REVIEW

Romance tourism or female sex tourism?☆

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Summary Background: Love, sex and the female traveller: romance tourism or female sex tourism? The phenomenon of women travelling in search of relationships with local men in developing countries has been studied for the last 20 years. However, it appears little known in travel medicine.
Methods: Relevant literature was found through PubMed, Science Direct, ProQuest and Google Scholar. The reference lists of selected articles identified further sources.
Results: Historical records of women travellers to far-away countries abound. Then, as now, women not only searched for the erotic ‘other’ but made romance and sex the purpose of their trip. Today, increasing numbers of women travel to destinations in developing countries where sex with local men is the main attraction. This pastime raises concerns not only for the women themselves but for the local men involved as well as their sex partners and the local communities.
Conclusions: Although more research is necessary, comparing the criteria that describe men travelling for sex and relationships and women travelling for sex and relationships appears to suggest that there is very little difference between the two, regardless of what the pursuit is called. Women looking for sex with local men are sex tourists, too. Recognition of this fact needs to influence the pre and post travel care of female travellers.
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“At the airport, Angel hugs me. I leave him my money, my flashlight, my day pack, not much, but things he can use. I put my address and phone number in the pack. In the plane, I stare out the window, the sharp peaks of the Andes like knives that could cut into the silver belly of our plane. I dream that I return home pregnant, don’t tell anyone, just let the life grow inside of me, and then push and pull into this world a half-wild child. Tiny, brown, a small fish in a wide river, a dolphin child, a piranha like his father” [1]

Background

Travel medicine is slowly moving away from focussing exclusively on specific (tropical) infections and other travel ailments, to embracing the ‘bigger picture’, the complex context in which these medical problems occur. This context includes areas as diverse as human behaviour, education theory, impacts and implications of travel, history, culture and religion, typically the realm of experts in other disciplines. Travel medicine is more than just medical problems; ignoring fundamental interrelationships within such contexts could lead to fragmented care.

One such example is sex tourism. Although numerous medical papers exist on sexually transmitted infections (STIs), STIs and travel, and STIs and sex tourism, few discuss the complex phenomenon itself. Yet, understanding the big picture avoids that travel health care is reduced to an automated ‘prevention and treatment’ activity. In order to provide high quality care, an awareness of the theoretical concept of sex tourism [2,3] is essential including its historical background, its exploitation of politico-economic, gender, race and age [4,5], its legal and human rights implications. Similarly, theoretical discourses on typologies of sex tourists [6,7], popular destinations, and physical, psychological and social impacts on local individuals and communities are important for health care practice. Simplified, sex tourism is: organized holidays for men where sex with local women (men, children) is the main objective. Men travel to Thailand or Cuba, among other locations, to have sex. Sex tourism is a male pursuit. Or is it?

Twenty years ago, the congregation of western women on a number of Caribbean islands piqued the interest of researchers. These women were not there to enjoy beach, music or culture. They were there to sample another natural resource, the local men’s ability to make their holidays in the sun so much more memorable. In fact, so many women turned up, it was obvious that a tourism industry existed of which many elsewhere were completely unaware. Pruitt and LaFont’s [8] study became the first landmark publication with numerous others to follow.

This paper deals with women who travel for the purpose of, in expectation of, or are open to romantic or sexual encounters with local men in developing countries. This definition excludes women who meet a local man in his home country, fall in love, perhaps get married and start a family in the same way this would happen at home, notwithstanding some sensationalist biographies, such as The White Masai [9,10]. It also excludes those women who never intended to have sex during their travels but ended up having unplanned casual sex with locals. Excluded are female students [11] and volunteers/voluntourists who enter relationships in an attempt to associate themselves with international or political activism [12], as well as lesbian travellers seeking local lesbian contacts. The purpose of this article is to introduce the phenomenon of women travelling in pursuit of relationships with local men, and to explore its implications for travel health advice. A literature search via PubMed, Science Direct, ProQuest and Google Scholar identified articles around the concepts of romance tourism, female sex tourism and sexually transmitted infections/diseases in women travellers. Of several thousand hits, less than 300 were pertinent to this article and were screened further for their usefulness. Their reference lists identified additional sources, including books and book chapters. Content alerts captured more papers as they were published. First, a short overview on the history of women’s travel shall set the scene.

History of women travellers

Historical accounts of travel and exploration typically give attention to men. It comes, therefore, as no surprise that historical accounts on sex and travel emerged prolifically during the era of the Grand Tour in the 18th and 19th century where young but sadly unsophisticated Englishmen followed discerning itineraries of cultural and sexual attractions and so improved their knowledge and skills in both areas. Littlegood’s [13] Sultry Climates provides fascinating accounts of this era. With the limelight on men, women quietly travelled, independently or accompanied, way before the Grand Tour — and had a Grand Tour of their own.

A number of well-known women travellers stand out for their contributions to botany, zoology, anthropology, archaeology, or geography. Their own writings and the biographies, correspondence, poems or diaries edited by others make for compelling reading. A few remarkable examples are introduced here. Freya Stark (1893—1993), a formidable explorer and travel writer [14], was the first (white) female visitor in a number of areas in Arabia, Persia and Afghanistan. Gertrude Bell (1868—1926), a travel writer and political personality in the Middle East, was involved in the creation of modern Iraq. Of both, no romantic or sexual adventures appear to be known, though their accounts need to be viewed through the lens of their time, and including such personal information may not have been seemly. Alexandra David-Néel (1868—1969) was probably the first to visit Lhasa at a time when Tibet was closed to foreigners. She studied and published on Eastern religions, spiritualism and philosophy, though much of her life and travels are shrouded in mystery. She travelled with a young monk, sharing a tent with him, whom she later adopted as her son. What exactly happened in the tent may be subject to speculation. Mary Kingsley (1862—1900) rose to fame with her adventurous travels to West Africa (then the ‘white man’s grave’) [15]. Critical of colonialism and questioning the benefit of missionaries, she was a firm spinster who, nevertheless, marvelled at the magnificent African male body. Again, her supremely detailed travel descriptions do not include any hints on romantic or sexual adventures. There were literally hundreds of others who
travelled in various capacities, recorded their experiences and encouraged others to follow in their footsteps [16–20]. So popular was travel that a book was published in 1889 [21] with hints for the lady travelling at home and abroad, including continental travel and sea-voyages, a type of ‘Lonely Planet’ for the Victorian woman.

Then there were those women travellers who stand out not only for their often extensive journeys but for their keen interest in appraising romantic offerings along the way. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu’s (1689–1762) letters and poems from the Ottoman Empire made an impression as did her various romances. She is also credited for bringing the ‘oriental habit’ of smallpox inoculation to England. Another traveller, Margaret Fontaine (1862–1940) [22], is known as an avid collector of butterflies and lovers though her exploits were nowhere near those of Lady Jane Digby (1807–1881) [23] whose innumerable lovers included at least one king. Important to note is the particular attraction of local lovers (some of whom became husbands) whose looks and behaviour differed so markedly from the menfolk at home. The physical and emotional attraction to the exotic and erotic ‘other’ [24] as well as the freedom from the stifling surveillance by family and society at home (‘situational disinhbitition’ [25]), permitted the women to do what would have never been possible at home.

The attraction of liaisons between a European (white) woman and a man from a different country and culture, even a ‘noble savage’, influenced a whole range of art forms, for example, a 1721 theatre performance in Paris of *Arlequin Sauvage*, where a young Parisian falls in love with a visiting American Indian and flees with him to America [26]. The literature — fictional and non-fictional — catered for dreams of escape by presenting the life stories of women who, mainly in the 19th century, left their conventional homes and lifestyles to live with men they met on their travels, often to Arab countries, like Isabelle Eberhardt (1877–1904) [27] in Algeria. Be it a sheikh or a pauper, important seemed the thrill of the difference from the men at home. By the 1880s, primed by news from Europe and solidly bored by uninspiring prospective or actual husbands, American women of means started to join their sisters in France, Italy and Greece for cultural refinement. By that time, women were the main tourists in Southern Europe, and the Venetian gondolier’s ‘ready expectation of trade’ [12] was well-known to the female visitor. At the same time, away from the limelight on Europe, the Bahamas, Bermuda and the US Virgin Islands quietly hosted rich older white women who enjoyed the services of local young men [28].

A major change to women’s travel patterns occurred with the advent of mass tourism after World War II, the sexual liberation movement, and the working woman’s access to independent income and annual leave. By the 1960s, Scandinavian and western European women travelled *en masse* to selected locations in Southern Europe where willing local men were more than happy to present themselves as special attractions of the destination. Canadian and American women found Caribbean island nations more accessible. East and West African destinations began to emerge for British and German visitors looking for a respite. Those who stayed at home could whet their appetite with fictional and non-fictional literature, such as McMillan’s self-portrait *How Stella Got her Groove Back* [29], introducing the American tourist Stella’s romance with a young Jamaican man, or Lonely Planet’s collections of short stories [30]. Motion pictures ranged from the harmless *Where the Boys Are* [31] to films exploring the female motivation of overseas trips, such as *Shirley Valentine* in Greece [32], *Heading South* in Haiti [33] and the recent exquisitely realistic *Paradies: Liebe* (Paradise: Love) [34] in Kenya, screened at the 2012 Cannes Film Festival.

Interestingly, the general public seemed then, and to an extent still seems, oblivious to women’s travel for sex and romance, a fact that the media exploit quite regularly. From reputable high street newspapers to web-based news blogs, articles such as *Women who travel for sex: Sun sea and gigolos* [35], *Women going on sex tours look for big bamboos and Marlboro men* [36], or *The Jordanian desert’s other delight: sex tourism* [37] never fail to thrill.

**Academic discourse on women’s travel relationships**

Early studies in 1971 [38] and 1989 [39] of sexual relationships between female tourists and local men positioned the topic in the anthropo-sociological context of the ‘life situation’ of Palestinian men in Israel and the expectations they placed on foreign women. Only in the 1990s began systematic studies on the phenomenon of women travelling to particular destinations where sex and romance with local men were an almost certainty. While there was a clear understanding of what sex tourism was: sex with locals for some payment, it was not at all clear what exactly these women were doing. Applying the criteria of male sex tourism, it appeared that there also existed female sex tourism, a disturbing and unpalatable thought because it seemed unfathomable that women could be sexual predators, too. As a consequence, women’s relations with local men were seen as more genuinely romantic and emotional and, therefore, much more acceptable. That physical contact followed was only a natural step of a romantic relationship [40]. The distinction between the abominable sex tourism of men and the kind, loving relationship of women led Pruitt and LaFont [8] to coin the term ‘Romance Tourism’, citing positive features such as the possibility ‘to explore new avenues for negotiating femaleness and maleness’ (p. 423) by allowing women to explore their gender identity in a new way and the men to benefit at least economically; neither partner would see this pastime as prostitution (=payment for sex). Some researchers agreed with this distinction between male and female sexual pursuits [11,41,42]. However, others rejected the idea of a benign or lighter form of the male quest and stated that, whatever it is called what the women were doing, it is still sex tourism [7,43–48].

Today, ample opportunities for sex and romance can be expected in destinations as diverse as Indonesia [41], Jamaica [8,28,43,47], the Dominican Republic [45,47], Barbados [24], Trinidad and Tobago [49], Cuba [46,50], Costa Rica [12,51,52], Ecuador [11,53], Cusco/Peru [54–56], Tenerife [57], The Gambia [58,59], Kenya [60,61], Tanzania [62], Egypt [63], Nepal [64,65], Sri Lanka [66] and more recently, Buenos Aires with its tango-tourism [67]. No
doubt, new destinations will join over time as local men with the required features realise a fresh business opportunity in an, up to this point, ‘innocent’ holiday destination.

Who are the women and in which context do they operate?

To understand this complex topic, some researchers categorized female tourists who had sex with local men. De Albuquerque [43], for example, distinguished between neophytes (first-timers), situational sex tourists (if the opportunity arises), veterans (who come specifically for sex and may have multiple partners), and returnees (those who return to the same man). Philips [24] classified situators whose focus is more on romance and who deny the remunerative nature of their relationship, repeat situators who return several times per year, also denying the monetary aspect, and one-nighters who come ‘to fuck a black man’. A further attempt to group the women [45] resulted in 1) the first time romance tourist who sees the relationship as romantic; 2) the first time sex tourist who anticipates sex, 3) the romantic returnee who maintains a love relationship, 4) the committed sex tourist who returns for sex with the same partner, and 5) the adventurous sex tourist whose aim is to have as much sex as possible, such as the German tourist who had sex with 18 men over 14 days [45].

Apart from this exploration of motives, a number of discourses centre on analyses of the conceptual contexts of such relationships. The reversal of traditional gender roles [52] and the need to negotiate gender identities [24] and intimacy [12] are a frequently recurring aspect as is the discussion of the appeal (for both partners?) of racial and sexual ‘otherness’ [24,44,61] and ‘ethno-sexuality’ [64]. Stereotyped erotic fantasies, the hypersexualisation of different races [43,46] and the sexual value attached to the black (or at least darker) male body [48] send women in search of the black stud [60,68], the big bamboo [46] or the Africa banana [61], though the Indonesian banana, ‘small but hot’ [69], also appeals. Latin men are equally sought assuming a romantic and passionate prowess not found in western men [52]. Again, it is the difference to their own menfolk whose manliness appears to have been eroded by feminism [49], and the subsequent disillusion that makes primordial masculinity so attractive; it happens ‘not out of rage at western men’ [42]. A further bonus is that being ‘fat, old and ugly’ is no deterrent for the local men, rather ‘fat, old and ugly’ is no deterrent for the local men, rather one-nighters who come ‘to fuck a black man’. A further attempt to group the women [45] resulted in 1) the first time romance tourist who sees the relationship as romantic; 2) the first time sex tourist who anticipates sex, 3) the romantic returnee who maintains a love relationship, 4) the committed sex tourist who returns for sex with the same partner, and 5) the adventurous sex tourist whose aim is to have as much sex as possible, such as the German tourist who had sex with 18 men over 14 days [45].

Any attempt to describe the women who travel for, or are open to, sex can only be simplistic and generalised. However, it is important to do so as an insight will also influence travel health practice. Table 1 uses the age continuum in order to compare and contrast characteristics from the literature and so identify potential patterns.

A mention of the book Romance on the Road [72] completes this section. Though non-academic, it allows a comprehensive appreciation of the size of the phenomenon and offers an extensive reference list, including established academic sources and hard-to-get grey literature — if one can ignore the author’s questionable statistics and her unnecessary self-reports.

Who are the men?

Where there are women travelling for relationships with local men, there are local men waiting to meet the needs
of the new arrivals. So established has their profession become that they have their own names: Cusco’s *cheros* [56], the Cuban *jineteros* [50,73], the Jamaican *rent-a-dreads* [8], the Costa Rican gringueros [52], the Barbados *beach boys* and *beach bums* [68], the sanky *pankies* in the Dominican Republic [45], Argentinian *taxi-dancers* [67], the Gambian *bomsas* [58] or *bumsters* [59], the Kenyan *rastamen* [61], the Greek *kamaki* [74], Sri Lankan *beach boys* [66], or the Balinese *Kuta cowboys* [69]. Marginalised in their own country, they are ‘boundary-straddlers’ [68] whose power lies not in their economic authority but in their gender, fortuitously suited to become a romantic entrepreneur [41].

Cultural impostors, they turn into Sheikhs, Rastafarians or Incas, perfectly aware that they are the ultimate missing piece in the women’s fantasy. Also, for younger un-married men, sex with foreign women is often the only way to overcome local religious and cultural norms and still have a sexual outlet before marriage. Apart from plenty of sex, the main purpose of this business is a benefit in terms of money, presents, assistance with setting up shop, meals, trips and so on. To this end, the men learn very quickly to distinguish the degree of generosity depending on nationalities [28]. They also know that older women usually have more money, and assume that the less pretty ones probably have no family, so again plenty to share. The often assumed interest in visas and emigration to the women’s countries is not a major draw card and, if it is part of the deal, those relationships usually do not last for various reasons. A detailed discussion of the local men’s side of the phenomenon cannot be accommodated in this article; papers on the Caribbean [43], the African [59] or the Indonesian [41] perspectives give a good overview.

### Local implications

As with any type of tourism, there are a number of issues and concerns with western women’s travel to sample foreign men. The implications for local men are multifaceted and, in general, negative, even if some are seen as heroes by their peers. Often outcasts in their own community, they are resented by local women [68], controlled by foreign women, and depend on the fickle tourism industry for financial survival. The psychological impacts, especially when genuine emotions enter some of such pairings and the women inevitably leave [8,12], and an increasing hostile attitude to women in general, need to be researched further. Subsequently, local women find their men unavailable for marriage, which has implications for the local society. This concern is not new. For example, mixed marriages between Egyptian men and western women at the beginning of the 20th century were perceived as a threat to the Egyptian woman’s future [75]. If married to a romantic entrepreneur, local women find that their husbands spend money and time with foreign women, often leading to an abandonment of wife and family and, ultimately, to a grave resentment towards tourists and tourism [12,68,76].

Predominantly in traditional settings, the invasion of local communities by western tourists with ‘special needs’, displaying behaviour that is utterly inappropriate and violates social norms, has serious impacts on community harmony where, in the end, the tourists are viewed with contempt, disgust and suspicion. After all, it is these women who lead local men astray for their selfish indiscriminate enjoyment. The implication for the tourism industry in such destinations is ambivalent. Although some benefit with tours tailored to the women’s specific requirements, many destinations suffer from their poor reputation and miss out on a more discerning clientele. The lack of interest in marketing destinations for the older single UK-woman [77] need not cause concern for the agencies and operators in the respective destinations as the women seem to know quite well where to go and what to find.

### Health implications

The phenomenon of women travelling for sex is important for travel health providers as well as local health professionals. A number of studies on travellers’ sexual behaviour include women [78–80] but typically focus on casual sex, motivations, and the degree of protection. Fewer presented the range of STIs in women returning home [81,82]. In a recent study, in 122 returning woman with STIs, most commonly diagnosed were urethritis (37.8%), acute febrile HIV (21.3%), syphilis (14.2%), acute pelvic inflammatory disease (9.4%), and trichomoniasis (3.9%) [83]. Considering that many women may consult their GP, gynaecologist, women’s clinic, or other services and not a tropical, travel or infectious disease unit, the actual data may be quite different. It is also difficult from available research to make inferences about women travelling for sex and relationships. Neither behavioural studies nor reports on diagnoses provide precise destinations;

### Table 1 Characteristics of women travelling for relationships along the age continuum.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Who are the Women?</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>▶ From regions that traditionally send males</td>
<td>▶ Of any age</td>
<td>▶ Much wealthier than the men they pick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older</td>
<td>Younger</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lonely, disillusioned</td>
<td>• Adventurous</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Not seen as attractive at home</td>
<td>• Not seen as attractive at home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Bored in current home relationships; some even bring their own daughters</td>
<td>• Bored in current home relationships</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Often retired; able to return frequently</td>
<td>• Seeking ‘different’ kind of attention; focus on romance (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Seeking ‘different’ kind of attention; focus on sex (?)</td>
<td>• Relaxation, thrill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Free from social constraints</td>
<td>• Free from social constraints</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Alcohol, drugs</td>
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rather they list world regions or continents, whereas the women’s target destinations are specific countries (e.g., The Gambia vs. Africa). Two Swedish papers from 1996 (before romance tourism was branded) give tentative hints on the matter. One mentioned local men having sex with female tourists [84], the other examined women’s sexual behaviour on different types of journeys [85]. Of interest here is the category ‘charter’. Although the paper offers no definition, charter flights typically go to destinations popular with mass tourism, including those for romance tourism. In light of the methodological challenges of studying health issues of women travelling for sex and relationships [86], charter travel may be one avenue for starting much-needed research. The discussion on romance tourism or female sex tourism also highlights that the often-published risk profiles of travellers who will have sex while away from home are not useful anymore as they exclude a large number of travellers potentially exposed to health risks or exposing their sex partners. In the past, these profiles may also have helped health professionals limit the number of awkward talks with patients. The demand for the inclusion of sex in travel health advice as a matter of cause is evident in the travel medicine literature. Women do have sex during travel, and those who do not necessarily anticipate sex [51], or are older, older and newly single [87] or celibate at home, will be at a greater risk in terms of condom use, negotiation skills and the influence of alcohol and drugs on behaviour [55,88,89]. Although all women should receive appropriate advice [90], women who travel to destinations known for ‘Romance Tourism’ need to be advised especially. Of concern is the suggestion that genuine emotion leads to the abandonment of condoms, as does the inexplicable rapid development of trust and intimacy [8,24,45,47,55,57,68,91]. Locals’ dislike of condoms, and their assumption that overweight and unattractive women are safe as they would have had little sex at home [45], further facilitates sex without condoms.

Local health professionals will see female tourists if they need contraception, the morning-after pill, or perhaps treatment for an infection. In newly opening destinations, where men are not yet fully accustomed to the way in which western women work, misunderstandings may lead to assaults, though sexual harassment can happen in established locations [92]. The contribution of commercial sexual relationships between tourists and hosts to a country’s rise in STIs and HIV/AIDS has been alerted to in countries as diverse as Thailand in the 1980s [93] to Trinidad and Tobago in 2012 [94]. Local men’s need for medical care may exceed treatment for STIs and eventually include mental and social health problems. This would acknowledge the broader societal and economic context in which local people act, as a recent example from the Dominican Republic demonstrates [95]. Health education is paramount. The often-cited example of the HIV-positive Swiss tourist to Trinidad and Tobago in the mid-nineties who announced in the local media that she had unprotected sex with numerous men, and who was subsequently expelled from the country, alerts to poor levels of local sexual health knowledge (apart from raising legal questions). Most of her sex partners refused to be tested as they did not believe that this woman could have been ill [96]. Few men would see themselves as sex workers or prostitutes; therefore, education campaigns need to avoid any labelling [95]. Local women’s health needs will be linked to the mental, social and economic health impacts of this phenomenon, but specifically to the sexual health of their partners or husbands. To understand these relationships better and plan appropriate health care, more research is needed similar to a recent study on female sex workers and their non-commercial partners [97].

**Romance tourism or female sex tourism?**

Although some authors propose a difference between women travelling for romance and sex and the traditional male sex tourist, others strongly disagree. Examining the academic literature on both, the attributes of the male sex tourist are as diverse and wide-ranging as are the attributes of the woman seeking local men. Table 2 presents a collection of such (un-weighted) attributes to explore and display any differences that could justify a distinction between the bad male sex tourism and the good female romance tourism.

As the comparison suggests, the criteria commonly used to describe sex tourists appear to apply equally to men and women, although more research is necessary to support such an allegation. However, even if further research may unearth important insight suggesting a genuine difference, as disagreeable as it may be, women are sex tourists, too. This is important on many levels; it is especially important

| Table 2 Applying select criteria of sex tourism to male and female tourists. |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| **Criterion**       | **Men**             | **Women**           |
| Intent to have sex  | Yes                 | Yes                 |
| Travel to specific destinations | Yes            | Yes                 |
| Payment (money, in-kind) | Yes        | Yes                 |
| Sex partner receives benefits for family | Yes    | Yes                 |
| Tourist is interested in sex, not the person who provides it | Yes | Yes                 |
| Tourist is interested in the person who provides sex | Yes | Yes                 |
| Emotional link to sex partner possible | Yes | Yes                 |
| Tourist as ‘good Samaritan’ | Yes | Yes                 |
| Vastly unequal economic power | Yes | Yes                 |
| Tourist denies being a sex tourist | Yes | Yes                 |
| Disillusion with gender identity/role at home | Yes | Yes                 |
| Disillusion with opposite sex at home | Yes | Yes                 |
| Appeal of traditional gender role in developing country | Yes | Yes                 |
| Health implications for local partners, their sexual partners, and the community | Yes | Yes                 |
| Local sex partners marginalised | Yes | Yes                 |
| Legal issues         | Yes                 | ?                   |
for travel health professionals. Similar to the need for an insight into the traditional male sex tourist beyond his genitals, a good understanding of the female pursuit of travel for possible, anticipated or planned sex is important for high quality pre and post travel care. This includes a good knowledge of the relevant destinations, a revision of commonly accepted risk profiles of travellers, an understanding of how ‘romance’ vs. ‘sex’ may influence the use of condoms, insight in older women’s sexual behaviour, and the right questions asked post travel. Furthermore, an appreciation of the phenomenon is crucial in order to consider the implications for the local sex partners, and their partners, families and the entire community.

Conflict of interest

None.

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