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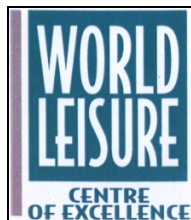
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## **ABSTRACT**

Romance tourism in developing countries is often examine from western perspectives and there is dearth of studies, which endeavor to explore romance tourism from an African male's perspective with focus on the African male. Thus, this study in Ghana, explored romance tourism from an African male's viewpoint and the motivations for black males' participation in romance tourism especially considering the traditional and cultural attitude of Africans towards sex and in particular, sexual relationships between young men and older women. The study revealed the inherent power relations in romance tourism. The study shows that romance tourism is a vey complex phenomenon. The study also shows that western female tourists employed racial, class and economic powers to exploit black males in the relationship. It also reveal that black males in Ghana, are not economically empowered in their relationship with western female tourists in romance tourism. Furthermore, it affirms that there are so many similarities between romance tourism and sex tourism than there are differences. It also became evident that the desire for money and material advantage powerfully influenced black males' participation in romance tourism rather than the desire to migrate to the west.

Key words: romance tourism, sex tourism, race, class, beach boys

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## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

The term 'romance tourism' was first used and coined by Pruitt and LaFont 1995:423) to describe the relationships between western female tourists (Euro-American white women) and local black men generally referred to as 'Beach Boys'. This was sequel to their study of western female tourists' behaviour and relationships with local black males in Jamaica. Similarly, in constructing romance tourism, Herold et. al. (2001) postulated that romance tourism could be located on one extreme end of a continuum of motivations, while sex tourism, associated with male sex tourists, is at the other end of the continuum. While acknowledging that this is not strictly defined, Herold et. al. further noted that *'there was some gender overlap in the continuum of romance/sex motivations, more of the female tourists were located toward the romance end and more of the male tourists toward the sex end of the continuum'* (Herold et al. 2001:978). This however elucidates the complexities of the concept of romance tourism.

Nevertheless, the theoretical conceptualization of romance tourism by many writers often reflect a subjective analysis of radical feminists perspectives which tends to castigate and classify sexual interactions between male sex tourists and their local female sex partners as prostitution and exploitative but fail to cast similar aspersion on the relationships between female tourists and local males (Davidson, 1998).

There is an intersection between international tourism generating countries of the north and demand for sex tourism. International tourism and sex tourism market is dominated by tourists from the United States, Canada, Western Europe, and Japan (Bender and Furman, 2004). While Brazil, Thailand, Philippines, Cuba, Costa Rica, India and Sri Lanka are the popular destinations for male sex tourists. The prime destinations for female tourist include Jamaica, Barbados, the Dominican Republic, Tunisia, Egypt, The Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Bali(Indonesia), Guyana, Nepal, and Cuba (Davidson and Taylor, 1996; Herold et, al 2001; Kempadoo 2001; Omondi 2003; Allen 2007).

### 1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Previous studies of this phenomenon paid little attention to uncovering the motives, implications and power relations between western female tourists and local black men in Africa. In addition, gender inequality and empowerment in tourism is usually portrayed as western male tourists taking the advantage of local African women and that third world women are disfranchised in the process. However, similar relationships between western female tourists and local black men have not been investigated despite the fact that it is an increasing activity at some tourist's destinations in Africa such as Ghana.

Many studies have examined the phenomenon of romance and sex tourism in developing countries from Western perspectives, especially in the Caribbean's and Latin Americas (Dahles and Bras, 1999; Herold et al., 2001; Pruitt and LaFont, 1995) as well as in Africa (Nyanzi et al. 2005; Kibicho, 2005). While Nyanzi et al. (2005) focused on the embodiment of racial myths of Black male bodies and Western affluence in the Gambia., Omondi (2003) and Kibicho (2005) investigated the political economy and relationships between tourism and sex trade in the coastal region of Kenya. Thus, there is dearth of

studies which endeavor to explore romance tourism from an African male's perspective with focus on the African male sex partners also known as 'bomsas' ( Brown, 1992:361) 'bumsters', (Nyanzi et. al.2005:557) and 'beach boys' (Phillips 1999: 183).

In this context, my study will focus on African male perspectives and various issues that arise from their participation in sex tourism such as power relations, gender inequality and empowerment. This study is very significant because romance tourism in Africa is a growing phenomenon. Ghana, the case study of this thesis, located in the West Africa sub-region, is a popular destination for female sex tourists from Europe and America (Herold et al., 2001. It is also very significant especially considering the traditional and cultural attitude of Africans towards sex and in particular, sexual relationships between locals and foreign partners.

### **1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS FOR THE STUDY**

There is a complex interplay regarding gender, race and class within the context of 'romance tourism'. Therefore, this study intends to fill these gaps in knowledge and provide answers to questions such as; do African black males feel exploited by the white female tourists in 'romance tourism'? Are African males economically empowered by western female tourists when both engage in 'romance tourism'? Is 'romance tourism' an expression of gender (female) power relations and domination? What is more powerful-class, gender or race? Are black African males eroticized and objectified by white female sex tourists in this relationship?

### **1.4 SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

- (1). to explore romance tourism from an African male's perspectives.
- (2). to challenge the construction of romance tourism as being different from mainstream sex tourism.
- (3). to understand and explain power structures underlying 'romance tourism' between white female sex tourists and black men.
- (4). to explain the relationships between western female sex tourists and their black male sex partners.
- (5). to contribute to debate on the connection between romance tourism and HIV/AIDS epidemics among black males involved in romance tourism
- [6]. to identify factors responsible for the participation of African men in romance tourism in Ghana.

### **1.4 CONTENT OF GHANA**

Ghana, formerly known as 'Gold Coast' because of abundant gold deposits, is located in West Africa and shares boundaries with Cote d'Ivoire to the West, Burkina Faso to the North, Togo to the East and the Gulf of Guinea (Atlantic Coast) to the South. The first contact of Ghanaians with Europeans was in 1482 when the Portuguese merchants arrived at the coastal city of Elmina, a predominantly fishing population. This marked the beginning of European imperialism in Ghana (Teye, et al.2002; Essah, 2001). Subsequently, the Dutch, English, Germans, Danes, French and Swedes' merchants invaded Ghana to look for mineral deposits especially the famous Ashanti gold as well as slaves (Essah, 2001; La Pierre,2004 ).



Thousands of slaves were transported from Ghana to Europe and Americas between 1500s and 1880s. The Europeans took turn to compete for the control of the 'Gold Coast'. Hence in the 1880s, Ghana's coastline became the highest concentration of European military architecture outside of Europe. Ghana eventually became a British colony in 1896 when the British introduced external rule which lasted till 1957, when it gained independent from the European overlords and became an independent nation (Anquandah, 1999: 20; La Pierre, 2004).

This long history of centuries of domination and colonization by different European countries at different period of its history has significant impact on the modern day Ghana particularly its tourism industry. The relics of European legacies today in Ghana, especially pull tourists from all the European countries historically linked to Ghana as well as North Americans (because of the its connection to slave trade) to the former nerve centre of trans Atlantic Slave Trade (Anquandah, 1999: 20; (Teye, et al.2002). There is also a long history of sexual relationships between imperialists European (slave masters) who sexually exploited especially the indigenous females. As a result, Ghana has some pockets of offspring of mixed race. According to United Nations Ghana with an estimated population of about 23 million (UNDPESA,2009), is a country of great diversity constituting over 70 ethnic groups with more than 70 languages and major dialects spoken throughout the country, but Twi is the major language spoken (La Pierre,2004)

According to Ghana Tourist Board (GTB, 2009), international tourist arrivals in Ghana increased from about 85,000 in 1985 to over 600,000 tourists in 2008, and receipts increased from about \$19.52 million in 1985 to \$1.3 billion in 2008. Tourism resources of Ghana include pristine beaches (with approximately 300 miles of coastline), wild life, local cultures and festivals (Teye, et al.2002; Anquandah, 1999: 20). Ghana has one of the highest levels of reported cases of HIV/AIDS in the West African sub-region. The majority of infected persons are in their twenties. This is due largely to complex and interlinked bio-social, economic and political structures and community, factors. Commercial sexual activity is also ever-present problem in Ghana currently (Anarfi, 2003).

### **1.5 Methodology**

The study employs interpretative and reflective ontological approaches within the context of critical paradigm research. Thus, qualitative methodological data collection procedure were used for the study. This includes unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews, in-depth interviews, group discussion and participant observation. Quantitative structured interview survey was also used to complement qualitative techniques. Post-colonial theory provided the epistemological lens for the study. Hence post-colonial theories and concepts such as class, race, feminism, 'Othering' , ambivalence and binary were used as basis for the analysis.

### **1.6 Structure of the Thesis**

The thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter 1 is the introduction where the topic of the thesis and the concept of 'romance tourism' are explained. The chapter also contains the aims and objectives of the study. Chapter two reviews and discusses previous works by different researchers on the concept of 'romance tourism'. These include the historical background of the concept of 'romance tourism', relationships between romance tourism and; feminism, race, class and several other issues. Chapter three present the methodology employed for the thesis. It sheds light on post-colonial theory, 'Othering', binary and ambivalence, as well as and my positionality and reflectivity. Chapter introduced and discussed the study area Ghana, vis-à-vis her economy, tourism and society. Chapter 5 consists of the data analysis and discussion of the data as well as the information obtain from the field and is based on the aims and objectives of the study. Chapter 6 is the conclusion and includes the deductions and assertions from the study base on the field report and discussion about romance tourism in Ghana.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter reviews previous works conducted by different researchers on the concept of 'romance tourism'. The chapter also contains discussion and reflections of both interpretative and reflective ontological approaches within the critical paradigm research. The chapter also provides an overview of the critical theory which is the perspectives from which the study was carried out with particular focus on post-colonial paradigm which provides the platform for my the study.

#### **2.2 Historical Perspectives**

Sex, tourism and romance are in some way linked together (Ryan and Kinder, 1995) and can be traced to many centuries of travels by both men and women. For as long as people have been traveling, they have been engaging in romantic and amorous sexual encounters with the opposite sex (Enloe, 1998). While acknowledging that sex tourism is a segment of the gendered tourism industry, Enloe (1998), stressed that sex tourism has been in existence from the ancient Roman Empire to the famous Ground Tours of Europe in the eighteenth century through nineteenth century's Thomas Cooks' tours. Historically, leisure travels prior to 1770s, was dominated by wealthy males (Enloe, 1998; Kilbride, 2003), and while women generally sit at home (Ryan and Michael (2001). Similarly, Ryan and Michael (2001), also noted that early travel was a vastly gendered activity, dominated by aristocratic men until the middle of nineteenth century.

According to some other sources, 'romance tourism' had its beginning between 1770s and 1840s. In his analysis of adventurous travels by aristocratic European women to the Mediterranean and Middle East. Similarly, Hopwood (1999), affirmed that the period (1770s and 1880s) was characterized by considerable travel by both married and, single French and English aristocratic women to southern Europe and Middle East. These he noted, look for amorous relationships with Mediterranean men as well as marchese, sheiks and princes. Notable among whom are Ladies Haster Stanhope, Jane Digby and Mary Wortley (Hopwood, 1999:308; Belliveau, 2005). Similarly, this trend Jacobs (2009), reiterated was a common phenomenon till our present era from her survey of 57 heterosexual western female sex tourists and local men in South Sinai, Egypt. She noted that; *'In the Sinai, Egypt, ... it is also a common activity for western women to travel in search of sexual encounters with 'local' men, the desert is often as alluring as the beach'* (Jacobs,2009:45).

Similarly, while analyzing travels notes in the 1770s and 1880s by British and American early travelers, Kilbride (2003), noted that women also formed part of these travels. Regarding female travel in the 1770s and 1880s, Kilbride, further noted that both American and British women enjoyed traveling to Italy with some of them staying for six months (2003:558). Thus, it could be argued that 'romance tourism' is not a new phenomenon. As Belliveau (2005), also claimed that romance tourism had a significant beginning in 1840s when affluent North American and British women travel to Rome to engage in sexual relationships with 'foreign men'.

Many factors however, have been identified to contribute to this trend. Travel in the 1880s by British women was influenced by abundant affluence in Britain due to profits made from colonies overseas in addition to those that accrued from industrial development back home, which resulted in the emergence of middle class, and increase in mobility. Thus, more women from middle class background and aristocratic families participated in the leisure travels (Ryan and Michael, 2001). Similarly, Cheryl McEwan, from her study of Victorian British Female Tourists to West Africa, based on the writings and narratives of British women travel writers during the colonial period, noted that many aristocratic women traveled to colonies overseas both in the company of their husbands and solo leisure travels during the 1880s (McEwan, 1996:60). Thus, by implications, the process of colonization also contributed significantly to increased travels by British women. This is also significant because female travel narratives were very popular in those days among women back home. With respect to this McEwan, further noted that: *'nineteenth-century women travelers cannot be claimed in a disciplinary sense since they did not consider themselves geographers .....However, in publishing accounts of their travels at a time when travel writing was extremely popular ,and also an important medium for the dissemination of "knowledge" about overseas territories, women travelers were important in the production of popular geographies'* (McEwan,1996:59).

According to Ryan and Michael (2001), increase in women travel especially in the 1880s could be attributed to cheap mass travel. The 1880s mass tourism was acknowledged to have commenced on 5<sup>th</sup> July 1841 by Ryan and Michael (2001), when the first conducted excursion which heralded the era of cheap travel by Thomas Cook. Cook's tour, according to Ryan and Michael also contributed immensely to the growth of female travel. This is because Cook permitted women the chance to travel and his services were particularly popular among single aristocratic Victorian women. Thus, Cook's tour was attractive to the increasing middle class in Britain (Ryan and Michael, 2001). It must however be stated that women travel was still an exclusive travel based on class power. This is because these women were usually wealthy and from aristocrat backgrounds (Ryan and Michael (2001). Additionally, the women typically did not have children and their life did not revolve around satisfying their husbands. Instead, their life is filled with adventures for foreign countries (McEwan,1996).

Therefore, it could be argued that the positive economic and social changes also produced situation in which there was more social mobility among women than previously known. Such changes, according to Ryan and Michael (2001), include rising interest in attention to the plight of women and increased economic opportunities as a result of rapid industrialization. Therefore, many women from affluent family who were economically empowered could embark on solo travel and thus, look for romance just like men had been doing in the past centuries. Furthermore this period also, coincided with first wave feminism, which also encouraged independence and travel by women in the late 1880s and early 1990s (Code, 2000).

However, female sex travel declined drastically from the time of "The Great Depression" until the 1960s. Therefore, female sex travel decline drastically from the time of The Great Depression until the 1960s. The Great Depression which started in the United

States when Wall Street crashed in 1929, and led to a global economic recession. It was the largest and most important global economic depression of the 20<sup>th</sup> century with devastating effect on almost every aspect of global enterprise (Bernanke 1983; Temin, 1991). International trade plunged into chaos, construction industry was virtually halted, farming, mining and logging almost came to abrupt end, and the global banking system was practically shut down (Bernanke 1983; Temin, 1991). Consequently, global travels, including female travels were adversely affected as personal income and jobs were also hit hard.

But, the 1960s which coincided with the second wave feminism, witnessed again the explosion of international travel and re-ignited romance tourism by western women. French Canadian women blaze the trail in this regard with their 'invasion' of Barbados while Scandinavian and Swedish female sex tourists preferred Spain and the Gambia (Belliveau, 2005; de Albuquerque, 1998; Pruitt and LaFont, 1995). Within a short time, the Caribbean's, especially Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Barbados, as well as Kenya and the Gambia became hot spot for Euro-American female tourists who thronged the countries for hedonistic purposes. Also, female tourists from Japan and Taiwan came on the scene, and the beaches of Bali in Indonesia, and Phuket in Thailand were their favorite destinations (Belliveau, 2005; de Albuquerque, 1998; Pruitt and LaFont, 1995).

This increase in female tourists continued into the 1970s. According to Clift and Carter (2000), increase in female tourists from the 1970s can be attributed to factors, such as innovations in social, economic and technology in the early 1970s as well as innovations in package holidays, chartered flights, and mass production of aircrafts. With more women in the middle class and with less pressure for marriages, thus, more women were able to embark on international travels. In addition, it also provided new opportunities for female tourists to engage in sexual activity with local men at tourists' destinations because of the availability of financial resources at their disposal and many women have been able to assume similar roles like men in the previous era (Pruitt and LaFont, 1995).

It is also pertinent to state that sexual relationships between female tourists and local males intersect with broader ideological, economic and cultural factors which, in some ways impacts on its development (Clift and Carter, 2000). Regarding this, (Clift and Carter, 2000) also emphasized that Southern European countries such as Spain, Italy, Greece and Malta, were the prime destinations for packaged mass tourists in the 1970s because of the fact that they bordered the Mediterranean Sea with predominantly peasant family structures. Thus, the low economic status of these men and good climate, contributed significantly to travel to the south by western female tourists.

The study carried out by Boissevain in 1978, in Malta and Costal del Sol, and reported by Clift and Carter( 2000), note that it was common for local young males to engage in serial sexual activities with affluent female tourists. Kousis (1996) and quoted by Clift and Cater( 2000) also note that in the late 1960s, tourism was well developed in Crete, during the seven- month period of tourism activities, the number of female tourists, who are largely single female tourists, actually outnumbered local males to the ratio 10:1.

Thus, the local males between 16-30 years systematically engaged in sexual relationships with the foreign women.

In the recent times (1990s-2000s), many other destinations especially in the developing countries of the south, have gained reputation among western female sex tourists. More so, according to United Nations World Tourism Organization's (UNWTO) statistics, there is an unprecedented growth in global travel, which was merely 25 million in 1950 but rose to 940 million in 2008 and is predicted to reach 1 billion in 2010 and 1.6 billion in 2020 (UNWTO 2009). This phenomenal increase in global travels also includes increase in the number of female tourists alike. Hence, female sex tourists can now be found everywhere with beaches such as Costa Rica, Morocco, Ecuador, Ghana and Kenya (Philip, 1999; Omondi 2003, Kibicho, 2005) which are largely of peasant families and abound with hundreds of unemployed and underemployed strong and energetic young men, more than the 1970s southern Europe.

Now in relation to this historical descriptive picture of 'romance tourism' by women from affluent western countries, it is instructive to explain the parallel development of feminist movement.

## **2.3 FEMINISM AND 'ROMANCE TOURISM'**

Women's equality in political, social, sexual, intellectual and economic rights as men is a fundamental to the theory of feminism. Feminism encompasses theories, diversity of movements and advocacy groups as well as philosophies focused on gender equality and women's rights (Code, 2000). Thus, according to Code: *'feminism focused on producing critical, constructive analyses of universal power structures, theoretical propositions, social practices and institutions that subjugate and marginalized women, and to effecting social transformations of women'*.

Therefore, theoretically, feminism challenges all the structural features of patriarchal societies where men occupied positions of greater power than women do and where women were considered as inferior to men. (Code, 2000). Nevertheless, the history of feminism can be divided into three waves. The first wave took place between late nineteenth centuries and early twentieth centuries, the second between 1960s and 1970s, and the third from 1990s till today.

### **2.3.1 First Wave Feminism**

First wave feminism refers to a period of feminist activities in the United Kingdom and United States during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with focus on struggle against women's inequalities as well as voting rights (Code, 2000). Prior to 1920s, gender was constructed and equated with biological sex and biological essentialism justified predetermined divisions of labour along the lines of sex. However, in early 1920s, consequent upon the development of first wave feminism, especially spearheaded by female scholars such as Margaret Mead, sex and gender were thereafter analytically distinguished and considerable attention was paid to the social construction of gender. Thus, during this period, according to Code (2000), the focal point of feminist ethnography, was on women and was conceived of as a unitary subject.

Nevertheless, there was a shift in the conceptualization of sex and gender in the 1960s and 1970s. Joyce, (2000) noted that following the emergence of a new wave of feminism

which was influenced by feminist anthropologists with considerable efforts to the formal definitions of gender and sex systems in where the essentials of biology was the foundation for culturally-specific gender systems.

### **2.3.2 Second Wave Feminism**

Second-wave feminism in the west, was an active, politically engaged development instrumental in carrying out wide-spread social-political changes among women .It began in the early 1960s and lasted through late 1970s (Freedman, 2002). Second wave movement focused on many wide ranges of contentious issues. These include reproductive rights, family, sexuality and workplace. During this period, women agitated and fought to liberate themselves from their traditional roles of mothers and wives (Freedman, 2002). Hence, the era witnessed the burning of iconic images such as bra and image many still associate with feminism and women liberation movement till today. Although, the second wave supported and gave rise to a powerful women liberation movement. However, due to the defeat of the amendment of the equal rights law, the second third wave feminism also came on the scene and was also gaining support gave and run parallel with the second wave (Freedman, 2002).

### **2.3.3 Third Wave Feminism**

The third wave began in early 1990s and provided a response to the criticism against the initiatives and movements spearheaded by the second wave (Code, 2000; Gillis and Munford, 2003). Among other things, the third wave challenged second wave's essentialist's definition of feminism, which assumed a universal female identity. Though the third wave feminists did not completely reject the agenda of second-wave feminists, they simply seek to free feminist practice of its perceived ideological rigidity Snyder (2008). The third wave challenged the overemphasized experiences of the upper middle class western females.

Furthermore, central to third wave feminism is the assumption of pos-structuralist's interpretation of gender and sexuality with significance consequences on female sex tourism (Freedman, 2002; Gills, 2003). This is because of a number of issues brought on board and negotiated by third wave feminists. Critical of the second wave feminism, the position of third wave feminists is summed up by Walker (2006) and quoted by Snyder (2008), observed that *'it seems that to be a feminist in the way that we have seen or understood, feminism is to conform to an identity and way of living that doesn't allow for individuality, complexity, or less than perfect personal histories'*. Therefore, third wave feminist: *'fear that the identity will dictate and regulate our lives, instantaneously pitting us against someone, forcing us to choose inflexible and unchanging sides, female against male, black against white, oppressed against oppressor, good against bad. This way of ordering the world is especially difficult for a generation that has grown up transgender, bisexual, interracial, and knowing and loving people who are racist, sexist, and otherwise afflicted'* (Snyder, 2008:176).

Thus, third wave feminism is less rigid and less judgmental in comparison to second wave feminism. Whereas, second wave feminism is portray by third wave feminists as 'victim feminism' sexually judgmental, anti-male, anti-sex, anti-fun and even anti-



femininity (Wolf 2006). Hence, third wave feminists incorporated issues such as queer theory, transgender, and rejected the concept of gender binary. It also offers broad definitions of sex and what oppression and empowerment could mean within the context of sex.

Furthermore, third wave feminism is more inclusive and racially diverse than the second wave Snyder (2008). In fact, Third-wave feminism respects both the differences between women based on religion, race, ethnicity and economic standing as well different identities within an individual. It also allows for identities that were previously believed to be in opposition to feminism (Wolf 2006).

Furthermore, third wave rejects opposition to pornography and sex work, and challenge the existing views that participants in sex and pornography cannot be empowered. Therefore, third wave feminism has championed the celebration of sexuality as a positive aspect of woman's life (Freedman, 2002; Gills, 2003). Third wave feminists feel at liberty to interact with men as equals, claim sexual pleasure as they desire it (heterosexual or otherwise), and actively play with femininity (Snyder, 2008). As a result of this development, an increasing number of women are able to assert more control over their sexuality and seek for opportunities to explore a desired sex life. These contribute greatly to increase in the number of western women seeking sexual exploration that can largely be realized in developing countries.

Therefore, it could be argue that in addition to this new mindset, many western females are in a better position to use their superior race and class in negotiating sexual explorations with younger men in developing countries. This evidently correlates with post-colonial feminists' argument that racial, class, and ethnic oppression of the colonized people relating to the colonial experience, particularly, is only of patriarchy power. I addition, the colonial men considered colonial landscape as

The relationships between race and class, and romance tourism is very significant and this is discuss next.

## **2.4 CRITICAL PARADIGM**

Critical paradigm is a major shift of social enquiry from the traditional established and entrenched forms of enquiries, namely post-positivism, interpretivism, constructionism and positivism (Tribe, 2007), which tends to treat human action as a thing or object and gives no opportunity for plurality in human actions (Hemingway, 1996). Its early development was strongly influenced by the philosophies of Kant, Hegel, Marx and Aristotle (Hemingway, 1996). It is a good lens for analyzing tourism and romance tourism in particular, because it envisages multiple bases for human actions rather than single reason. This is very relevant because existing literature on romance tourism attested to the fact that there are multiple reasons for engaging in romance tourism by both western female tourists and local males in developing countries.

Furthermore, critical paradigm acknowledges the historicity of social phenomenon and connects historical actions/events with the present realities. It strives to make obvious the unequivocal historical perspective, in which social action is situated, in particular those elements which have become a part of that action that the actor's norm longer considers them as a consequence of past action or of historical context (Hemingway, 1996). This



further reinforces the relevance of critical theory in the analysis of romance tourism as published materials affirm that tourism and specifically, romance tourism has a long history which develops gradually over time into its present form of travel.

This is particularly significant because western female tourist's travel to developing countries undoubtedly, has historical linkage with colonial past but many do not appear to be conscious of this historical links. In addition, the empirical basis for critical theory's analysis acknowledges that human actions are reducibly historical and also that such actions are essentially from a particular cultural context. This explains perhaps, the reason for the fact that western culture and civilization is continuously on the move to developing countries vis-à-vis western female sexuality and pleasure seeking which romance tourism exemplify. Therefore, the historically specific conditions in which human actions transpire are the bases of critical paradigm's empirical analysis of social roles, practices and institutions.

It is noteworthy to state that critical paradigm, attempt to establish contact between theory and practice, and endeavor to emancipate the oppress (Hemingway, 1996). Therefore, the idea of emancipation is the normative horizon for the critical paradigm. The critical paradigm endeavours to raise the voices of the marginalised occasioned by the power imbalance in tourism in general, and romance tourism in particular. According to Davidson (2001) this power imbalance (as a result of their race, class and economic advantage) *'points to the existence of some imbalance of social, political, economic and/or physical, psychological or emotional power between the exploiter and the exploited'* (Davidson, 2001: 2). Also, being critical of western female tourists who sexually exploit and oppress local males in developing countries, Taylor (2006) stressed that the western women in her study *'took advantage of an imbalance of power to obtain a sexual advantage that would otherwise have been denied them. It does not necessarily imply that the exploiter used violence, nor that the exploited would necessarily subjectively feel victimized, violated or exploited. Using the term 'exploitation' in this way, I would argue that female tourists who travel to Jamaica or the Dominican Republic for 'romance' or sex do exploit Caribbean men in the sense that they wittingly or unwittingly take advantage of unequal global and local power structures in order to both pursue their own sexual pleasure, and to affirm themselves as raced, sexual and engendered beings and so to improve or consolidate their position on status hierarchies of gender, race and sexuality'* (Taylor, 2006: 52).

Critical paradigm also create the possibility for the reflexivity of the researcher thereby giving the researcher the opportunity to bring both academic and personal life experience experiences in to the research. This fact is also buttress by Hemingway who notes that: *'the historical embeddedness both of what it investigates and the investigation itself is the source of critical theory's self-reflexivity. Where positivism separates the researcher from what is researched, and where constructivism fractures this relationship into multiple sites among which any critical judgement is difficult if not impossible, critical theory makes its own enterprise a conscious focus of critical attention'* (Hemingway, 1996:492).

Since critical paradigm is theory driven, some of the theories employed under critical paradigm include colonisation, post-colonial, post-structuralist and feminist theories as well as concepts such as ambivalence, binarism and Othering (Ashcroft et al. 1998). Therefore, the relevance of post-colonial theory in 'romance tourism' is discussed next.

## 2.5 POST-COLONIALISM AND 'ROMANCETOURISM'

The two words, colonialism and colonization come from the Latin word *colere*, which means to 'cultivate' and 'to give shape' Therefore, originally, colonialism and colonization meant organization/arrangement (Pruthi, 2007). Post-colonial theory is popular in studies related to globalization, development and 'Third World'. Colonization is an ancient phenomenon dated back to the ancient Roman Empire. It is an imperial domination and exploitation by a powerful dominating centre ruling a distant territory (Ashcroft et al. 1998). However, the period between 1870s -1900 witnessed an enthusiastic expansionist movement by the European society aggressively penetrating the rest of the world where they established colonies and imposed European ideologies, cultures and system of administration.

This expansionist movement was embarked upon in order to create wealth and power to the European colonial masters and the interest of the colonized people was not taken into consideration (Ashcroft, et al. 1998). Therefore, colonial expansion developed at the same time as the modern capitalist system. The colonies were used for the provision of raw materials such as sugar and cotton. Colonialism thus fuelled capitalist expansion and was instrumental in the industrialisation and 'development' of the West (Hammond, 2006; Ashcroft et al. 1998). It involves direct territorial appropriation of another country, exploitation of its resources and labour and interference with the ability of the country to govern itself. Nevertheless post-colonialism has become increasingly influential in the intellectual landscape of tourism studies especially in developing countries. This is due to the fact tourism in developing countries is largely connected to colonial era and more so, according to Hall and Tucker (2004), *'studies of tourism in the less developed countries concerns over identity and representation, and theorizing over the nature and implications of the cultural, political and economic encounters that are intrinsic to the tourist experience'* (p:1). This assertion is very significant because tourism in developing countries is dependent on tourists flow from the affluent west which is the thrust of dependency theory.

Linking dependency theory to post-colonialism, Mowforth and Munt notes *'the significance of colonialism and imperialism to theories of underdevelopment and dependency has a special appeal to writers of tourism. .... The origins of tourists from the First World have for many become an irresistible analogy of colonial and imperial domination'* (2003: 50). Similarly, Nash (1982) and quoted by Mowforth and Munt argues that *'tourism only exists in so much as the metropolitan core generates the demand for tourism and tourists themselves and concludes that it is this 'power over tourists and related development abroad that makes a metropolitan centre imperialistic and tourism a form of imperialism'* (Mowforth and Munt, 2003:50).

More over, tourism development in developing countries is rooted in colonialism and the stereotypical gaze of developing countries as 'colonial' by western tourists find full

expression today. It is this stereotypical view of citizens of developing countries that contributes to the flourishing of 'romance tourism' in developing countries as well. Regarding this, van den Abebbe (1980), and quoted by Mowforth and Munt (2003) was critical of *'tourism as doubly imperialistic both in turning Third World cultures into a commodity and providing hedonistic practices for wealthy First World tourists'* (Mowforth and Munt, 2003:50). Since many western female tourists seek for hedonistic experiences in developing countries, it can be argued that they are largely influenced by the colonial sentiment which classify third world people as inferior, thus, the 'Others'.

Also, connecting the colonial gaze and romance tourism in developing countries, Taylor (2006) in a study on the western female tourists in the Caribbean quotes a 42 years English woman who travel to the Dominican republic at least three times a year for sex with local men: *'I'm not naive, I've been around the block. I come for sex, of course the sun, but mostly the sex. I'm not coming to live and set up house with a guy I just want some fun and good sex'* (2006:50). It could be argue that resorts in developing countries which constitute the 'inferior' and 'colonized' people, provide suitable arenas for hedonistic experiences for the pleasure seeking affluent western female tourists. More so colonial race laden words such as 'untamed' 'rebelliousness', 'raw' 'natural' and 'exotic' are still been used today to describe men and women from developing countries (Taylor, 2006).

Additionally, modern tourism in developing countries is still constructed and operated in a master-servant relationship, thus an extension of colonialism (Mowforth and Munt, 2003), which also construct the manner romance tourism operates. The western woman being the (powerful) master while the local male is the servant and is powerless. In order to maintain their hold on black men, Taylor observed that *'tourist women do not enter into sexual relationships with middle-class men who would be their economic equals or superiors, but enter into sexual encounters with men working in the formal or informal sex industry. As affluent Western tourists, they are able to use their economic power to limit the risk of being challenged or subjugated'* (Taylor, 2006:49). This apparently revealed the nature of the relationship that is usually preferred and cherish by western female tourists regarding sexual liaisons with local males in developing countries. Hence, Taylor (2006) concludes: *'Female sex tourists I interviewed generally spoke of feeling powerful in relation to local men'*.

It is also important to state that some destinations in developing countries with colonial historical link or under different forms of domination in the past are preferred by some western tourists from the past colonial powers especially where there are relics and legacies of colonial rule. For example, Jamaica, Barbados, Kenya, The Gambia and Ghana, which were former colonies of Britain, receive significant British tourists annually (Jacobs, 2009). It is also significant too that all the destinations popular for romance tourism in Africa are Anglophone African countries- the Gambia, Ghana and Kenya. Similarly, North African countries and other Francophone countries receive substantial French tourists. Thus, largely, the so-called independent countries are not completely independent after all. Hence, this new form of colonisation through tourism has been labeled as neo-colonialism (Kothari, 2002). In addition, romance tourism should be considered as a powerful cultural arena and process that both shapes and is shaped by

gendered presentations of places, people, nations and cultures. Thus, it could be stated that social-cultural nexus of gender–power relations in romance tourism as well as the construction of the ‘Other’, is fundamental to (post)colonial culture and the global capitalism. Also, in his criticism of the current development in tourism in developing countries, Chung (1994) and cited by Mowforth and Munt (2003) referred to tourism in developing countries as an advance form of post-colonialism which destroys bodies and souls in third world countries. He also notes; *‘Third World tourism carries a major symptom of colonialism: “Domination and Subjugation”*, (Mowforth and Munt, 2003:52). These therefore make post-colonial theory an appropriate lens for the analysis of this study. The concepts of Binarism and Ambivalence are among the key concepts in post-colonial studies. I argue below how both concepts help in understanding ‘romance tourism’ in developing countries.

### 2.5.1 Ambivalence

Ambivalence is a concept, which, refers to a complex simultaneous attraction toward and repulsion from a thing, person or action, which was adapted into colonial discourse by Homi Bhabha (Ashcroft, 1998). Its application in colonial discourse theory elicit the complex nature of relationships between the colonised and coloniser. The colonised is at the same time attracted to and repulsed by the coloniser (Dona Chambers, 2007). According to Ashcroft et al. (1998), this relationship is considered ambivalent for the reason that the colonised is certainly not and absolutely opposed to the coloniser. In addition, ambivalence indicates that complicity and resistance exist in a sporadic relation within the colonised and exemplify exploitation and nurturing at the same time.

This complex attractions was observe by Herold et al.(2001) on their study of interactions between male and female tourists as well as beach boys and female sex providers in Dominican Republic. From the interviews, Herold et al. notice that though, local males do not find all the female tourists with whom they engage in sexual relationships attractive but nevertheless, find them financially attractive. Hence, *‘When the men have sexual encounters with women whom they find sexually unattractive, they use different strategies for trying to block out the women’s perceived unattractiveness. One strategy involves not looking at the woman’s face while they are having sexual relations but rather focusing on other parts of her body or perhaps not looking at her at all and fantasizing about someone else. Another strategy is to drink a fair amount of alcohol ahead of time’* (2001:989).

Similarly, many western female tourists only find local black males sexually attractive. This ambivalent attraction explains the reason many female tourists will never allow their relationships with local males to transgress beyond sexual relationship. This is buttress in the study conducted by Taylor. According to Taylor, an American woman, who regularly visit Jamaica, summed up the recurring view of many western female tourists: *‘Women who come [to Jamaica]...don’t need a man... except for sex, don’t need them for money - just sex – because they can’t do that for themselves. Better to have someone uneducated that acts like a lackey and in your control, so you can say when it starts and when it stops’* (2006:46).

Even though the black males also realized they were been exploited for sex by female tourists, they still hustle for the white female tourists. Furthermore, they also expressed feelings of rejection, disappointment, betrayal and dishonor, observe Taylor. This is put in this perspective by a local male interviewed in Jamaica by Taylor: *'Some ladies, they just come for two weeks, just for satisfaction. To satisfy their needs and their wants and they don't remember you. Many guys are treated like that. Like they use them or something. Lots of times I see this happen and feel this'* (2006: 49). Black males who felt used in their relationships with the white ladies do not usually understand this ambivalent relationships. Hence, the local males cannot fully comprehend the motives of the women tourist who can only find them sexually attractive. But who subsequently after being sexually satisfied will choose to 'dumped' them (Taylor, 2006). Thus, in this light, the concept of ambivalence best explains this complex phenomenon.

Moreover, it is acknowledged by many tourism writers that romance tourism is based on attraction for the opposite sex as a result of degree of difference between the female tourists and local males. This scenario is explained by the concept of binary which is one of the principal concepts in post-colonial theory. The relevance of this concept in romance tourism is discussed below.

### **2.5.2 Binarism**

Binarism referred to a grouping of two things, a pair of strict opposition between two categories and in which one is always dominant. It is a extensively used term with unique meanings in numerous fields and has a particular reference in post-colonial theory (Croft et al., 1998). Binary opposition is the most extreme form of opposition and denies the existence of an overlapping categories, grey areas or in-between. Hence examples of binary opposition includes: sun/moon; man/woman; black/white; civilized/primitive; birth/death and good/evil. Binary logic of imperialism is a development and perpetuation of western ideology which recognized a relation of dominance. Furthermore, binary opposition exists in order to authenticate that dominance such as man over woman and white over black. Therefore, the concept of binary is important in constructing ideological meanings in general and can also be used to construct romance tourism as well. It could be argued that binary oppositions such as man/woman; black/white; civilized/primitive; host /guest and rich/poor are very fundamentals in the construction of romance tourism and this is attested to by many tourism writers such as Davidson, 2001; Pritchard and Morgan 2000; Cabeza, 2004 and Taylor, 2006.

The dualisms that characterized romance tourism in Africa and Ghana particular can be explain to be a binary relationship. This is because it exemplify relationships between two opposing races; white women tourists and local black men. By implications, it also underscores relationships between centers and margins, cores and peripheries and the powerful and the powerless Thus the desire by western female tourists to seek for sexual relationship with local black males in Africa and the Caribbean, can also be argued to be rooted in their desire and curiosity to experience the 'Other' which is facilitated by dual binarism. More so, Mc Cotter notes *'Travel begins with an imaginative act; it requires 'daydreaming and anticipation of new or different experiences from those normally encountered in the here and now, behind and beyond'* (p 481). Romance tourism has also



been argued to have been influenced by the white female tourists' fantasizing about the erotic 'Other', black bodies. Regarding this, Aitchison (2001) notes that '[Seeing the Other person or people as merely subaltern in tourism](#)' resonate postcolonial sentiments by the western tourists who are at the same time attracted to the 'exotic' and 'erotic' 'Other' (Aitchison, 2001). The concept of binarism clearly elicits the colonial underpinnings of romance tourism.

The ideological and empirical growth of 'romance tourism' is strongly linked to exploration by most western tourists for socially constructed 'exotic and authenticity' believed to be somewhere else in 'Other' cultures and 'simpler life-styles' (MacCannell, 1973). It is noteworthy to state that this socially constructed 'authenticity', has contributed significantly to tourism in general and indeed romance tourism in particular (Taylor, 2006; Mc Cotter, 2007). It can be affirmed that twentieth-century western women's travel to developing countries to engage in 'romance tourism' obviously reinforce the binary dualism of power/powerless, white/black, primitive/civilized which clearly position western female's travel within post-colonial discourse. This fact is also supported by Hammond (2006), who argued that '[West's collective sense of self, is grounded in imperial-colonial binarism or in opposition between Europe and its others](#)' (p:87).

## **2.6 Race, class and Romance Tourism**

Race, as a socially constructed structure, which in the process of social interactions, is manifested in the institutions of humanity, interpersonal connections and identities which become well-defined among those living in racially based society (Chow, 2000). Similarly, class is a socially structured institution, which, like race, systematizes material, ideological and interpersonal relations. Chow also reiterates that wealth and affluence play vital roles in the construction of class while gender is institutionalized in the fabric of society and shape, like race and class, material well being, social identities and group relationships (Chow, 2000).

Therefore, race, class and gender construct and influence interactions, opportunities, ideology and the structure of resistances that embody human existence (Chow 2000). They also influence tourism experiences, because they determine the choice of tourism destinations and activities by different tourists and influence the exotic 'Othering' of places. This becomes very apparent as tourists seek exotic destinations which include the landscape, people and their culture especially in developing countries.

Also, race, class and gender influence the process of social mobility and construct the opportunities diverse groups could have and experience. Furthermore, race, gender and class are considered by many as inseparable determinants of inequalities (Chow, 2000). Thus it is a known fact that romance tourism thrives on the inequalities between the western female tourists and the local men. While they function interdependently, however, they form interlocking patterns that provide foundation for developing multiple systems of domination that influence access to power and privileges (Chow, 2000). Thus, the connections between power relations and romance is also worth considering, and is considered next.

## 2.7 Romance Tourism and Power Relations

Generally, it can be stated that 'romance tourism' provides the platform for western female tourists to assert their femininity, economic and racialised power on black males in third world countries. The ridiculous disparity in material comfort between the western and third world countries makes moderately low-paid workers from affluent countries to live like kings/queens in third world destinations because of huge difference between the value of their currencies (dollars/euros) and local currencies in third world countries.

Hence, western female tourists can enjoy the kind of economic power they cannot hope to exercise at home over their fellow men in the west. In addition, many western women are now financially well off, enjoying new economic power and independence previously limited to few. Therefore, these provide the opportunity for many western female tourists to developing countries to take advantage of black males in satisfying their sexual urges (Taylor, 2001). For example, an increasing number of women in the west have improved economic and social standing with some of them being business executives.

Therefore, the economic and social status many women now enjoy provide them with security and independence that translates into power and control over men in romance tourism. Moreover, according to Pruitt and La Font (1995), there is bound to be increase in the number of western female tourists seeking sexual experiences with black males as well as more black males willing to provide sex service for the tourists. This also underscores the fact that romance tourism will continue to be on the rise because the gap between the affluent west and the third world countries is also on the increase. Pruitt and La Font (1995) further remark that some women do not only enjoy the power they have over men in romance tourism relationships, but also express keenness in keeping men dependent on them.

Moreover, Pruitt and La Font (1995) also stress that the realization by, western female tourists, of the fact that their racial and economic superiority over black males allow them to provisionally experience the feeling of dominance over black men, invariably put them on the same pedestal with white male sex tourists who exploit black women for the same purpose. Hence, with the new economic power, socially constructed roles feminine and masculine roles are publicly contested and challenged daily by many Euro-American women prompting them to seek out new identities and gender roles outside of the traditional gender scripts offered in their cultures back home (Pruitt and La Font, 1995).

Nevertheless, the fact that they have economic power, and the social order supports the idea that money can buy anything, even a full grown energetic young man who will be at their whims and caprices, could also be inspirational. Thus, it could be argued that western female tourists consider local beach boys as 'consumable commodities', which could be purchase and consume as they wish. Hence, Martin (2006) was very critical of western female tourists and stated *"these women tend not to differentiate between buying groceries at the supermarket and paying for sex at resorts"*.

In addition to power relations, objectification of black males also influences the choice of destinations by western female tourists who fantasized about black bodies, prompting

them to travel to Africa and the Caribbean. The intersection between objectification of black males is consider bellow.

## **2.8 Objectification and racialization of Black males**

Romance tourism thrives on the objectification eroticization of sexualized and racialised 'black bodies, where black men represent the 'exotic other' (Taylor, 2000). Taylor (2000) also affirm that racist stereotype of the exotic and erotic black, is used to sell romance tourism. Consequently, in romance tourism, black males are objectified and racialised in this relationship. Thus Kempado (2001) note that *western female tourists mentally perceive and construct, black men as racialised and sexual objects, the hypersexual and black male stud*' (Kempado:50). Herold et al. (2001) also notes that the allure of the 'exotic' local males often fascinate white female tourists. It can therefore be argued that there is perceive myths of black male's bodies by white female sex tourists and this apparently have strong influence on the relationship.

Furthermore, in describing black males, some western female tourists are also fond of using some racial laced phrases and expressions such as *'dark skin', 'younger-small frame'; handsome, physically fit, more passionate, 'more emotional, more natural, and sexually tempting'* (Pruitt and La Font, 1995: 430). Thus, by implications, third world countries serve as spot for western female tourists to explore and actualize their fantasies of the 'exotic Other' and to indulge in some mundane leisure activities where racialised and sexualized black bodies constitute commodified primary resources to be exploited (Kempado, 2001).

Additionally, Taylor( 2000) remark that many Euro-American female tourists, who look for romantic relationships with black men in developing countries during their holidays, cannot do so in their home countries because of the social construction of blacks back home due to racism thereby making it impracticable and unacceptable. However, this is reversed once they are at tourist destinations in Africa and/ the Caribbean's. Moreover, because it is socially unacceptable back home, it becomes a fantasy which can only translate into reality once they are in Africa or in the Caribbean shores. In addition, many of the white female tourists will not challenge racism back home but will rather accept and appreciate the racial hierarchy and the position it confers on them (Taylor, 2000). For example, in one of the studies conducted by Taylor in the Caribbean, she reported that a north American white woman who is a frequent visitor to Jamaica noted that her visit was *'secret, it's a time out, its like a fantasy and then you go home'* due to abhorrence of interracial relationships in her home town (Taylor, 2000: 47). Apparently, destinations in Third World countries provide unique arena and safe haven for Euro-American female tourists to actualize their fantasies and to translate their myths into realities. In addition, it also enables them to have control over a stereotypical racially constructed and imagined objectified masculinity under the guise of romance tourism.

As a result, it could be argued that they therefore show how constrained they feel by social norms and by their lack of passion in white men. This assertion is further reinforced by the fact that, back home in Europe and North America, western women are often stigmatized for having informal relationships with either younger black men or for having



many sexual partners. This hinders their expression and the realization of their desired freedom. However, they can afford to break this socially constructed “barb wire” gendered and racialised platform and avoid been castigated or been seen as a social outcast. Western female tourists therefore can fully express their sexuality, as they so desire with black males. More so, their activities with black males remained concealed at their holiday resort in developing countries, thus their respect and status back home remained untarnished (Herold et. al. 2001). Nonetheless, romance tourism epitomizes profound gender reversal roles for both the female tourists and local black males. This is discuss next.

## **2.9 Romance Tourism and Gender Role Reversal**

Regarding gender role reversal in romance tourism, Pruitt and La Font (1995) noted that romance tourism challenge and redefine the traditional gender roles constructed by the cultures of both the western female tourists and local males, and that romance tourism allow western female tourists to affirm a new identity and develop their gender repertoires in realms formerly held by white men. But noting the fact that the local males come from a socially and culturally constructed society where men maintains dominant power over the females. Evidently then, there must be overriding pressure compelling the men to assume a new identity and role, where they become subordinate to women. In addition, Pruitt and Lafont, (1995) further noted that *‘....female tourists have the opportunity to explore new gender behavior. In turn, the local men who associate with tourists, in many ways, enter into a new tourism culture and distance themselves from their society’s normative authority. These men are also free to explore new gender roles while they pursue social and economic mobility and the freedom to experience a new kind of intimate relationship’* (Pruitt and Lafont, 1995: 423).

Thus, Taylor (2001,) ascribes gender roles reversal occasioned by romance tourism which defied those that are normative within the context of cultural and social institutions of both the tourists and locals, to power relations. Taylor (2001, 2006) further argues that economic power and racial/ethnic status play critical roles in gender roles negotiation, that ensue between tourists and locals. The implication of this is that romance tourism, like male sex tourism, celebrates racialization, oppression, dominance and exploitation of developing countries by the western female tourists.

Similarly, Pruit and La Font (1995) note that romance tourism provides the stage for the perpetuation and reinforcement of western imperialism in another guise. The dominance by western female tourists on black male’ subordination in romance tourism is a classical example of a lopsided relationship that is continuously contested and re-created. A further analysis of the concept of romance tourism reveals a relationship that is sustained by both partner’s exploration and exploitation of opportunities as well as manipulation and expansion of their negotiated maleness and femaleness (Pruit and La Font, 1995). This scenario obviously portrays western female tourists as the superior and dominant race. Thus, it could also be argued that it reflects the crucial roles of race, otherness, class and power relations, in the construction and reproduction of the new ‘maleness and femaleness’. This can be explained within the context of established politico-historical past which can be situated within post-colonial and poststructuralist theories. Therefore,

it could be submitted that, gender role reversal is necessary for the nullification of traditional gender roles because the west is seen and projected as the superior race to the 'third world'.

### **2.10 Romance tourism: short term or Long relationships?**

Romance tourism is often associated with love and long term relationships by some sex tourism researchers (Pruitt and La Font ,1995; Jeffreys 2001 ). For example, Pruitt and La Font argue that romance tourism engenders long-term relationships rather than casual short-term sexual relationships associated with male tourists and local females. Although, de Albuquerque (1998) acknowledge the fact that some female tourists actually fall in love with local men. Nevertheless, based on his study in Jamaica and Barbados, he argued that these cases account for only a small fraction of the total number of relationships. Nevertheless, the evolution of romantic relationships between tourists and locals into long-term relationships or marriages is not limited to romance tourism. For example, interactions between western male tourists and local women have also been reported to blossom into marriages as well (Kempado, 2001). The subjective analysis and generalization by Pruitt and La Font does not capture every relationship between western female tourists and host black males. The emerging facts have also shown that there are indeed many exceptions. According to Opperman, *'men also look for 'love' in a customer-prostitute relationship... where their money supposedly can buy not only more sex, but also more tenderness'*. (Opperman,1998: 157).

Romero-Daza and Freidus (2008), in their description of interactions between female tourists and local males in Costa Rica, observe that in many cases, the women are only interested in casual sexual experiences with the local men. This sentiment was captured by the expression of a female tourist in their study who noted that *'what happens in Costa Rica stays in Costa Rica'* (Romero-Daza and Freidus, 2008:175). This confirmed the argument that not all female tourists are interested in long term relationships with local men. Similarly, some female tourists who are interested in sexual exploration and adventure during their travel to developing countries also indulge in sex with several local men often involving group sex. Romero-Daza and Freidus (2008) reported that *'group sex can involve one woman having sex with several men at a time, or several women engaged in sex with a group of (local) males'* (Romero-Daza and Freidus, 2008:176). Also, Bauer (2007) who interviewed 23 sex tourists and locals in Cuzco, Peru reported that a Spanish girl had 10 different guys in 2 weeks (Bauer, 2007:290).

These clearly undermine long-term relationships between western female tourists and local black males being peculiar with romance tourism as argued by Pruitt and LaFont. Thus, de Albuquerque (1998) based on his study in the Caribbean; disagree with the submission of Pruitt and LaFont. He noted that most of the women interviewed were actually interested in casual sex with the local men devoid of any romantic relationships. In addition, he further observed that it is common for some local men and adventurous female tourists to abandon their relationships for other women and local males respectively who newly caught their fancies (de Albuquerque, 1998:53). Definitely, these negate the argument that love, emotions and feelings are the underpinnings of romance tourism.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter describes the methodology employed for this study. Although the study is essentially a qualitative research nevertheless, quantitative questionnaire survey was also use to complement the qualitative enquiry.

#### **3.2 Qualitative research**

Qualitative research is often referred to as inductive research characterized by an ontological view that recognizes multiple realities; truths/ evidence grounded in the real world, a subjective epistemology, insider perspectives, non-random participants. Grounded in interpretive social sciences, is inductive in nature, based on textual representations of the phenomenon under study (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004; Silverman, 2004). It has synergy with critical theory, feminist research and post-modern approaches such as post-colonial theory (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004). Qualitative research is a good way to gain insight into people's perceptions, desires, fears, problems and aspirations associated with a particular issue. Thus, it is most appropriate for this study.

#### **3.3 Quantitative method**

Quantitative research method was also employed to complement the qualitative research. Quantitative research is particularly relevant for the study it helps in eliciting some demographic information from the informants and the perception of a larger number of beach boys with whom I could not conduct an in-depth interview.

#### **3.4 Data collection**

Data collection methods I used were participant observation, unstructured and semi-structured in-depth interviews and/focus group discussions. It involves small number of participants in the process of gathering in-depth information, often referred to as thick description. Quantitative method involved the use of structured questionnaire survey. Data were analyzed for themes and representation of the research findings in a narrative format written in first person that represent a piece of life of the social setting of the beach boys under study.

##### **3.4.1 Unstructured Interview**

Unstructured interview is a widely used method of informal interview during the first phase of participant observation (Bernard, 1988).It is base on a clear mind and is characterize by a minimum control over the informant's responses. Unstructured interview is employ to get people to open up and express themselves in their own terms (Bernard, 1988). From these interviews, places and hot spots of primary contacts as well as days of the week when negotiations are more pronounced were noted and recorded in a note. These were pubs and nightclubs, popular streets, shopping malls and beaches. Subsequently, I visited these places. In all, I visited seven beaches (in and outside Accra), five nightclubs, two shopping malls and two streets renowned for interactions between western (female and male) tourists and local black males and females.

I also had unstructured interviews with ten local females. These also corroborated some of the information given by the beach boys (since they are also commonly found on the beach). The women also provided further insights into the subject of my research. In addition, unstructured interview was also conducted with twelve staff of the six beaches visited and two management staff of La Beach Resort. Notes were taken during all those interviews and emerging facts were re-confirmed by my co-researchers. Additionally, I had unstructured interviews with three western female tourists at Kokrobite Beach. This also gave some insights into their purpose and aims as well as their expectations and fears in their relationships with the beach boys.

I started out with unstructured interviews with a group of local males and females in order to gather preliminary information about the involvement of Ghanaian males in 'romance tourism'. This took place at two local pubs (Amsterdam Spot and La Paz Nite Club) in Accra with the help of a guide. The two pubs are generally quiet during the daytime and virtually no activity takes in the two places. Activities usually commence slightly from late afternoon towards the evening. Early arrivals are usually civil servants and other office workers who normally stop by to take one or two bottles of beer on their way home. Some of them usually return later in the night for full relaxation and for socializing with their male and female friends, with light and slow music at the background. However, as soon as darkness gradually envelopes the environment, the two pubs will come to life as more people come around and the Ghanaian nightlife is on. Heavy and fast tempo music replaces the former and the environment becomes exciting. Young women looking for men and men looking for women negotiate with each other as they gulp beer down their throats and some accompany this with cigarette. Some however, indulge in hard drugs such as marijuana (Indian hemp) and cocaine/heroin as well. This is particularly common at Amsterdam spot. At these pubs, people generally sit around the tables in the open space and nod their heads to the rhythm of the music. However, occasionally, a few could get up and dance. The men in this category are usually not the middle class. These men usually leave with the women of their choices immediately an agreement is reached. However, there is a group of young men who also regularly visit these pubs but are not there to pick women. This group of young men enjoy hanging out with others and sometimes run errands for the first group earlier described. This group of young men normally awaits the arrival of white female tourists and they always share information about latest arrivals. These are the 'beach boys'. This group of beach boys only goes to the beaches mostly during the peak period of female tourist's arrivals in Ghana, which, is usually between October and February. However, occasionally they also go to the beaches, bigger pubs and nightclubs such as Boomerang as (as seen in figure 3.1), Aphrodisiac, Next Door, Bywise, Macumba and Mount Carlos Night Clubs. These are bigger and better organized with aesthetic features such as superb dance floors, colourful and state of the art lightings and modern musical gadgets.



Figure 3.1 Showing Boomerang Night Club

These are expensive for the local beach boys to patronize regularly, as entrance fees are charge unlike Amsterdam Spot and La Paz nightclubs, where entrance is free entrance. These bigger nightclubs are important locations where western (men and women) tourists regularly enjoy the Ghanaian nightlife and initiate sexual relationships with local males. This group of beach boys provided me with the preliminary information about interactions and liaisons between Ghanaian men and western female tourists in an informal way through our discussion. Through the interactions with these beach boys, I was able to gain first hand information about 'romance tourism' in Ghana and Accra in particular.

Besides being modern, these nightclubs attract the Ghanaian middleclass and actually have special programmes for each day of the week with the exceptions of Mondays and Tuesdays in some cases. Furthermore, activities usually commence from about 11.00 pm until the wee hours of the following mornings. This is unlike Amsterdam Spot and La Paz, where activities are usually between 6:30 pm and 12:30 pm daily but rarely appeal to the Ghanaian middle class. At the outside of these bigger nightclubs, western female tourists could be seen with their beach boys and fresh negotiations between newly arrived tourists and beach boys are common scene. In addition, sometimes the negotiations could have taken place between the female tourists and the beach boys at the beaches during the daytime and thereafter visit some other places before coming down to the nightclubs in the night. Similarly, sometimes, it could be the reverse. The nightclubs could be the first place of contact and subsequently go to the beach the following day.

I also visited some of the beaches where more interactions take place. Moreover, many female tourists visit the pubs occasionally but are very regular at the beaches where there are more activities. Thereafter, two most active and popular beaches for liaisons between female tourists and local males were subsequently selected for this study. These are the La Beach Resort, formerly known as Labadi Beach and Kokrobite Beach.

### 3.4.2 LA BEACH RESORT

The La Breach Resort is located about 8km East of Accra (see figure 3.2)and has 3km sea front along Accra-Tema road. It is the most popular beach in Ghana and receive



visitors everyday of the year but very busy on weekends and during holidays (GTB, 2006). The beach is connected to the back of domes of two luxury hotels Labadi Beach and La Palm Beach Hotels (see figure 3.3) from which the guests mostly get a free entrance to the beach. The beach had its beginning about 50 years ago when the British colonialists built some chalets along the coastline in order to relax and enjoy themselves. Subsequently, the United States also built some chalets during the Second World War.



Figure 3.2 showing the entrance to the La Beach Resort

Afterward, cleaners were employed from among the La people who are the indigenous people where the beach is located. The La people are traditional fishermen. Thus, the management of the beach employed some of them as lifeguards.

Thus, cleaning and sanitation at the beach have been intergrated into the management of the beach at its inception. Hence, it is one of few beaches in Accra which is kept clean, with lots of opportunities for eating, drinking and resting as seen in figure 3.3. Moreover, hip-hop and cultural drumming performances are regularly organize during Muslim and Christian public holidays. There is also reggae life band performance every Wednesday nights at this beach. These provide opportunities for mingling between female tourists and the local males. This create opportunities for new relationships to be initiated as well as chance to switch partners.



Figure 3.3 showing tourists relaxing at the La Beach Resort

### 3.4.3 Kokrobite Beach

Kokrobite is a lively but small fishing village, which is about 25km west of Accra and is approximately an hour's drive from Kotoka International Airport (Ghana's main International Airport). It is a favourite of many local and international tourists because of its almost secluded nature and serene atmosphere. It is located off Accra-Cape Coast road. The village is clusters of thatched clay huts where cooking and sleeping, basically take place outside (GTB, 2006). Dug out canoe which is manually hauled up at the beach, is popularly use by the fishermen as shown in figure3.4.



Figure 3.4 showing the Kokrobite Beach coastline



Coconut trees provide good scenery and also coconut fruits and juice all year round. The beach also provides opportunities for hanging out, beach soccer and swimming. Additionally, there is an Academy of African Music and Arts (AAMA), which offer training in local music and dance to interested tourists in the village.



Figure 3.5 showing The Big Milly's Backyard and some of its facilities

Although, there are many hotels and various accommodation facilities along the stretch of Kokrobite Beach, but the most popular of these is the Big Milly's Backyard. A garden surrounded with walls, small houses, rooms, bar and restaurants as seen in figure 3.5. It is only at the Big Milly's Backyard, musical performances, which excite tourists, take place on the beach. In fact, it is the only spot on the beach where cultural and Reggae live band shows take place every Friday and Saturday evenings respectively. Hence, it fascinates many western tourists because it offers them the opportunity to experience rural life with great measure of fun. Thus, it creates the biggest opportunities for interactions and liaisons between the beach boys and western female tourists. Unlike La Beach, activities at the Kokrobite beach are not daily. Although activities such as swimming, beach football barbeque nights are daily activities. However, its intensity is more between Wednesday evenings and Sunday mornings. Thus, the beach is not very busy between Sunday evenings and Wednesday mornings. Therefore, contact between the beach boys and newly arrived female tourists usually start from Wednesday mornings when new female tourists arrive at the beach. However, most of the relationships usually start during the shows. These shows offer opportunities for interactions between the beach boys and female tourists.

#### 3.4.4 Semi-structured Interview

Semi structure interview is based on the use of an interview guide, which is a list of questions and topics to be covered in a particular order. Although it is an informal interview, nevertheless, the researcher still maintains discretion to follow leads and control the discussion. Semi-structured interviews were used to obtain information from 14 informants (beach boys) at Labadi and Kokrobite Beaches. Using this method allowed me to be guided by my checklist and enables me to obtain the needed information. It also allowed me to be very flexible since the order of the questions was not predetermined.



These interviews were carried out on the beaches where they felt more comfortable than in their residences or mine.

A portable tape recorder was used to record the discussions although some short notes were also taking. The tapes were later played back in my room. Besides one-on-one personal interviews, I also had five (5) focus group interviews with my informants who are usually in groups of 2 and 4 (as seen picture 3.6)

#### **3.4.5 Focus Group Discussion**

Focus group discussion is one of the major techniques in qualitative research. According to Powell and Single (1996), it can be employed to discover potential areas of enquiry or to clarify subject matter that, by its nature, eludes other research instruments. Focus group discussion enables researchers to listen to research participants and learn from them.



**Figure 3.6 one of the interview sessions with some of my male informant**

The technique also, offers research participants the opportunity to share ideas, beliefs and attitudes in the company of people from the same socio-economic, gender and ethnic background (Madriz, 2003). It encourages interactive discussions which help in eliciting rich details of complex experiences reasoning behind individual's attitudes, perceptions, beliefs and actions (Powell and Single, 1996). Hence, it enabled me to learn about how they carry out their negotiations with female tourists.

The five focus group discussions sessions I had with the beach boys at the selected two beaches enabled me to obtain information on the subject and these included personal experiences and thoughts on the subject as well as their motivations for engaging in romance tourism. The interviews were conducted on the beaches in relation to my research question and specifically to the overall interview questions, which I formulated prior to conducting the interviews. In addition to this, participant observation was also employed for the study.

### 3.4.6 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

This is an ethnographic method of enquiry in which the researcher is also a participant in the subject under study (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994). Participant observation entails field work in which the researcher is engrossed in the way of life under study' (Patton, 1990). Within the research literature, participant observation has been described in a variety of ways. For example, Junker (1980), Gold (1969, Gans (1982) suggested 3-4 role model for participant observation. Junker identified 4: complete observant, the observer as participant, the participant as observer and the complete participant. Hence *'the role of the participant observer requires sharing the sentiments of people in social situations'* (Bruyn, 1963: 224).



Figure 3.7 participating in one of the regular activities of the beach boys

Hence, I also employed participant observation which enabled me to gain access into their lives, the way and the methods they employ in the negotiations with white female tourists. Therefore, I participated in some of their regular routines which include sporting activities and swimming as shown in figures 3.7, during which they tried as much as they could to impress female tourists who are also attracted to their athletic and sporting prowess. I was also at some of the pubs, attended live band musical shows, weekly cultural shows and Reggae nights(see figure 3.8) which also serve as point of contact and negotiations with female tourists, especially new arrivals and those who want to change partners. It also enabled me to get to know them intimately and understand their genuine concerns, aspirations and fears. I was also able to uncover who they are and to dispel some fears and misconceptions that some local residents, who are not involved in relationships with female tourists, have about the beach boys.



Figure 3.8 Participating in the weekly musical night show

### 3.5 QUANTITATIVE SURVEY (Structured Interviews)

The quantitative paradigm is based on positivism which usually inferred that all phenomena can be reduced to empirical indicators, which represent the truth (Sale, et al.2002). The ontological position regarding quantitative paradigm is that, only one truth, an objective reality that exists independent of human perception (Sale, et al.2002). Therefore, epistemologically, the investigated and investigator are independent entities. Quantitative methods include randomization, blinding and written or orally administered questionnaires with a limited range of predetermined responses. Hence for this study, I administered 45 structured questionnaire surveys on the beach boys which I orally administered on many of them due to educational limitations of many of them as many of them can not read in English though they are very fluent in it. I had to stop administering more because I realized I was getting almost the same responses and nothing significantly new again.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE STUDY AREA

#### 4.0

**4.1 Introduction:** This chapter provides a brief description of Ghana with regards to its location, its governance, its people, economy, tourism development and attractions as well as issues relating to HIV/AIDS epidemics in the country.

#### 4.2 Location and Geography of Ghana

Ghana, formerly known as 'Gold Coast' because of the abundant gold mineral deposit, is located in West Africa and shares boundaries with Cote d'Ivoire to the West, Burkina Faso to the North, Togo to the East and the Gulf of Guinea (Atlantic Coast) to the South (Dickson, 1969). Ghana is located on latitudes  $5^{\circ}33'N$  and  $0^{\circ}15'$  (La Pierre, 2004) and occupies a total land mass area of about 238,540 km<sup>2</sup> which makes it slightly larger than Britain and slightly smaller than the US state of Oregon (Gocking, 2005).

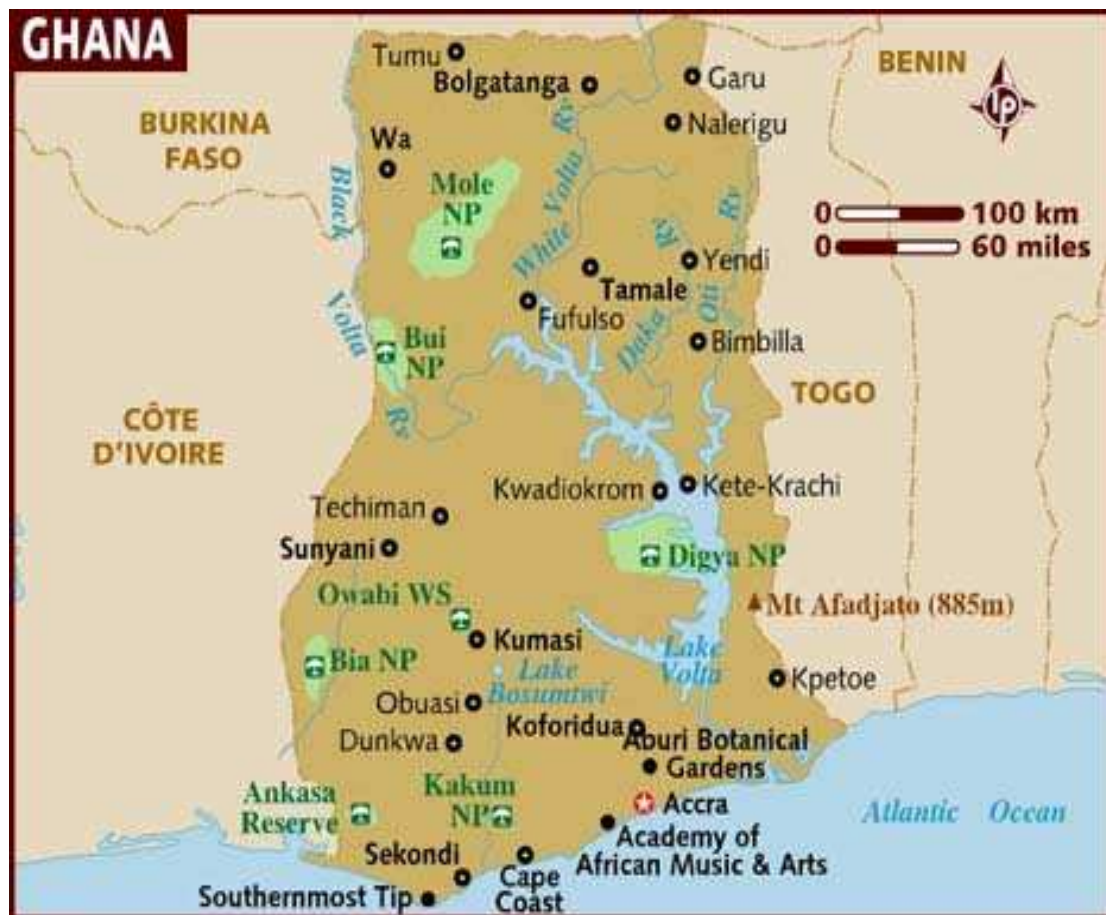


Fig: 4.1 Map of Ghana showing some tourists attractions

The climate of Ghana is tropical warm, hot and humid in the southwest, dry along the southeast coast, and hot and dry in the north with the average annual temperature about 26°C (about 79°F) which peaks at 38°C (about 100°F) between February and March (La Pierre, 2004). Ghana's climate can be divided into hot and dry north and, hot and humid

south. Annual rainfall in Ghana ranges from about 102-152cm (about 43-60 in) in the north to about 254cm (about 100 in) in the south (La Pierre, 2004).

Cocoa is the most popular tree crop in Ghana. It is an important crop export which earned Ghana \$803 millions in 2003 alone and amounted to 35% of total export (Gocking 2005). Other important tree crops include Kola nut, oil palm and coconut. Also, yams, cocoyam, cassava, maize, banana and plantain are also commonly grown in Ghana.

Politically, the country is divided into ten regions namely: Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Central Eastern, Greater Accra, Northern, Upper East, Upper West, Volta and Western regions which are sub-divided into 138 districts and could be compared to states in the US for administrative purposes.

The legal system in Ghana is based on common Law, customary (traditional) law, and the 1992 constitution. The Court hierarchies of the Ghanaian courts consist of Supreme Court of Ghana (highest court), Court of Appeal, and High Court of Justice. And under these, are district, traditional, and local courts. The parliament is vested with legislative functions and consists of a unicameral 230-member body including the Speaker. Members of Parliament are popularly elected by universal adult suffrage for terms of four years in single seat constituencies by a simple majority, except in war time, when terms may be extended for not more than 12 months at a time beyond the four years (Library of Congress, 2009). For administrative purposes, Ghana is divided into ten administrative regions which are further divided into 110 districts. In addition, each district has its own District Assembly (GSS, 2007).

#### **4.3 THE POPULATION**

Ghana's population of about 23 million people, consisting primarily of African origin, is a country of great diversity (Langer, 2009). There are five main ethnic groups: the Akan (Ashanti and Fanti), the Mole-Dagbani, the Ewe, the Ga-Adangbe and the Guan (Salm and Falola, 2002; Gocking 2005). Others include smaller groups such as Gurunsi, Mande-Busanga, Hausa, Yoruba, Zabarema, Fulani, European and other nationalities constituting the rest of the population (Salm and Falola, 2002). Thus, the composition of different ethnic groups and nationalities result in over 70 languages and dialects spoken throughout the country (La Pierre, 2004). Nevertheless, each of the ten regions has a sizable number of migrants or others considered to be strangers in their regions.

Additionally, 43.8% of the population live in the urban centre while the 56.2% in the rural areas and sex stratification shows that males constitute 49.5% of the population and females 50.5% (GSS, 2007). The population grows at 2.7% a year. The fertility rate is estimated at 4.9 children per woman. The 2000 census shows that Ghana has a significant young population with people below 15 years constituting 41.3% of the population and 53.4 between 15-64 years while those above 65 years constitute merely 5.3% of the total population (GSS, 2007).

Although English is the official language in Ghana but other main languages widely spoken include Akan, Moshi-Dagomba, Ewe, and Ga. Many Ghanaians are bilingual with (34.2%) speaking English and at least a Ghanaian language, only 6.4% of the population speak Ghanaian language(s) alone but Hausa is widely spoken in the northern part of the

country (GSS,2007). However, Twi or Akan, spoken by about 9 million people as the first language, is by far the major language and has become the *lingua franca* used in different facets of life and is being learned by others (Salm and Falola, 2002).

The Akans are found in the forest region and constitute about 49% of the Ghanaian population, thus, are the largest ethnic group (Langer, 2009). The Akans, constitute the main population in five of the ten regions in Ghana; Central, Brong-Ahafo, Western, Eastern and Ashanti regions all in the southern part of the country (Langer, 2009). In addition, the Akans belong to the Kwa group which most West Africa belong. They are however further sub-divided into about 20 sub-groups and the major ones are the Ashantis, the Fantis, the Ankyems, the Akwamus and the Nzimas (Gockings, 2005). Of these, the Ashantis and the Fantis are the two prominent ones. Moreover, the Ashantis are the biggest among this group and are the largest tribe in Ghana (Salm and Falola, 2002; Gocking, 2005). Furthermore, the Akans are among the few matrilineal societies in West Africa where lineage is determined through the female line. This means properties passes from maternal uncles to nephews including succession to traditional roles and offices (Gocking, 2005; Langer, 2009). They are famous for the luxury and affluence of their rulers as well as their skill in an array of crafts including weaving, wood carving, ceramics, craft work, and especially their colorful 'Kente' cloth woven in bright, narrow strips with complex patterns. However, only pottery-making is mainly a female activity, others are exclusively males' (Dickson, 1971, Gocking, 2005). The Fanti tribe occupies the coastal areas of the country, thus, are traditionally fishermen (Gocking, 2005). The former president John Nana Kufour is Ashanti while the current president, John Atta Mills is Fanti.

The second largest ethno-cultural group in Ghana are the Mole-Dagbanis, the group that constitute about 17% of the population and are found in the northern part of the country (Langer, 2009). Like the Akans, they are also further divided into subgroups; the Frafra, Dagaba, Kusasi, Dagomba Nanumbas, Mossi Mamprusi and Talensi. The Mole-Dagbani are of the Gur language group and one of the two foremost language groups in Northern (Savannah) West Africa (Dickson, 1971, Gocking, 2005; Langer, 2009).

Though this group shares some socio-cultural institutions together, however, they have different histories, customs and traditions. In contrast to the Akans, the Mole-Dagbanis are patrilineal, and their social life is largely influenced by their long standing relationships with Islam which is largely practiced in northern West Africa (Gocking, 2005).

The Ewes found in the south-eastern part of Ghana and on the eastern side of the Volta in the southern parts of neighboring Togo and Benin are the third largest ethnic group accounting for about 13% of the population (Gocking, 2005; Angler, 2009). The Ewes are not sharply divided like the Akans and Mole-Dagbanis. Even though there are sub-groups and a sizable number of dialects. Nevertheless, they speak a single language and constitute a single linguistic entity. Hence, the Ewes are the most homogenous ethnic group in Ghana. (Gocking, 2005). Historically, during the colonial era, the Ewes were part of German Togoland but after the defeat of Germany in the First World War, the area was divided between the British and French by the League of Nations. However, the Ewe part under the control of the British, voted in 1956 Plebiscite to remain with

independent Ghana while the other part remained under French rule Togo and subsequently, their territory became known as Volta Region (Salm and Falola, 2002). Majority of Ewes are farmers who keep some livestock, and there was some craft specialization.

The fourth largest ethnic group in Ghana is the Ga-Adangbes, mainly found in the Greater Accra Region where they constitute about 30% of the population (Angler, 2009). The Ga-Adangbe people who dwell in the Accra Plains are the fourth largest ethno-cultural group and formed about 8% of the Ghanaian population and were believed to have migrated from among the Yoruba's in modern Nigeria. Although this assertion is rejected by some writers, but the structural similarities in language was never disputed (Salm and Falola, 2002). While the Adangbes are found to the east, however, the Ga, reside in the west of the Accra coastlands. Furthermore, both Ga and Adangbe languages are derived from a common Ga-Adangbe ancestral language. In addition the Ga-Adangbe also include the Ga-Mashie groups occupying neighborhoods in the central part of Accra, and other Ga speakers from Togo.(Dickson, 1971; Salm and Falola,2005).Nevertheless, contemporary Ga and Adangbe are indecipherable and are patrilineal though are gradually been influence by the Akans who are matrilineal. The Ga-Adangbes are traditionally farming and fishing communities. They occupy the most cosmopolitan part of Ghana (Gocking, 2005) such as James Town and Usher Town (the two oldest parts of Accra), as well as Tema, La, Teshie, Osu, and Nungua (Salm and Falola, 2002). The Ga have early contact with the Europeans before the slave trade and Accra became centre of learning when it was declared the colonial capital in 1877. Subsequently, it became very attractive to many foreigners including the returnees from Brazil who settled in Ga urban centers after the end of the slave trade (Salm and Falola, 2002).

The Guan speaking people of Ghana include the Gonja, the Kyokosi or Chokosi (an Akan-speaking fragment), and the Mande-speaking Busanga found in the north easternmost part of Ghana. The Guans were claimed to have migrated from the Mossi region of modern day Burkina Faso around A.D.1000 through the Volta valley towards the south (Dakubu, 1998). They therefore formed settlements along the Black Volta, all over the Afram Plains, in the Volta Gorge, and in the Akwapim Hills before moving farther south onto the coastal plains (Dickson, 1971; Gocking, 2005).

Furthermore, the is a relationships among different ethnic groups in Ghana, which dated back to pre-colonial era, have been observed to have resulted in cultural mix and adaptation among the different ethnic groups. For example, Gocking (2005) noted that the Twi language, the main language of the Akans, have significantly influenced the Ga language because many Ga words are borrowed from the Twi language of the Akans. However, the influence of Ga language on the Akan Twi, is very minimal. In addition, the traditional patrilineal culture of the Ga ethnic group has been strongly influenced by the traditional matrilineal Akans due to inter-marriages between the two groups. Also, a sub group of the Guan in the Eastern Region speaks a very unique language because it contains several words from both Ga and Twi. Furthermore, the Guan's social

institutions, customs and names reflect powerful influence of the Ga-Adangbes and Akans (Gocking, 2005).

Studies about the relationships among the Ghanaian ethnic groups showed that there is an uneasy calm among them especially along north-south divide (Langer, 2009). This is particularly due to horizontal inequalities between the north and the south. The inequality is influenced by cultural and environmental differences reinforced by the colonial economic and social development strategies (Naylor, 2000).

Due to climatic and geographic factors, the north naturally has scanty and irregular rainfall. Thus, the three northern regions can only support just one main cropping cycle annually. However, the south experiences high precipitation and can support tree crop production year round. Hence, the concentration of most agricultural activities/resources, particularly tree crops such as cocoa as well as timber and associated industries in the south. In addition, natural mineral resources, notably gold, diamond and others are geographically concentrated in the south. This obviously influenced the policy of the colonial British to invest more heavily in those regions in the south where exploitable resources such as gold, diamonds, timber and cocoa were available. Moreover, these resources are readily produced and easily transported to Europe through the Gulf of Guinea in the south (Langer, 2009).

Furthermore, the Northern Ghana had early Islamic influence and Christian missionary activities were deliberately restricted during colonial era. Hence, the north has the largest concentration of Muslims but can only boast of just one secondary school during colonial rule. However, there was intensive missionary work from early colonial times in the south. Therefore, the southern ethnic groups were comparatively well educated and this enabled them to find employment in state economic and administrative institutions (Anger, 2009). The significant implications of this can be imagined considering the fact that the north constitutes about 20% of the Ghanaian population (Anger, 2009). In addition, during colonial era, socio-economic development efforts were concentrated in the south while the north was kept and administered as labour reserve for the industrial south. Similarly, the focus of the post-colonial government's economic development plan also remained in the south (Naylor, 2000). Thus, poverty and underdevelopment during colonial rule and post-colonial era was largely concentrated in the north (Naylor, 2000; Langer, 2009).

Although, horizontal inequalities has been argued to have made some countries vulnerable to violent conflicts (Stewart, 2002). However, it is interesting to note that the severe socio-economic inequalities between the south and north have only resulted in ethno-regional tensions but have not provoked political disturbances, including violent conflicts and civil wars in Ghana (Anger, 2009). These ethnic tensions were mainly motivated by perceived competition between two southern groups, the Ewe and Ashanti political elites, whose constituencies are not remarkably different from each other in terms of access to education and amenities (Anger, 2009).



Regarding religion, the Ghanaian population is predominantly Christian with about 70% professing to belong to one of the Christian denominations and traditional religion about 14%. However, Muslims constitute about 16% and formed a significant population in the three Northern Regions: Northern, Upper East and Upper West, where they account for about 42% of the population (Salm and Falola, 2005; Angler, 2009). Moreover, the ethno-regional differences are partly reinforced by North-South religious differences as well. This becomes apparent noting that overall; South is largely Christian populated while only 42% of the north is Muslim, 25% Christian and 29% traditional religion. Nevertheless, the Christianity and Islam practiced in Ghana has many aspects of traditional African religion integrated into it (Salm and Falola, 2002; La Pierre, 2004). Moreover, the most important aspect of the northern population is neither religion nor ethnicity but their relatively deprived socio-economic situation compared to the people living in the southern regions (Angler, 2009). Ghana had a long term relationships with the Europeans, and the coastal ethnic groups in the south were the earliest to have trade relations with the Europeans. These relationships and other related issues are discussed next.

#### **4.4 EARLY EUROPEAN EXPLORATION IN GHANA**

Ghana has a long history of European adventure due to the concentration of varied and diverse mineral resources, which include Bauxite, Manganese, Diamond, Aluminum and Gold- with which the country is well known. Thus, the Europeans fought each other and took turn to compete for the control of the 'Gold Coast' because of this mineral resources as well as timber (La Pierre, 2004). The first contact of Ghanaians with Europeans was in 1482 when the Portuguese merchants arrived at the coastal city of Elmina, a predominantly fishing population and marked the beginning of European imperialism in Ghana (Teye, et al., 2002; Essah, 2001).

Subsequently, the Dutch, English, Germans, Danes, French and Swedes' merchants invaded Ghana at different times to look for mineral deposits especially the famous Ashanti gold as well as slaves (Essah, 2001; La Pierre, 2004). Thousands of slaves were transported from Ghana to Europe and Americas between 1500s and 1880s. Hence, in the 1880s, Ghana's coastline became the highest concentration of European military architecture outside of Europe. Ghana eventually became a British colony in 1896 when the British introduced external rule which lasted till 1957, when it gained independent from the European overlords and became an independent nation (Anquandah, 1999: 20; La Pierre, 2004). This long history of centuries of domination and colonization by different European countries at different period of its history has significant impact on the modern day Ghana and its economy, and particularly its tourism industry. The relics of European legacies today in Ghana, is a strong pull for attracting tourists from all the European countries historically linked to Ghana as well as North Americans (because of its connection to slave trade) to the former centre of Trans Atlantic Slave Trade (Anquandah, 1999: 20; Teye, et al., 2002).

#### **4.5 THE GHANAIAN ECONOMY**

Despite fifty years after political independence from the British, 40% of Ghana's 23 million citizens still live in poverty though the country is endowed with abundant

resources including mineral resources, and the country is the second-largest African gold producer and a major global gold producer (Amstrong, 2008). Moreover, a large proportion of Ghana's poor live in rural areas and about 11% of the population, over two million people suffer from hunger. Hundreds of thousands of rural poor, largely unexposed to the wage economy, derive their livelihoods directly from the informal sector small-scale agriculture and the natural resources provided by the country's forests. In addition some people depend on locally manufactured products, such as tools, fabrics, household utensils, and objects made from wood, fabrics, leather, raffia, ceramics and metals (Amstrong, 2008; Langer, 2009).

Nevertheless, Ghana's economy remains somewhat dependent on international financial aid and technical assistance as well as the activities of the extensive Ghanaian diasporas. The description of the Ghanaian economy by the former Ghanaian Attorney General, Nana Akuffo Addo is very significant because it underscores the influence of colonialism on the present day economy. He stated *'we are poorer than we were at independence. Average per capita income, US\$420 at independence, is now US\$370 today, 44 years later. The average real wage is a quarter of what it was in 1970, thirty years ago. 40% of our population lives below the poverty line. Our economy is still neo-colonial in structure, dependent on the production and export of raw materials which account for over 80% of our foreign exchange earning, like they did 80 years ago'* (Fayemi et al., 2003: 68).

Presently, exports of cocoa, minerals (gold, diamond, bauxite, and manganese) and tourism are the major sources of foreign exchange to the Ghanaian economy (Langer, 2009; GTB, 2009). An oilfield which is reported to contain up to 3 billion barrels (480,000,000 m<sup>3</sup>) of light oil was discovered in 2007. Oil exploration is ongoing and, the amount of oil continues to increase. The domestic economy continues to revolve around subsistence agriculture, which accounts for 50% of GDP and employs 85% of the work force, mainly small landholders (Langer, 2009). The development of the modern Ghanaian economy is linked to its historic past under British colonial rule (Price, 1984), as well as the gradual decline of the economy that eventually led to the invitation of the Bretton Institutions to salvage the economy. These and many other issues relating to Ghana's economic climate are discussed below as these have significant impact on tourism development and in particular, romance tourism in the country.

Furthermore, the British ruled or controlled Ghana in one form or another from 1844 through the colonial (plunder) era turning the model colony into a periphery country, which was scrupulously exploited by the core country (Price, 1984; Konadu-Agyemang, 2000). Thus, by the end of the colonial government and declaration of Ghana as an independent country in 1957, the country already had all the important features of underdevelopment (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000). Specifically, the country suffered acute form of structural dislocation. (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000). More so, production and consumption of manufactured goods were not integrated within the country but rather, through external trade. Whereby, produce from Ghana such as gold, cocoa, timber, diamond, manganese and bauxite were exchanged for manufactured consumable goods that Ghana could not produce (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000).

The structure of Ghana's current economy is considerably influenced by the structures that were established during the colonial era in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which was consequently strengthened after independence and consolidated until the present (Price, 1984; Hoefter, 2001). The social-economic development in Ghana was typical of the peripheral capitalist societies created in developing countries during the Trans-Atlantic trade and European domination, and eventual colonial rule by the British (Howard and Howard-Hassmann, 1978; Price, 1984). Intrinsic to this development during the colonial rule, is that Ghana's economy was devoted not to the needs of the Ghanaians but that of the capitalist economies.

Thus, its role was to be secondary to the needs of the capitalism in the core, hence, both its productive forces as well as her people will find their overall evolution disenchanting. This development of a peripheral economy, under both the economic and political rule of Great Britain continues to reflect in the economy of contemporary Ghana (Howard, 1978). It is noteworthy to state that the colonial power dominated Ghana's economic relations and by implications, the economy is subject to the demands of capitalist profits in international trade. This results in the development of a nearly mono-cultural system of agricultural production and mining heavily dependent on the profits from the European controlled external market (Howard, 1978). Moreover, because the colonialists were mostly interested in exploiting the resources of their colonies for the development of their home countries hence, they were opposed to promoting the development of any other resources beyond what were immediately of any significant usage to their home countries (Konadu-Agyemang and Adanu, 2003).

Furthermore, under the colonial trade policy, colonies were not encouraged to embark on any production idea that would compete with the products of their home country. Consequently, under colonial rule, there was no effort was to locally convert Ghanaian cocoa, for instance, into products such as chocolate and other consumer products. This is because for fear that it would compete with the products of Cadbury and other established British confectionary producers who depended upon cheap cocoa, even though such conversion would have added value to the cocoa exports and diversified the export base of the Ghanaian economy (Howard, 1978; (Konadu-Agyemang and Adanu, 2003). Undeniably, almost all the colonial powers established in their colonies a commercial system that established a preferential position to the goods imported from the home country while restricting their colonies to the production of basic raw materials for export (Konadu-Agyemang and Adanu, 2003)

Moreover, because of the crucial role of transportation in economic development of any area or region, therefore, those areas that were either situated directly or close to the transportation network also became the center of socio-economic activities. These areas/regions thereafter witnessed rapid industrial development while the rest was either neglected or poorly developed (Konadu-Agyemang and Adanu, 2003). Hence, after independence, this colonial legacy of overdependence on a few export items derived from mines or farms did not change significantly in the post-independence era. In fact, the elite groups that inherited the leadership of government uphold the status quo. The elite

obviously had a deal with the colonial masters, to continue to implement this agenda (Konadu-Agyemang and Adanu, 2003).

Therefore, the railway network which linked the ports at Takoradi in the west and Accra in the east to the resource rich interior center, Kumasi, created what became known as the “Golden Triangle”. Consequently, the areas covered by the triangle, and the immediate hinterland became the location many educational institutions and health facilities. Also, manufacturing industries and formal-sector jobs, were concentrated in an area which is less than one-third of the country but has about 61% of the Ghanaian population (Rimmer 1992; (Konadu-Agyemang and Adanu, 2003). This eventually established the foundation, and shaped the spatial and socioeconomic inequalities that now characterize present Ghanaian society. Thus, only five of the ten regions; (i.e. Greater Accra Region, the administrative core), the gold-rich regions, Ashanti and Western, and the cocoa-growing regions (Eastern, Central and Ashanti) received the bulk of the capital investments made during the colonial era (Songsore, 2003; Langer, 2009).

However, the three northern regions (Upper West, Upper East and Northern Regions) were deliberately kept underdeveloped as the British colonial power invested very little on basic infrastructural and human capital development in northern Ghana (Langer, 2009). In addition, the north served as reservoir of cheap labour for gold mining and cocoa farming in the south, and as recruiting grounds for the police and army during the colonial era (Bening, 1975). Sadly, the three northern regions are presently the least developed part in modern day Ghana where economic activities is also very low. At independence in 1957, there was only one secondary school in the northern region to care for about 20% of the Ghanaian population. Thus, the colonial economic developmental strategies greatly structured the post-colonial economy and investment patterns (Langer, 2009).

Decades after the end of colonialism and in a modern Ghana, the structures put in place by the colonial British is sustain until today and have greatly influence the direction and focus of the Ghanaian economy (Langer, 2009). This assertion is further reinforced by considering the fact that infrastructure for the exploitation of these resources, particularly road and rail networks as well as huge investment in mining activities and trade, were provided for comprehensive exploitation of these resources as they were well laid out. (Price, 1984; Langer, 2009). Hence, cocoa, timber, gold, diamond and bauxite constitute the major export of Ghanaian economy even today just like during the colonial era.

Thus throughout the period Ghana was a colony, the economy became more and more monopolized. The monopoly of the Ghanaian economy by the European now been promoted by the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) of the World Bank and IMF, have all the features of domination and exploitation reminiscence of the colonial past (Hilson and Potter, 2005). The monopoly and the exploitation continue as the national output of these resources also expand due to SAPs but with no meaningful benefits to the poor and have further induced unemployment and poverty in the public, agricultural and manufacturing sectors (Hilson and Potter, 2005).

In addition, at independence in 1957, Ghana was the world's largest producer and exporter of cocoa and also exported 10% of global gold and had a foreign reserve of £200 million as well as per capital income of £50 which put her at par with South Korea. The per capital income rose to £70 in 1960 was higher than India's £25, Nigeria £29, and Egypt £56 with a growth rate of about 6% (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000). However, due to corruption, mismanagement and fluctuations in the global market, which affected major Ghanaian exports, by the middle of 1960s, Ghana's economy that was among the best in the world was wobbling towards bankruptcy. In addition, foreign reserves had dried up, per capital growth rate had declined drastically from 6% to 0.4% and the country was already critically indebted to the tune of \$1 billion. Furthermore, to compound the economic woes, the real value of the minimum wage plummeted by 45%, while industrial and public remunerations crashed by 25% and 20% respectively (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000). Ghana's economic tumult continued through the 1960s to early 1980s, and between 1970 and 1983, inflation rate was in excess of 100%, total import volume and real export earnings fell by 33% and 52% respectively while the domestic savings and investment also declined from 12% to almost nothing (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000). Thus, the dismal economic performance led to the invitation of the Bretton Woods' institutions; World Bank and IMF in 1983 by the Jerry Rawlings' administration.

The SAPs have been criticized for the retrenchment of workers, widening the gap between the rich and poor, increasing poverty, and indiscriminate government cutbacks on social services that have jeopardized the access of the poor especially women and children to health and education. The implementations of SAPs in sub-Saharan Africa have been unsuccessful at yielding the so called 'dynamic results' (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000). This is mainly due to the fact that the burden of reform is usually borne inexplicably by the people who were already poor and are also victims of high prices of goods and services brought about by the removal of subsidies on essentials such as food, transport and energy (Crisp and Kelly, 1999: 534). However, following the implementation of SAPs from 1983, the Ghanaian economy has experienced rapid growth. The implementation of SAP which has resulted in increase export growth and industry privatization, marked increase in timber production, which has improved more than three times, from 117,000m<sup>3</sup> in 1983 to 545,000m<sup>3</sup> in 1988 (Hutchful, 2002: 79). In addition, increase in annual output was recorded in the mineral sector due to the reforms (Aryee, 2001), including gold (500%), diamonds (300%) and bauxite (over 600%). Thus some proponents of SAPs argue that SAPs have 'rescued Ghana's economy from complete collapse' (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000: 474).

Similarly, between 1984 -1991, Ghana's GDP improved between 5%-6% but from 1992, it oscillates between 2.5%-4%. Additionally, inflation rate fell from an average of 123% in the early 1980s to 32% in 1991, 34% and 29% in 1994 and 1997 respectively. Although these improvements were recorded at the macro levels, with no benefits whatsoever at the micro levels. For example, the implementation of SAPs resulted in the retrenchment of over 300,000 from the public sector and extraordinary cuts in government's expenditures on public services and social welfare. The devaluation of the country's currency, Cedi from 2.75 = \$1 in 1983 to 2,300 = \$1 in 1998 (about 80,000% devaluation), resulted in the cost of imports and Ghana's total debt increased from \$1,398

million in 1980 to \$5,874 million in 1995, as 31% of Ghanaians living below poverty level and the rural poor increased from 57% in 1981 to 80% in 1995 (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000: 474).

Although, Panford (1997) and Konadu-Agyemang, (2000) acknowledged improvement at the macro level. Nevertheless, they asserted that the implementation of SAPs policies have negative impact at the micro economic level. According to them, the implementation of SAP's programme have resulted in diminished formal sector employment as well as the opportunities for personal fulfillments. Hutchful (2002: 90), also noted that total employment in the large and medium scale formal sector (enterprises with thirty or more employees) fell from 464,000 in 1985 to 394,000 in 1987 and to 186,000 in 1991, 'a decline of almost 60% in five or six years'. Similarly, in the agricultural sector, policy reforms, which have 'focused preponderantly on rehabilitation of the cocoa industry and reform of its marketing system', have resulted in the elimination of some 80,000 job positions on the Cocoa Board (Hilson and Potter, 2009). Likewise, various schemes that were in place to improve efficiency in the public sector also had distressing effect on job creation and levels of employment. Between 41,000 and 45,000 civil servants were immediately 'redeployed' (29,000 were dismissed in 1988, and the remainder in 1989), over 20,000 state enterprise employees were laid off, and hundreds of private sector employees lost textile and manufacturing jobs as a result of import liberalization (Hilson and Potter, 2009).

Regarding mining, since the launch of the SAPs, the Ghanaian government has tended to favour the awarding of land concessions to large-scale mining. Thus, two thirds of all Ghanaian land (including arable land) is presently under concessions and there are huge cavities in the ground, discarded pits where in many places where flourishing villages once stood and where nothing grows' presently (Hilson and Porter, 2009). Hence, Structural Adjustment Programmes reforms allowed the expansion of large-scale mining, without recourse to environmental and health hazards occasioned by mining activities on the local populations. Some of the hazards at mine communities in Ghana include contamination of freshwater, fish and crops that local people depend on for their survival. (Hilson and Potter, 2005). While large companies and to a lesser extent the central government, reaps the benefits, the mining communities primarily enjoy little benefit but endure the most of the negative impacts (Awudi, 2002). Additionally, the fast expansion of World Bank-sponsored surface gold mining operations by foreign transnational corporations (TNCs), in recent times in Ghana's forest reserves and the construction of the new Ahafo Gold Mine in the Brong-Ahafo Region by the US-based Newmont Mining Corporation, signify grave threat to rural livelihoods, food security and survival of indigenous poor people (Amstrong, 2008).

Moreover, agriculture is the largest and most important sector in the Ghanaian economy. The agricultural sector, contributes 40 percent of GDP, and account for 30% and 70% export earnings and employment respectively. Although its performance has been very dismal since from 1983 as its overall, growth was just 2.6% between 1983 and 1990. This further fell to 2.2% between 1990 and 1996. Characteristically, the Ghanaian agriculture

is dominated by smallholdings which are rarely larger than 4 ha. In addition, mixed cropping is the major farming practice (Hoeft, 2001).

The mining sector has grown by 4.2% between 1990 and 1996, with most of the growth coming from the mining and construction-related sector as gold dominates the mining sector. Then growth in Ghana's gold mining is attributed to reforms in the sector in 1986 and the privatization of the country's largest gold mines, which saw gold mining output increase more than five-fold between 1987 and 1996. This contributes significantly into making Ghana one of the world's largest exporters of gold, as well as manganese. Bauxite and diamond production have also increased considerably due to the reforms in the mining sector (Hoeft, 2001).

The industrial sector in Ghana is broad based across all sectors. Many of Ghana's manufacturing companies were established in the 1960s and between 1983 and 1990, the manufacturing sector's total output grew by 8.1 percent per year as the manufacturing sector it benefits from the availability of imported inputs, which enabled it to use its existing excess capacity. However, growth in the sector declined to 2.2% from 1990 onwards due to exposure to import competition; and the abandonment of subsidies, which forced manufacturing companies to rationalize in order to improve their performance. Consequently, employment in the manufacturing sector dropped from 78,000 in 1987 to 28,000 in 1993, and the number of companies declined by 21 percent, from 634 companies to 500 companies (Hoeft, 2001).

The service sector is the fastest growing sector of the Ghanaian economy, with a growth rate of 5.9 percent between 1990 and 1996. However, trading and public services are at the lead in this sector. Ironically, trading activities specifically benefited from the retrenchment in the manufacturing sector by employing significant numbers of the unemployed and retrenched workers from the manufacturing companies. Additionally, transportation services have grown but slowly due to extensive structural problems for example, poor road and railway network system (Hoeft, 2001).

The financial sector also suffered significantly and incurred serious difficulties as a result of the devaluation of the cedi, the Ghanaian currency, occasioned by the economic reforms in 1988 and in conformity with World Bank/IMF's SAP programme. As a result of the devaluation of the cedi, the external liabilities of the banks increased and simultaneously weakened many of their manufacturing customers who depended on imported material for production (Hoeft, 2001).

Nevertheless, one of Ghana's promising service sectors is tourism, which has become the country's third largest foreign exchange earner after gold and cocoa. The country's main attractions are the beaches, the festivals and the former slave castles along the Atlantic coast, as well as the cities such as Accra and Kumasi. Thus, tourism industry in Ghana is discussed next.

#### **4.6 AN OVERVIEW OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA**

Ghana is among the countries in developing countries that have officially embraced tourism as a socio-economic development strategy in the early 1990s (Sirakaya et al.



2002). International tourism development in Ghana could be traced back to the colonial era when British government officials and sometimes, in company of their wives, travel to the Gold Coast as well as other colonies in the region (McEwan, 1996). Although, the pre-independence era was also characterized by the arrival of expatriates by ship to work at places such as the Tarkwa mines. However, during this era, the hotel industry was almost non-existent but the few existing ones include Aams and Seaview Hotels in Accra and Acquah Hotel in Cape Coast respectively. Therefore, the expatriate who usually worked with multi-national companies, such as UAC and GB Ollivant, kept villas in the countryside to meet their recreational needs (GTB, 2006).

Conscious efforts at developing tourism however, could be ascribed to the period of Ghana's independence in 1957, during which the new government invested in tourism infrastructure to facilitate tourism development. For example, in the accommodation sector, hotels such as Meridian Hotel, Ambassador Hotels, Continental Hotels, City Hotel and Eredex Hotel were established by the government. These were managed by the State Hotels Corporation in addition to Catering Rest Houses located in different parts of the country.

In 1973, the Ghana Tourist Board (GTB) was set up. The GTB is a government agency established to ensure sustainable tourism development and to promote tourism as the leading sector of the Ghanaian economy and to transform Ghana into a tourist hub in the West Africa sub-region. Subsequently, the Ghana Tourism Development Company (GTDC) was also set up as the investment part of the GTB. Thus, the commercial engagements of GTDC include Akuaba Tours and Travel Agency and the Duty Free shops at Kotoka International Airports (GTB, 2009).

Tourism in Ghana started receiving considerable attention especially in the economic development strategy of the country effectively from the late 1980s. Since 1988, international tourist arrivals have been on a steady increase from about 85,000 in 1985 (Teye et al. 2002) to 114,000 tourists in 1988 which rose to about 348,000 ten years later in 1998 representing an annual growth rate of about 20% (Sirakaya et al. 2002). Thus, Ghana's tourism earnings moved up from its 17<sup>th</sup> position in 1985 to 8<sup>th</sup> in 1998 amongst African countries (WTO 1999). This makes tourism Ghana's third largest foreign exchange earner behind mineral and cocoa exports (Sirakaya et al. 2002). Similarly, tourism receipts also rose significantly from \$55.3 million in 1988 to \$285 million in 1998 and represent an annual growth rate of 41.3% (Ghana Tourist Board 1999; Sirakaya et al. 2002). International tourist arrivals have now increased to about 428,533 in 2005, and over 600,000 in 2008 (GTB, 2009), while tourist receipts also increased from about \$19.52 million only in 1985 (Teye et al., 2002) to over \$ 836 million in 2005 and \$1.3 billion in 2008, generating over 300,000 jobs (GTB, 2009).

In an effort to encourage private entrepreneurship in the tourism industry, an investment code (PNDC Law 116), was promulgated in 1985 (Sirakaya et al. 2002). Consequently, multi-nationals as well as local private investors such as Novotel, Shangri-La and La Beach and Golden Tulip hotels, became visible and were a great boost to the accommodation sector. As a result of the steady growth of tourism industry in Ghana and

recognising its contribution to the national economy, a full fledged federal ministry of Tourism was established in 1993 (Sirakaya et al. 2002). Furthermore, a 15-year National Tourism Development Plan (1996-2010) was initiated jointly with the United State International Development (USAID), United Nations Development Project (UNDP) and United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) in 1995 (Sirakaya et al. 2002).

Tourism in Ghana currently accounts for about 16% of the total foreign exchange earnings, thus placing the tourism industry next to minerals and cocoa. Ghana presently is four years into the 15-year integrated tourism planning period based on a development plan been implemented with funding from UNDP and technical assistance from the UNWTO. This is expected to end in 2010 when annual tourist's arrivals are expected to be over 1 billion (Teye et al. 2002). Because of increase in tourist's arrivals, both public and private investments in a range of tourism sub-sectors have expanded as well in the recent times to cope with the ever-increasing international tourists in particular. Furthermore, increase in tourism development is also reflected in the number of hotels approved and licensed to operate by the Ghana Tourist Board which increased from only 273 in 1989 to 730 in 1998 (Ghana Tourist Board 1999). Similarly, the number of rooms available for tourists also increased from 4,851 in 1989 to 10,879 in 1998 (Sirakaya et al. 2002).

However, the Ghana Tourist Board established by Decree in 1973 has remained the major actor regarding tourism development in Ghana. The board has regional offices in all the ten Ghanaian regions to complement the head office at Accra. The GTB is saddled with the responsibility of regulating tourism enterprises, promoting and marketing of tourism both in Ghana and outside Ghana and facilitating the development of Ghana's tourist products. Additionally, the board also has the responsibility of conducting research on tourism trends in Ghana which contributes to tourism policy formulation and decision making (GTB, 2009). The GTB, which has the mandate to transform Ghana into a major tourist preferred destination in West Africa also, has the responsibility of registering, inspecting, classifying and licensing of accommodation and catering establishments in the country. Moreover, the GTB regulates the travel, tour and car rental agencies as well as charter operations through registration and licensing. The board's functions also include the development of strategies for the promotion of domestic tourism and creation of awareness of the benefits of tourism among Ghanaians.

The board also set industry standards, provides extension services to facility operators to ensure sustainable tourism development, appraise private sector projects to meet the required environmental and socio-cultural guidelines as well as industry standards (GTB, 2006). The GTB, in addition to its functions, also collaborates with the relevant public sector agencies for the development of tourism infrastructure as well as promotes high standard in the tourism industry through training and human resource development in the industry.

#### **4.7 TOURISTS ATTRACTIONS IN GHANA**

Ghana is endowed with diverse touristic attractions, which are mostly based on nature and culture. Thus, the country's tourism attractions include a rich mix of historical

heritage, events and monuments as well as beach and wildlife (ecotourism). These attractions are well dispersed from the savannah region in the north to the forest belt and coastal areas in the south. The foremost ones comprise of ancient cultures, festivals and traditions, which is rich in diversity, colour and pageantry. Ghana is also ranked as a UNESCO World Heritage destination in 1980 because of the Ashanti traditional architecture (Teye et al. 2002). The northern part of Ghana boasts of the Mole Park, Sirigu, and the Wechiau Hippo Sanctuary. The rest of the country offers key attractions such as Kakum Park, Lake Bosumtwi and Wli Water Falls. Ghana is also rank as a UNESCO World Heritage destination by virtue of places such as the Ashanti traditional architecture. Ghana's rich culture is manifest in music, dance, art and craft.

#### **4.7.1 Cultural Tourism**

Ghana's rich culture is manifest in music, dance, art and craft. Cultural tourism has received impetus in the global tourism because of the gradual shift from the mass tourism. Cultural tourism receives attention in Ghana because it lacks superb safari tourism compare to eastern and southern Africa. Moreover, about 62% of tourists to Ghana visit because of cultural preference. Traditional cultural festivals are very popular among Ghanaians and involve a host of customary rites (Asiedu, 1997;Teye et al. 2002). Almost every community celebrates an important annual festival or observes a periodic communal ritual which, emphasize the spiritual, social and artistic values of the society each month (Asiedu, 1997). However, the common feature of these traditional festivals is that they are related to agriculture and are rooted in an obligation to pray to the gods for a good harvest or thank them. The prominent ones include the Masqueraders



**Fig.4.2 Showing Tourists participating in the popular Homowo festival in Accra**

parade of the Winneba people, Fao of the Kasems, the Homowo of the Gas (see figure 4.2 above) and the Aboakyere of the Efutus. But because these festivals are linked to the traditional calendar and also because their advents are preceded by series of mandatory rites, the dates for most Ghanaian festivals are not fixed (Asiedu, 1997). Some of the major cities renown for cultural festivals includes Kumasi, the capital of the Ashanti Region, also referred to as the cultural heart of Ghana. Others are Bolgatanga, Bonwire and many villages prominent for traditional and unique artisanship in gold smiting and,

ethnic textile and dressmaking. More so, handicrafts in rural communities are the second largest source of economy after agriculture (Asiedu, 1997).

In addition, these festivals provide special platforms for art, music and dance as a focus of community participation. Additionally, closely linked to traditional festivals is the attraction of chieftaincy events, whereby prominent citizens receive traditional titles. Traditional festivals also show case the colorful heritage especially the splendor of chieftaincy. Chieftaincy is unique and has always been very central to the culture of the Ghanaian for centuries. Additionally, these festivals attract significant numbers of both local and international heritage loving tourists (Poria, et.al, 2003).

#### **4.7.2 Heritage Tourism**

Heritage tourism, which refers to tourism in places categorized as heritage or historic places (Poria et al, 2003), is very popular in Ghana because of its several built elements/places of historical/cultural significance. For example, the Ashanti traditional building, as shown in figure 4.3, is unique to the Ashanti region. These buildings represent rare piece of ancient architecture though simple, yet are intricate designs and designated in 1980 by UNESCO as world heritage. The buildings are well constructed to adapt to the climate and reflected the culture and lifestyle of the people. The design of a typical Ashanti building involves four buildings enclosing a central courtyard “gyaase” which reflect the communal lifestyles of the Ashantis (GTB, 2006).



**Figure 4.3 showing the outside view of a typical Ashanti Traditional House**

They are constructed from mud and plastered onto a timber framework with steeply pitched roofs covered with thatch. The roof which could be as steep as angle 60 degrees, is also a source of curiosity as it could be seen in figure 4.3. It made it hard for the rains to collect on top of the building, thus prolonging the lifespan and the floors elevated up to 2 meters from the ground, were also designed against floods. However, one mystery is that the original material used for thatching remains unknown (GTB, 2008).

The most elaborately decorated units were palaces, homes for rich folks, and shrine houses which are parts of typical Ashanti courtyard house (see figure 4.4). Three units of the building open to the yard with raised floors. One of the blocks is for drummers. The



other, usually reserved for singers who accompany the drumming during ritual. The fourth room, which completes the courtyard, is closed by honeycomb walls, which allow for ventilation and lighting while creating a mysterious ambience. The shrine houses have become significant because they are the only surviving examples of Ashanti architecture (GTB, 2006).



Fig. 4.4 Inner view of a typical Ashanti traditional house showing the shrine

#### 4.7.3 Forts and Castles

Besides the Ashanti traditional buildings, of touristic importance are the 27 forts and castles built mainly by the coast of Ghana between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries by major European powers such as Portugal, Britain, Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, France, and Germany. The oldest of these castles and most famous is the 8,730 square meter Saint George's Castle built at Elmina at cape Coast in 1482 by the Portuguese (see figures 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7) and which became the first European settlement in sub-Saharan Africa and indeed, the entire tropical world (Asiedu, 1997; Teye, et. al., 2002).

The castle was initially established as a trade settlement, by the Portuguese. However, its ownership changed several times, so is its use. For example Christopher Columbus was one of the prominent people who were accommodated in the castle while he was a trainee navigator, ten years before he sailed to "discover" the Americas (Asiedu, 1997). The castle later became one of the most prominent centers on the triangular route of the Trans Atlantic Slave Trade. The fort was seized from the Portuguese by the Dutch in 1637, who subsequently took over all the Portuguese gold Coast in 1642. Similarly, the Dutch surrendered the fort to the British in 1871 who later granted the Gold Coast its independence in 1957. Several of these forts and castles have been designated as World Heritage sites by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and have now become popular historical sites for both domestic and international tourists.



Figure 4. 5 showing Sectional views of the Elmina Castle



Fig 4.6 Outside view of the Elmina Castle

#### **4.7.4 Ecotourism**

Though it lacks superb savanna safari compare to the eastern and southern Africa, nevertheless, ecotourism is another important form of tourism in Ghana. The tropical country's rainforest is endowed with varied wildlife species and acts as a sanctuary for birds and some reptiles of rare species (Seidu, 1997). Thus the seven National Parks, several Game Reserves and Wildlife sanctuaries offer unique rainforest wildlife viewing experiences. Prominent wildlife species found in Ghana's National parks and wildlife Sanctuaries include elephants, buffalo, roan, kob, hartebeest, black and white colobus,



elephants, manatee, clawless otters, hippo, chimpanzees, forest elephant and the bongo (FCG, 2006). For example, the Kakum National Park and the adjacent Assin Atandanso Forest Reserve with over 40 wildlife species of large mammals, 200 bird species and over 400 species of butterflies. Additionally, the canopy rope high walking trails offer a panoramic view of wildlife and tropical rainforest. Similarly, the Mole Park, about 4,840 km<sup>2</sup> has over 90 wild mammal species, which include the elephants, buffalo, roan, kob, hartebeest, and over 300 bird species and the crocodile pond in Paga, both in the northern part of the country offer good wildlife attractions for wildlife loving tourists. More so, there is an upsurge in ecotourism in Ghana in the recent times, which encourages interaction with local people at these destinations (Asiedu, 1997).

Additionally, due to the recognition of the contribution of tourism to the economic recovery programme of the country in 1985, there has been a deliberate effort at developing ecotourism resources of Ghana in addition to other tourism resources. Thus in 2001, the Community Based Ecotourism Project (CBEP) established through the collaborative efforts among the Nature Conservation Research Centre, Ghana Tourist Board and SNV Netherlands Development Organisation. The Project is been funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Other partners in the project include the American Peace Corps Volunteers and the various local communities. The main aim of the project is to contribute to poverty alleviation in rural areas and to create sustainable income generating activities in addition to the conservation of delicate and sensitive ecological as well as cultural resources.

#### **4.7.5 Beach Resorts**

Ghana is blessed with about 550 km. expanse of safe, pristine, coconut-fringed and sandy tropical beaches which remain largely untouched and undeveloped (Asiedu, 1997). The beaches are located along the gulf of Guinea, thus in the southern part of the country. Nevertheless, some few portions already developed continue to attract both local and international tourists with interest in sea, sun and sand (Asiedu, 1997) as well as sex. Some of the Ghanaian beaches include White Sand, Bojo Beac, Coco Beach, Next Door, La Pleasure Beach (formerly known as Labadi Beach), Tema Beach, Ada Foah, Elmina Beach Resort, Kokrobite Beach and Busua Beach Resort. However, La Pleasure Beach and Kokrobite Beach are very popular among international tourists who desire hedonistic experiences (GTB, 2006).

#### **4.8 HIV/AIDS AND SEX CULTURE IN GHANA**

The first reported case of HIV/AIDS in Ghana was in 1986. However, the country presently has one of the highest rate of infection the West Africa sub-region and currently ranked second to Cote d'Ivoire in the sub-region in terms of prevalence (Ankomah, 1999; Anarfi, 2003). Therefore, it is a major public health issue in Ghana as elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa and the main mode of HIV/AIDS transmission is through heterosexual sex behaviour (Ankomah, 1999). The epidemic was initially reported among sex workers in the country especially those with history of foreign travel. However, recent trends have shown that the spread of HIV/AIDS has transcended beyond sex workers. The majority of the infected people are the young people and the economically active group of the population (Anarfi, 2003). Young people mainly in their 20s account for over 70 percent of cases of HIV/AIDS in Ghana which cut across both sexes though, the number of

reported cases demonstrate female prevalence over males (Ankomah, 1999; Anarfi, 2003). Furthermore, this group is particularly vulnerable to STD/HIV/AIDS infection because of a number of complex factors, which intersect cultural, biosocial, economic, urbanization, rural-urban drift, community factors and tourism (Ankomah, 1999; Anarfi, 2003). For example, culturally, it is permissible for a man to have more than one wife and men generally prefer young single women in the early twenties. However, because majority of these young women are poor, they hardly reject sexual advances and relationships with rich old men. Men usually engage in courtships with several young women before choosing one and this practice is considered normal. The young women who are also aware that their men have multiple partners usually do not object to this practice. This is because it is culturally and socially acceptable for men to indulge in such practice.

Moreover, because most of these women are poor, hence, they are mainly interested in money and material gifts, thus they hardly frowned at this behaviour in so far there is flow of money. The women also have multiple partners because this guaranty them increase monetary benefits. They also believe it is a risk to have just one male partner because they could be rejected at anytime. Thus, there is a high risk of HIV/AIDS transmission. It is also seen as a biological risk for a woman to get married above 30 years. Therefore, the pressure is always on the women to try to marry get married in their early twenties to avoid the biological risk presumably associated with childbearing in the thirties. Additionally, because of widespread poverty particularly in the rural areas of the north, a considerable number of young women with little or no education migrate to the industrial cities in the south. Because of their limited education which also invariably limits their opportunities for employment in the urban south. Thus, they usually end up living on men with sex in exchange. Moreover, the north culturally has more liberal attitude to premarital sex compare to the south. Hence, most young women from the north migrate to the south to look for men who can take care of their financial responsibilities in exchange for sexual relationships. In addition, many of these women go into sexual relationships with several men not because of marriage in view but for the purpose of money and material benefits.

Tourism development especially in the country has the potential to contribute significantly contribute to HIV/AIDS epidemics among young women. This is because many of these young women because of their limited education often look for menial jobs. In addition, because tourism is fast developing in Ghana, there is a surge in the number of facilities and infrastructures especially hotel and other accommodation facilities as well as eateries. Hence, many of these women are employed at these facilities where they render cheap labour. More so, cheap labour is usually preferred at these facilities in order to minimize cost Hence, many of the young women augment their little income by engaging in sexual relationships with men. The hotels and other tourists facilities and bring them into contact with tourists who also see them as available and for whom they also provide sex service. In addition, with increase in tourism in the country, there is a corresponding increase in the number of (both international and domestic) tourists demanding for sex.

With increase in the number of eateries and restaurants to take care of the increasing tourists, there is an increasing need not only for young women, but also for young men to provide cheap services such as cooks, bar tender, food service as well as sex service. Even though they are aware of HIV/AIDS, they neither practice safe sex nor use condom consistently due to some of these complexities (Anarfi, 2003). The increase in HIV/AIDS prevalence is for the most part, influenced by differences in traditional premarital sex culture among different cultural groups in Ghana (Ankomah, 1999).

#### **4.8.1 Premarital Sexual Culture**

There were striking variations in the conventional Ghanaian societies with respect to pattern, nature and acceptance of premarital sexual relationships especially in the traditional times (Ankomah, 1999). There were social norms and rules in traditional times, which restricted sexual behaviour before marriage. Premarital sex was frowned upon and prohibited among traditional ethnic groups. In addition, pre-nuptial chastity was very much valued and celebrated among different ethnic groups particularly in the south (Ankomah, 1999; Anarfi, 2003). For example puberty rite, a distinctive traditional rite socially adhered is celebrated to mark a young girl's coming of age into puberty. Moreover, among the Ashantis in the south, non-virgin candidates were either kill or driven out of the tribe (Anarfi, 2003). Similarly, among the Nzema (of the extreme southwest), high importance was also placed on pre-marital chastity of young girls and an infringement of the rules was regarded as a serious offence (Anarfi, 2003). This cultural attitude was also reinforced by the colonial British who also introduced Christianity to the country through the southern part of the country. In addition, in the traditional Fanti societies, premarital sex is considered shameful and there were penalties to curb premarital sexual relationships, which range from death, expulsion of both parties from the matrilineages and banishment of the offenders from the community (Ankomah, 1999). In fact, in the Fanti Customary Laws which was first published in 1897 states: *'if a man seduces an unmarried woman, he is liable to pay her family damages for the wrong so done her and the disgrace brought on her family'* (Sarbah, 1968: 48).

However, premarital sex, among some other Ghanaian societies, especially those in the north, was viewed differently from those in the south. Among the Kokomba (in the north), for instance, many young women are usually pregnant before marriage (Ankomah, 1999). Similarly, the Tallensi also do not attach significant importance whatsoever to premarital chastity. Among the Tallensi, copulation and marriage are regarded to be different things (Ankomah, 2003). This attitude could be attributed to the influence of Islam especially noting that the Arab merchants who introduced Islamic religion to the region were known to be in the habit of raping/sleeping with young and sub-adult women especially in the communities north of present day Ghana. This attitude significantly influenced the cultural attitudes of northern communities regarding premarital sex. Although this attitude was prohibited back home in their homeland in the Middle East. Nevertheless, they do not considered it wrong or see it as an assault on the indigenous local blacks. It was also used as part of the means of 'Islamisation' process of the people in the region. Unlike the British colonialists who introduced Christianity in the south and who also championed abstinence from premarital sex. The Arab Islamist introduced and encourage encouraged their men to have premarital sex with young girls

as little as 12. This process was expected to increase in the population of Muslims in the region. Thus, generally, premarital sex was permitted among the Muslims, thus less restrictive towards premarital sex.

This is also similar in Nigeria, where the northern part largely dominated by Muslims has loose cultural attitude towards sex in comparison to the Christian dominated south with very restrictive culture towards premarital sex. This attitude of the Arab merchants from the East was very pronounced in the present day Ethiopia, Sudan, Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso. Presently in these countries, offspring of former Arabs settlers and their mixed offspring now control political powers at the expense of the indigenous black people. Also, young girls among the Muslim dominated north have exposure to premarital sex earlier in life than those in the south. This is also partly because Islam which was introduced through the north does not encourage girl child education but have preference for men's education. In addition, little girls usually hawk food items in their communities and in the process many of them were raped or indulged in sexual relationships with older men who normally promised to marry them. However, in the south, education of both the boys and girls is encouraged.

Nonetheless, the perception of premarital sexual behaviour among some society in northern Ghana has already penetrated the southern part. Consequently, many cultures which formerly have restrictive stance have become more permissive in their attitudes to sexual behaviour. Presently in Ghana, the acceptance of and frequency of premarital sex have increased considerably (Anarfi, 2003).

#### **4.8.2 New Sex Culture and HIV/AIDS Prevalence**

Although the initial reported cases of HIV/AIDS in Ghana was among commercial sex workers, however, there has been an increase in the epidemic among conventional premarital and marital sexual relationships as a result of the new sex culture among and is expected to rise as economic conditions continue to worsen (Ankomah, 1999; Anarfi, 2003). It is imperative to state that presently in Ghana, premarital sexual relationship is considered normal with material gains at the very core of the relationships and this is understandable to both the men and women involved. In fact, *'in Ghana it is the absence of material recompense rather than its presence in relationships which is considered abnormal'* (Ankomah, 1999:296). Thus, among adult Ghanaian men and women, there is pervasive partner switching which significantly contributes to the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS (Ankomah, 1999).

Moreover, because premarital sexual relationships are basically consumerist in nature, thus, the relationship is constantly examined and the material gains persistently assessed so that 'appropriate decisions' are made whenever there is a hitch in the flow of material rewards (Ankomah, 1999). Besides partner switching, multiple partnership is also a common scenario among young men and women in Ghana. The prospect of financial gains resulting from such relationships strongly entices most women to engage in them (Ankomah, 1999; Anarfi, 1993). And those who decried such practice, though very few, do not do so because of fear of HIV/AIDS but because of unwanted pregnancy while maintaining multiple partners due to low levels of condom use by most Ghanaian men (Ankomah, 1999).

In one survey, about 10% of males in urban areas had had 10 or more partners too many to remember' before their first marriage (Anarfi, 2003). Overall, premarital sexual intercourse generally occur fairly early in life among young Ghanaians. The average age of first intercourse for women and men is between 14 and 16 years (Anarfi, 2003). The new sex culture that has now permeated the Ghanaian society has significant implications on sexual behaviour as well as HIV/AIDS epidemics in Ghana

While, most women will immediately sever with a relationship that is not materially rewarding. However, they are not equally quick to dispense off with materially rewarding but with potentially high health risky relationships for the fear of losing out from the material gains (Ankomah, 1999). The pervasiveness and obvious acceptance of premarital sexual relationships in contemporary Ghanaian sexual civilization significantly contributes to HIV/AIDS epidemics in Ghana. It is also pathetic to note that in modern day Ghana, a young woman is considered foolish if she maintained materially non-rewarding relationships by some parents, especially the mothers. Hence, some parents are noted to have directly or indirectly encouraged their daughters to engage in sexual exchanges for material gains (Ankomah, 1999).

Since, both men and women are increasingly becoming more vulnerable to sexual exploitation. Therefore, the implications of sexual exchange for HIV/AIDS transmission can not be over-emphasized. In addition to considerable increase in partner switching, keeping of multiple partners and partner sharing, the risk of HIV/AIDS transmission is further worsen by very low level use of condoms by men whose complain is mainly lack of sensitivity, reduction in sexual pleasure and condom breakage. In fact, from a study of condom breakage during vaginal intercourse in 8 countries (with 3 from Africa), Ghana topped breakage rate of 13% (Steinner, et al.1994). Thus, both men and women have a very high risk of HIV/AIDS infection.

Moreover, in marital relationships women are not allowed to refuse sex to their husbands even though the women know their husbands maintain extra marital affairs. This is attributed to the fact that men dominate marital and premarital relationships in both matrilineal and patrilineal societies in Ghana is largely due to the economic power of men in addition to existing socio-sexual norms (Ankomah, 1999; Anarfi, 2003). It is usually a predicament for women who enter into sexual relationships for money and basic subsistence to demand for safe sex as they constantly face the problem of choosing between economic survival and unsafe sex (Ankomah, 1999). Unfortunately, many women, because of critical economic realities and the needs for economic survival, they play down on the risk associated with unprotected sexual intercourse. More so, for some women, insistence on protective sexual behaviour in the form of condom use may reduce the material gains accruing from premarital sexual exchange relationships with an unwilling male partner (Ankomah, 1999). Thus, the need to indulge in pecuniary sexual behaviour to survive has contributed to the huge increase in infection of HIV/AIDS (Anarfi,2003).

It becomes worrisome when some of those affected with HIV/AIDS rationalized and argued that people have to survive and could die from anything including AIDS. Thus, to many of them, death resulting from AIDS is not different from death from other conditions (Anarfi, 2003). Many also reason that 'whatever one does one will die; hence, the cause of death does not matter. This mindset elucidates the confusion or lack of enthusiasm for behavioral change in view of the prevailing socio-economic circumstances. Therefore, it is apparent that certain socio-cultural factors and economic conditions contribute to the spread of AIDS in Ghana.

Similarly, it has become fashionable for young women including university students to indulge in transactional sex with "sugar daddies" in town. These women are normally attracted into such relationships by the urge for material gifts (Anarfi, 2003). More so, most of the men involved are usually married men who have only come to seek them out as outside wives or mistresses (Anarfi, 2003). In addition, some of the men are non-residents Ghanaians who live abroad, as well as tourists who are in Ghana on short holiday, business and other purposes. All of these groups exploit the prevailing economic imbalance to engage in temporary sexual relationships with young Ghanaian women and men and many in the process infect their partners and vice-versa (Anarfi, 2003). Thus, tourism development in Ghana also contributes to AIDS epidemics in Ghana. It could also be argued that this cultural context significantly influences the emergence of and creation of 'beach boys' phenomenon in Ghana.



## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

#### **5.0**

**5.1 Introduction:** This chapter presents the analysis and discussion of the data collected during the fieldwork for this study based on the key themes of the study regarding the beach boys. These include characteristics of the beach boys, opinion about the relationships between sex and tourism, 'romance tourism' and prostitution, sexual exploitation, HIV/AIDS epidemics and motivating factors for their involvement in sexual relationships with female tourists.

#### **5.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BEACH BOYS**

Generally, the beach boys are typically perceived to be young and physically strong with their ages usually range between 17 and 25 while few are older than 25 (Herold et al 2001). The beach boys involved in this study are between 18-45 years. Majority of them between 18-30 years (86%) with a few, constituting about 14%, are above 30 years. Majority of the beach boys in Ghana have little education with about 76.4% having attended secondary school/dropouts while only 23.6% had elementary education. Nevertheless, a considerable number of the beach boys in Ghana are and are able to speak conversational three different European languages (English, Dutch and German) which also enhance their success as beach boys.

Furthermore, the beach boys are not homogenous. Some of the beach boys are found on the beaches everyday and practically live on both local and international tourists as well as friends made at the beach. However, there is another group of beach boys, who are not very regular but, usually come to the beaches during the peak of female tourists' arrival in Ghana especially between October and February. Additionally, some of the beach boys in this study work in the informal sector such as bartender, restaurant waiter and guides which is also consistent with some previous studies by Herold et al (2001) in the Dominican Republic and Taylor (2006) in the Caribbean. Also, some of the beach boys, especially the older ones, operate their personal business outlets where they sell local arts and crafts such as drums, necklace, beads and fabrics see figure 5.1). This often brings them into contact with white female tourists in the process of purchasing some of these items. Similarly, some younger beach boys also work as sales boys for the older ones in selling these materials of arts and local crafts (for example see figure 5.2). Moreover, a considerable number of the beach boys wear dreadlocks in imitation of Bob Marley and actually have special appeal to some white female tourists who seek for 'authentic and spiritual' beach boys. Additionally, majority of the beach boys are single but very few are married especially those above thirty years.



Figure 5.1 showing a typical business outfit operated by older beach boys



Figure 5.2 showing a younger beach boy working as a sales boy

### 5.3 SEX AND TOURISM

The beach boys are apparently excited with having sex with white female tourists who regularly seek them out for sexual pleasure. However, more than that, they associate sex with tourism and believe strongly that both sex and tourism are two sides of a coin. Hence, when they were asked about their opinion on sex and tourism they were very positive and excited to talk about it. For example, one of them notes *'it is cool, sex and tourism is cool because sex promotes tourism and tourism promotes sex. Many foreign tourists come to Ghana to have sex and this is cool'*. Hence, the beach boys have strong opinion that sex and tourism are closely related and that tourism cannot exist or operate without sex. Thus, in answer to the question if tourism can exist without sex, another beach boy answers, *'..No, how? Tourism can not happen without sex. I don't think so. There can not be tourism without sex....sex have so much to do with tourism, sex and tourism have so much to do together.'*

Therefore, this tends to justify their role in the overall tourism industry as another one opinionated: rationalise

*'Sex and tourism are two things that go together. When you talk about tourism, you talk about travelling to go and see what you have not seen before, to go and discover, and when you discover, with your eyes, you are learning and you can't enjoy your holiday without sex. That is why white people on holiday like to taste men and women from those places they travel to, and discover something very new, sex and tourism go together'*

In addition, unlike local black females who will not want to be seen with white males most of the times, the beach boys in Ghana always relish been seen everywhere with the white tourists as this enhances their status and pride in the community. This is consistent with similar studies by Herold et al. (2001) in the Dominican Republic, where the local women did not have good status from having relationships with male tourists in comparison to the beach boys. In addition, most did not anticipate that they would be able to marry a tourist or develop any kind of long-term relationship with male tourists. Nevertheless, the beach boys do not believe their relationships with the white tourists is prostitution, but rather regard the relationships between local black females and male white tourists as prostitution. This is also in agreement with the argument of Pruitt and La Font (1995), that the men and the women in romance tourism did not consider their relationship to be prostitution.

### 5.4 ROMANCE TOURISM OR PROSTITUTION?

Considerable number of tourism researchers especially the radical feminist such as Jeffreys (2003) and Pruitt and Dahles and Brass (1999) often argue against classifying 'romance tourism' as prostitution. The response of local black males in this study is consistent with the assertion of Pruitt and La Font (1995) and Dahles and Brass (1999). The western female tourists and local males interviewed in Jamaica and Indonesia by Pruitt and La Font (1995) and Dahles and Brass (1999) respectively did not agree they were doing prostitution.

Thus, the majority (72.1%) of the beach boys interviewed in this study opposed the view that their relationship with western female tourists is prostitution. In fact, many of them see it as a normal relationship because they believe they are satisfying one of the essential

needs of white female tourists who are visiting Ghana. This according to some of them could be compared with food and accommodation needs of tourists. Furthermore, in an attempt to further refute the idea that their relationship with female tourists is prostitution, one of them explains that the *'relationships with white women is not prostitution but fun and serious. Because it has to do with people looking for something in their lives. And this is no joke'*. Although the beach boys acknowledged the fact that, some white female tourists often have more than one partner at the same beach and sometimes too, change partners at will. One of the beach boys states *'many white ladies like f...ng around, jumping from one to another and you cant control them'*. This is not in anyway different from the attitude of some white male tourists who also sleep with several local black females. This evidently demonstrated commonalities in the behaviors of both white male tourists and white female tourists towards their local female and male sexual partners respectively. Hence, it could be argued that western women tourists similarly use their superior class, race and economic power in their relationships with local black men. It also became very apparent that these binary relationships were reinforced and significantly influenced by the dichotomies in class, race and economic power between white female tourists and local black males. Moreover, prostitution often takes place because of economic inequality between the sex provider and the client, it could also be argued that sexual interactions between the beach boys and the female tourists can also be classified as prostitution.

Furthermore, radical feminists usually criticize relationships between white male tourists and local black females and considered it concomitant to exploitation and oppression. However, similar relationships between white female tourists and local black males never attracted similar criticism. It could also be argued that radical feminists are merely expressing 'feminists' stereotype argument that men always exploit women in sexual relationships. This is akin to the view that women are the submissive partners and men assertive or domineering particularly in penetrative sex. Considering the fact that gender 'passivity and domination' resonate very strongly within the feminist discussions. It is however remarkable that in 'romance tourism', women dominates and men are the passive partners. Women tourists involved in sexual relationships with local black males not only dominate and but also control the affairs. They determined when they want sex and where they want it and the men merely submit to their requests. Moreover, the reality that romance tourism espouses gender role reversal where women exercise power over men further revealed that female tourists also assumed patriarchal role often criticized by radical feminists. Thus, it could be argued that there is apparently no justification for differentiating between sex tourism and 'romance tourism' because the female tourists also do what male tourist do.

Nevertheless, the beach boys strongly believed that white female tourists travel to developing countries like Ghana to express and exercise their sexual freedom, which is impossible in the west. Some of the beach boys also supposed that older women prefer sex with young men and that young white males do not find older women attractive. This they argue prompts older women to travel to Africa. Therefore, according to some of the beach boys, old white women seeking sex with young men simply travel to developing countries like Ghana where they are considered attractive, desirable and loved.



Additionally, it is evident that many women tourists can truly fulfill their sexual desire and maintain their self-esteem in developing countries like Ghana. However, in the process of achieving their sexual desire, some of the women often sleep with multiple local males. Hence, the action of some female tourists therefore, is synonymous with white male tourists who also have multiple sexual relationships with local black women. Although the number of female tourists engaging in multiple sexual relationships is low, compare to men. Nonetheless, in acknowledging multiple partnership among female tourists, one of the beach boys remarked that white women tourists *'like to sleep with several men....they can change their minds at anytime and go after another boy'*. Despite this, some beach boys maintained that the women tourists are not practicing prostitution. Regarding this one of the beach boys states; *'I can't say they are prostitute. They only come here to enjoy their life. In their countries they don't move around with younger men and cannot freely express themselves, they are always occupied. But when they are on holiday in Africa they will see a lot of males around.... Africa is not like Europe. I don't see them as prostitute because they don't just go to a man and start demanding for sex even though that is why they are here'*.

However, this attitude is displeasing to some beach boys. Their displeasure could be attributed to the fact that almost all the beach boys like to hold on to female tourists for a much longer time. This is because the longer the relationship, the more the beach boys are guaranteed free meals and drinks. However, to the contrary, most female tourists preferred short time non-committed relationships with the beach boys (Taylor, 2006). This however shows one of the conflicts of interests between the beach boys and the female tourists. It also shows how vulnerable the beach boys could be to the manipulations of the female tourists. The beach boys normally cannot stop the female tourist from quitting their relationships with them. They are powerless and are at the mercy of the female tourists. More so, the female tourists determined what they want and how they want it as well as the duration of their relationships with the beach boys. Thus, the duration of the relationships can either be very brief lasting for some hours (for example, one night standing) or days/ and can also extend beyond weeks/months as preferred by the female tourists. This is demonstrated by the fact in some cases, the female tourists just want some casual sex with the beach boys subsequent upon which they end the relationship. This is also similar to prostitution which is usually casual without any commitment whatsoever between the sex provider and the client.

Moreover, the beach boys are always very eager to provide whatever kind of sexual experience that will please the female tourists. The beach boys also assumed that their ability to satisfy the women tourists would persuade them to stay with them for a much longer time. However, these often prove futile because many female tourists want to avoid commitment to any male. In addition, some of them are interested in experiencing sexual relationship with multiple partners. Hence, staying long with one beach boy will prevent them from having these experiences. More so, most of the female tourists are not in Ghana looking for committed relationships but casual relationships. This is also in agreement with the response of many female tourists in a similar study by Taylor in the Caribbean (Taylor, 2006). More so, many of the white women are simply not interested

in long-term relationship and do not intend to start any relationship with black men. Consequently, some of the beach boys are often frustrated at the failure of their attempts to have a relatively long-term relationship with the women tourists despite their supposedly best efforts. Thus, one of the beach boys expresses his frustrations this way: *'The white women usually come for sex and .... you think they love you and that you are the only one there... But what I have seen so far, the white ladies... you know these white ladies, they are not that faithful'*. Another notes *'Its fun ...they are serious and they know what they want'*. This attitude of the western female tourists evidently reinforces master-slave relationships where the master dictates and decides what he or she wants. This is very similar to the manner the colonial masters treated their colonies during the colonial era. Moreover, it should be understood that the female tourists did not embark on travel to developing countries just because they are interested in improving or contributing to the welfare of the beach boys. Rather, they travel for the purpose of satisfying their personal need and desire. Thus, for them to achieve this, they have to be in control and keep the relationship in a master-slave style. This is also similar to the manner the colonial Europeans who had to maintain a slave-master relationship during the colonial era because they are basically interested in improving their economies back home and not that of their colonies.

It is also unmistakable that these relationships reflect similarities in the relationships between black slaves and the white slave masters during the slave trade era. This was apparently reinforced principally by the issues surrounding 'superior' class, race and economic power relations. Thus, there is no ambiguity in affirming that the western female tourists use their superior race, class and economic power in their sexual negotiations with local black males to please themselves and have a fulfill sexual experience at the expense of the beach boys. Hence, in realizing this, some of the beach boys bemoan it and regard it as simple exploitation. However, even though they dislike the women tourists for this attitude. Nevertheless, they are at the same time attracted to the white female tourists and according to one of the beach boys *'I don't really like them too much. They only want me to make them feel happy. ..they are bad'*. It could therefore be argued that this ambiguous relationships essentially underscores the inherent ambivalence in this relationship. It must also however, be acknowledged that some of the white women *'Sometimes too, ... can decide to stay with just one beach boy throughout their stay,'* as noted by one of the beach boys. Apparently, romance tourism elicit complex plural dualism, an ambivalence as the beach boys are not completely opposed to the female tourists whose attitudes they found repulsive.

It must also be emphasized that the beach boys are not merely interested in this complex relationships just because they genuinely wish to satisfy the sexual needs of the white female tourists. They actually craved for this relationship in anticipation of personal monetary gains and material benefits. Therefore, it is also very clear that this is another similarity in the interactions between male sex tourism and 'romance tourism'. This is because local black women similarly engage in sexual relationships with white male tourists, with interest centered on monetary gains as well. Because of these similarities, it could be argued that both relationships should therefore be classified as prostitution.



Although the propensity is higher in the interactions between white male tourists and local black females.

More so, some 27.9% of the beach boys also agreed that their relationships with western female tourist should indeed be considered prostitution. Regarding this, one beach boy notes: *'yes I can say it is prostitution. Because of how they are. The white ladies like sex too much. They jump from one person to another'*. Furthermore, another beach boy was critical of the manner some white female tourists change partners, *'Instead of having just one boyfriend, they want to sleep with many people as possible, sleep with this one and that one'*. It is however interesting to note that the beach boys never saw anything wrong when they (the beach boys) engage in multiple partners but are always quick to castigate the women tourists for doing the same thing. Moreover, it could also be inferred that the manner the beach boys hustle for the women tourists also enhances and boost the ego of the female tourists. This also gives the female tourists the confidence to engage in multiple partners and exploit the beach boys to their advantage. Hence, according to a beach boy, *'When they come down to Africa and see how the black boys run around to satisfy them, they just used them like that , they go back and they don't call, some can ....sleep with you and your friends and they don't care. They just come to Ghana to come to have sex'*. Therefore, many beach boys consider this as utter exploitation.

## **5.5 SEXUAL EXPLOITATION AND THE BEACH BOYS**

Among the beach boys interviewed, only 48.8% considered their relationships with female white tourists to be exploitation while some (46.5%) differed in their opinion and 4.7% were undecided on the issue. It is interesting that the margin between the two opinions is not very wide especially because almost all of them expressed frustration and disgust at the manner they have been treated in the past by some female tourists. Consequently, one of the beach boys who strongly felt that western female tourists are exploitative in their relationships with them notes *'you can meet a lady tonight and have sex with her on the beach and the following morning she will act as if she has never met you or know you and she will not greet you. If you go close to her she will simply tell you that what happened last night was just a fun and bla bla bla bla ...and you have nothing to do or say. Such ones only want to f..k and will not give you anything. Because she like to f..k, she will always go to the beach side because there are so many beach boys who will always approach her, and she will be marking all the boys she has f...d. At the end of the day, she will boast of the number of boys she f...d'*.

Also, it could be argued that white female tourists use the advantages inherent in their racial and economic power as well as their feminine sexuality to manipulate and exploit the beach boys states *'It's a game. Some of them will use you for a while and go back. And when they come back they won't come to you again and may even go to another place. When you meet them another time she will simply introduce you to her new boyfriend, snub you and that is the end'*. It could also be stated that the female tourists were able to sexually exploit the beach boys because the beach boys unaware actually compromised and conspired with the female tourists in the interactions. This is also similar to the colonial era during which some colonialists without full understanding of the implications of their actions actually conspired with the colonial masters thereby

aiding the process of exploitation. Although, the beach boys are aware that the women are not in Ghana for the purpose of charity, they are nevertheless, always desperate to negotiate relationships with them. Hence, the women tourists could control and manipulate the relationship to meet their needs. This is not naivety on the part of the beach boys, but the reality of the complexity of inherent in romance tourism.

Furthermore, the beach boys apparently could not resist or stop the process of being manipulated and exploited by the women tourists. This is not for singular reason of material advantage their mind is focused on, but also because of the enhancement of their ego the relationships with the women tourists conferred on them. The beach boys cherish and love to be seen with white women because it boosts their image. Thus, they are always ready to do whatever they could to keep the relationship going, which largely, involve a compromising attitude. Despite the fact that the beach boys also complain about the way the female tourists used and dump them. Hence, one of the beach boys interviewed for this study was equally critical of his colleague *'Yes they cheat most of my brothers. Some of my brothers are cheated all the time and their eyes are not opened and they are not able to learn'*. So, it could also be argued that the desire to be in a relationship with white female tourists to a reasonable degree, have an overriding influence on the local beach boys' interests to engage in romance tourism. Perhaps too, ambivalence best explain these sexual negotiations because the beach boys apparently dislike white female tourists because of different reasons. However, the attitude most beach boys are very critical about, is multiple partnership and switching which are very noticeable among the women. Regarding this, another beach boy states *'I don't like white ladies at all. ... they like to sleep with many beach boys as possible, sleep with this one and that one...They like too much sex....Their mentality is to have fun. I don't like the behaviour at all. They jump from one person to another'*.

It is therefore remarkable that the attitude of some western female tourists and the beach boys as well, revealed that romance tourism does not always translate into long-term relationships as argued by Pruitt and La Font (1995) and Jeffreys (2003). Rather, in many cases, the relationship is very brief. Which could also be argued, is also in many respects, similar to the relationships between white male tourists and local black women *'The relationship with white women is just for fun. When she have sex with you and she goes back, she just forget get about you'*. Thus, many of them show no commitment remotely to the relationship *'some of them are players'* as another beach boy notes. However, some of the western female tourists return to the same beach boy during their subsequent visit as acknowledged by a beach boy *'Some of them do come back regularly to the same man They know that they will not want to take you to Europe. They like to come back and f..k you and go back again'*. Thus, it is remarkable that some female tourists travelled back to Ghana and returned to the beach boys with whom they have had relationships in the past. Thus, this evidently presents a complex scenario, a hybridism, because such can neither be classified as prostitution nor as 'romance'. Hence, just as Taylor (2006) noted, there is so much complexities in the relationships between the beach boys and white female tourists.

It must also be stressed that, some beach boys also cheat the female tourists by offering to run errands for them or help them in making some purchases. In the process, the prices are usually inflated sometimes by over 200%. While justifying the actions of beach boys in this regard, and also reiterating the fallacy of the so called 'love' in 'romance tourism', a beach boy argued *'The issue of exploitation is rational. Though the white women exploit the black guys, they are also supposed to gain something from the relationship. The white women and black men can pretend to love each other in order to have their advantages. So it is mutual exploitation. Its only that the beach boys need to know what advantage they can gain from the relationship. Some of the guys can fool the white ladies. They pretend to love which is not really true'*.

This also evidently espouses one of the complexities of this interaction as it can neither be placed within the spectrum of sex tourism/prostitution nor can it be classified as 'romance tourism' at the other end of the spectrum. This is because both the female tourists and the beach boys knowingly fool themselves into believing they are in a romantic loving relationship while all they seek is how to manipulate each other for personal advantage. To further consolidate the assertion that romance tourism encourages exploitation by the female tourists and that the beach boys are almost always poised to exploit the female tourists in return, another beach boy stated that: *'White people always like to cheat we black people and there is no way we can stop it. Yes they cheat us and we just have to find a way to also get something from them'*. This statement underlies the fact that exploitation is obviously both ways. It must however be stressed that while the exploitation by the female tourists is sexual, but the exploitation by the beach boys is mainly monetary. However, because the female tourists have the power and are the dominant partner, hence, the beach boys are the passive/weak partner in these interactions. Therefore, the women tourists are apparently well informed and are able to control and limit the extent of extortion. More so, because many of the female tourists (with the exception of new comers) are very experienced in these relationships. They are very aware of the fact that they stand the risk and possibilities of being exploited by the beach boys. Hence, they are always very careful with respect to financial dealings with the beach boys. Moreover, the female tourists are usually not in a desperate mood like the beach boys. This evidently makes them to be in firm control of the relationship as they dictate what they want and this further makes them to be less vulnerable to exploitation as well.

Despite the fact that some beach boys were able to extort the white women, nevertheless, many of them actually remain poor because the women tourists who are aware beforehand of the possibilities of being financially exploited, usually guard against this. Hence, very rarely could the beach boys gain substantial monetary advantage in their ploy to exploit the women. Moreover, the beach boys hardly steal from/rob the female tourists. In fact, they always tried as much as they could to protect the women from falling victims to thieves or armed robbers because it will jeopardize their interest. In addition, they always want the women to see them as gentle men of good character. It is also important to stress that from the study, it became clear that female tourists do not really want economic independence for the beach boys. Thus, female tourists preferred to keep the beach boys economically dependent on them so that they can continue to

dominate and control them since they hold the 'key', the economic power. Moreover, interestingly too, the beach boys also realize this. Because of this, the beach boys did not trust the women to be truly/genuinely interested in them other than sex as they themselves are not truly committed to the women. Although, there are some few exceptions.

Thus, the so called love/ affection argued by Pruitt and La Font (1995) and Jeffreys (2003) to be a distinctive feature of romance tourism is nothing but fallacy. As this was also argued to be one of the factors delineating it from male sex tourism. The realization of lack of trust in 'romance tourism' was captured this way by one of the beach boys, *'The white ladies should not be trusted because she does not trust you. You don't have to trust them. But you just do the right thing and the best thing, no matter if even she cheated you, you don't mind. Because whatever she does for you she also expects you to do something. After the whole experience, they just go. Some of them are not good at all'*. It could also be affirmed that this is a reminiscence of the colonizer-colonist relationships where the colonizers used their inherent economic, class and political power to exploit the resources of the colonists. Although the colonists tried to take seemingly advantage from the lopsided relationship. Nevertheless, they still remain poor. Furthermore, during the colonial era, the western imperialists in the process of satisfying their needs, controlled and managed every available opportunities. They leave little or no opportunity for the colonists to reasonably improved on their protracted poor economic condition. However, it was observed during the study that few of the women tourists actually gave monetary compensation to the beach boys though, very little and inadequate to meet their daily needs. However, this monetary gain has been argued by some radical feminist as one of the positive impacts of romance tourism (Pruitt and La Font 1995). However, few beach boys who become involved with rich women tourists actually gain reasonable financial benefits. It should however be understood that the female tourists engage in sexual relationship with the beach boys simply for hedonistic tourism experiences.

However, because most female tourists do not give monetary compensation to the beach boys, and this actually negate the expectations of the boys. Thus, they usually feel used, dejected and frustrated whenever they sexually satisfied the tourist women but fail to gain monetary or material gifts from the relationships. This fact is buttressed by one of the beach boys who admitted that: *'You can f..k white women and she will just go and..... she will not give you money. The only thing they will give is food, drinks...'*. Another beach boy also adds: *'Sometimes they open their legs for the black boys and after that they don't even give the black boys money or buy food for them. They just f..k for free. Just like that. At the beginning they can buy food for you..... and they will just stop whenever they have had enough'*.

This was also noted by Taylor (2006) from her study of romance tourism in the Caribbean where a female tourist interviewed reiterated that it is better to keep local males economically dependent on her and under her control. Thus, it could be argued that western female tourists are merely concerned about their sexual satisfaction in romance tourism. This is not in any way different from prostitution. Thus, it could be further asserted that romance tourism encourages and entrenched exploitation of the beach boys and that romance tourism is actually sustained by exploitation.

The study therefore revealed that the women tourists are not interested in the economic emancipation of the local beach boys but rather are particularly interested in the prospect of expressing their sexual freedom and affirming their sexuality. It could also be stated that there is actually no rational for economic emancipation of the beach boys, and one wondered how many beach boys the tourists could actually economically emancipate.

It could also be stated that 'romance tourism' create the platform for the female tourists to ascertain their racial and economic power on the beach boys who are generally considered as 'others'. Especially by considering the fact that female tourists generally considered the beach boys to belong to inferior race and class. Moreover, this study also revealed that the women tourists usually avoid going into relationships with black males perceived to be economically well or at par with them. They also would not want to go into relationship with black males who appeared to be of higher class from the beach boys. Thus, the female tourists preferred the beach boys whom they can control, exploit and manipulate. Therefore, romance tourism is actually a conduit for manipulation, oppression and exploitation of underprivileged males from developing countries by white female tourists. This observably is concomitant to imperialism and colonization.

Furthermore, the beach boys understood the advantage position of the white female tourists in these relationships and admit their own limitations as well. They are also conscious of the fact that their disadvantage position in the relationship is as a result of poverty which invariably makes them to be vulnerable for sexual exploitation by the white female tourists. Hence, their powerlessness and frustrations was acknowledged by one of the beach boys who states that *'white women come to Africa with the knowledge that Africans are poor, ... yeah, you feel this people are just exploiting you.. this people are just exploiting'*. Another beach boy also notes *'they will oppress you very well, in the sense that they came for fun and so they will just have their fun and they will just go away. They will not give you their phone numbers in Europe and you can not communicate with them again, no message, no traces of them again. That is just one of those things'*.

Moreover, it is also important to note that the use of condom during sexual exploration between the beach boys and their western female tourists is also of significant importance regarding the control of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) as well as HIV/AIDS. Therefore, on many occasions, as the women ascertain their sexuality and the beach boys bask in the euphoria of having sex with white female tourists, safe and protective sex are hardly practiced.

## **5.6 'ROMANCE TOURISM', HIV/AIDS AND SAFE SEX**

A considerable number of the beach boys readily agreed that their sexual liaisons with western female tourists could indeed contribute to the spread of STDs and HIV/AIDS. In fact 72.1% of the beach boys interviewed consented that their sexual relationships with western tourists have the potential of contributing to the spread of HIV/AIDS and 23.2% rejected the assertion. It is however illogical that despite the considerable awareness



among beach boys with respect to the transmission of STDs and HIV/AIDS through unprotected sex, many of the beach boys claimed they do not use condom even in penetrative sex with the female tourists. Bauer (2007) also reported that both female tourists and beach boys in Cuzco, Peru, did not take appropriate precautions against the transmissions of sexually transmitted diseases, thus low use of condoms. Bauer (2007) further reported that few of the tourists who used it actually did in the first few days of their relationships and that the local beach boys do not always have it because they noted it is expensive. The beach boys in this study are consistent with those in the Dominican Republic regarding the use of condoms as well. According to Herold et al, (2001), the local men expressed mixed feelings regarding the use of condoms. Similarly, in this study, majority of the beach boys indicated that they do not like using condoms because it reduces their sexual pleasure. Thus, typically, condom is used at the initial stage of the relationships, but subsequently discontinued with its use after as the relationships progresses. However, contrary to the beach boys in the Dominican Republic, where about a third of the beach boys reportedly used condom every time they had penetrative sexual intercourse with white female tourists. This study shows that less than 2% of the beach boys interviewed in Ghana reportedly use condom during penetrative sex with female tourists

However, this research work is inconsistent with Taylor's (2001) studies of female tourists who entered into sexual relationships with local males in Jamaica and Dominican Republic where 67% of the women tourists reportedly engaged in safe sex practice by using condoms. Reinforcing the attitude of the most beach boys in Ghana, one of the beach boys in Ghana admits: *'We black guys don't like condom. Its only prostitutes that use condom'*. But this statement is rather ironical considering the fact that majority (72%) of the beach boys are fully aware of the possible negative implications of their actions regarding the use of condoms. The situation becomes very pathetic when female tourists also failed to practice safe and protective sex. Additionally, according to the beach boys, the younger white women generally care less about the use of condoms. They also noted that the younger woman tourists are the most vulnerable as they are considered by the beach boys to be more mobile and quick at changing partners at will than the older women. According to one of the beach boys: *'the old ladies don't usually sleep with many beach boys at a time, sometimes they only f.k one person, they don't like bouncing from man to man but the little girls, they bounce here and there and they don't care about AIDS. They don't even give a damn.'*

Another worrisome situation has to do with some women tourists who have had un-protective sex at other destinations before coming to Ghana. In spite of full knowledge of possible infection, the beach boys still engaged in un-protective sex with some of these women. More over, even when the beach boys are aware that some of these women are probably sick or look sickly, the attraction is still there for the women just because they are white. Thus, according to one of the beach boys *'A lot of white ladies also come here and many of them knowing they are sick, also come around as tourists and want to f.k. And they won't tell you they are sick and you as a black man you just say she's a white lady, she's got money, and that's where your mind is, I want to fuck and some of us black boys don't use condom'*.



Similarly, another beach boy adds *'some of them they would have slept with other men and some of them have diseases. They know they have disease. You know some of them already know what they are coming for. Though some of them and not all have condoms in their hand bags. But many of them don't care. Even me I rarely use it .If they really like you they will not want you to use condom. We too now we are afraid of them because AIDS does not respect colour.* This evidently showed how powerful the attraction these beach boys have for white women and it further reinforces how strong the binary attraction could be.

The beach boys obviously have special attraction for white women over black women and care less about what could be the possible implications. It is also possible that they actually rationalized the possible implications because it involves white women. This is because the attraction is not just for women but women of different race and skin colour, which also underscores the influence of racial preference and affinity for a particular skin colour in this relationship. More so, the beach boys noted that they would not have sexual relationship with black women who exhibit similar sign of sickness like the white women. Although, the beach boys were very critical of the female tourists because of the possibility of being infected, but are nevertheless, are attracted to them. This also reflects some of the complexities of these ambivalent interactions. In addition, there are several intersecting factors, which motivate beach boys into sexual relationships with the white women. Some of these factors identified in this study are discussed below.

## **5.7 MOTIVATIONS FOR ENGAGING IN 'ROMANCE TOURISM'**

Some of the motivations indicated by local males for engaging in sexual relationships with western female tourists in some previous works include economic and sexual subjugation of western female tourists as well as possibility to migrate to America or Europe (Herold et al, 2001) romantic love relationship (Pruitt and LaFont, 1995) and sexual excitement (de Albuquerque 1998). All these factor also resonate in this study in addition to racial/ skin colour.

### **5.7.1 Poverty**

Poor economic condition is often acknowledged as one of the key factors for tourism development in third world countries (Herold et al, 2001; Mowforth, and Munt,2003). It also makes third world countries to be dependent on affluent first world tourists to survive. Similarly, it has also been acknowledged as a powerful force for the development and thriving of sex related tourism activities in developing countries as well (Herold et al.,2001;Taylor, 2006). Consequently, poverty was also admitted by some of the beach boys interviewed in Ghana to have been a motivating factor in their participation in 'Romance tourism'. This fact was emphasized by the fact that 51.2% of the beach boys, affirmed that their poverty status influence them to participate in sexual interactions with the female tourists.

Thus, they have optimism that these interactions will help in improving their economic status. However, 46.5% differ and 2.3% were undecided. Apparently, western female tourists who visit developing countries for hedonistic tourism experiences were able to successfully negotiate their sexual relationships with the local males due to their superior

economic status. In acknowledging this fact, one of the beach boys frankly stated that: *'Poverty motivates black guys to hustle for the white ladies. This can be seen on the faces of our guys, you will see that they are poor'*. Another beach boy also stress that *'I can say from my experience that we black guys go to the white girls whenever we see them because of poverty. The girls also know we are coming to them because we are poor. But the guys don't give a damm to the girls we just chill out with them and later the girls choose the guys they like'*. Thus, it can be argued that poverty significantly motivates beach boys to engage in 'romance tourism' with affluent female tourists and that it makes them to be vulnerable as well.

The beach boys also supposed that because they are poor, the affluent female tourists with economic power feel very confident to negotiate the racial barrier in their sex seeking adventure with blacks in Africa. It also makes them to freely choose the type of relationships they want and one of them put it this way *'Because of poverty... I think most of them, even those who are marry...while there is racism in Europe and America, once the whites come to Africa, they mix freely with the black boys'*.

This also accentuates the dynamics of the relationships between the rich and the poor. It is also noticeable that the rich will hardly go into a relationship with the poor unless there is an opportunity for exploitation and the poor are usually powerless and can hardly resist the dominance of the powerful. Moreover, the relationship between the colonialists and the colonists during the colonial era involved the movement of the imperialist west to developing countries wherein the actual exploitation takes place. Similarly, the western female tourists usually travelled down to developing countries to sexually exploit the vulnerable beach boys. Moreover, when in developing countries, the female tourists usually prefer to engage in sexual relationship with the beach boys and will avoid the professionals who are financially well off than the beach boys. Thus, it is unmistakable that romance tourism thrives in third world countries such as Ghana because of the poverty level of the men in developing countries and that the female tourists usually look for the financially weak local males. It can also be argued that romance tourism explicitly exemplify the center-periphery relationships/status of the colonizer and the colonists as well as poor and rich which is also epitomize binary relationships.

Closely linked to poverty, or rather, one of the consequences of poverty is the desire for money and material gifts by the beach boys which also have considerable influence on their relationships with the rich western female tourists. Buttrressing this fact, one of the beach boys note *'Everybody knows that Africa is poor, we know that there is hunger, so when we see white people at first, we use to think of money, because money is security, so because of this we make friendship with them to start getting something from them... it is that money that push us'*. The desire for money and gifts is so strong that the beach boys are willing to do anything to please the female tourists even at their own discomfort and risks. For example, the beach boys will never refuse any female tourists who prefer to have penetrative sex without the use of condom or adequate protection and when they were asked the reason for this, they simply stressed that they stand the risk of losing money from the white ladies should they insist. This also shows the powerless of the beach boys and how much risk they are ready to take and the extent they are ready to compromise their health in their desperation to oblige the female tourists their wishes.

It however demonstrate cultural distortion regarding sexuality with the African context. Ordinarily, African men dominate and control sexual relationships regardless of their economic status in relation to their women. Thus, it completely negates African tradition and culture for a woman to dominate and control sexual interactions. Furthermore, it is incomprehensible in traditional African set up for a women to dominate, control and dictate sexual interactions. It could also be argued that the beach boys assumed this role because of poverty. This can also be attributed to the economic superiority of the women tourists. Obviously, the realization of the economic power of the female tourists as well as the poverty of the beach boys contribute, significantly into influencing the beach boys 'into participating in romance tourism.

More so, the beach boys are willing to oblige request for sex by the female tourists while anticipating monetary compensation in return. With respect to this assertion, 72.1% of the beach boys interviewed agrees that the desire for money from the female tourists powerfully motivates them to be sexually involved with the white tourists. It could also be argued that this factor makes the beach boys to consider female tourists admirable though they (the female tourists) can be overweight, older and not necessarily physically attractive to some of them. Furthermore, the study also shows that the beach boys, don't really love female tourists but love them because of their money as one of the beach boys confessed *'I can say that we don't like them. We only like their money because they have money'*. This further confirms the fallacy of love/affection as of any consequence in romance tourism. This also demonstrate the hybridism inherent in 'romance tourism' and the ambivalence of this interaction

Furthermore, poverty also influence and construct the way white female tourists are received and desired by the beach boys as they endeavour to put up with some attitudes and behaviors from the white ladies which they find ordinarily offensive and irritating. This fact also explains the preference of beach boys for white women over the local black girls. The black women, according to the beach boys, are only interested in money in their interactions with men while the white women only demand for sex. This apparently influences black boys into seeking sexual liaisons with women tourists. To further accentuate that the desire for money due to poverty strongly influenced beach boys' participation in romance tourism, one of them explains: *'the black ladies like money and they don't have money, most are hungry, if they are with you and you can not provide them with money, they will go and sleep with another man to get the money they want. But the white ladies have money and you don't have to spend on them'*. Another beach boy remarks: *'I really like white tourists a lot because if you are with them, they will not ask you to buy cream or cloth for and they can even give u money but the black woman will put all the burden on you' that is why many people love the white ladies'*. Clearly, it could be deduced that poverty rather than the so-called love/affection powerfully influenced sexual liaisons between the beach boys and the female tourists. Thus, the beach boys deliberately avoid having sexual relationships with the local girls who are equally in the same condition like them. Similarly, the local girls are also driven by poverty, hence, will only have sex in exchange for monetary benefits which is rather too cold for comfort for the beach boys. With respect to this, a beach boy notes: *'if I f..k a white girl I don't pay but if I f..k a black lady, I will pay*. Another beach boy however

points to the illusion of many of the beach boys whose expectations remain largely unfulfilled, he notes *'Some black guys think that after sleeping with the white ladies, the white ladies will just open their account for them and give them money but they never get it, many of them know that when they get back they are going to forget you, the white ladies are very smart'*.

However, a few of the beach boys (27.9%) even though they look for money in their relationships with the female tourists. Their desire to have sex with the women tourists appeared to transcend money. They claimed that the urge for monetary advantage is not the main motivation for their involvement in sexual relationship with the female white tourists. According to one of them *'Many of the black guys just want to f..k white women and they don't even talk about money'*, another beach boy also stressed the fact that something more than money comes first then money *'sex with a white lady to me is more important, to see how they taste, then money'*. Thus, it could be inferred that for some beach boys, there is a connection between the desires for 'exotic sex' or 'exoticism' and romance tourism. Therefore, besides the fact that they are looking for money from the female tourists, they also relish sex with white women. It also underscores the binarism of 'romance tourism'. Nevertheless, what also became obvious from this study is that majority of the beach boys goes in to sexual relationships with the white ladies for the purpose of making money out of the relationships. This remark by another beach boy provided credence to this assertion *'Almost all the black guys go after the white women is because of money....'*

### **5.7.2 Love/Affection/Marriage**

Besides money, some of the beach boys also claimed that love/affection motivates them into engaging in 'Romance Tourism' with the female tourists. In addition, those who indicated love/affection as one of the motivating factors for their involvement in romance tourism. Some of the beach boys even expressed the desire to get married to white women. With respect to this, a beach boy who claimed he is passionate about his love for white ladies states; *"Its one of the greatest things , yeah. I really wish to have one",*. The claim that love/affection also influence the relationships was also reiterated by another beach boy who states *'Some of the black guys love the white women and what I have seen so far, the white ladies also love the black guys'*. Interestingly too, some of the beach boys also claimed that some of the female tourists actually claimed to love them in return. Nevertheless, when one of the beach boys was probed further if he actually love white women tourists, he states *'if a black boy sees a faithful one, he stays with her'*. However, the declaration of love for white women seems to be predicated on monetary gain. This fact was brought to the fore when the beach boys were probed further to ascertain the basis for this declaration of love for white women. One of the beach boys declared *'I love a white lady who loves me through Western Union, you can not marry a white woman, it is a white woman that should love and marry you'*. That the declaration of love and affection as well as the desire to marry white tourists is connected to white women's financial state, was underscore by another beach boy who stress that *'people say love is more than money in Africa but here in Ghana, money is seen as love'*. Another beach boy who noted that Ghanaians equates money to love also stressed this fact. It could therefore be argued that the so call love for western tourists is all about dream for improved

economic conditions of the beach boys. Another beach boy also states; *'the guys normally deceive the white ladies they pretend to love which is not really true'*.

Similarly, the ease with which both parties switch partners at an unimaginable rate also makes the claim for love as a genuine motivating factor in this relationship questionable. Moreover, both the white women and the boys sometimes sleep with more than one partner during the same period.

It is incredible to note that the beach boys who were critical of the tourist women for having multiple partners however, failed to denounce their own actions for having multiple partners as well. Nevertheless, the beach boys also expressed doubt regarding love and affection from the white women. It is improbable for both the beach boys and the tourist women to genuinely trust and love each other because there is conflict of interests in the relationship. While the beach boys are interested in money, the tourist women on the other hand, are essentially interested in sexual experience from the relationship. Thus, the so-called 'love' for the female tourists by the beach boys, could be stated to connect with their anticipation for financial gains. More so, majority of the women tourists are not in Ghana to look for husband, hence, are not interested in marriage other than short term sexual relationships, although there are few exceptions. Therein lays the conflict of interests in 'romance tourism'.

However, these conflicting interests create some tensions and feelings of uncertainties especially in the beach boys who are clearly the weaker partner. Hence, they sometimes feel insecure in the relationship because of the fear of losing their female tourists partners to someone else. This is because the female tourists, who dominate the relationship, have their own interest to keep and would do all they could to satisfy their interest. Thus, they can decide to ditch one beach boy for another in the process. Therefore with respect to this, one of the beach boys states; *'the one I have I am not even sure of her. Because sometimes their mind can easily change. Sometimes some black guys can go and spoil you with her and she will change her mind.'* The white women sometimes initiate and make the move to dump a beach boy for another if she has had enough of a particular one or found another more attractive. This actually demonstrates another complexity of romance tourism. Hence, it becomes somehow awkward to either classify the relationship as prostitution or associate it with romance.

Nevertheless, it must also be stated that sometimes few of these relationships actually culminate into marriages. Regarding this, some beach boys actually developed very strong attraction for the white tourists. This attraction somehow transcends mere attraction for women but reflects the desire for women of different race and colour. This is explained better by the concept of binarism. With respect to this, one of the beach boys who is so fascinated and attracted to white ladies but found black girls undesirable for marriage declares; *'I like to marry a white lady, black girls, no. I don't like black girls but just for friends'*. But when probed further to make a choice between a white lady and an equally rich black girl, he further re-affirm his position; *'Black girl, no. For me ,my choice even the most beautiful girl in Ghana , I don't like them. I don't like the black girls, if even she has money. I am telling you the truth, I don't want to marry a black girl. I can not marry a black girl. For me for my life... I don't want to marry a black girl, so I*



*don't have a black girl friend . So I don't want to waste my time and their time or for them to waste their time on me. I want to marry a white lady and have my babies from a white girl'*. This statement is particularly interesting noting that the same beach boy was one of those who criticized and lamented female tourists' mobility to change partners at will. Thus, this also underscores the ambivalence inherent in romance tourism.

Previous studies by Mesh (1995) in Ecuador, de Albuquerque (1998) in Barbados and Jamaica and Herold et. al. (2001) in the Caribbean showed that beach boys are usually interested in western female tourists in order to have easy passage to live in the west. However, contrary to this, the beach boys in this study differed and expressed preference to live in Ghana rather than travelled to the west. This fact emerged when those who declared interest in marrying white women were asked if they would like to live in the west with their white women. Their responses were however amazing because none of them indicated interest in living in the West with the white women. Further probe revealed that fear of uncertainties, cultural differences; perceived friendly laws in the West, which favors women rights, were among the factors responsible for their position. Furthermore, bad experiences as well as report of abuse by some beach boys who in the past had accompanied their female partners to the West but later returned to Ghana after a while, informed their position. Hence, one of them stated pointedly; *'No, no, oh, I can't go and live there. I will tell her I can not live there. I don't want to. I prefer to stay here in Ghana. You know I like to farm. I am from a royal family and I have parcel of land. I like the local food and be with nature, build my own house, but I cant do that if I go to Europe'*.

Furthermore, their response also showed clearly that they perceived that they stand to lose the stereotypical power and control African men exercise over women. Additionally, they are obviously trying to avoid putting themselves in a situation that would deny them the opportunity of exercising power and control over women. Moreover, living under a roof control by women was also considered inappropriate because there is no way they can ever exercise traditional African male headship. However, when reminded that they were already involved in women controlled relationships, their responses indicated that they could tolerate temporary domination but are not ready to live permanently under women domination or control. Therefore, one of them exclaims *'Live in the west permanently? no, if she invites me I will be there, Africa is a lovely place. I don't want to live under pressure. You know what happens over there, the ladies always have the power. We have to sign an agreement that when we spend a specific number of months in Europe, we have to come down to Ghana. Africa is my father's place...I don't want her to control me.. I want her to understand. She has to listen to me'*. This apparently reflects typical culturally constructed gender stereotypes that influence general attitude of men towards women in Africa where women are considered inferior to men. Thus, the beach boys maintain this position because of their cultural orientation.

In addition, another beach boy also responded this way by saying; *'Live in Europe? if she wants me to accompany her for a visit, I will go. But I prefer to stay in Ghana. I want to stay in Ghana, she can go and come back, because I heard from a lot of people that Europe is now very hard, what am I going to do there? Again you are not sure of what*



*could happen there*'. This response evidently espouses fears many beach boys have regarding life in Europe largely generated from information they heard about Europe. It also showed that they are not really in the relationship with the female tourists in order to have opportunity to travel to the West, which reflects a divergent view from previously related studies.

Still, according to another beach boy in trying to justify his preference for living permanently in Ghana and not either in Europe or America states; *'Live abroad with a white lady? me I prefer to be with my woman in Africa because if I go there, I don't know there and what I read and I heard about those countries is that there are a lot of laws which make women to be more proud' and I can't live with a woman who will control me. In Africa, they don't train us like that, woman don't control man in Africa*'. This statement also showed that beach boys' preference to stay back in Ghana rather than Europe is not necessarily, because they do not like Europe. Rather, it is because of their view of the perceived European laws which they strongly believe favour women over men. It is also apparent that the beach boy's perspectives reflect a typical African male's view regarding women.

Generally, issues regarding women's right and equality with men are normally unacceptable within the traditional and contemporary African culture. They are generally believed to be direct attack at challenging the patriarchy power, tantamount to distorting the traditional system. It is interesting to note how the beach boys hated being controlled by female tourists even though they appeared to be comfortable or like the relationship. Perhaps, it lend credence to the fact that the beach boys still have their ego and that they anticipate having control over the women at a point in time. It also showed that they actually entertained some apprehensions regarding the possibility of completely losing the opportunity of exercising control over the women should they travelled to the west. Furthermore, their responses also showed that they are afraid of the possibility of losing out in the relationship in the future which could result to their being sent back to Ghana. This fear was captured by one of the beach boys who explains that; *'if I go there and my woman start controlling me, less respect will come and she will not respect me later and it will turn to something and if there is a small problem, she can just sack me back to my country, and keep my children there*.

The beach boys also presupposed that it would be difficult for them to cope with western ideals and mindset, especially regarding gender equality if they choose to live in the west with their white women. However, it appeared they assumed that there would be no difficulty if they live in Africa with their western women. More so, in Africa, women are subordinate to men regardless of their economic or social status. Hence, their self-esteem and pride will be enhanced and they are not likely to suffer 'ill-treatment'. This assumption was explained by a beach boy who states; *'if we are in Africa, I will be here with her and I will tell her what I like and since she knows she is far from her home country, she will not misbehave and can not fool around, but in her country, she can do anything she likes because over there are lots of laws for women, they don't respect their men. I know a beach boy who married a white tourist who had four children for him, but he was later sent home by the woman. They have forgotten him*'.

It could also be stated that the beach boys obviously are averse to gender equality and that they also envisaged being in control of the relationship after a while. This clearly showed how the issue of gender equality significantly influenced the beach boys. Additionally, it also became clear that the entrenched gender stereotype in Africa also permeates the mind of the beach boys. Moreover, it further revealed the intersection between culture, gender and power relations, as well as the implications of these on 'romance tourism' in Ghana. Therefore, one of the beach boys states that he *'prefer to live here in Africa. A woman has to leave her home to live with her husband, which in this case, also include her home country. I can go and visit her and come back because in Africa, man is the head of the family, its not that the woman is a slave, no, the woman is respected in Africa we treat them as our mothers, we respect them'.*

### **5.7.3 Racial/Skin Colour and 'Romance Tourism'**

The beach boys in Ghana are generally black native Ghanaians with a few from other neighboring countries such as Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso, Mali and Nigeria. The apparent differentiation in skin colour due to racial difference between the beach boys and the female tourists contribute greatly to making the tourists highly attractive and admirable to the black males. This is evidence because many (58%) of the beach boys interviewed admitted that it influences their desire to engage in sexual relationships with the female tourists. This binary attraction can also be argued arose because the beach boys indeed considered the female tourists to be 'exotic'. Thus, 'exoticisation' of the 'other' powerfully stimulates the beach boys in 'romance tourism'. Although, exoticisation of the 'other' is often associated with white female tourists in romance tourism. However, it is apparent that it also hugely influenced the beach boys as well. This was also stressed by one of the beach boys who agreed that *'many of the beach boys are attracted to white colour.. many beach boys want white ladies'*. Another beach boy also consented that differences in skin colour motivate *'some beach boys to go for the white ladies because they are white... something different from their own skin colour'*. Therefore, it could be affirmed that just as female tourists 'exoticized' the beach boys, they too 'exoticized' the female tourists as well.

Furthermore, some of the beach boys also associate the binary attraction for white female tourists with money. Hence, to some of them, the desire for white female tourists is also connected with desire for money because *'some of us also go after colour and money but many go for the white tourists because of money. For many of us, we want the colour and the money'*, noted one beach boy. Therefore, to some of them, the attraction for white female tourists also accentuates the desire for sex with the tourists. Thus, to some of the beach boys, the desire to engage in sex with white women overrides even the desire for money. This fact also underscores the powerful influence of binary attractions in romance tourism.

Also, the beach boys in Ghana just like the beach boys interviewed by Herold et al (2001) in the Dominican Republic, pride themselves for their sexual prowess therefore, they always want to impress the female tourists. Consequently, they focus more on sexually pleasing the women tourists rather than pleasing themselves. Additionally, this fact explains the reason many beach boys just desire to sleep with the white women without

necessarily thinking about money. More so, it also enhances their pride and ego. The beach boys also believed that the female tourists were also in Ghana because they are interested in experiencing sexual relationships with black males. In fact, the beach boys boast about their sexual prowess that they attributed to the fact that they are black which they also claimed makes them to be desirable to the female tourists. Therefore, they obviously agreed with the stereotypical colonial oriented sexual image of black males by the western female tourists without necessarily understanding its full implications. Regarding this, one of the beach boys states; *'you know many white female tourists like to have sexual relationships with we black men because we have the strength to have sex with them and I can say that they enjoy African men more than their men over there in Europe'*, and another notes further *'you see over there the guys don't really give it to them the way they really want it and most especially many of their men are gays'*. Another beach boy also notes *'if they come to Africa, they want we black to make them feel happy, they just want to f...k we black boys'*. Therefore, it could be reiterated that exoticisation of the 'other' is very influential in 'romance tourism'.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **CONCLUSION**

#### **6.1**

Romance tourism is a growing phenomenon especially in developing countries due to widespread poverty, economic in-equality between the West and developing countries, globalization and increase in the need and desire of western women to satisfy their sexual freedom (Herold et al., 2001; Taylor, 2006). In addition, innovations in information flows, ICT, networking and media representations and construction of tourist destinations in third world countries, also contribute to the growth of romance tourism (Cho-White, 2006). Romance tourism, just like the mainstream tourism has also been largely considered as another form of colonization and oppression of third world countries. This is because the economic disparity between the developed countries and developing countries created by the 'new economic order' facilitate the growth and development of tourism in general and romance tourism in particular. This economic disparity contributes to upward trajectory in romance tourism in developing countries (Nyanzi et al., 2005) and significantly in influence several young men in developing countries such as Ghana, into providing sex service for western female tourists. Hence, 'romance tourism' involve the oppression and exploitation of men from third world by affluent western female tourists for their sexual satisfaction.

Thus, men from third world countries constitute important tourist products, consumed by affluent female tourists looking for hedonistic experiences and sensual pleasure in developing countries. Hence, Ghana can be stresses to have become an important hot spot for western female tourists in Africa and that is only next to the Gambia and Kenya in terms of its popularity as an important destination for sex seeking western female tourists.

Sex is usually not an open discussion in traditional African society but it is more of a secretive issue. Moreover, in traditional Africa, sex is generally discuss among adults and it is almost unthinkable to make fun or speak carelessly about it. Otherwise, it will be seen as a manifestation of moral decadence and irresponsibility as it is primarily associated with procreation. Hence, many traditional African societies have norms, customs and laws to guide against the abuse of sex especially premarital sex, rape, incest as well as philandering. Furthermore, in most traditional African cultures, women are not only considered inferior to men, but also married women are ordinarily considered acquired properties of their husbands. Hence, a woman never refuses sexual advances from her husband, otherwise such action will be considered an insubordination and lack of respect for the traditional institution. However, the influence of colonization, modernization, Western ideologies regarding women's right issues, increase in interregional migration as well as pockets of rise in middle class among the few, has really challenged the traditional sex culture in Africa as reflected in Ghana. Hence, traditional African values regarding sex have been lost resulting in the evolution of new sex culture.

This new sex culture has resulted in 'sugar daddy' and 'sugar mummy' phenomenon in many African countries. The sugar daddy phenomenon refers to sexual relationships between affluent married old men and young women. Similarly, 'sugar mummy'

phenomenon refers to sexual relationships between rich old women and young men. Whereas, the 'sugar daddy' scenario is very common and widely practiced because it often exhibits the economic status of the men involved. However, the sugar mummy phenomenon is usually practiced in secrecy because it is abhorred and condemned. It is remarkable that the women involved usually do not command respect because they are seen as 'loose' and immoral. It is however interesting to note that the sugar daddies do not receive the same level of condemnation and they do not lose their self-esteem and respect in the process like the women. Conversely, the men who sleep with older women are viewed with disdain. Thus, while African culture actually allows older men to have sexual relationships and marry younger women, however, it abhors younger men sleeping with older women. Therefore, the beach boys are considered as deviants and promiscuous. It is also not acceptable for a man to take instructions from a woman in a man/woman relationship; it is seen as a sign of weakness and incompetence as a man. In addition, men generally bear every financial responsibility in a man/woman relationship. Therefore, any man that is financially dependent on a woman is considered incapable of being a man even if the wife's income is higher than the man's, he is still expected to take care of his woman. Thus, a woman's income belongs to her alone but that of the man is for everybody. Within the family arrangement, a woman is not obligated to spend her money on her husband. Rather the husband is traditionally and culturally responsible for family finances. Therefore, it must be stated that the beach boys indeed cross so many boundaries in their relationships with the female tourists. Consequently, romance tourism could be stated to be antithesis to both traditional and contemporary African culture.

Sex tourism in third world countries, is generally associated with sexual relationships between white male tourists and local black ladies (Enloe, 1989). This is often regarded as prostitution and oppression of third world women. However, similar sexual relationships between western women tourists and local males are referred to as 'romance tourism' (Pruitt and Lafont, 1995). In their studies, Pruitt and Lafont, (1995), argued that the women are not doing sex tourism the way men did, hence they used the term 'Romance Tourism'. Studies by radical feminist and prostitution researchers such as Dahles and Bras (1999) also contributed to the debate if such women should equally be considered as sex tourists.

However, this study revealed clearly that there is actually no significant difference between the two forms of sex oriented tourism experiences. Hence, this study agrees with the liberal feminist researchers including Taylor, (2001) and Kempadoo (2001) who were very critical of the radical feminist and argued that there is no significant difference between the two. They affirmed that the western female tourists too, employed their superior class, race and economic power just like the white male tourists, to take advantage of the local black males. Hence, female tourists who engage in sexual relationship with the local men in developing countries should also be classified as sex tourists. Therefore, by implications, sex tourism and 'Romance Tourism' are the same.

Although, (Jeffreys, 2003) while acknowledging that there are few similarities between male sex tourism and 'romance tourism', nevertheless, argued that *'the differences*

*between what has been called ‘female sex tourism’ and the behaviour of male sex tourists are in fact profound... women should not simply be included in sex tourism’.*

Hence, in her article in *Leisure Studies* 22: 223–238, she asked; ‘Do Women do it too? This study shows that there is no significant difference between male sex tourism and romance tourism; hence, women do it too. Even though, Jeffreys (2003), argued that *‘The scale of ‘female sex tourism’ is rather different from that of male sex tourism. The percentage of women tourists who engage in any form of sexual relationships with local men is small too’* (Jeffreys, 2003:228). It could be stated that this submission is relatively true and may not be contested considering the fact that there is evidently more male travelers globally and more men do engage in sex with women during their travels. However, it does not provide sound basis for her justification. It will be wrong to base the differentiation merely because there are more men involved compare to women. Does it really matter how many women or men do it before the classification it could be classify as such? Is it an issue of numbers or attitude? Moreover, she failed to provide figures or statistics to support her argument. Besides, some tourist destinations have been constructed and have the image of popularity for hedonistic experiences for either male or female tourists. Hence, these destinations supposedly receive significant number of either of the sexes for which the destinations are renowned. For example, Thailand, Philippines, Cambodia and Sri Lanka are some of the most popular destinations for sex oriented male tourists (Herold et.al 2001; Davidson and Taylor, 1996). However, this does not suggest that there are no female tourists who also travel to those destinations and engage in sex. Nevertheless, it will be expected that majority of male tourists to these destinations are interested in sex. Similarly, the Caribbean’s, Cuba, the Gambia, Barbados and Ghana are the popular destinations for female tourists interested in sex. Therefore, a significant number of female tourists to these destinations are also hypothetically looking for sex. Nevertheless, it does not suggest that that there are no male tourists doing the same thing like the women at those destinations as well.

Another issue cited by Jeffreys (2003) to differentiate sex tourism from romance tourism is with respect to male dominance and sexual pleasure. She argued; *‘The sexuality of men under male dominance...is constructed to confirm their masculinity through practices of objectification. The way in which the sexual relations between tourist women and beach boys..... relates to a male dominant construction of sexuality’...* (Jeffreys, 2003: 229). This assertion is generally associated with commercial sex tourism involving male tourists. However, I argue that this is not limited to male sex tourism and that indeed, it equally manifest and resonate very powerfully in romance tourism as well. The reality remains that romance tourism actually provides opportunities for western female tourists to assert their feminism, economic, class and racialised power on local black males in developing countries just like male tourists. It is also interesting to note that radical feminists, such as Pruitt and La Font actually think otherwise. In fact, Pruitt and La Font(1995) affirmed that western female tourists do not only enjoy the power they have over men in developing countries but also that they express keenness in keeping local men dependent on them. This became very obvious the way and manner the women tourists manipulated and dominated the local black boys for their sexual pleasure and advantage in Ghana.



It is an open secret that one of the characteristic features of romance tourism is gender role reversal. Hence, Pruitt and La Font noted that romance tourism actually challenged and redefined the traditional gender roles, which hitherto was constructed by the cultures of both the western female tourists and local black males. In fact, they further remarked: *'.....female tourists have the opportunity to explore new gender behavior. In turn, the local men who associate with tourists, in many ways, enter into a new tourism culture and distance themselves from their society's normative authority. These men are also free to explore new gender roles while they pursue social and economic mobility and the freedom to experience a new kind of intimate relationship'...* (Pruitt and Lafont, 1995: 423). In addition, Pruitt and La Font (1995) also agreed that romance tourism provides the situation for the perpetuation and reinforcement of western imperialism in disguise. The dominance of western female tourists and the subordination of black males in romance tourism was never a contested issue. Furthermore, romance tourism evidently represents a classical example of a lopsided relationship.

Additionally, Jeffreys (2003) in her argument to distinguish sex tourism from romance tourism, argued that while white male tourists 'objectified' black women in sex tourism, white women do not objectified black males in romance tourism. However, I wish to state that romance tourism also objectified black males and that romance tourism thrives on the objectification and eroticization of black males that undeniably is a racist stereotype of the 'exotic' other. This assertion agrees with Pruitt and La Font's (1995) who argued that; *the racist stereotype of the exotic and erotic black men is an image that is used to promote Romance tourism and the ideology which constructs it, is part of the commodity that white female tourists are buying* (Pruitt and La Font, 1995: 430). This assertion also agrees with Kempadoo (2001) who reported on a similar study in the Caribbean's. She noted that western female tourists mentally perceive and construct, black men as racialised and sexual objects, the 'hypersexual' and 'black male stud'. In addition, western female tourists' often describe black males with racial laced phrases and expressions such as *'dark skin', 'younger-small frame'; handsome, physically fit, more passionate, 'more emotional, more natural, and sexually tempting'* (Pruitt and La Font, 1995: 430).

Furthermore, Jeffreys also argued that; *'the local men remain in control of the sexual interaction as they would in sexual relations with any women, tourist or not, by virtue of male privilege and the construction of male dominant sexuality'* (Jeffreys, 2003: 229). However, this study further showed that contrary to Jeffrey's argument, the women tourists dominate and control the relationships to their advantage. The female tourists similarly assumed the patriarchal roles of men in romance tourism similar to that of men in sex tourism. The women tourists have all the means of domination and oppression at their disposal, which they effectively used to their personal advantages. Jeffreys also insinuated that local black males exercise sexual dominance over western female tourists. This I also contest because to the contrary, the female tourists in Ghana indeed are not only in control of the relationships. In addition, similar studies by Taylor (2006) in the Caribbean also reveal that the women tourists dominate and were in control of the relationships. Female tourists also determine when they want sex, the type of sex as well as where they want to have it. Furthermore, the beach boys in this study noted that they

are only interested in satisfying the women tourists. They assumed that the more they are able to satisfy the women, the more the monetary and material benefits they will receive from them.

More over, because the boys are ready to please the women tourists, they sometimes have to perform some sexual acts that they find irritating and repulsive but which the women tourists find very delightful. In addition, the beach boys in this study also stated that the women tourists often request for non-penetrative sex. This evidently nullifies the assertion by Jeffreys that the beach boys sexually dominate the female tourists in romance tourism. Regarding this, one of the beach boys states; *'White girls have different styles. The white ladies both young and old enjoy crazy styles'*. That their behaviour is not different from male tourists, a beach boy remark that; *'the behaviour of white women, it seems they want to sleep with every man, it is prostitution'*. In fact, some of the white women, especially the younger women who are more adventurous, often boast about the number of black boys they were able to sleep with during their stay. This is also in agreement with similar studies by Bauer in Cuzco, Peru, where a young female tourist interviewed boasted to have slept with 10 local males in two weeks (Bauer, 2007:290). It is therefore very obvious that the beach boys, could not be in control because of so many obvious reasons, hence, they do not exercise sexual dominance over the female tourists but the reverse is actually the case. Thus, it could be argued that Jeffreys( 2003) apparently privileged race and gender over class. Thereby could not appreciate the overwhelming implications of women tourists' economic and racial supremacy over the local black males who supposedly hoped to reap significant economic advantage by engaging in sexual relationships with the white female tourists.

The relationship between the beach boys and the women tourists in this study exemplified master-servant relationship where the women tourists represent the master and the boys, the servant. The powers the women exercise over the boys is very profound. It is also very remarkable how the beach boys endeavored anxiously to please the women tourists. However, the study shows that there are conflicts of interests between the motivations of the beach boys and female tourists in romance tourism. Therefore, both the local males and female tourists were motivated by different factors in this relationship. The study also revealed that the motivating factors somehow interconnect with each other. For example, the result of this study shows that some of the factors that influence the participation of beach boys in 'romance tourism' in Ghana include the desire for monetary and material benefits due to general poverty and the fascination to have sex with white women (exoticisation). Other factors include the desire to marry western women for economic security, sheer binary attraction for white women and for the purpose of enhancing ego and self-esteem. However, of all these factors, the desire for monetary and material gifts has an over-riding influence among the beach boys and intersects with other motivating factors. However, the beach boys in this study were not influenced by the desire to travel to the west contrary to previous studies by Dahles and Bras(1998) in Indonesia, Davidson (2001) in Dominican Republic and Cabezas (2004) in Cuba. Nevertheless, the desire for money in anticipation of improved economic condition in Ghana transcends and resonates through other motivating factors.

In addition, from personal observations and interviews conducted, it became noticeable that there are no fixed singular explainable reason, for the motivations of women tourists as well in romance tourism. This is because there are more complexities and intersections in the motivations of different categories of women tourists. The relationship between the beach boys and the women tourists is not uniform. The fact is that besides sex, some female tourists actually engage in romance tourism because of other reasons and these often influence the relationship. This study revealed that while majority of the white women are just interested in having fun and sex with no string attached. This can be likened to prostitute-client relationships whereby the client, after satisfying the sexual urge, abandon and forget about the sex provider. Such relationships often last between few hours, a night and sometimes some days. This is the most frustrating relationship the beach boys would wish to have. However, it is the most common relationship observed during the study. Most women involved in this type of short-term casual relationship are usually single young women and married women. The women in this category are usually low budget tourists and stay in very cheap accommodation and largely engaged in multiple sexual relationships.

In addition, the beach boys often engage in sexual relationships with female tourists interested in developing romantic relationships with black males, which often last for a bit longer period than the first category. While the travel by a few of the women in this category appeared to have been predetermined before arriving in Ghana, some of the women actually develop romantic relationships with the beach boys upon their arrival. This sometimes results in re-arrangement in their travel plans of the female tourists with a few deciding to stay a bit longer than they had earlier planned. However, few of these could actually develop into full-blown marriages. The women in this relationship are usually older and do not usually engage in multiple partners. However, some do engage in multiple partners before settling down with a beach boy. The beach boys called this 'sampling'. They are not adventurous and can take some few days or even a week before picking their choices. Thus, their selection process is very different from the casual adventurous women. This is the category of women that the beach boys always wish to meet. More so, the women in this category have money, are much older and they spend more money on the beach boys during their visit. They generally stay longer and live in luxurious hotel. However, they are generally few but this type of female tourists normally return back to Ghana after a while and sometimes to the same beach boy.

Another category of relationship noticed during this study is with respect to some female tourists who not only seek for romantic relationships with the beach boys, but also are interested in having babies with black males but also are not necessarily interested in marriage. This type of relationship also last a bit longer than the casual type. This is also one of the relationships the beach boys also delight in. Nevertheless, this type of relationship usually terminates whenever the woman becomes pregnant and there is absolutely no commitment at all to the beach boys. In fact, in some cases, the women involve will not reveal their prime motive at the beginning of the relationship. The women in this group are generally middle age and are not interested in marriage commitment. However, few of them actually travel to Ghana and pre-determined to marry black males. Another characteristic feature of this type of relationship is that the

women involve stays with a particular boy until they are pregnant upon which they subsequently end the relationship. They sometimes stay for some months. These observations revealed the complexities of 'romance tourism'. While majority of the women tourists engaged in prostitution like relationships with the beach boys, some few others actually go beyond casual sex. Hence, it is difficult to categorize all the relationships either as prostitution or as romance.

This study shows that the relationship between women tourists and the local beach boys have the potential to contribute to the spread of HIV/AIDS as well as other STDs. This is particularly because romance tourism facilitates casual sexual encounters between males and females who in most cases have sexual relationships with many unknown partners. The pathetic aspect of it is that many hardly practice safe sex. The beach boys do not like using condom and many of the women too appeared to care less about safe sex. The beach boys maintained their displeasure for the use of condoms despite the fact that they are conscious of the possible implications. Similarly, the high rate of casual encounters is worrisome. Some of the women tourists sometimes under the influence of alcohol, will walk straight to beach boys on the beach side and actually demand for sex. In addition, the fact that Ghana has a high profile of HIV/AIDS epidemics is a cause for concern. Additionally, none of the beach boys interviewed, claim to use condom on every sexual encounter. Although a few of the women, tourists use condom at the beginning of their relationships but usually discard its use after a while. Besides, most of the beach boys in this study admitted that majority of the women tourists usually demand for oral sex instead of penetrative sex and that the women tourists also like swallowing their semen. These present grave dangers, though, ironically, HIV/AIDS infection is reportedly low among the beach boys. However, other STDs are often reported among the beach boys.

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