Work at the Periphery:
Issues of Tourism Sustainability in Jamaica

By Lauren C. Johnson

Abstract

The tourism industry in Jamaica, as elsewhere in the Caribbean, has provided government interests and tourism stakeholders with increasingly profitable economic benefits. The development and prosperity of the 'all-inclusive' vacation model has become a significant aspect of these benefits. Vacationers from North America and Europe are particularly attracted to tourism destinations providing resort accommodations that cater to foreign visitors, offering 'safe spaces' for the enjoyment of sun, sand, and sea that so many leisure-seekers desire. Safety and security are progressively becoming more relevant within the contexts of poverty, crime, and tourist harassment that are now commonplace in many of these island destinations. This model of tourism development, however, represents a problematic relationship between these types of hotels and the environmental, political, and economic interests of the communities in which they are located. The lack of linkage between tourist entities and other sectors, such as agriculture and transportation, leaves members of local communities out of the immense profits that are generated. Based on a review of relevant literature and ethnographic research conducted in one of Jamaica's most popular resort towns, this paper considers the ways in which the sociocultural landscape of a specific place is affected by and responds to the demands of an overtly demanding industry. Utilizing an anthropological approach, I explore local responses to tourism shifts, and analyse recent trends in the tourism industry as they relate to the concept of sustainability.

Keywords: Tourism, culture, ethnography, sustainability, Jamaica

Introduction

While walking along the beach in Negril from where I resided, I cut through a number of all-inclusive hotel properties, the beaches of which were filled with both tourists and security guards. I began to wonder about the significant number of guards and their intended aims on the property. Were they there solely to keep out intruders? As I left one popular resort on a walk, I was immediately approached by several local residents. One man asked if I needed company on my walk, another offered to sell me marijuana, and two women invited me to peruse the crafts they were selling out of a small shed. After turning down their offers, I sat nearby for a while to observe their interactions with tourist passersby. Although these vendors waited for each individual or couple to offer their goods, none of the tourists responded favourably. After that experience, I wrote in my field notes: *These people occupy a space at the periphery of the all-inclusives. The space between resorts, on the beach, where they spend their days waiting for brief opportunities to get in on the immense profitability of tourism here in Negril. They don't have jobs as guards, entertainment staff, housekeepers, bartenders or servers that would allow them to legally occupy spaces within the lines. So they wait outside the lines. They're not young or fit or particularly clever or charismatic. They simply work hard and want to get their piece of the pie.*

This field note excerpt from my first month of research in Jamaica indicates a theme that would become a common aspect of my observations in the place: that of local residents living and working in the periphery of spaces designated for tourists. In order to carry out ethnographic dissertation research on sex tourism in 2010-2011, I conducted observations and interviews with local and foreign-born residents, tourism workers, and health officials on the impact of this particular type of tourism. One noteworthy finding early on during this fieldwork was that a key concern in the resort town is the perceived 'takeover' of the industry by all-inclusive resorts. Shifts in the tourism industry have meant growing profits from tourist visitors to Jamaica, yet have not led to substantial growth for many residents within the country's tourism sectors. Not just a preoccupation of taxi drivers and vendors, this proved to be a concern for hotel owners and managers, restaurateurs, shop owners, and other indirect tourism employees. Feeling the impact of national debt, declining local industry, unemployment, crime, and political strife, Jamaica's people rely on the tourism industry to provide jobs and foreign revenue (de Albuquerque 1999; Alleyne & Boxill 2003; Crick 2003; Boxill 2004; Pattullo 2005). However, the resulting leakage of tourist dollars, environmental pollution, sex tourism, and additional social ills make it clear that tourism cannot be viewed as a fix-all for the nation's problems. The locals residing in resort areas are particularly vulnerable to shifts in the tourism industry and impacted significantly by the issues of tourism-related crime, drug use, and sex work (Dunn & Dunn 2002; Kempadoo 2004; Pattullo 2005). For residents here, as in other tourism destina-

tions, the problem of sustainability is one that must be contended with every day; the delicate balance of appealing to tourists and maintaining the illusion of 'paradise' conflicts directly with the struggle to survive (Turner & Ash 1976; Jayawardena 2003; Gmelch 2003; McDavid & Ramajeesingh 2003; Cabezas 2008). Utilizing ethnographic data from the aforementioned research and published research relating to the Caribbean tourism industry, this discussion focuses on the lived experiences of local residents as they pertain to tourism trends and the sustainability of the industry in the region. Here, I seek to contribute to the ongoing discussion of sustainable tourism by emphasizing the significance of the sociocultural impact of tourism on residents, and the need to prioritize local communities in tourism development.

Tourism and the Jamaican Economy

Tourism receipts worldwide totalled approximately $1,159 billion in 2013; of this amount, $24.8 billion was generated in the Caribbean region (Word Tourism Organization 2014). Last year, Jamaica received the third highest number of stopover tourists in the Caribbean, following Cuba and the Dominican Republic, with 2,008,409 total visitors (Caribbean Tourism Organization 2014). Tourism receipts overall in Jamaica have increased over the last decade, with tourism contributing $1.1 billion, or 25.6% in direct and indirect contributions, to the Gross Domestic Product. Travel and tourism directly supported 82,000 jobs in 2013, or 7.0% of total employment, and indirectly supported 274,500 jobs, or 23.4% of total employment (World Travel & Tourism Council 2012).The increasing importance of all-inclusive resorts, however, has left smaller hotel units vulnerable to declining occupancy rates. All-inclusive hotel stays have remained on the rise for the last several years, with the number of room nights sold increasing by nearly one million between 2006 and 2010. For those same years, there was a steady decline for non all-inclusive hotels (Jamaica Tourist Board 2011). Recently, there has been significant hotel expansion in the most popular resort destinations of Ocho Rios, Montego Bay, and Negril, resulting from the foreign direct investment of large Spanish hotel chains (Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit 2011).

The Jamaican economy has become progressively more reliant on both tourism and remittances for its gross domestic product (GDP), yet remains blighted with consistently high unemployment rates and considerable national debt. The unemployment rate is approximately 14%, with the highest numbers of unemployed citizens falling within the 25-34 age group for both men and women (Statistical Institute of Jamaica 2012). The debt-to-GDP ratio is a crucial concern when considering the economic climate in Jamaica, as it is one of the most indebted countries in the world. The country has maintained a debt-to-GDP ratio of approximately 120%, and its interest burden has averaged 13% since 2006 (Weisbrot 2011). This debt and the interest payments it has incurred have led to reductions

in government spending on infrastructure, health care, and education in the country over the last decade (Johnston & Montecino 2011; Weisbrot 2011). Crime has had a negative impact on the Jamaican economy, including detrimental effects on tourism to the country and the amount of spending to control violent crimes. Jamaica currently has a murder rate of 39.3 per 100,000 inhabitants, the majority of which involve firearms. This is the highest rate in the Caribbean and ranks among the highest six murder rates in the world (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2014). Violent crime in Jamaica has been found to be a deterrent to tourists, particularly those from Europe, although the development of all-inclusive resorts as tourist 'enclaves' has mitigated this impact to an extent (de Albuquerque 1999; Alleyne & Boxill 2003; Issa & Jayawardena 2003).

The topic of sustainability in tourism and its relationship to development is one that frequently explores the environmental impact of the industry (Hunter 1997; McKercher 1993; Cohen 2002). The aspects of sustainability that are of relevance to this discussion, however, are those that seek to determine the ways in which tourism development can benefit and protect residents. On the topic of tourism in developing nations, and specifically in the Caribbean, researchers have been concerned with the problems of inequity and exclusion for local populations (Cohen 2002; McDavid & Ramajeesingh 2003; Crick 2003; Boxill 2004; Pattullo 2005). Tourism research has indicated that revenues from tourism in Caribbean countries generally benefit foreign business owners more than local citizens (Turner & Ash 1976; Pattullo 2005). The overdependence of the Caribbean on the tourism industry calls into question the extent to which tourism equates with growth for island nations (Jayawardena & Ramajeesingh 2003). The all-inclusive industry itself has been questioned for its ability to provide opportunities for local industries and workers. Despite its attraction for tourists seeking to escape to island destinations, enclave tourism has proven to be problematic for communities left outside of its protective boundaries (Freitag 1994; Crick 2003; Boxill 2004). Sustainable tourism development in the region requires consideration of the aspects of the industry that continue to be detrimental for residents of these locales.

As demonstrated in the above figures, tourism in Jamaica has clearly generated a great deal of revenue. However, the utilisation of tourism as a way to provide sustainable support to the economy has had a problematic impact on the island. According to a 2008 IMF report, economic growth in Jamaica has not correlated with increases in the tourism sector (International Monetary Fund 2008). Tourism research has indicated that revenues from tourism in Caribbean countries generally benefit foreign business owners more than local citizens (Turner & Ash 1976; Pattullo 2005). Leakage of tourist revenue, which occurs when foreign investments fail to stay inside the country, averages approximately 80% for the region. For Jamaica specifically, there is high foreign exchange outflow (nearly 40%) of revenue to foreign hotel owners' countries and few linkages with the local economy indicate that much of the tourism earnings do not stay in the country

(Jayawardena & Ramajeesingh 2003; Williams & Deslandes 2008; World Bank 2011). The mining industry has declined, now employing just one percent of the labour force, due to the lack of linkages with other economic sectors and the importation of most goods and services (World Bank 2011). Although efforts have been made to create better linkages between tourist resorts and local farmers, research suggests that this has not yet had a significant benefit for agricultural producers (Thomas-Hope & Jardine-Comrie 2007). Furthermore, the promotion of tourism in the country has corresponded with the neglect of local residents regarding environmental and health concerns that directly impact the population. The environmental burdens of tourism in Jamaica include the removal of coral reefs and wetlands, along with increased water usage and solid waste, and water pollution in resort areas (Thomas-Hope & Jardine-Comrie 2007; Dodman 2009; National Environment and Planning Agency 2011). The National Environmental Protection Agency (NEPA) has indicated that tourism is one of the major strains put on natural resources in Jamaica, including energy, water, raw materials, beaches, and waste disposal facilities. According to Dodman (2009: 213), 'Provisioning for the demands of international tourists, given the importance placed on this economic sector, has meant that providing proper environmental and sanitation services for hotels has often taken precedence over similar programmes for Jamaican citizens.'

Similarly, evidence from the health sector in Jamaica indicates that efforts to create workplace policies for HIV/AIDS education programming and testing, as well as attempts toward the provision of condoms in hotels, have not been successful (Figueroa 2008; Johnson 2012). Transactional sex with tourists has become a way for many men and women in the Caribbean to benefit from the industry despite their low socioeconomic status, low educational attainment, and lack of employability in the formal tourism sector. Studies applying anthropological methods for sex tourism research have demonstrated the significance of this type of tourism in communities that rely on the industry. The work of Cabezas (2002; 2009), Kempadoo (2001; 2004), Mullings (1999), O'Connell Davidson and Sánchez-Taylor (1999), Pruit and LaFont (1995), and Sánchez-Taylor (2001) among others, describes the motivations of Caribbean women and men who utilize sex work as a means for gaining opportunities to improve their lives. Similar work, by such researchers as Aggleton (1999) and Padilla (2007, 2008), illustrate the practice of sex tourism among men who have sex with men (MSM) in the region. The implications of sex and tourism for the study of STI and HIV infection in the Caribbean are vast. As the region with the second highest overall prevalence rates of HIV/AIDS to Sub-Saharan Africa, understanding the link between sex and the tourism industry is vital for HIV prevention programming. The research of Boxill et al. (2005), Figueroa (2006, 2008; Figueroa et al. 2005), Kempadoo and Taitt (2006), and Padilla (2007; 2010; Padilla et al. 2008) has made significant progress towards demonstrating the negative effects of tourism on the

sexual health of Caribbean residents in tourist destinations. This is particularly problematic considering the incidence of sex tourism in Caribbean resort destinations; in Jamaica, the parishes with tourism-based economies have the highest HIV prevalence rates after its most urbanized area of St. Andrew (National HIV/STI Programme 2013). Despite work conducted by the Ministry of Health and Tourism Product Development Company (TPDCo), some tourism entities have expressed perceptions that the promotion of workplace policies on discrimination and HIV/AIDS education in resort areas will deter tourists from visiting (Figueroa 2008; Health Economics Unit 2009).

Local Perceptions of Tourism Shifts

While the effects of tourism on Caribbean populations are not universal, there are evidently negative sociocultural impacts for those who do not reap economic benefits from the growing tourism sector (de Albuquerque 1999; Mullings 1999; Taylor 1993; Cunningham 2006; Cabezas 2008). Many of the local women and men who have access to employment opportunities in the industry hold unskilled positions with relatively low social and income statuses, yet high turnover rates (Dunn & Dunn 2002; Pattullo 2005). Because of the structures that maintain exclusivity in the demand for tourism workers, as well as marginalize a large segment of the work force, opportunities for many Caribbean people to work legally in this sector are limited (Cabezas 2008). Increased tourism promotion leads to greater risk of criminalization for local people, as shown in current harassment laws that leave local vendors, taxi operators, and sex workers at risk of being arrested for interacting inappropriately with tourists (de Albuquerque 1999; Gmelch 2003; Mullings 1999; Ajagunna 2006). Local perspectives of tourism have been found to include perceived increases in crime, prostitution, and drug use in communities reliant upon tourism (Taylor 1993; Dunn & Dunn 2002; Pattullo 2005). Caribbean governments, including that of Jamaica, seem to avoid addressing illicit tourism-related practices in order to emphasize the overall benefit that tourist dollars bring to the region (Mullings 1999; Grenade 2007). The agendas of this and other Caribbean governments and private stakeholders promoting tourism include the elicitation of a natural, authentic sense of place and people for the consumption of tourists (Bolles 1992; Mullings 1999; Black 2001). Cultural forms, including music, language, food, and dance, are offered to foreign visitors along with accommodations and services as part of the tourism agenda. Tourists are provided relaxing settings in which they can consume the music of Bob Marley, cold Red Stripe beers, and select phrases of the local patois. Local people are expected to support this agenda for the 'greater good,' despite the lack of benefits that they may receive from participation in this, in effect, selling of place. The government here, as elsewhere, has encouraged appropriate behaviour and general friendliness towards tourists with 'Be Nice' campaigns in the past, and currently through the

'Team Jamaica' training for tourism-related workers (Turner & Ash 1976; Crick 2003). The Jamaican government is not a monolithic power that promotes tourism to the detriment of its citizens; there are, instead, multiple political and economic forces at work, with the tourism industry revealing alternate beneficial and detrimental roles.

The purpose of the research on which this paper is based was to explore the sociocultural, economic, and health impact of sex tourism in Negril, Jamaica. Unlike much of the previous work conducted on the topic, this ethnographic study aimed to reveal the ways in which the local population is affected by the practice, and to propose plausible solutions for reducing its negative ramifications for the sexual health of local male sex workers. Over the course of nine months spent in Negril, I conducted observations in places where interactions between locals and tourists were common, including beaches, restaurants, bars, and clubs. In addition, 53 total interviews were conducted on the topic of sex tourism with local residents, foreign tourists, health officials, and heads of multiple health-related NGOs in Jamaica. Of particular relevance here are the resident interviews in Negril, which included a variety of participants who work in the tourism industry. Shared perceptions of the tourism industry, along with its positive and negative associations for local men and women, illustrate relevant factors of tourism sustainability in Negril and demonstrate the varying degrees of marginalization within this particular population. The question with which interviews began asked how tourism has impacted Negril. For the most part, interview participants were able to state both positive and negative effects of tourism in the resort town, and the majority found the positive impact to be more significant. Among the benefits of tourism, both economic and social aspects were cited, such as financial and employment opportunities, cultural exchanges between Jamaicans and foreign tourists, and improved exposure to technology for locals. Tourism workers who have never left the island find opportunities to learn about the world through interactions with tourists; work in the industry provides access to spaces that are generally designated for tourists only.

Residents interviewed for the study found the negative aspects of tourism to include increased crime, drug use, harassment, sex work, and sexually transmitted infections (STIs), as well as a decline in moral standards. One interviewee, a 33 year-old self-identified 'hustler'[1] born in Negril stated:

> What tourism do to this place? Tourism uplift this place. We live off tourism. Without tourism here, lot of people don't have a job. 'Caw when is a low season for tourism, most hotel lay off people, so when they lay off people now that's when you get more people out of work, so that's where you get more crime or more people lay back, and then they will go violent and then they gotta turn to something different.

Similarly, taxi drivers and employees in bars and restaurants frequently shared complaints about the lack of tourists during the slow season. One informant who sells CDs for a living said during an interview that he planned to leave Negril: 'I

can't take it anymore here. If the tourists is not here, there's no money here.' Due to the decrease in popularity of Spring Break, there seem to be fewer periods of heavy tourist influx outside of the large resorts than in the past, which has clearly taken a toll on vendors, transportation workers, and small business owners. Several other participants, both Jamaican and foreign-born, stated that there would be no Negril without tourism. As a fishing village turned vacation spot for hippie tourists in the 1960s, the resort town has seen incredible economic and demographic shifts during the course of its growth. The head of the Negril's Chamber of Commerce, an organization involved in local tourism promotion and the closest entity to a governing body in the town, mentioned in an interview that he believes up to 90% of the current population of Negril originates outside of the town.

A significant component of the changes that have occurred in Negril over the last twenty years involves the springing up of all-inclusive resorts along its Sevenmile beach and adjacent cliffs. As a town with little development until the 1990s, accommodations in Negril once included mainly guesthouses and small hotels (of under 50 rooms) that were owned by Jamaican nationals. In order to restrict the development of large structures, the Negril Land Authority only allowed buildings that did not exceed the height of the tallest tree in the area. However, government efforts to promote the development of tourist accommodations have since provided tax incentives to foreign hoteliers and allowed the importation of construction material. These incentives have encouraged the building of large, all-inclusive properties by international chains. This change is particularly perceptible to native Negrilians and long-term tourism workers who have been in the town for the last decade or more. One informant, a 45 year-old taxi driver, has been living just outside of Negril and working in the town for over fifteen years. When asked about the impact of tourism in Negril, he suggested that all-inclusives have a significant impact on the local industry. He expressed that tourism in general has been 'going down since '97,' and that it is now harder to find tourists to take on tour, since the majority have all-inclusive packages for that purpose. In the aforementioned interview with Negril's Chamber of Commerce, the president of the organization spoke about the political challenges of directing tourism in Negril towards creating benefits for the local population. Because the Ministry of Tourism is influenced by 'industry players,' he finds that the interests of the larger hotel chains are protected more than those of smaller, locally owned businesses. The theme of all-inclusives was a common one during interviews with hoteliers and tourism employees alike. The proprietor of a beach hotel who has owned the establishment for over twenty years shared that while his guests spend money at restaurants, bars, tourist sites, and use local transportation, large hotel chain guests prepay and tend to buy things only within their chosen resort. Andrew, a 33 year-old 'hustler,' also spoke about tourists who fail to leave the confines of the allinclusives: 'Dem fantasize Jamaica, save dey money for days, weeks, years, come here, but nevah reach. 'Dem nah really wanna socialize wit' de people like dat,

'dem nah mind go in a all-inclusive hotel, eat di food, drink de beer, an go back ah dem yard. [They fantasize about Jamaica, they save money to come here, but they never really arrive. They don't really want to socialize with people, they don't mind staying in the all-inclusive eating, drinking, and then going back home.]' This quote is indicative of a feeling among some local people that tourists, by confining themselves to all-inclusive resorts, fail to interact with Jamaican people and experience their culture.

This particular informant also spoke of tourists' fears regarding locals in the resort town. Andrew finds that tourists are afraid of vendors due to the warnings of travel agents and hotel employees who insist that they avoid people on the beach. Several other interviewees suggested similar perceptions about tourists' fears, and their inclinations to stay inside resort compounds as a result. This is an aspect of a broader topic, that of tourist harassment, which came up in nearly every interview conducted for this study. Negril residents find that tourists are frequently harassed by vendors who will not take 'no' for an answer while they are attempting to sell their wares, be they crafts or illegal drugs. Tourist harassment is enough of a concern to business owners that it is a frequent topic of discussion for the members of Negril's Chamber of Commerce. During an interview at the local branch of the Tourism Product Development Company, which handles mandatory training and licensing for tourism employees throughout the country, the representative stated that training includes steps on approaching and dealing with tourists. However, she finds that vendors who pass the training still incite complaints from tourists about their aggressive approaches to selling, and blames it on lack of education and the 'mentality' of the people. Vendors, from her perspective, can be excessively persistent and take the attitude that they are owed something by foreign tourists they view as being wealthy. Local men and women can be charged with harassment by the police as well as the Courtesy Corps, which protects tourist areas and has recently granted its officers the ability to arrest. In addition to complaints about tourist harassment, many local persons shared their experiences regarding the unfair manner in which some residents are accused of the behaviour. Several interview participants stated that vendors are unduly hassled by police for selling merchandise without licenses or for bothering potential tourist clients. This criminalization of local people is an extreme example of the unsustainable nature of the current tourism model, whereby foreign visitors are isolated and protected while residents are restricted and punished due to this 'need' for protection.

Discussion

The significance of the tourism industry in the Caribbean is undeniable in terms of its economic impact. For Jamaica, it has provided stable revenue at a time of decline for other long-standing industries. Due to the nation's situation of extreme indebtedness, participation in the global economy through tourism is required to

boost the foreign currency generated by remittances and mining. This reliance on tourism, however, presents multiple challenges when considered from the perspective of sustainability. The lack of linkages between tourism and other sectors, particularly agriculture, relates to the problem of leakage in Jamaica: the importation of food, construction materials, and various supplies for hotels means that tourism revenue frequently leaves the country while local industries continue to suffer. Additionally, the sociocultural ramifications of tourism have left an indelible mark on residents of resort areas. The number of jobs created by the industry, while noteworthy, does not solve the significant unemployment and underemployment problems for local populations. Residents working both formally and informally in the tourism sector are subject to shifts that involve increasing all-inclusive accommodations and the decline of locally owned businesses. Some educated, skilled workers can attain formal employment in the tourism sector, while many struggle to find spaces within the informal tourism industry in which to earn a living.

Negril is a magnet for entrepreneurial men and women from various parts of the island seeking to earn from the exceedingly profitable tourism industry. Men in Negril are apt to self-identify as 'hustlers' when their incomes are generated through jobs selling CDs, jewellery, souvenirs, and drugs, among other items, to foreign tourists. In addition, many local men take on the roles of informal tour guides and drivers for visitors in the town. Men who engage in hustling are often of low socioeconomic status and lack formal educations. Even successful hustlers who are able to significantly boost their incomes can be stigmatized within the local community for their participation in illegal activities, including sex tourism. There are local women who participate in these activities, yet they are more likely to identify as vendors or as sex workers, respectively. While many men are also employed as chefs, water sports operators, and construction workers, conversations and interviews with informants indicated that self-proclaimed hustlers tend to work solely in the informal sector. These men are cultural brokers who provide for visitors' needs in the tourist areas. During interviews with men who hustle tourists, some informants shared that in exchange for providing services to tourists, they can get money, gifts, invitations to parties and bars, paid drinks and meals, and trips around the island, among other compensation. Men who hustle a living tend to have increased social interactions with foreign tourists, putting them in positions to sell sex to these guests as well. These men, known locally as 'gigolos,' act as companions, tour guides, and protectors of women spending their vacations on the island. In return for sex and companionship, the men receive gifts, cash, local tours, and opportunities to travel abroad. In Negril, as in other tourism destinations, men who work as taxi drivers and hotel entertainers are perceived as regular participants in sex tourism. Hustling can be viewed as a last resort option for local individuals seeking ways to participate in the growing profits from tourism, yet lack the skills to find gainful employment in the hotel chains that consist-

ently spring up in resort areas. Despite the threat raised by the significant police presence for these individuals, they make a living by offering services, either wanted or unwanted, to tourists from the periphery of tourist enclaves. By hustling a living, illicitly selling unlicensed tourism services, drugs, and/or sex, some individuals make opportunities to earn from the sector where there otherwise would be none. Many are caught between the tourist demand for illegal activities and the ever-increasing presence of law enforcement to shelter foreign visitors.

As in other tourist resort areas in Jamaica and throughout the Caribbean, Negril provides an escape for vacationers from abroad seeking the sun, sand, sex, and sea that these islands offer. It is a place that was created and has been maintained as a touristic space where foreign visitors are catered to by Jamaican men and women. The question remains as to whether or not the development of tourism can be relied upon as a sustainable source of revenue and employment. The increasing numbers of cruise ship passengers and stopover visitors are not likely to decline significantly in the very near future. However, the issues of indebtedness, underemployment, and crime are inextricably linked with the crime and harassment that tourists experience on vacation in Jamaica. This, in turn, leads more visitors to choose to remain inside all-inclusive resorts, leaving local residents modest gains from the tremendous profitability of the industry. Finally, the increased STI/HIV prevalence in popular tourist centres adds to the vulnerability of already marginalized local populations. Because condom use and HIV prevention efforts are perceived as threats to the tourism product, the sexual health of residents seems to come second to the state tourism agenda. In order for tourism to be a sustainable enterprise for the future, alternative models of tourism that are more inclusive of local populations must be considered. This would include the development of better linkages with other industries and improvements to the local infrastructure, allowing for increased and consistent employment opportunities for residents.

Conclusion

The published literature and results of the ethnographic research cited here indicate that, for many Caribbean people, residents' needs have been subsumed to perceived profits from the tourism industry. Recent tourism shifts have left a significant portion of the population without the resources required to benefit fully from the industry; the enclaves constructed to attract tourists have effectively kept residents from reaping its benefits. While these issues are certainly concerns for many researchers and government officials in Jamaica, a dire need exists for further consideration of local communities in the creation and maintenance of tourism policy. The issues of profitability should be weighed in relation to the long-term sustainability of tourism development in Jamaica and other islands with tourism-based economies throughout the region. The tourism-based agenda of the

state cannot be entirely effective as long as the industry is developed without regards to the issue of equity and sustainability for local communities.

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Notes

[1] The term 'hustler' in Negril is generally used to describe men who work in the informal, and often illicit, tourism industry. These men work various jobs as unlicensed taxi and tour services, street vendors, drug dealers, and other forms of employment through which they 'hustle' tourists for money.

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