional ethnographic methods, which tend to be place-bound, must be supplemented with information linking the particular research moment to the broader historical context, and the particular research site to the broader transnational forces and processes that constitute the global. Global ethnography

1. This focus on "prostitutes" has led to lengthy debates over the character of prostitution. Because these debates are covered in detail elsewhere (e.g., Chapkis 1997), we do not reproduce them here. Our goal, instead, is to transcend the dichotomy between sex work as a form of oppression versus an employment choice. Our ethnographic work indicates that for many women it is *both*.

2. For more detailed discussions of the ethnographic methods we employ, see also, Aggar (1986), Clifford and Marcus (1986), Dubisch (1996), Michalowski (1996), and Van Maanen (1988).

describes a set of strategies for combining abstract, theoretical insights about globalization with concrete, historically contextualized, geographically situated practices.

Global ethnographic approaches have several features, but the two characteristics most salient for our research are: 1) the focus on external global *forces* and 2) the emphasis placed on global *connections* between geographical sites (Burawoy, et al. 2000). The term “global forces” refers to the broad trends typically associated with globalization, including (but not limited to) global capital flows, globalized labor markets and industries, mass migration as a result of local economic displacement, growing disparities of wealth and income, and the emergence of global cities. “Global connections” refer to the linkages between particular places created by the impact of global forces on localized environments and vice versa. As Burawoy, et al. (2000:5) emphasize, “Within any field, whether it had global reach or was bounded by a community or nation, our fieldwork had to assemble a picture of the whole by recognizing diverse perspectives from the parts, from singular but connected sites.” Thus, global connections reference the process by which local sites and localized practices become connected to the global.

Global ethnography employs the extended case study method to explore global forces and connections by “extending from observer to participant, extending observations over time and place, extending from process to external forces, and extending theory” (Burawoy, et al. 2000:28). Global ethnography recognizes that it is not enough to assert that global forces exist at an abstract level. Global ethnography requires concrete, ethnographic, and localized knowledge about how global forces operate to create connections that cross space and time boundaries.

Our strategy in analyzing sex tourism in two cities closely follows this model. First, we ground our research in broader theoretical and historical insights about the global forces shaping the growth and character of sex tourism, focusing particular attention on those global forces linked to the production and consumption of sex tourism. To do this, we weave together literatures that rarely converse, including work on globalization, feminist research on gender and sex work, and literature addressing consumption, leisure, and tourism. We then explore the way that global forces have impacted two particular cities, Amsterdam and Havana. Drawing on our own fieldwork experiences,³ we combine ethnographic data with ethno-historical information about each city in order to understand global sex tourism as it appears in each local context. Our analysis focuses on several local institutions that are impacted by global forces, thus mediating between the global and the local: the tourism industry, labor markets, localized sex work, and law and policy. These mediating institutions create global connections that link sex work in these two cities to globalized sex tourism.

3. The ethnographic knowledge of sex tourism in Amsterdam was gathered by Nancy Wonders and spans a six-year time period; however, the primary fieldwork for this project was conducted during a six-month period in 1997 while she was a Visiting Scholar at the University of Amsterdam. Her fieldwork involved in-depth conversations and interviews with sex workers, sex consumers, public officials associated with advocating for sex workers, academic faculty, and ordinary citizens about sex tourism, as well as extensive research in local libraries, bookstores, and government offices. The ethnographic information reported for Cuba is part of a larger study of social adaptations to the intersection of political-economy and law in a transforming Cuba that has been ongoing since 1985 (Michalowski 1996). The data on current patterns of sex tourism and *jineterismo* are based on fieldwork in 1998 and 1999. During these trips, Ray Michalowski discussed the changing face of social life in Havana with state-sector professionals, faculty from the University of Havana, members of the Cuban legal community, and professionals working in Cuba's emerging private-sector economy. The information acquired from these exchanges was cross-compiled with that obtained from unscheduled interviews with an opportunity sample of male sex tourists, *jineteras*, long-term professional prostitutes, pimps, and taxi drivers encountered in hotels and other tourist sites in the city. All conversations and interviews were conducted with full disclosure of the research nature of the exchange. As ethnographers, we spent significant time just living in these locales in order to understand and know the cultural context, however imperfectly. As gendered researchers, however, our access to information was also gendered. Ray could more easily fall into conversation with male sex tourists, and could enter into conversations with sex workers and pimps as a result of their initial interest in him as a possible customer. Nancy could more easily interact with formal associations linked to sex work without being questioned as a voyeur or potential client. Although we note these differences as an important statement of reflexivity about our work, we found that our fieldwork yielded roughly comparable case studies, particularly when our ethnographic knowledge was combined with available ethnohistorical literature about each city.

There are several limitations associated with our theoretical and methodological approach that should be mentioned. First, although we recognize that there is a growing body of literature addressing male sex workers, female sex tourists, and gay and lesbian sex tourism, our analysis focuses on the modal practice of sex tourism, which involves male customers and female providers of sexual services. While analysis of other variations of sex tourism is important, it is beyond the scope of the current project. Additionally, we acknowledge limitations in the global ethnographic approach we have outlined. Interpreting another culture is always risky. Although our understanding of both Amsterdam and Havana was enhanced by our experiences of living and working in these cultures, and by ethnographic and historical research, our work is not thickly descriptive in the mode of interpretive anthropology (Geertz 1983). At some level, we remain global tourists ourselves. Given our research focus, however, we believe that this vantage point has its advantages.

Global Forces: The Production and Consumption of Globalized Sex Tourism

Globalization has wrought many changes, but two are particularly salient for understanding the emergence of sex tourism as a significant form of economic activity. One significant global force shaping sex tourism is the worldwide movement of bodies across borders, whether for business, war, or pleasure. The movement of bodies takes many forms, but two of the most significant are migration and tourism. Migration typically involves bodies from less developed or less stable nations moving across borders into more developed or stable ones in an attempt to improve economic options, or to escape life-threatening conflicts including genocide, war, and famine. Cross-border tourism typically reverses this pattern as privileged bodies from industrialized nations cross into less developed ones in search of exotic pleasures and a little (highly controlled) danger. These increases in tourism and migration have fostered heightened opportunities for sex work as these global forces expand the pools of both potential sex consumers and potential sex workers.

The second global force affecting sex tourism is the shift from a worldwide economic system based on expanding production to one whose central engine of growth is expanding *consumption* (Lury 1996). Globalized capitalism demands the continual development of new commodity forms. The consequence is that many elements of social life that once remained outside the realm of commodity exchange must now be commodified in order to create new markets and to protect or expand profits (Friedman 1999). This, in turn, introduces new forms of labor and new forms of consumption into the global marketplace, of which the expansion of sex tourism is but one example. In the analysis that follows, we argue that sex tourism both fosters and is fostered the global commodification of (primarily male) desire and (primarily women's) bodies as new markets in ways that transcend and shape local institutions and discourses.

The Production of Sex Tourism: Global Inequality, Bodies, and Border Crossings

A great deal has been written in recent years detailing the economic, social, and physical dislocation of people caught in the tide of globalization. Some emphasize that this movement of humanity is largely a response to profound inequality between countries due to by the growing concentration and centralization of wealth under globalization (Burbach, Nuñez and Kargarlitsky 1997; Dougherty and Holthouse 1998). Others suggest that this heightened transnational flow of bodies is not necessarily negative, since people often move in search of higher standards of living, work, or just to enjoy travel and white sandy beaches (Davidow and Malone 1992; Friedman 1999). What is not in dispute, however, is that two of the most

significant waves of human movement today are migrants and tourists. While their immediate motivations differ, both tourists and migrants travel because they desire something better than what their current home has to offer.

The intersection of tourism and migration in the globalized world system facilitates the production of sex tourism by bringing together mobile sex workers with mobile sex consumers. This increased mobility has two vectors. On the one hand, increased concentrations of wealth within industrialized nations means that more people—mostly men, but also some women—can afford to travel as tourists in foreign lands where they can enjoy “exotic” sights, sounds, and in some cases, “otherly” bodies. On the other hand, as global capital disrupts established patterns of economic survival in less developed nations, unemployment, urban migration, and national out-migration rise (Wonders and Danner 2002). This push toward migration was clearly visible in the International Labor Organization’s (ILO) estimate that around *thirty percent* of the world’s labor force is “unemployed and unable to sustain a minimum standard of living” (Chomsky 1994:188, emphasis added).

Not all social groups are affected equally by economic displacement. Wonders and Danner (1999:3) make the point that “globalization has engendered profound change because it is itself gendered.” As a 1996 ILO report noted, “the feminization” of international labor migration is “one of the most striking economic and social phenomena of recent times” (Kempadoo and Doezema 1998:17). Among other consequences, the feminization of migration brings growing numbers of women into geographical and social environments where their best (and in some cases, only) option for economic survival and social advancement is sex work. This is true not only in developing countries where economic options are bleak for the majority, but it is increasingly so in industrialized countries that have thrown up employment barriers to intentionally discourage migration. As Wijers (1998:72) points out, such restrictions on employment create a situation where “almost the only work migrant women are allowed to do is in the entertainment section or sex industry, whether this is the official policy, as in Switzerland, or just everyday practice, as in the Netherlands.”

The growth of tourism as a result of the expanding global economy constitutes one of the most significant engines fueling the increase in commercial sex. As an area of employment, tourism is both large and growing. The World Trade and Tourism Council (W TTC) estimates that between 1989 and 1992 employment in all tourism—international and internal—grew by 20 percent (ILO 1998). In 1996, “the industry’s gross output was estimated to be U.S. \$3.6 trillion, 10 percent of all consumer spending. The travel and tourism industry is the world’s largest employer, with 255 million jobs, or almost 11 percent of all employees. This industry is the world’s leading industrial contributor, producing over 10 percent of the world gross domestic product . . .” (Theobald 1998:4). While most of this tourism does not involve the production or consumption of sexual services, an important and growing proportion does. Pietila and Vickers (1994:121) argue that “prostitution has become big business, and ‘traffic in persons’ has taken on new and more sophisticated forms and extended on an unforeseen scale to become an international trade . . . massive expansion of intercontinental tourism, coupled with the deteriorating situation of women in many developing countries, has made sex holidays an ever flourishing phenomenon.” Echoing this perspective, Herman (1995:5) calls sex tourism “one of the booming markets in the New World Order—a multi-billion dollar industry with finders, brokers, syndicate operations and pimp ‘managers’ at the scene of action.” Even conservative business publications have noted the growing strength and globalization of the sex “industry”; *The Economist* (1998:23) estimates that the global sex industry is worth “at least \$20 billion a year and probably many times that.”

Although sex tourism can take many forms, sex tourists are overwhelming men with resources, while sex workers are overwhelming poor women of color (Richter 1998). This has led many researchers to contend that most global sex tourism—both North-South and North-North—arises from the linkage between the political-economic advantage enjoyed by affluent men from developed countries and the widespread cultural fantasy in those nations that

dusky-skinned “others” from exotic southern lands are liberated from the sexual/emotional inhibitions characteristic of women (and/or men) in their own societies (Kempadoo and Doezenia 1998; Sanchez Taylor 2000). For advantaged men from the developed world, sex tourism provides an opportunity, not only to experience fantasized sexual freedom with imagined uninhibited women, but also the opportunity to experience—in their bodies—their own privilege. As Skrobanek, et al. (1997:viii) write of sex tourism in Thailand, “Thailand is like a stage where men from around the world come to perform their role of male supremacy over women and their white supremacy over Thai people.” The gendered and racialized patterns of sex tourism characterized by Skrobanek, and found in the ILO case studies in Southeast Asia are not unique to these countries. Rather, as our case studies of Amsterdam and Havana will show, they are local patterns that are structured by broader global forces.

***The Consumption of Globalized Sex Tourism:
Commodification of Bodies and Desire***

Global economic forces not only facilitate the production of sex tourism, they also facilitate its consumption. In the global economic search for new markets, the process of commodification has gone beyond material goods to all social life. One book title—*Consuming People* (Firat and Dholakia 1998)—plays out a double entendre that accurately reflects the contemporary global situation. Today people are constantly consuming, not only material goods, but other people as well, via the purchase of human services, relational experiences, and sexual encounters. Indeed, “consumption . . . may be the most important force that unites the contemporary world” (Firat and Dholakia 1998:103).

The recognition that consumption is an important engine of global and local economic growth requires that we analyze the production of sex tourism in terms of the behavior and preferences of sex consumers, not just sex providers. In the global capitalist marketplace, the desires of those with resources, particularly privileged male consumers, have become prime targets for producers and retailers of all types of goods and services. As a number of researchers on gender and leisure note, white, male desire has itself been commodified in the global production of leisure services, including sex tourism (Adkins 1995; Craik 1997). In their quest for markets and money, creative entrepreneurs develop products and services designed to both fulfill and shape male desire. Thus, male desire facilitates the production of commodified services at the same time as service providers in leisure industries seek to commodify male desire. This interrelationship is necessitated, in part, because of the close proximity of the production of leisure services to their consumption; “this proximity is thought to mean that cultural practices, especially the cultural expectations of consumers, act to significantly determine the social relations of production” (Adkins 1995:7). As primary providers of a range of leisure activities, including sex work, women are expected to tailor the services they provide to consumer expectations, particularly the expectations of their primarily male clientele. In a study of leisure services in England, Adkins (1995), for example, notes that all of the female service workers in two major hotel and entertainment parks were expected to undertake emotional and sensual work as a regular part of their jobs. As primarily male customers voiced their desires, female service workers were expected to immediately respond to expectations. Thus, customers shaped the services they received in a relational fashion.

This relational understanding of work in the service sector is taken to an extreme in sex work, since the sexual services sold by prostitutes are largely shaped in the moment, as customers express their desires (Zatz 1997). Thus, the particular form of sex work provided both reflects and (re)constitutes (primarily) male desire. For example, some research shows that the desire expressed by some male sex consumers for emotional and sensual labor to accompany sexual labor shapes the character of sex work for some prostitutes (see the growing body of writings by female sex workers on this point; e.g., Chapkis 1997; Nagle 1997). In this regard, it is crucial to point out that sex tourism is similar to other forms of tourism in that

"the cultural experiences offered by tourism are consumed in terms of prior knowledge, expectations, fantasies and mythologies generated in the tourist's origin culture, rather than by the cultural offerings of the destination" (Craik 1997:118). The expectations and desires of those with resources influences what "others" try to sell to them; in essence, privileged desire influences what options "others" have as they seek wages in the globalized economy (O'Connell Davidson 1998; Richter 1998).

The objectification of bodies, particularly women's bodies, is well documented as a primary source of the commodification of bodies under capitalism (Bordo 1993). But to fully understand the commodification of bodies under globalization, we need to link the process of objectification to the more general disembodiment of workers within the capitalist economy. For Marx, all workers under capitalism are alienated; they are symbolically disembodied as they sell their labor power to employers for a wage in order to survive (Marx 1887/1958:207–208). For women in both industrialized and developing countries, however, reasonably remunerative wage labor associated with commodity production is increasingly difficult to secure. This is particularly true for migrant women of color. Under these circumstances, some women do not sell their bodily labor to produce a commodity; instead, their *bodies* become commodities. It is important to emphasize here that we are not positing sex itself as inherently exploitative or problematic, but we do problematize the commodification of bodies in order to make a living wage. As newly industrializing countries struggle to find commodity niches in the globalized economy, they frequently find many of the best product niches taken. As a consequence, in some countries, sex tourism becomes a significant market fostering of both national economic development and international capital accumulation (Enloe 1989; Kempadoo and Doezema 1998; Lean Lim 1998; Truong 1990). In these countries and in many other parts of the globalized world, sex work is a tolerated "choice" for women for whom it appears the best option for supporting themselves and their families (see selections in Chapkis 1997 or Nagle 1997). In this way, sex work reveals "the gendered organization of the 'economic': of the ways in which social identities available to men and women in the workplace, for instance, relate to the gendered nature of the very fabric of society—to (gendered) economic relations" (Adkins 1995:52).

As we noted above, the rise of mass tourism is one of the major transformations of the contemporary period. Although other scholars have already made the point, we wish to join the voices emphasizing the gendered character of tourism (Craig-Smith and French 1994; Craik 1997; Richter 1998). As Richter (1998:392) argues, "Travel has had a different *contextual* meaning for men than for women. . . ." For men, tourism and travel are more often defined as adventure and constant change, as distance and escape from the routine and familiar. This sense of tourism, along with the idea that leisure for the tourist takes place beyond (some might say "against") the home reflects a historically male interpretation of pleasure. While selling sexual services is an old commerce, and leisure travel has long been common for the wealthy, both have changed in ways that increasingly parallel the globalized economy and the desires of privileged male tourists. Increasingly, women are themselves viewed as a tourist destination. Sex and bodies are viewed as commodities that can be packaged, advertised, displayed, and sold on a global scale. Rojec and Urry (1997:17) argue that "Travel and tourism can be thought of as a search for difference. . . . Women are the embodiment of difference . . . the act of leaving home to travel involves, for men, sexual adventure, finding a woman." Craik (1997:116) emphasizes "the manufacture of simulacra (or 'as if' experiences) as the basis of the contemporary tourist experience." Whether prostitutes are displayed in windows (like clothes on mannequins) or appear in hotel lobbies (as though they are complementary beverages), bodies increasingly are used as simulacra to represent "something else" to the leisure tourist; prostitutes appear as "minor wives," "girlfriends," "exotic others" or "sex toys"—whatever the tourist needs them to be to achieve the experience he desires. In this sense, both tourists and tourist sites engage in a kind of performance where each pretends to meet the "other's" expectations as a way to simulate the desired experience (see Chapkis 1997; Nagle 1997; Rojec and Urry 1997).

Not only is the desire for new experiences commodified in the globalized economy, but so, too, is the desire to experiment with different identities. Increasingly scholars have come to understand all identities as fluid, changeable, social constructions (Ferrante and Brown 1998; Wonders 2000). Much of the tourist and consumer experience involves buying products, services, and experiences that create the illusion of becoming someone else. MacCannell (1999) suggests that this opportunity to become someone else is an important reason why many tourists travel in the first place. Travel to other countries facilitates the fluidity of identity because we typically leave behind the signposts and people associated with our present identity, making it easier to adopt new ones. Similarly, tourists feel free to experience the identity of "others" by sampling cultural products, experiences, bodies, and identities. But this sampling is rarely without judgment, since the tourist brings along cultural assumptions and biases on every trip. In the case of sex tourism, expectations and assumptions about other cultures and racial groups often result in racist payment schedules for sexual services; this serves to perpetuate racial hierarchies among sex workers (Kempadoo and Doezema 1998; Pettman 1997), as well as racist laws and regulatory policies directed at particular categories of prostitutes (Bell 1994). Our own ethnographic research confirms that reality.

In this section, we have outlined some of the key global forces shaping the growth and character of sex tourism. Specifically, we suggest the production of sex tourism is facilitated by the worldwide movement of bodies across borders as a result of expanding migration and tourism, while its consumption is facilitated by the commodification of bodies and desire. In the next section, we investigate the ways that these seemingly abstract global forces come to ground in two diverse cities: Amsterdam and Havana.

Global Connections: A Tale of Two Cities

Research provides compelling evidence that cities are strategic sites for observing the effects of globalization (Sassen 1998, 2000a, 2000b; Sassen and Roost 1997). In our analysis, we detail the way that the global forces shaping the production and consumption of sex tourism impact two very different cities: Amsterdam and Havana. We explore the global connections that link sex work in these two cities with the forces associated with globalized sex tourism. Specifically, we argue that global forces impact sex work in both cities through four mediating institutions: 1) the tourism industry, 2) labor markets, 3) the localized sex industry, and 4) law and policy. As mediating institutions in these cities adjusted to the impact of global forces, they created opportunities for sex tourism to flourish.

It is important to our analysis that Amsterdam and Havana are very different cities. Many argue that global forces are easily discerned in "global cities" like Amsterdam (Sassen 2000a, 1998). Global cities are strategically positioned at the center of the global capitalist system as command points, key locations, and marketplaces for leading industries, and major sites of production; they are "strategic sites for the management of the global economy and the production of the most advanced services and financial operations" (Sassen 2000a:21). Within these cities, the impact of globalization has been documented to be far-reaching (Sassen 1998, 2000a; Sassen and Roost 1997).

In contrast, Havana is located in Cuba, one of the last self-identified socialist states in the world. Cuba is a developing island nation struggling to find a foothold in the new global capitalist economy that will enable it to grow economically, while preserving its socialist accomplishments in health, education, and social welfare (Dello Buono and Lara 1997). Within Cuba, Havana occupies a central role and is best characterized as a "primate city"; that is, one which accounts "for a disproportionate share of population, employment, and gross national product (GNP)" within a country (Sassen 2000a:34). Not surprisingly, "the Caribbean has a long history of urban primacy" (Sassen 2000a:39). Rarely viewed as a central site of globaliza-

tion, primate cities are affected by globalization nevertheless, since global forces first come to ground in a country with a primate urban system by impacting these cities (Sassen 2000a).

Despite their differences, we illustrate that globalization's reach is evident in both Amsterdam and Havana. The specific responses to global forces differ, but comparison between these two cities reveals the impact of significant global connections on sex work in both locations.

Shopping for Bodies in Amsterdam

In Amsterdam, the commodification of bodies has been perfected to the level of an art form. The red light district resembles the modern open-air shopping mall in the United States. Relatively clean streets, little crime, a neon atmosphere, and windows and windows of women to choose from—every size, shape, and color (though not in equal amounts). The red light district seems designed to be a sex tourist's Mecca. The range of services for the leisure traveler includes sex clubs, sex shows, lingerie and S&M clothing shops, condomories, and a sprinkling of porno stores. But the character of Amsterdam's red light district is different from most other sex tourist locations because it is centered in an historic district between the Oude Kerk (Old Church) and de Waag (an old weighing station)—two of the most spectacular cultural tourist sites in the city—and it is surrounded by an old, well established residential neighborhood. Indeed, walking through the red light district in the daytime is not so different from walking down any other shopping street in the city, though the area takes on a festival atmosphere at night. Crowds of men walk the street, stopping to gaze at the living merchandise in the window. The routine among men is much like the routine observed among women shopping for clothes, with plentiful commentary on the size, shape, color, and cost of the women on display. The smorgasbord of languages rising through the air reveals the international character of those shopping for bodies.

In describing the Amsterdam scene, it is important to make clear that women sex workers are far from passive in the shopping interaction. On quieter evenings and in the daytime, it is common for women to hover near the doorways of their small window booths, hooting and calling at men to "come here!" in a number of different languages. In an odd role reversal, one male friend commented to me after a walk through the district that: "I've never felt so objectified in my life. I felt like a piece of meat walking through there."

Historical and Cultural Background: Dutch Tolerance and Sex "Work". Like other Western industrialized cities, prostitution has a long history in Amsterdam. Indeed, in the Netherlands, "it has never been forbidden to prostitute oneself" (Boutellier 1991:209). Although most citizens stigmatize prostitutes, the Dutch have long viewed prostitution as one among many social problems to be minimized, but not criminalized. The goal of Dutch policy toward sex work primarily focuses on reducing the adverse impact of prostitution on local citizens and neighborhoods, what one writer calls "regulated tolerance" (Brants 1998). Thus, officially, there is no national policy toward sex work; rather, each municipality controls policies toward prostitution.

The concept of tolerance plays an important role in preventing and managing conflict in this small, heavily populated country built on religious and cultural difference (Rochon 1999). The Netherlands is often regarded as a liberal country politically, primarily because of its extensive social welfare system and its progressive, "tolerant" attitude toward social problems that other countries tend to criminalize, such as prostitution and drug use. What is little known to outsiders is that much of the country's apparently liberal policy emerges from compromise, particularly among relatively conservative religious groups, rather than broad consensus (Cox 1993). This is the foundation of Dutch pragmatism and tolerance. In practice, tolerance has historically meant that the law is rarely used to regulate social problems, such as prostitution, since compromise is difficult to reach around controversial moral questions (Brants 1998; Marshall 1993). Instead, until recently, local responses to prostitution typically reflected a complex and shifting interplay between prostitutes, authorities and the concerns of local citizens.

During the 1960s and 1970s attitudes toward prostitution began to change, reflecting cultural changes taking place in most industrialized Western countries. The women's movement facilitated a sexual revolution that helped to bring greater legitimacy to sex work, largely through the work of women's organizations, but also in conjunction with other organized interests. In 1961, the Mr. A. de Graaf Foundation was created, a non-profit organization whose objectives include "research, policy development, advice, documentation, and public information" regarding prostitution (Mr. A. de Graaf Foundation 1997). Importantly, this organization has played a pivotal role in arguing for "removing prostitution from the sphere of the penal code, and, via a phased introduction of worker's rights, making the legal position of prostitutes identical to that of workers in other (legal) industries" (van der Poel 1995). Without question, the Netherlands has been a leader in the international organization of sex work. It was host to the first International Whore's Conference and, in the 1980s, The Red Thread (De Rood Draad), a prostitute's rights organization, was formed which also facilitated the redefinition of prostitution as sex "work." Although this redefinition did not dramatically reduce the stigma attached to prostitution (though citizen attitudes toward prostitution probably improved a bit after Dutch prostitutes were required to pay taxes), it did facilitate the decriminalization of sex work. This enabled Dutch prostitutes to seek health care, social service support, and law enforcement protection, benefits rarely available to sex workers in other industrialized countries. It was primarily as a result of this combination of Dutch tolerance and sexual emancipation that the "world famous red light district of Amsterdam grew into a free zone for sex-industries" (Boutellier 1991:205).

Tourism: Amsterdam as a Tourist Destination. It has been well established that tourism, as a global force, has affected all of Western Europe. As Williams and Shaw (1998:20) note, "Europe dominates international movements of tourists. . . . Between 1950 and 1990, the number of international tourists in Europe increased 16 times." There is strong competition among European countries for international tourists, since they tend to spend more money than domestic tourists; additionally, starting in the 1970s, "international tourism income grew considerably faster than international merchandise trade" making it a market worth pursuing (Williams and Shaw 1998:36).

The Netherlands as a country has not fared particularly well in the race for tourists; tourism receipts to GDP as a result of international tourism are 1.4% in contrast to Spain, Portugal, and Greece, which run closer to 4%, and Austria, where international tourism contributes 6% to GDP. Indeed, given the expenditures the country makes to attract international tourists, the Netherlands is running a deficit with respect to international tourism (Pinder 1998).

But the situation is quite different when cities are the point of comparison. Amsterdam was among the top ten most popular European cities for tourism throughout the 1990s, currently ranking seventh (Dahles 1998). Amsterdam's positioning as a major tourist destination may be surprising to some. Although the city is filled with tree-studded canals and quaint narrow buildings, it lacks the tourist attractions characteristic of other tourist destinations in Europe; there is no cathedral, tower, or monument to draw visitors to the city. Yet, as one writer has noted, "foreign tourists have been attracted to the Netherlands in increasing numbers" and, within the country, "Amsterdam is overwhelmingly the dominant target for visitors from abroad. 1.7 million foreigners stayed in the city in 1995, one-third of them from outside Europe" (Pinder 1998:307). Dahles (1998:55) argues that: "The image of Amsterdam as a tourism destination is based on two major themes. The first is the image of the city as being dominated by the urban town design of the early modern period. . . . The second is the current popular image of Amsterdam, which was formed in the late 60s and is based on a youth culture of sexual liberation and narcotic indulgence." Pinder (1998:310) agrees with this assessment and adds that, "The city is renowned for the ready availability of soft drugs, and tolerance has also underpinned the rise of sex tourism as a niche market." He goes on to detail that, ". . . visitor attractions based on the sex industry have gained a firm foothold. Almost half

a million people visited the *Venustempel* sex museum in 1995, and 158,000 the Erotic Gallery. Both figures had risen by one-fifth in just two years" (Pinder 1998:310). The increase in sex tourism and the sex industry as a share of Amsterdam's tourist market is related, in part, to declines in tourism dollars from more traditional tourist sites. As tourism directed toward Amsterdam's cultural heritage stagnates, sex tourism plays an increasingly important role in keeping tourism dollars—and related tourism industry jobs—within the city. It is not the case that the Dutch government or Amsterdam city officials openly embrace the marketing of sex tourism or Amsterdam's image as a liberal city, but a variety of mediating institutions, including the tourism industry, have adjusted to global forces in ways that create opportunities for sex tourism to expand.

Labor Markets: Globalization and Migration. By the late 1970s and 1980s, the reach of globalization became evident within the Netherlands in other ways as well, particularly in Amsterdam. Clearly, one of the most important global forces affecting sex work in the country was migration. Migration to the Netherlands during this period came from several sources. First, there was an influx of migrants from former Dutch colonies, particularly from Suriname and the Caribbean Islands. Additionally, like many other European countries, the Netherlands was affected by a surge of migrant guest workers from the Mediterranean area, most of whom were directed toward employment in undesirable, low-paying service sector jobs. Later in the 1980s and 1990s, another group of migrants arrived, including those escaping economic hardship in South America and Africa and the former Soviet bloc countries (Bruinsma and Meerhoek 1999; de Haan 1997). Importantly, most of these migrant populations settled in the major Dutch cities, including Amsterdam. Almost half of the population of Amsterdam now consists of non-native Dutch residents making it, literally, a global city.

The presence of relatively large numbers of migrants within the city plays an important role in shaping local labor markets and the current character of the sex trade. For many female migrants, sex work is virtually the only employment available, particularly given the relatively high unemployment rate for ethnic minorities within the Netherlands (de Haan 1997). As Visser (1997b) notes, ". . . the numbers are beginning to get so big that these migrant prostitutes can no longer be considered as a detail." One estimate put the current number of foreign prostitutes to be approximately 60% of all sex workers in the city (Marshall 1993), and a "repeated count by the Amsterdam police in 1994 and 1995 indicated that about 75% of all prostitutes behind windows in the Red Light District, De Wallen, are foreigners and that 80 percent of all foreign prostitutes are in the country illegally" (Bruinsma and Meerhoek 1999:107).

Although prostitution in the Netherlands preceded this mass migration, it is apparent that migration has both increased the number of sex workers and changed the character of the sex industry. According to the Mr. A. de Graaf Foundation (1997:2), "in the Netherlands, the total number of professional prostitutes is estimated at 20,000"; however, this is clearly a low estimate given the large number of sex workers who are not considered "professional," including a large number of illegal immigrants. Another source puts the number closer to 25,000 and notes that survey research by the Dutch Foundation against Trafficking has found that female sex workers represent at least 32 different countries of origin (Hughes 2000). In the last two decades, the growth of sex workers accompanying the rise of migration spawned a more complex sex industry within the city (Brants 1998; Marshall 1993). While the window brothels are the most visible form of prostitution in Amsterdam, and according to some sources, workers here are among the most highly paid (see Reiland 1996), this form of prostitution is only one version of sex work in the city. Other forms of sex work include clubs, private houses, escort services, and street prostitution (Meulenbelt 1993). In the majority of these forms of sex work, however, bodies are highly commodified. Sexed bodies are put on display for purchase. Even in the case of sexual services that are delivered to your door, advertisements in local papers hawk the physical characteristics of the bodies for sale. Although emotional labor can be purchased in the Netherlands for those willing to pay the price, many sex

workers prefer to simply sell their bodies and keep their emotions for themselves (Chapkis 1997).

Localized Sex Work: The Shift to a Sex "Industry". Over the last two decades there has been an important shift within the city from a focus on the individual providers of sexual services, "prostitutes," to a focus on the sex "industry." Although this shift is partly due to local circumstances, it is also partly a response to the global forces associated with the production and consumption of sex tourism. This shift is reflected in two areas: 1) organizational changes that reflect the growth of sex tourism as an industry and 2) the globalized character of sex tourists and sex workers.

In her analysis of prostitution policy in Amsterdam, Brants (1998:627) describes these changes in some detail:

As conditions changed and opportunities for making money from the sex industry increased, ever more power became concentrated in the hands of a few not particularly law abiding citizens. Some of the pimps who had once controlled part of traditional window prostitution now also owned highly lucrative sex clubs and sex theaters. Prostitution had become big business with a huge and partly invisible turnover that was reinvested in gambling halls, sex tourism and more sex clubs.

This concentration of economic interests combined with consumer interest to create several organizations devoted to supporting sex tourism. Interestingly, some Dutch customers developed an organization to support the interests of the clients of prostitution; this organization is called the Men/Women and Prostitution Foundation. Although the number of active members in this organization is small (personal conversation with a member), it is symbolically important in legitimizing the sex industry as an important "industry" serving consumer desires. Members write articles that articulate client interests and the social benefits of prostitution (ten Kate 1995) and collaborate with other organizations interested in greater acceptance of prostitution.

In 1991 the owners of sex businesses organized, forming an association called the Association of Operators of Relaxation Businesses (Vereniging Exploitanten van Relaxbedrijven). This organization helped to bring legitimacy to the organized business interests behind sex tourism in the city; this legitimacy is particularly important given the historically strong link between the proprietors of sex businesses and brothels and organized crime (Brants 1998). This organization plays an increasingly important role in policy discussions within the city. Although numbers are hard to come by, everyone agrees that the sex industry represents a substantial commercial activity within the city and, importantly, business owners are now organized to protect their economic interests.

Another organization that facilitates the sex trade is the Prostitute Information Centre (PIC). The Center, which is located in the heart of the red-light district, serves as an information service for both tourists and prostitutes. Run by a former prostitute, the goals of the center are diverse—education around STD and AIDS prevention, information about prices for sex work, courses to prepare newcomers for sex work and information about how and where to sell sexual labor. For the casual tourist, the most amazing aspect of the PIC is its symbolic character and the way that it resembles a cross between a museum and a sex industry Chamber of Commerce, complete with a sample window brothel to tour (for an extra fee of course), copies of the local Sex Guide, and postcards to purchase. When asked why there were no windows with men in them (despite a large female and gay population in the city, and the presence of male prostitutes), one worker at the center explained that at one time there had been some experimentation with such windows, but the experiment was short-lived; apparently, the windows with men became a public nuisance as women crowded around the booths to enjoy the spectacle. Interestingly, women in large crowds gazing and gawking at men's bodies was defined as a public nuisance, but when men engage in similar behavior, it is not viewed as problematic. Citizens in the West accept the objectification of women's bodies as normal

behavior; when men's bodies become objectified—a spectacle—it is a public nuisance. The smooth operation of the sex industry within the city required that male prostitutes be restricted from sitting in windows.

A second global force shaping the sex industry in Amsterdam is the wide variety of sex tourists visiting the city. Currently, the sex industry is amazingly global in character; not just in terms of the providers of sexual services, but also in terms of the consumers. Sex tourists come to Amsterdam from around the world and vary depending, in part, on national holidays. The local *Pleasure Guide* notes, for example, that Italians are common in August. Although Dutch men are common customers, it appears that the Red Light District exists primarily to fulfill the desires of foreign, male, leisure travelers, often executives conducting business in this global city. Unlike tourists, Dutch consumers of the sex trade can frequent the mostly white women in window brothels down less known side streets, or they can utilize the listings in the paper and obtain door-to-door service. It is important to appreciate that foreign tourists do not just pay for sex, they pay for accommodations, to eat at nice restaurants, and to attend cultural events. Indeed, the consumer behavior of sex tourists visiting this city helps to ensure that there will be many organized interests facilitating the continuation of sex tourism within the city.

Public Policy and Law: Facilitating Sex Tourism and Stratification of Sex Workers. As might be expected, policies within Amsterdam are also changing in ways that reflect broader global forces associated with the production and consumption of sex tourism. Despite the growth of organized business interests in the sex industry, the city's economic benefit from sex tourists, and the greater legitimacy accorded sex work, current policy does not appear to be strengthening the hand of sex workers. It appears that the full package of worker's rights are withheld from prostitutes for a variety of reasons (Brants 1998; van der Poel 1995).

The presence of drug-addicted prostitutes makes it difficult for those advocating rights for prostitutes to argue for respectability. Perhaps, more importantly, the large and growing presence of non-Native Dutch sex workers leads to local hostility toward sex work. One consequence of Dutch participation in the global economy is the inability of the state to continue to provide the extensive social welfare benefits it has provided to its citizens since the 1960s (de Haan 1997). As welfare rights are restricted for citizens, social services continue to be extended to migrants, creating substantial anger toward immigration. Restrictive policies are creeping up everywhere, including in the sex industry. At least one motivation for this greater regulation is to restrict migrant women from engaging in sexual labor. As Raymond (1998:5) points out, "Third World and Eastern European immigrant women in the Netherlands, Germany, and other regulationist countries lower the prostitution market value of local Dutch and German women. The price of immigrant prostitution is so low that local women's prices go down, reducing the pimps and brothels cuts. . . ." To the extent that regulation is designed to keep non-native Dutch women out of sex work, it fosters a two-tiered hierarchy of sex work within the city that leads to even greater impoverishment and risk for migrant women.

Thus, the twin forces of greater organization among sex industry owners and clients, and the reduced power of sex workers as a result of the growing hostility toward migrant and drug dependent sex workers, has led to efforts to define sex tourism as a "business," rather than as a form of individual self-employment. Significantly, legislation legalizing brothels was approved by the Dutch Parliament and Senate in 1999 (Brewis and Linstead 2000); this is a radical move in the Netherlands, where sex workers were historically only considered "workers" when "self-employed." Until recently, third party involvement in sex work was considered a crime resulting in the oppression and even enslavement of sex workers. Some argue that the legalization of brothels is a first step toward their ultimate regulation, a situation that could improve the working conditions for some sex workers (Brants 1998; Visser 1997a). However, it seems that the focus of regulation is increasingly on improving the "merchandising" environment for the sex industry and for consumers, and reducing disruption to

local citizens. Currently local officials are attempting to identify who owns the buildings that house window brothels and sex clubs so that some standards can be imposed on facilities where sex is sold. Brothels that pass government inspection would receive special certification, serving as a kind of quality control for sex tourists (Visser 1997a). Regulations are growing and include strange new guidelines that limit how long clients can be tied up during purchased sadomasochistic acts. A new "red light district manager" will facilitate the implementation of the new regulations. To many, including de Rood Draad, the rights of sex workers have taken a back burner (Visser 1997a). The proliferation of new regulations has caused some to argue that the red light district is becoming "the red tape district" (Reiland 1996:29).

Although some regulation seems, at first appearance, to improve the situation of sex workers, it also serves to divide them and institutionalize stratification in the sex industry. For example, Amsterdam spent \$1.8 million of taxpayers money to create the Tipplezone, primarily as a way to respond to public order problems caused by drug dependent prostitutes (bodies not so easy to neatly package and commodify) (Forbes 1996). The Tipplezone can be likened to a fast food restaurant—the focus is on speed, efficiency, and easy access by car. The zone is located outside of the center city and rates are typically cheaper for sex acquired there, in part because sex acts occur in the client's car so more acts can be performed in an hour. The Tipplezone has made conditions safer for sex workers (and, importantly, for customers) in the center city, but it is less clear that it has drastically improved the lot of sex workers who are drug dependent. What it has done is segregate the most vulnerable workers, including workers with drug problems, transsexuals and other marginalized workers, from the safest parts of the city.

Along the same lines, it is interesting to note current proposals to impose price controls on the sex industry. At first glance, this policy appears to be a move toward protecting the wages of sex workers. However, it also serves primarily as a way to discourage price-cutting by illegal immigrants engaged in the sex trade (a common practice since so many other avenues of employment are unavailable, given protectionist Dutch employment policies). This policy is reflective of growing Dutch concern about immigration; like many other European countries under global migration pressures, the Dutch tend to close doors to gainful employment by outsiders rather than open them.

At least one Dutch scholar, Chrisje Brants (1998) believes that the new rules and restrictions, including the legalization of brothels, will continue to facilitate the creation of sex tourism as an industry, since small brothel owners and individual prostitutes are unlikely to be able to compete with the resources of organized crime and proprietors of large sex clubs. As she puts it "the prostitution business will be professionalized, but with the greater scale that is the inevitable result, will come greater concentrations of power and money," in the end "prostitutes who find themselves unable to compete economically, will simply disappear into illegality . . ." (Brants 1998:633).

In this description of sex tourism and current policy trends in Amsterdam, it is important not to lose sight of the enormously positive public health consequences of current Dutch policy as compared to most other countries. HIV rates are extremely low among prostitutes in the Netherlands and sex workers clearly have more rights than in most countries worldwide. Still, it is also evident that globalization has changed, and will continue to change, the character of sex tourism in this global city. It is important to appreciate that the Netherlands is not unique in this regard. As Raymond (1998:5) writes:

The reality is that during the 1980s, as the sex industry in several European countries underwent notable development, commercialization, *and* legitimization through regulationist legislation, it also became an international business.

In Amsterdam, global migration has meant that sex work within the city is a significant form of employment (particularly for migrant women), and there is little effort to generate jobs for

migrant women that can compete with the structural advantages now accorded the sex trade by the city and the forces of global tourism. In Amsterdam, like other parts of the world, the sex industry has become an important commercial activity, attracting wealthy sex tourists from around the world and increasingly lining the pocketbooks of those with the money to take advantage of cheap labor. Whether intentionally or not, Dutch policy (particularly in the city of Amsterdam) is changing in ways that are likely to facilitate the global production and consumption of sex tourism. To say this is not to take a moral position. It is to describe a global phenomenon that this city only illustrates.

Globalization and the Commodification of Emotional Labor in Havana

Havana, like so many other places in the Caribbean, is a sensuous and social city. Warm nights, humid sea breezes laden with the complex perfume of flowers, diesel exhaust, and restaurant odors, music everywhere, bodies unencumbered by layers of cold-weather clothing, and a culture of public interaction that brings tourists and locals into easy contact. This is the context for Havana's particular soft-sell sex trade. Since the reemergence of sex tourism in the 1990s, the following scene has become relatively common in Havana's tourist districts: A woman, usually decades younger than the object of her immediate interest, approaches a foreign tourist. Brandishing a cigarette, she asks for a light, or maybe points to her wrist and asks for the time. The opening gambit leads to other questions: Where are you from? Where are you going? For a walk? Would you like me to walk with you? Have you been to such-and-such disco? Would you like me to take you there? If the mark seems interested, the woman turns the subject to sex, describing the pleasures she can give, often with no mention of price unless the man asks. If they agree to go off to a disco or for a drink, the subject of sex may not even be openly discussed. Instead, both the *jinetera* and her mark proceed as if they are on a date. Who knows? Maybe this one will be around for a few days, a week, even a month, providing steady work and freedom from having to continually find new customers. Whether the liaison lasts for a night or a month, the tourist will leave something to be remembered by—maybe money or a few nice new dresses, perhaps some jewelry—something that makes the sex and the attention provided worth the effort. This is not the hard sell of commodified bodies typical of sex tourism in Amsterdam. This is a more subtle trade. A trade where local, rather than immigrant women, make themselves available as sex partners and companions to privileged men from North America and Europe who can give them access to the currency of globalization, U.S. dollars.

Historical and Cultural Background. In recent years, the visible presence of sex workers in Havana who are willing to provide tourists with sexual access for material compensation in the form cash, gifts, or other benefits, has received considerable attention from social analysts.⁴ This is not because the sex trade in Havana is comparable in size to what can be found in major international sex tourist destinations such as Amsterdam or Bangkok (Kempadoo and Doezeman 1998). Rather, many analysts see sex tourism in Havana as a demonstration that the forces of globalization are so far-reaching that they are being felt even in a socialist society that was once able to claim the elimination of prostitution and the reorientation of prostitutes to non-sexual labor as one of its earliest revolutionary accomplishments (Elizalde 1996:19). Or, as Aleida Guevara (1998:A5), Cuban pediatrician and daughter of Che Guevara, commented, "Just a few prostitutes in a country that had none before have created quite a scandal." Nor is it only a "scandal" in the eyes of foreign observers. Cuban sociologist Aurelio

4. See for example, Cabezas (1998); Díaz González (1997b); Elizalde (1996); Fernandez (1999); Fusco (1996); Hodge and Abiodun (2001); O'Connell Davidson (1996, 1998); Paternostro (2000); Randall (1996); Sanchez Taylor (2000); Strout (1995).

Alonso (1998:1) notes that prostitution is "shocking for us, because we were used to seeing a society without prostitutes on the street."

Cuban tourism has always centered on Havana, and the relationship between globalization and the reemergence of sex tourism in that city cannot be appreciated without placing Cuba in the context of its pre-Revolutionary, and revolutionary history. In the 1950s, Cuba led the first wave of mass tourism in the Caribbean. The number of hotel rooms in Havana grew from 3,000 in 1952 to 5,500 in 1958, making it the single largest tourist destination in the region. In 1957, Havana accounted for twenty-one percent of *all* visitors to the Caribbean, with eighty-six percent of these visitors coming from the United States. By comparison, the next two largest tourist destinations, the Bahamas and Puerto Rico, accounted for fifteen percent of all Caribbean tourism each (Villalba 1993).

This growth in tourism had its destructive side, however. Reflecting on Havana of the 1950s, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. (1996:323–324) described it as a "lovely city . . . being debased into a great casino and brothel for U.S. businessmen over for a big weekend from Miami." There was certainly much more to Havana in the 1950s than the hotel/casino district serving foreign tourists. Nevertheless, in the eyes of many potential tourists in the 1950s, the estimated 270 brothels and as many as 100,000 prostitutes who operated there, defined Havana (Elizade 1996).⁵

The Cuban Revolution that triumphed on January 1, 1959 was not initially committed to ending Havana's role as a tourist center for Americans. To the contrary, in 1959, Fidel Castro told the American Society of Tourist Agents annual convention in Havana that the Revolution hoped to establish Cuba as "the best and most important tourist center in the world" (Castro 1993:262). Soon, however, the unwillingness of revolutionary leaders to enter into corrupt relationships with casino owners, deteriorating U.S.-Cuban relations, and the U.S. embargo of Cuba initiated by President Eisenhower at the end of 1960, began to take its toll. Cuban tourism dropped from a pre-Revolutionary high of 272,491 visitors in 1957 to 86,491 by 1960. In 1963, President John F. Kennedy invoked the Trading with the Enemy Act against Cuba, prohibiting U.S. citizens or businesses from engaging in commercial exchanges there, and thus bringing to an end Havana's role as a freewheeling tourist destination (Thomas 1998).

The Tourism Industry: Cuba in the Caribbean. In the late 1960s, the emergence of relatively affordable jet service created a new era of Caribbean island vacations (Patullo 1996:16). Between 1970 and 1994, the number of stay-over visits to Caribbean islands increased six-fold (Caribbean Tourism Organization 1995). Just as this boom in Caribbean tourism was beginning, the U.S. embargo against Cuba sent Cuban tourism into a steep decline that bottomed out with a mere 15,000 visitors in 1974. From that point forward, however, Cuba began to reorient its development plans to include investments in the tourist industry (Mesa-Lago 1981). Although some development was focused on internal tourism by Cubans, by 1979, foreign tourism had grown to 130,000 stay-over visits. A decade later, 300,000 foreign tourists visited the island, more than in any year prior to the Revolution (Triana 1995). Moreover, only 18 percent of these tourists were from Soviet-bloc countries. Forty percent came from Canada, 15 percent from Western Europe, 15 percent from Latin America, and—despite the embargo—another 12 percent from the United States (Miller and Henthorne 1997:8).

The most spectacular growth in Cuban tourism came in the 1990s (Robinson 1998). During this period, the Cuban government intensified its investment in tourism as part of a broader search for development strategies that would enable the country to survive in the face of post-Soviet economic and political forces determined by a now-worldwide capitalist market

5. An estimate of 100,000 prostitutes operating in Havana is often quoted in discussions of pre-Revolutionary sex-tourism. This figure, however, includes a significant proportion of prostitutes who served Cuban men. Even at the height of pre-Revolutionary tourism in Cuba there were only 270,000 tourists visiting the island, far too few to account for 100,000 prostitutes.

(Castro 1999). Between 1994 and 1999, Cuba doubled the number of hotel rooms from 23,500 to just under 50,000 (Miller and Henthorne 1997:98). This translated into a five-fold increase in the number of stay-over visits from 300,000 in 1989 to an estimated 1.7 million in 2000. Revenue gains were even greater. Between 1990 and 1998, gross revenue from tourism increased seven-fold, from 243 million in 1990 to 1.8 billion, while the share of the country's GDP contributed by tourism grew from 1.1 percent to 6.9 percent. This growth made Cuba, once again, a significant force in Caribbean tourism. At 1.8 billion dollars, Cuba's tourism earnings for 1998 were second only to the 2.1 billion tourism dollars earned by the Dominican Republic, and well ahead of the Bahamas and Jamaica, which respectively earned 1.4 billion and 1.1 billion in tourist revenues (Association of Caribbean States 2001).

Some of Cuba's tourism growth has taken place in tourist-oriented beach resorts such as Varadero and Cayo Largo. As Cuba's primate city, however, Havana remains the centerpiece of Cuban tourism, accounting for 75 to 80 percent of all stay-over visits (Miller and Henthorne 1997). As Sassen (2000a) notes, primate cities such as Havana are linked to "cross-border circuits" in ways that differentiate them from the rest of their country. Thus, while tourist sections of Havana are significantly shaped by the need to meet the desires of foreign tourists, daily life in much of the rest of the city and country is less affected by these global forces and continues to be more nationally than internationally oriented.

Labor Markets: Cuban Tourism in a Globalized World Order. Many Habaneros today look back on the 1980s as the "good old days" of growth and development. During the early 1980s, the Cuban Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew by almost 23 percent at a time when the combined GDP of Latin America fell by 9 percent under the impact of accumulating foreign debt and structural adjustments mandated by the IMF and the World Bank, (Budhoo 1994). As the 1980s continued, however, economic development in Cuba began to slow, and by the decade's end, growth had stalled. As the socialist world crumbled between 1989 and 1993, Cuba underwent a dramatic reversal of fortune that forced a radical reorganization of economic life (Azicri 1992; Landau and Starratt 1994). The disappearance of Cuba's socialist trading partners created what Cuban sociologist Elena Diaz González (1997a) characterized as the worst crisis in the history of Cuban socialism. Between 1989 and 1993, the Cuban GDP fell between 35 and 50 percent, importation of Soviet oil declined by 62 percent, overall imports fell by 75 percent, and the domestic manufacture of consumer goods fell by 83 percent (Diaz González 1997a; Espinosa 1999).

As Cuba struggled to reconstruct its trade and financial relations to meet the hard-currency demands of the new capitalist world order, many Cubans found themselves facing a significantly altered labor market (Eckstein 1997). As in other former socialist bloc countries, the Cuban government could no longer provide the extensive employment and social-welfare package it once sought to establish as a universal birthright for all Cubans (Koont 1998; Verdery 1996). By 1999, although Cubans continued to benefit from state subsidies in the areas of food, housing, transportation, health-care, and education, many desired goods could increasingly only be purchased in dollar stores for prices roughly equivalent to those found in the United States for the same goods (Michalowski 1998). It was at this very moment that international tourism to Havana began to increase significantly, with a concomitant growth in tourist-sector jobs—jobs where it was possible to earn at least some portion of one's salary in hard currency. As a consequence, a growing number of high school and college students in Havana began orienting themselves toward tourist-sector employment rather than state-sector jobs, while some Habaneros already employed in professional careers abandoned them to work in tourism as well (Randall 1996).

The impact of expanding tourism in a city with a shrinking state-sector labor market was also cultural. As youth in Havana were increasingly exposed to the growing number of tourist-oriented nightclubs, restaurants, and beachside hotels, and the clothes, jewelry, and the new model rental cars enjoyed by foreign visitors, some began to feel dissatisfied with their own

lack of access to these luxuries. Faced with declining returns from routine labor and rising material desires, some Cuban women (and a smaller number of Cuban men) began making themselves sexually available to foreign tourists. By the late 1990s, a sex worker in Havana could earn forty dollars for providing one night of sex and companionship—double the *monthly* salary of a Cuban university professor (Michalowski 1998). While most young Cubans resisted the temptations created by such disparities, enough succumbed to create a pool of available bodies to serve the desires of sex tourists (Díaz González 1997b).

It takes more than buyers and sellers, however, to create viable markets. Markets also require facilitative infrastructures. This is why, although tourism to Cuba had been growing since the 1980s, significant sex tourism did not re-emerge in Havana until the 1990s.

Public Policy and Law: The Contradictions of Market Freedom. Although Cuba has had a significant number of foreign tourists since the late 1970s, the state-centered structure of life in Havana was not well suited to serving them. The array of small private restaurants and shops many European and North American tourists expect when they travel was absent in a city where most retail transactions took place in standardized, state-run enterprises. There was also concern that lively trade between Cubans and affluent foreigners might weaken public commitment to the collective pursuit of social equality. As a result, international tourism in Cuba during the 1980s was organized around self-contained hotels filled with consumer amenities for foreign visitors, but normally off-limits to Cubans. It proved impossible, however, to maintain a sharp divide between tourists and Cubans, particularly in Havana. It was soon breached by an energetic currency black market offering tourists exchange rates four to five times the official one, and by a domestic commodity black market where Cubans sold goods that were purchased illegally (or in some cases stolen) from tourist shops (Michalowski 1995; Michalowski and Zatz 1989). After attempts to suppress these emerging illegal markets during the 1980s and early 1990s, the Cuban government reversed course, and rather than increasing the penalization of these offenses, began legalizing, controlling, and taxing the developing linkages between tourists and Cubans.

In 1993, the government legalized the possession of foreign currency, and began allowing citizens to legally exchange dollars for *pesos* at banks and government-run, street kiosks known as *cadecas*. Between 1992 and 1994, the Cuban government promulgated a number of other legal changes that would indirectly help create an infrastructure for sex tourism in Havana. These included: 1) permitting the private rental of rooms, apartments, and houses; 2) expanding the arena of self-employment; 3) legalizing the establishment of privately-owned restaurants, colloquially known as *paladares*; 4) expanding the licensing of private vehicles as taxi-cabs; and 5) opening “dollar” stores where Cubans could purchase a broad range of items including food, appliances, furniture, clothes, jewelry, and many other items for U.S. currency (Gordon 1997).

Structurally, these changes facilitated sex-tourism in several ways. The legalization of the U.S. dollar meant that sex workers could obtain hard currency payment from foreign clients without violation of currency laws, and the opening of dollar stores meant they could spend their earnings without having to enter into black market exchanges. Legalizing the rental of private rooms and houses created new opportunities for commercial sexual transaction by eliminating the rules that required tourists to stay in hotels, while prohibiting Cubans from visiting foreigners in their hotel rooms. The legalization of private restaurants provided places where sex workers and tourists could meet and spend non-sex time. Meanwhile, the legalization of private taxis became an important conduit through which some cab drivers could help sex tourists find their way to prime locations for meeting sex workers, or work as pimps by directing their fares to specific sex workers.

Sex Work in Havana: Commodifying Bodies and Emotions. Although the growth of Havana's tourist industry resulted in a subsidiary increase in sex tourism to the island, so far, this sex

trade has not become the province of the organized syndicates—whether legal or illegal—that typically control sex work in many other nations. During her fieldwork in Cuba in 1995, O'Connell Davidson (1996:40) observed that there was “no network of brothels, no organized system of bar prostitution: in fact, third party involvement in the organization of prostitution is rare. . . . Most women and girls are prostituting themselves independently and have no contractual obligations to a third party.” What O'Connell Davidson saw in 1995 was still in evidence in 1999. While some Habaneros serving sex tourists, particularly younger girls or recent migrants to Havana, were fronted by pimps, and some relied on more fluid third-party arrangements with landlords or taxi-cab drivers, the predominant form of tourist-oriented sex work in Havana involved women and girls engaging in a variety of independent approaches to male tourists on streets and in clubs.

Even though the practice of prostituting for sex tourists in Havana is largely independent and entrepreneurial, it is nevertheless embedded in a globalized market for sex services. To compete in a worldwide capitalist marketplace, every local industry needs a global market niche. The sale of what Hochschild (1983) termed “emotional labor” to accompany a sexually commodified body is that niche for many of Havana's *jineteras* serving the male tourist trade. For many male sex tourists from Italy, Spain, England, and Canada, the particular attraction of Cuba is their expectation that *jineteras* will treat them not as customers, but as pseudo-boyfriends. This means acting as a dinner “date” in a restaurant or a dance partner at a disco, serving as a local (and seemingly loving) guide on sightseeing tours, or perhaps spending a few days or even weeks at a seaside resort as bedmate, playmate, and companion.

One Italian sex tourist summarized his attraction to Cuban *jineteras* by saying he came to Cuba because “the women here are really sweet. They make you feel like they really care. They are always trying to do whatever makes you feel good, not just sex, but everything else too.” A pair of ex-patriot American men currently living in Costa Rica echoed this sentiment: “The Cuban women don't act like professional whores, ‘here's the sex, now give me the money.’ They are really kind. They want to spend time with you, be your friend.” As experienced sexual tourists, they bemoaned the growth of sex tourism in Costa Rica because it “ruined” Costa Rican sex workers: “Now they act just like whores in the States. They just do it for the money and when it's over, they want to move on to the next customer. It wasn't like that in the 60s when there were hardly any tourists. Then they were really nice like the Cuban women are today. Things will probably change here [in Cuba], too. So we thought we'd enjoy it while it lasts.”⁶ In the complicated world of emotional simulacra, sex tourists like these experience the consumption of emotions that sex workers are rarely actually providing. Yet, as long as sex workers give their customers the time and kind of attention that sex tourists in Cuba believe to be signifiers of “caring,” the desires that brought them to the island are met.

Another appeal of sex tourism in Havana is its price. In 1999, a sex tourist could spend as little as ten dollars for a quick sexual encounter, and between thirty and forty dollars for a companion for the entire evening. This means that for between one hundred and two hundred dollars a day, including the meals, the tours, and other “gifts,” European, Canadian, and American men in Havana can spend days or even weeks in the company of young, seemingly-exotic women who appear to be providing them with loving attention, all at a price they can afford. In this way, for a short time, they can enjoy a level of class privilege available only to wealthier men in their home countries.

There are several other important elements of the emotional simulacra consumed by sex tourists in Havana that draw them there. Although too complex to analyze at length here, they need to be mentioned. One is the opportunity that sex tourism in Havana provides for men who are forty, fifty, or older to receive both sex and sexualized companionship from women thirty or more years younger than themselves. This gratifies the Western male sexual ideal of continuing access to the bodies of young women, regardless of one's own age.

6. See Contreras (2001) for a similar description of the sex trade in Costa Rica.

Another is the appeal of gaining sexual access to the body of the non-white "other." In the racialized world of the North American and European male sexual fantasy, mixed-race Cuban women provide the ideal, the fetishized combination of the imaginary "hot" Latin and the equally imaginary sexually insatiable African (O'Connell Davidson 1996; Sanchez Taylor 2000). Thus, it is little surprise that the majority of the women visibly searching for clients in the tourist areas of Havana in 1999, were typically of the "cafe" or "carmelita" skin tones signifying this highly desired racialized "other."

The characteristics of *jineteras* in Havana—young, often mixed-race, and seemingly emotionally attentive—connect them to the cross-border circuits of sexual fantasies in Europe and North America. These connections ensure that the sex worker in Havana will have access to a pool of customers from the North who can use their privilege to travel to Cuba where they will purchase for a small fraction of their weekly incomes at home, sexual, and seeming emotional access to young, exotic "others" who appear to desire them.⁷

Sex Tourism in a Globalized World

Policy-makers, scholars, and ordinary citizens tend to see prostitution as a problem caused by prostitutes. Similarly, there is a tendency to view sex tourism as a problem belonging to other nations; a problem that originates primarily with poor Third World women who choose to deviate from "good" women by selling their sexuality. But prostitutes do not cause prostitution any more than poor people cause poverty, or poor nations cause global inequality. We contend that the contemporary growth and character of sex tourism is intimately linked to significant global forces.

These global forces, which include tourism, migration, and commodification, are not just abstract concepts; they can be observed within grounded contexts as a variety of local mediating institutions respond to global pressures. In the cases of Amsterdam and Havana, our research suggests that global forces have altered particular institutions in these cities in ways that expand the possibilities for sex tourism. Our work supports Sassen's (1998) view of cities as strategic sites for globalization. Furthermore, in the cases we studied, this is true regardless of whether the city is a global city, like Amsterdam, or a primate city, like Havana. At a theoretical level, we contend that the global forces of tourism and migration stimulate the production of sex workers, while the increasing commodification of bodies ensures a steady stream of clients who desire to consume sexual services. Within the cities we analyzed, these global forces find concrete expression at the institutional level, specifically in the changing character of the tourism industries, labor markets, sex work, and laws and policies.

As we have described in some detail, in both Amsterdam and Havana, the tourism industry has become a noticeable sector of the local economy as a by-product of efforts by these cities to secure a share of the burgeoning market created by global tourism. This competition is necessitated by a world in which global markets dominate and determine local fortunes for countries and cities. Additionally, in both of the cities we analyzed, labor markets changed in ways that increased the attractiveness and, for some women, the necessity of sex work. This is particularly true among certain populations of women, such as immigrants in Amsterdam seeking jobs in an environment hostile to migrant workers, or young Cuban women in Havana for whom the globalization has meant that they can earn more dollars and go to more exciting places by selling sex and companionship than they can through more routine employment. Although sex work existed in both cities prior to the current period of globaliza-

7. During a January, 1999 speech commemorating the founding of the National Revolutionary Police, Fidel Castro called for a crackdown on uses of Cuba's emerging private sector to facilitate sex tourism. By February of that year, *jineteras* had become less visible and more subtle in marketing their services, a trend which continued into the following year (see Paternostro 2000).

tion, it is evident that the global forces associated with consumption shaped the character of sex work in each city in significant ways. In Amsterdam, sex work became more organized, more stratified, and more like an "industry," while in Havana, tourist-oriented sex work not only re-emerged, but reconstituted in ways that reflect tourist desires for emotional labor and "otherly" bodies. Consumption practices alone do not cause these changes, but the desires of privileged consumers do shape the particular expression and organization of sex work in each city. Finally, in both cities, laws and policies affecting sex tourism increasingly reflect local accommodation to global forces originating outside of the country. In Havana, efforts to find a political-economic niche in a globalized world economy shaped numerous laws and policies, ranging from changing currency regulations to more freedom for local taxicab drivers. In Amsterdam, efforts to make the city more attractive for privileged consumers and to deal with the problem of migration have led to laws and policies ranging from the legalization of brothels to regulating S&M practices. Despite the efforts of these cities to maintain internal control, their mediating institutions evolved in response to global forces, creating the foundation for globally structured, though geographically localized, sex tourism. What is new and noteworthy about global sex tourism is not "sex," "sex work," or even the commodification of bodies, but the extent to which sex work in specific locales is over-determined by broader global forces. This is what has changed significantly in the contemporary period. Thus, local infrastructures that shape the possibilities for sex tourism in Amsterdam and Havana increasingly reflect global, rather than local forces. To the extent that local institutions are increasingly responsive to global forces, city and national governments find it increasingly difficult to exert control over localized practices of sex work (Boyer and Drache 1996). Like most consequences of globalization, sex tourism is a global social problem, even though its expression is locally constituted within cities.

Although sex tourism is growing and changing as a result of the impact of global forces on local structures, it is important to also note that our research reveals that the actual practice of sex work reflects the positionality of each city within the global economy. Amsterdam, a highly developed global city in an advanced capitalist nation, manifests a highly organized and stratified form of sex tourism based on the commodification of the "otherly" bodies of migrant women. In Cuba, the pattern is more characteristic of a developing nation as a primary producer. That is, sex tourism in Cuba involves the exploitation and consumption by foreigners of a local resource, in this case, Cuban women. Thus, although we theorize that global forces affect most major cities, our research also demonstrated that they would be affected differently depending upon their position in the global economic order and the unique character of local infrastructures and cultural histories.

Our analysis suggests that the forces subsumed under the term globalization are reshaping local contexts, whether their histories are capitalist or socialist, and often doing so in ways that cannot be anticipated. In the cities we analyzed, there is a high probability that local institutions will increasingly privilege the economic interests associated with "tourism" as a way to ensure one more niche in the global marketplace. Whether intentionally or as a by-product of local responses to global forces, the growth of tourism will likely increase tourist-oriented commercial sex, often at the expense of the health and welfare of those who provide the sexual services wealthy tourists' demand. In their struggle to stay afloat as the global tide comes their way, cities and nations need not embrace or endorse sex tourism in order to become the beneficiaries of the consumer dollars it generates. Thus, sex tourism in Amsterdam and Havana and, presumably, in many other cities, is increasingly structured by global forces, connecting sex work in cities around the world with the broader, more abstract phenomena of globalized sex tourism. Imagining localized sex tourism as a consequence of global forces and connections is an important first step toward understanding and responding to this social problem.

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