Chapter One

Introduction

I have been conducting research in Hikkaduwa since 2010 and my first focus was on economic and sociocultural changes accompanying touristic development. As a result of that study, it became apparent that people in touristic areas have converted their employment to the tourism sector from traditional livelihoods such as fishing, coir rope making and lime industry. Moreover, in analyzing the tourism development process and present condition, economic development and advancement of social status, empowerment of women, influences of intimate relations formed with tourists, acquisition of foreign languages, changes in life values and attitudes, and changes in perceived sociocultural impacts, were revealed as effects of tourism development in Hikkaduwa.

Among those impacts, intimate relationships with tourists could be identified as the most significant factor. Many people in the Hikkaduwa tourism sector have cultivated intimate relationships with a tourist/tourists (female/male) and tourist families in different countries. Within those relationships, long-term relationships extending to international marriages also existed. When I further examined international marriages, it became clear that although there were international marriages in the past between male tourists and local women, at present, female tourists and local men’s marriages have shown an increase. Of those who have married to female tourists, some settled in Hikkaduwa becoming successful businessmen. Some are said to be living overseas after the marriage. At the same time, there were some young men who still making attempts to initiate relations with female tourists and they were reputed as ‘beach boys’. Young men who have already part of international marriages were also revealed as former beach boys. As per my knowledge, beach boys mostly had a bad reputation in Sri Lanka as ‘men-for-nothing’ (e.g. loiterers, perverts, drug addicts). But, what I noticed in Hikkaduwa was a quite different picture than I had imagined. Therefore I found a necessity to investigate beach boys and their relations with female tourists to gain a better understanding of beach boys.

Hence the objective of this study was to offer a new perspective of beach boys analyzing their motivations and perceptions of the general public more broadly. This study assumed that the relationship involving beach boys and female tourists at present is closer to the phenomenon of romance tourism rather than sex tourism. Therefore, first, existing concepts of sex tourism and romance tourism were rearranged. Then empirical surveys were conducted in Hikkaduwa in order to explore beach boys and their international marriages, and perception of Hikkaduwa tourism related, non-tourism related and the general public towards beach boys. It was revealed that current beach boys’ main motivation is migration through international marriages and they have
Rewritten the script normally associated with beach boys by being empowered economically, socially and psychologically. Thus, local people's perceptions towards beach boys have also changed to more favorable ones with the increase of beach boys’ motivations and their empowerment. Finally, a new definition for beach boys was also offered. Moreover, it was apparent that relations and international marriages involving beach boys and female tourists embody deeper meanings just as it does with other people in general. Thus, findings of this study confirmed that their relationship is rather similar to the concept of romance tourism.

1 Background of the Study

As far as beach boys and their relations with female tourists (international marriages) are concerned, they have been discussed under the context of sex tourism or romance tourism. There had been a close connection between tourism and sex from the first phase of tourism development. Reports were written on tourism-oriented prostitution even by the time of 1960s and 1970s. But, detailed studies began to be conducted into the spread of negative impacts due to rapid growth of tourism worldwide as a lucrative income generating option. Prostitution or sex tourism was one of the most emphasized issues, and especially with the awareness of HIV/AIDS and Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STD) in the 1980s, a disproportionately large number of research studies were done on that respect (Agrusa, 2003; Cohen, 1988; Eldemire-Shearer and Bailey, 2008; Forsythe et al., 1998; Weniger et al., 1991).

The onset of sex tourism has been marked by affluent male tourists, who visited less developed countries in order to find exotic pleasures. Studies related to sex tourism have examined different issues such as exploitation/trafficking of women and children for sex work (Jeffreys, 2000, 2003; Kempadoo, 1996; Leung, 2003; O’Brien, 2009; Rao, 1999, 2003; Ryan and Hall, 2001; Yea, 2003), child sex tourism (Hoose, et al., 2000; Josiam et al, 1998; Leung, 2003; O’Connell, 2000; Truong, 1990), and the spread of STD and HIV/AIDS (Agrusa, 2003; Cohen, 1988; Eldemire-Shearer and Bailey, 2008; Forsythe et al., 1998; Weniger et al., 1991). Most studies focused on Southeast Asia, Caribbean Islands and other Western countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand. The sex trade is a worldwide industry operating in some countries as a well-established foreign exchange earner. Until today it has been developed vastly fulfilling diverse demands of tourists offering various sexual pleasures including oral sex, anal sex, threesomes, voyeurism, virgins and straight/gay/bi sexual partners in sex related establishments such as brothels, nightclubs, strip clubs and massage parlors. Specifically there were organized sex tours even since the 1980s (Truong, 1990), and at present the Internet is also playing a pivotal role in the industry of both domestic and international prostitution (Koken et al., 2004; Parsons et al., 2001;
As such, sex tourism has been generally considered a lucrative commercial industry. Even though there are scholars who have broadly argued the aspects of sex tourism (Clift and Carter, 2000; Cohen, 1983, 2003; Ryan and Kinder, 1996; Ryan and Hall 2001), all of them have ended up analyzing multifaceted sexual relationships in tourism (commercial/non-commercial, voluntary/exploited) under the context of sex tourism. For instance, Oppemann (1999) presented a multidimensional framework for sex tourism in a broader view, to understand ‘sex tourism’ beyond the typical definition of ‘sex tourism as tourism for commercial sex purposes’. He argued for the use of six parameters related to sex tourism including travel purpose, monetary exchange, length of time spent together, sex seeker-provider relationship, sexual encounter, and the question of who travels. In discussing these parameters he focused on differentiating sex tourism from prostitution. Ryan (2000) also discussed romance between regular partners on travel, sexual encounters among travelers as a part of sex tourism paradigms. Ryan and Hall (2001) also included holiday romance (with no sex worker) and casual encounters, when arguing sex tourism encounters and paradigms of sex tourism. They have analyzed all the non-commercial, commercial, voluntary and exploited dimensions of sexual encounters under the context of sex tourism. But, I assume more complicated and protracted relationships between tourists and locals should be understood in a different way from the existing views of sex tourism, especially because there is a huge sex market solely for commercial purposes, and issues related to that have also been discussed under the same sex tourism.

On the contrary, with the increase of female tourists’ travel around the globe, a new phenomenon called romance tourism emerged in the mid 1990s. Sexual relations between female tourists and local men were identified by the 1980s, but scholars began to focus on it from the 1990s (Brown, 1992; Meish, 1995; Pruitt and LaFont, 1995). At this point beach boys were also identified as local men operating in informal tourism industry providing various services to tourists including sexual pleasures for female tourists. However, most of the studies focused on relationships between female tourists and local men (beach boys), acknowledging emotional attachments and protracted relationships between both parties, which focus on long-term benefits rather than a direct monetary exchange (Dahles and Bras, 1999; Herold, et al, 2001; Nyanzi, et al, 2005; Pruitt and LaFont, 1995). Specifically, introducing ‘romance tourism’ to discuss local men and female tourists’ relationships, Pruitt and LaFont (1995) claimed that both local men and female tourists expect a relationship beyond simply fulfilling sexual needs, and such protracted relationships cannot be found in sex tourism, which male tourists practice. But, some acknowledged that long-term relationships and even international marriages between male tourists and local women (sex workers) could be found (Brennan, 2001, 2004; Cabezas, 2004; Cohen, 1982, 2003; Seabrook, 1996). Thus, it becomes apparent that ‘romance tourism’, which Pruitt and LaFont (1995) discussed, requires further research. However, despite their main arguments, all the...
studies that have been discussed in this study have mentioned protracted relationships between female tourists and local men. And most female tourists consider their sexual relationships with local men as ‘real love’.

However, studies can be seen, which argued that female tourists also practice sex tourism, not romance tourism (De Albuquerque, 1998a; Kempadoo, 2001; Sanchez, 2000, 2001, 2006). Their findings can be true with sexual behavior of certain female tourists, but these studies have raised their arguments placing particular attention to the concepts of female ‘romance tourism’ and male ‘sex tourism’, and have ended up justifying female tourists as also ‘sex tourists’ who practice sex tourism similar to male tourists. But, the group that asserted their relationship is ‘real love’ or ‘romance’ has been totally neglected in these studies. Therefore, I assume there should be new theoretical approaches to address these gaps in the sexual relationships in tourism. Further, Dahles and Bras (1999) and Herold et al (2001) claimed that relationships between female tourists and local men (beach boys) should be discussed in a broader view beyond existing sex tourism and romance tourism concepts. But, ultimately those studies also have not offered a theoretical approach beyond sex tourism to understand their arguments more precisely.

Hence, this study posits that relationships extending to a marriage cannot be argued as merely a sexual one, and therefore it cannot be discussed only within the context of sex tourism, which is predominantly focused as a commercial industry. Hence, this study examines beach boys in Hikkaduwa and their relationships with female tourists in a wider perspective, rearranging existing concepts of both sex tourism and romance tourism.
2 Research Objectives

I accept sexual relations cannot be sharply divided into sex tourism or romance tourism. But, it is obvious that there are some elements, which cannot be discussed only within the framework of sex tourism. For instance, is it logical or ethical to use the term ‘sex tourist’ to describe the people who end up in an emotional bond or a successful marriage with a local man or woman/a fellow tourist/or even with a sex worker? Is it logical or ethical to call a local man/woman a ‘sex worker/prostitute’ just because he/she is compelled to choose establishing relationships with tourists or international marriage/migration as a life strategy? This study posits that these emotional and sexual activities in tourism may embody deeper meanings, just as they do with other people in general. Hence, this study assumes that some elements of sexual relations in tourism cannot be discussed under sex tourism itself, and the concept of romance tourism should also be involved in order to gain a wider understanding of these relations. Accordingly, this study hypothesizes that the relationship between female tourists and beach boys at present is closer to the concept of romance tourism rather than sex tourism. Therefore, one of the objectives of this study is to argue that hypothesis, rearranging existing concepts of sex tourism and romance tourism.

By rearranging existing concepts of sex tourism and romance tourism, this study mainly focuses on the relationship involving beach boys and female tourists. As far as studies related to beach boys are concerned, it can be said that the term ‘beach boy’ has been identified in academic history from early the 1990s (Arachchi, 2011; Beddoe, 1998; Brown, 1992; Cabezas, 2004; Dahles and Bras, 1999; De Albuquerque, 1998a; Herold et al., 2002; Kempadoo, 2001; Miller, 2011; Nyanzi et al., 2005; Sanchez, 2001; Venables, 2009). Most of the studies have identified beach boys’ role in tourism and their motivations (Arachchi, 2011; Brown, 1992; Cabezas, 2004; Dahles & Bras, 1999; Herold et al., 2001; Miller, 2011; Nyanzi et al., 2005; Sanchez, 2001; Venables, 2009). At the same time, some have discussed perceptions of the local community (Brown, 1992), and outsiders’ view in detail (Nyanzi et al., 2005).

However, it can be said that although some studies have discussed beach boys and their relationships with female tourists broadly (Dahles and Bras, 1999; Herold et al., 2001), still there can be seen a lack in theoretical analysis. Moreover, none of the studies have discussed international marriages involving beach boys and female tourists in detail. Hence, to understand tourists’ and local people’s relationships in a broader view; this study specifically discusses beach boys, their international marriages with female tourists, and beach boys’ empowerment in the community. Beddoe (1998) argued that beach boys in Sri Lanka provided marijuana to the hippies in the 1970s, batik and gems to the mass tourists in the 1980s, and children to the pedophiles in the 1990s. According to this argument it can be assumed that the role of the today’s beach boy is also different than the 1990s.
Secondly this study hypothesizes that beach boys’ motivations change with time in terms of the circumstances on their side, and as well as the tourists’ side, and at present their involvement in tourism is an advancement strategy rather than a survival strategy. Thirdly due to an increase of beach boys’ motivations and their empowerment, perceptions of general society have changed from negative to more favorable ones. Thus, the second objective of this study is to offer a new perspective of beach boys by clarifying these hypotheses. Taking the above points into consideration the questions stated below are addressed.

Theoretical question:
Which sexual relations count as sex tourism?
Which sexual relations count as romance tourism?

Empirical questions:
Is the term ‘beach boy’ a locally well-known term in Sri Lanka?
Why do/did young men in beach communities become ‘beach boys’?
As Miller (2011) identified, are beach boys former child prostitutes?
As Beddoe (1998) stated, are beach boys changing according to the tourists’ demand?
If they change, what do today’s beach boys do?
Why do beach boys focus on international marriages?
What will happen to them after their international marriage?
How does the general public perceive beach boys?
Is there a conflict between beach boys and the local community?
What is the legal stance on beach boys?

Further, as it was apparent that most studies have not given a definition for beach boys, a definition for ‘beach boy’ will also be offered analyzing the findings of this study as well as previous studies. Concerning studies in Sri Lanka, beside the research done in the early 1980s (Mendis, 1981; Ratnapala, 1984; Samarasuriya, 1982), and the detailed anthropological study of Crick (1994), there cannot be found any sociological or anthropological research studies, which addressed the elements of international tourism in Sri Lanka profoundly. Furthermore, there cannot be seen any thorough studies, which examined beach boys and their international marriages with female tourists. Thus, this study assumed to fill the huge gap in sociological tourism studies, and offer a broader meaning beyond the existing understanding of sex and sex work in Sri Lanka.
3 Methodology

As previously stated, this study is an extension of my Masters research, and there are three main hypotheses.

1) The relationship between female tourists and beach boys at present is closer to the concept of romance tourism rather than sex tourism.

2) Beach boys’ involvement in tourism has changed to an advancement strategy, rather than a survival strategy.

3) Due to an increase of beach boys’ motivations and their empowerment, perceptions of the general society have also changed from negative to more favorable ones.

Both a theoretical survey and an empirical survey were utilized in order to clarify the above hypotheses.

3.1 Content of the theoretical and empirical survey

Previous studies related to sex tourism and romance tourism, beach boys, tourism related international marriages and migration were analyzed to understand the theoretical view of the study. To collect studies pertaining to sex work, beach boys and the tourism industry in Sri Lanka, visits were made to Public Library, Colombo and University of Kelaniya, and other materials related to the Hikkaduwa tourism sector were collected at Hikkaduwa Divisional Secretary Office and Police Tourist Unit Narigama, Hikkaduwa.

Additionally, empirical surveys took place over several visits to Hikkaduwa, Sri Lanka from 2013 to 2015 each lasting approximately 1 ½ months. The first survey was in 2013 (during August and September); the second visit in February and March 2014; the third visit in August and September 2014, and the forth study again in February and March 2015. Methods utilized were predominantly qualitative including interviews (in-depth and informal) and participant observation. To evaluate perceptions of the general public towards beach boys and their activities, questionnaires were also administered and quantitative methods were used for overall analysis. Initially, current beach boys, former beach boys who are already married to female tourists, foreign female spouses, tourism related people, non-tourism related people in Hikkaduwa, people residing in outer cities and government officials were interviewed or included in the questionnaires. A questionnaire of the same content was administered to both tourism related and non-tourism related people in Hikkaduwa, as they know more about beach boys and their
international marriages. Questions about their personal view of beach boys, general sexual behaviors (including opinions on premarital sexual intercourse, virginity and prostitution), and migration were also included in the content of each interview and questionnaire administered to all categories.

With regard to participants in the local community in Hikkaduwa, out of 42 participants of tourism related people, I directly interviewed 26 of them, and out of 75 of non-tourism related people, I could directly discuss with 21 of them. Others were examined through a questionnaire. For that I used 5 research assistants. An acquaintance currently working in University of Kelaniya as a senior lecturer of Sociology, introduced me to students who are following an external degree course in Galle. All of them were taking sociology as a subject and already had knowledge about qualitative research methods as a part of their studies. 8 of them deliberately consented to join my work, but only 5 of them were residing in Hikkaduwa. The rest of the students assisted with collecting data from different cities in Galle. Ratnapala (1984) has pointed out that ‘data gathered by any strategy needs ‘re-interpretation’ and ‘re-formulation’ in the hands of the individual moulding and shaping them finally into a certain form’ (xviii). Likewise, participant observation and informal or in depth interviews I directly conducted with the participants in any group, were utilized to reconfirm and reformulate the data gathered by questionnaires.

11 restaurants and guesthouses, 10 souvenir shops, 7 glass-bottom boat owners, 3 guides who are married to Sri Lankan women, 5 beach vendors, 3 petty shop owners and 3 three-wheel drivers were also included in the sample of tourism related people. With regard to the non-tourism related category, people from different occupations (fishermen, farmers, labors, teachers, housewives, students and office workers) and different age groups (18-58) were included.

During my fourth field visit, I focused on the general public and more non-tourism related people in Hikkaduwa. As previously stated, most of the non-tourism related people were administered a questionnaire with the help of research assistants. But, coincidentally I had an opportunity to observe them and communicate with them closely. This time, rooms were not available where I usually stayed, and since it was tourist season, room charges were also high. Therefore, I happened to stay at a friend’s place located in inland, about 5km away from the Hikkaduwa touristic area. While I was staying there, I could experience the difference between the touristic area and inland. When I walked to the bus from their home, I was also observed as a foreigner. Although, it is safe to walk in touristic area even at night, I happened to get back home before

1 I had developed a friendship during my Masters research with a woman, working at Hikkaduwa Harbor. After that, she treated me like a younger sister, and several times asked me to stay at her place, but I chose to stay in the touristic area as it was easy for me to carry out my work and observe tourism related people especially beach boys well.
night falls at least by 7pm\(^2\). However, even though I could not keep close contacts with tourism related people and beach boys during this time, I could observe and directly interview some people living inland instead.

As far as the general public is concerned, I frequently conducted informal conversations on this subject (attitudes towards beach boys, sexual relations in Sri Lanka) from the beginning of this research in 2013, but in the fourth field study in 2015, I carried out a formal questionnaire survey by distributing a total number of 386 questionnaires to Sri Lankans in different cities, and to some people residing overseas. Responses were collected via email, Facebook and Viber as well. The breakdown of the sample according to the regions was as follows: Southern region 122, Colombo 131, cities in the midland 79 and overseas 54 (Japan 34, Australia 15, England 5). O/L and A/L students (between the age of 16-18 years old) were also included in the sample.

Moreover, I informally interviewed 17 foreigners to examine their view on the term ‘beach boy’. Although this study mainly focused on beach boys, 7 female spouses who are married to beach boys and 6 female tourists who are currently having relationships with beach boys were also interviewed in order to explore female tourists motives. On the other hand, to thoroughly understand beach boys’ motives, 14 former beach boys were also interviewed. To determine the enthusiasm spread over the country on migration, discussions were held with 24 young boys who are currently living in Japan and Australia without a scholarship, and some families who have economically advanced through labor migration in the cities such as Homagama, Maharagama, Kottawa, Malabe and Horana. For further understanding of the legal stance on child sex work and beach boys, interviews were held with Retired Chief Inspector of Police W.D.T. Wijesena, who was the Officer in Charge of the special police investigation unit in National Child Protection Authority, Officer in Charge of the Police Tourist Unit, Narigama, Hikkaduwa, and with the officials in Sri Lanka Tourism Development Authority (SLTDA).

### 3.2 Gathering data from beach boys

There was no necessity to conduct a preliminary investigation as I had already become accustomed to the field and had a basic knowledge about research problems. Therefore, the fieldwork began with informal conversations with tourism related people

\(^2\) During my Master research I used to come back to my room before night falls and usually had my dinner in the room. I wanted to keep myself safe, especially because I was new to the field. But once I started examine beach boys, I happened to become more versatile. By 2013 I have also got accustomed to the field and had confirmed that it was safe to stay out in touristic area even at night. Especially, most beach boys get free time to talk in the evening. Therefore, during this study I had dinner outside and sometimes went to nightclubs when I found some friends to accompany me, and that also became a good opportunity for observations.
and beach boys whom I had already built a rapport with. I interviewed 27 current beach boys and in depth interviews were taken place with 8 of them. At the beginning only a few of them consented to a tape-recorded interview. Understanding their reluctance, I began to take brief notes letting them talk freely. Later, field notes were written up almost regularly at night.

However, although I became accustomed to the field and established a rapport with some people, conducting this research presented new challenges from my Masters research. For my Masters, I mainly focused on tourism related people as a whole and some non-tourism related people (fishermen and women in fishing households). Even during that field study, I was initially suspected as a person related to media or CID (Criminal Investigation Department), but gathering data related to beach boys was more critical. Samarasuriya (1982) also asserted that during her field study in Hikkaduwa in 1978, she and her research assistant were viewed as ‘women of dubious character’. She stated that ‘We were under social pressure as the villagers were not used to seeing women of their own culture, especially those doing ‘serious’ work, freely gadding about, be it with books and pencils, talking to all and sundry unabashedly. Finally some treated us as a ‘joke’, for going around with books and files and taking notes of what everybody had to say! Also the fact that we talked mostly to women ‘sitting in their houses and drinking and eating with them’ made them conclude that the work we were doing was ‘women’s gossip’ and not of a serious academic nature’ (Samarasuriya, 1982:15). Somewhat similar attitudes and social pressure existed even in 2013 when I began this field study.

In comparison, people related to tourism have become used to surveys, since students from schools, universities and officials from government and private institutes frequently carry out research in Hikkaduwa, but most of them commonly focus on issues related to coral reefs or some other problems related to tourism. However, my presence in Hikkaduwa was quite different from those researchers, especially because I did not leave the field after collecting data visiting them once or twice. My face was quite familiar to the touristic area as I was visiting Hikkaduwa from 2010 at least 5 to 6 times a year during my spring and summer vacations. Therefore, as previously mentioned, I had already established connections with a considerable number of people and among them some people (aunties, some uncles married to them and elder sisters) treated me intimately like someone close to their family. But, when I began to talk to beach boys, some of them began to doubt my work. In conducting informal discussions with beach boys lasting for an hour or two at public settings, I was thus viewed as having an inner motive, especially because of the common concept around: a beach boy and a girl (female tourist) talking to each other would be for some kind of sexual purpose. As per Venables (2009) who expressed the difficulties she faced during her research on beach boys in Senegal, I also felt I was being observed in the same way that I observed others. Although I tried to explain my work—even showing them the output of my previous research—they were not ready to understand it that way. They were
confined to the sociocultural frame in Sri Lanka, and one lady spoke indirectly citing that my parents were to blame since they allowed a young girl to visit and stay in an unfamiliar place for days alone.

Usually my visit to Sri Lanka lasted 1½ months, and during that period I went into the field at least three times. Each time I spent a few days only to adjust to the environment and my work with beach boys, because I felt uneasy about the judgments of local people, especially made by people that I know. My first field study was not that successful, before I realized I would not be able to carry out my work if I cared much about what other people say or think. Therefore, from the second field study I began to stay straighter and more confident about my work, and for some time I avoided close contacts especially with the woman who severely opposed my company with beach boys. Beside the people who directly spoke to me, some other people in the community also turned a bad eye to me when I was chatting and walking along the beach with beach boys. For instance, one day when I was walking along the beach with a beach boy whom I had been talking for few hours, another man asked the beach boy ‘did you find a brownie this time?’ Specifically, when I was in the field, I was asked many times whether I am a Maldivian or Indian. Once during the second field study, I went to Hikkaduwa with one of my friends and felt my research work get more productive when with someone assisting or accompanying me. For following visits I was accompanied by the same friend at least once or twice.

### 3.3 Being a Sri Lankan and a female researcher

However, during the fieldwork I could identify some merits and drawbacks of being both a Sri Lankan and female researcher. Venables (2009) claimed that she felt uneasy and she was seemed to be putting her reputation at stake. As previously explained, as a local female it was more difficult for me to get accustomed to my work with beach boys. However, if I was a female tourist (foreigner), local people would not care much about me keeping contacts with beach boys, and even if they cared, they would not directly talk to me about that. While Venables (2009) also mentioned some acquaintances from her previous visits fell out with her due to her research work, I think a local female would undergo more social pressure than a foreign female in the same setting. However, being a local, I could easily understand their behavior, both beach boys and local community, especially because I was also brought up in such an environment where the same sociocultural aspects existed. With regard to beach boys, if I appeared as a traditional Sri Lankan or went to them with notebooks like a person from upper class or higher academic background, and with the sense of looking down on them, they would not have spoken with me. Being a Sri Lankan, coming from Colombo and living overseas aided me when befriending beach boys. Since they perceived me as a person with a different mindset, this made them accept me as a friend.
Further, I had the feeling that if I was a male researcher, I could have done more, especially because being a male would have allowed me to become more independent, more intimate to beach boys by joining their informal boy talks, going to night clubs, drinking and talking with them without any doubts or limitations like a female. But, on the other hand, I felt being a local female also served me better at times, since they preferred to talk and make contacts with girls, and especially because generally local females did not talk with them. When I conducted interviews or informal conversations with the people in all categories, a common question was raised ‘how do you manage to keep contacts with beach boys? don’t they try to seduce you?’ However, although there were some who doubted my work, I am grateful to many people who kindly assisted my work. They were supportive and broad-minded, and especially there were some women who admired me about having the confidence to carry out such work as a young girl, stating that even they cannot talk to beach boys.

As previously stated, analyzed data was frequently reconfirmed and reformulated comparing with the responses of each category and with participant observation as well. Utilizing the data gathered by both theoretical and empirical surveys, clarified the above-mentioned objectives of this study.
4 Study Area

The Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka is an island in the Indian Ocean, which has a population of 20.3 million people comprising three main ethnic groups such as 74.9% Sinhalese, 15.3% Tamil, 9.3% Muslim and 0.5% Others (Census of Population & Housing Final Report, 2012). The international tourism industry legally established in 1966 according to the Ceylon Tourist Board Act No. 10. From that point, government officials made efforts to promote Sri Lanka as a tourist destination with the intention of acquiring Foreign Exchange earnings and increasing employment opportunities. Sri Lanka has eight UNESCO world heritage sites including six cultural heritages (Sacred City of Anuradhapura, Ancient City of Polonnaruwa, Sacred City of Kandy, Ancient City of Sigiriya, Golden Temple of Dambulla and Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications), and two natural heritages (Sinharaja Forest Reserve and Central Highlands). Including these heritages, pristine beaches, wild life, traditional dances, food and its culture attract many tourists to the country.

![Figure 1-1: Tourist Arrivals to Sri Lanka 1967-2014](source)

Figure 1-1 shows total tourist arrivals to Sri Lanka from 1967 to 2014. Tourist flow has fluctuated time-to-time, due to domestic and international circumstances such as civil war, tsunami disaster, world economic crisis etc. Tourism rapidly grew from the late 1960s attracting thousands of tourists to the country, and it reached 407,230 tourist
arrivals in 1982 before the outbreak of Civil War in 1983. Since then, political unrest and sporadic terrorist attacks seriously affected the international tourism sector, stagnating tourist arrivals in 438,475 even in 2008. But since the cessation of civil war in 2009, tourists’ arrivals grew dramatically, and the portion of tourism contribution to total foreign exchange earnings in 2013 increased to 7.9 per cent from 5.2% in 2012 (Annual Statistical Report of Sri Lanka Tourism, 2013).

At present, the Sri Lanka Tourism Development Authority, which has been established under the Tourism Act, No 38 of 2005, operates as the main government body in tourism, Sri Lanka. It comprises the Sri Lanka Tourism Promotion Bureau to engage in promotions, the Sri Lanka Institute of Tourism and Hotel Management to form academically and professionally high hospitality service, and the Sri Lanka Convention Bureau to promote MICE tourism (Meetings, Incentives, Conferences and Exhibitions/Events) (Tourism Act, No 38 of 2005, 2005). In the endeavor of attracting 2.5 million tourists annually by the year 2016, beach resorts, sports and adventures, MICE, religious events, wedding and honeymoons, Ayurveda treatments, heritages, nature and wildlife, culinary, and shopping and entertainments are widely promoted (Tourism Development Strategy 2011-2016, 2010:19). Among all these attractions, the coastal strip is very popular, and it is confirmed that Sri Lanka inbound Tourism has developed with its beaches. According to the Annual Statistical Report of SLTDA (2013), the south coast has been emerged as the region where highest rates of accommodation capacity (rooms) is available (5,639), following Colombo (Colombo city 3,149; Greater Colombo 2,896).

Hikkaduwa is also located in the South region, 24km from Galle district and about 100km from Colombo. Hikkaduwa is divided into 97 Grama Niladari Divisions. It has 24km long coastal strip, which approximately 2.4km wide in the North and 4.8km wide in the South. Hikkaduwa has a land area of 63km² and a population of 114,814 people comprising 114,542 Sinhalese, 217 Tamil, 32 Muslim and 23 foreigners/others (Hikkaduwa Divisional Secretary Report, 2012). Tourism been brought in by the 1960s and developed rapidly from the 1970s. Hikkaduwa was first boasted for its untouched coral reefs, and was the first Marine Sanctuary in Sri Lanka (Hikkaduwa Special Area Management Plan, 1996). The main tourist area is from Hikkaduwa town to Narigama, but at present it has expanded to Kumarakanda and 1 to 2 km inland areas as well. Hikkaduwa is especially reputed for marine activities such as surfing, diving, snorkeling, and people can also enjoy watching coral reef, nightlife and other recreational events. There can be seen tourism associations such as Hikkaduwa Small Hotels and Restaurants Association, The Association of Tourist Board Approved Hoteliers of Hikkaduwa, Hikkaduwa Tour Guide Association, Hikkaduwa Tour Operators Association, and Hikkaduwa Glass Bottom Boat Owners Association.
Hikkaduwa has two seasons; on season/tourist season is from October to April and December to February mark the peak, and May to October is the off-season. As a solution for fewer number of tourist arrivals in the off-season, a beach festival called ‘Hikka Fest’ was organized under the guidance of Tourist Development Authority in 2007. It was held in the end of July lasting three consecutive days with Sri Lankan cultural shows, beach volleyball games, sand sculpture contests and many more recreational activities during the day time, and music events, dance parties at nights. 80% of party visitors were middle and high class Sri Lankans from Colombo. Since ‘Hikka Fest’ was the first mega beach festival held in Sri Lanka, it boomed over the country gaining both plus and minus comments. In 2009, Tourist Development Authority entrusted the organizing authority of the festival to the Galle Tourism Bureau, Hikkaduwa Divisional Secretary Office and some tourism associations in Hikkaduwa. However, from 2010, the standard of the festival dropped, and both visitors from Colombo and tourism related people in Hikkaduwa were dissatisfied with the festival held in 2011 and 2012. ‘Hikka Fest’ has not been held from 2013, but instead of massive events, each and every coastal area reputed for tourism started to organize
small beach parties in nightclubs in the area. Therefore, even in Hikkaduwa such beach parties can be seen especially in the on season. However, although tourism related people experienced many economic difficulties during the off-season, at present, a considerable number of tourist arrivals can be seen even in the off-season with the increase of tourist arrivals to Sri Lanka after the cessation of Civil War in 2009.

Hikkaduwa gets many tourist arrivals from German, Denmark, Sweden, and Japan, and from 2010 Chinese and Russians arrivals have increased. According to Tantrigama (1999), the average length of stay in Hikkaduwa is about 20 days. With regard to Sri Lankans most of them make one-day trips, as they cannot afford high accommodation rates and food prices (Tantrigama, 1999). But, as previously stated with the boom of ‘Hikka Fest’ and construction of Southern Expressway in 2011, especially middle and high class young generation visit Hikkaduwa during weekends with friends, families to relax at the beach and enjoy the fun nightlife.
5 Structure of Dissertation

This dissertation consists of six chapters. Chapter one presents the objective, methodology, introduction of the study area and the outline of the study. The main objective of this study is to examine beach boys in Sri Lanka and their life strategies in order to offer a broader perspective of beach boys than has been discussed until now. Methods utilized included in-depth interviews with beach boys, discussions with administrative officials, questionnaires to the local community (people engage in tourism and non-tourism) and the general public, as well as participant observation.

Chapter two presents a theoretical review, discussing sexual relationships in tourism as a whole in order to understand the history of sex tourism, which elements have been examined and how it developed to what it is today. Then, the phenomenon of sex tourism and romance tourism are discussed in order to determine the stance of this study. This study argues that the relationships, especially international marriages involving female tourists and beach boys cannot be identified as solely sex tourism, but a relationship forms with the association of both sexual and romantic expectations, and that relationship is assumed to be closer to romance tourism. The existing concepts of sex tourism and romance tourism are rearranged in order to clarify that hypothesis. Then the studies on beach boys are discussed in order to understand prevailing concepts of beach boys and their role in tourism. Next, prostitution and tourism related studies in Sri Lanka are reviewed to understand the history of prostitution and up to what extent tourism oriented sex-work, beach boys and international marriages have been examined. There can be seen a dearth of research on beach boys in Sri Lanka, and at the same time no studies have been done on their international marriages. Through analyzing this body of literature, the significance of this dissertation is clarified.

Chapter three focuses on the tourism industry in Hikkaduwa, specifically as a setting for sexual relationships. First it discusses the development of the tourism industry, paying particular attention to the informal tourism sector (locally based small-scale tourist establishments, tourists and their behavior), which facilitated the establishment of intimate relationships between tourists and locals. Then, various types of sexual and intimate relationships, which originated and developed from the 1970s, are arranged in order to clarify the historical transition up to present. During the 1980s and 1990s, child prostitution (between male tourists and boy child) was a main concern, and simultaneously international marriages between male tourists and local females were also prevalent. Beach boys emerged in Hikkaduwa by the early 1990s, among guides/pimps/male prostitutes. Although some of them engaged in homosexual relationships with male tourists at first—simply because they were not homosexuals by nature, but compelled to choose it only to make a living as a survival—with the increase of female tourist’s visits they gradually started initiating relationships with females. Next, reasons for a decline in local females’ sexual relations and international marriages,
the present condition of local female’s involvement, and the emergence of beach boys are illustrated.

Consequently, chapter four investigates beach boys and their life strategies (international marriages) in detail. First, it analyzes the usage of the term ‘beach boy’ in Sri Lanka in terms of academic, locals’, tourists’ and beach boys’ points of view. The term ‘beach boy’ is generally known among Sri Lankans, but mostly perceived as a bad/negative character. Even in the limited existing tourism studies (which have been done in the 1980s and 1990s), beach boys have been perceived negatively. On the other hand, most of the beach boys do not identify themselves as ‘beach boys’; instead they introduce themselves as ‘Area Guides’ or marine sport’s instructors. Therefore, in order to gain a thorough understanding of beach boys, their role in tourism, typologies and international marriages as the main motive, are examined. When discussing international marriages, both beach boys’ and female tourists’ motives towards international marriages, labor migration, the process until the marriage and life after the marriage, are discussed.

Having argued existing theoretical work and findings on beach boys and their life strategies in Hikkaduwa, chapter five focuses on presenting a new perspective of ‘beach boys’. It analyzes perceptions toward beach boys and the reasons for why people involved in tourism perceive them favorably and non-tourism people see them more negatively. Moreover, the legal stance on tourism oriented sexual activities and empowerment of beach boys are also explored. Then, a definition for ‘beach boy’ is presented, having argued whether they are child/male sex workers, and deviants.

The final chapter, chapter six presents the conclusion pointing out the originality of this study.
Chapter Two

Literature Review

In this chapter I discuss sexual relationships in tourism, both sex and romance tourism, studies related to beach boys and similar studies based on Sri Lanka. First, I survey sexual relationships in tourism as a whole, to understand the history of sex tourism, which elements have been examined and how it developed to what it is today. Then, I discuss the phenomenon of sex tourism and romance tourism in order to determine my stance in discussing the relationships, especially international marriages involving female tourists and beach boys. Next, studies on beach boys are analyzed to understand the existing arguments. Finally, studies in Sri Lanka are reviewed to grasp the history of prostitution and up to what extent tourism oriented sex work, beach boys and international marriages have been examined. Through this body of literature, I finally clarify the significance of this dissertation.

1 Sexual Relationships in the Context of Tourism

Even by the late 1960s and the 1970s some reports on tourism-oriented prostitution had been written, but many of those were not based on detailed research on the subject (Cohen, 1982). When discussing sexual relationships in tourists destinations, the word ‘prostitution’ has been used during the time of the 1970s and the 1980s and the term ‘sex tourism’ started to widely been used by the late 1980s. In most cases, both domestic and international (foreign-oriented) prostitution are linked with war (military bases, military related prostitution), ‘R and R’ (Rest and Recreation) sites, colonialism and sometimes with its own cultural, historical and political background of the country (Cohen, 1982; Harrison, 1994; Ratnapala, 1984; Ryan and Hall, 2001; Truong, 1990). Specifically international prostitution (local female and foreign men) sprung up and spread widely due to war. For example, war in Vietnam caused spread of domestic prostitution in Vietnam and gave grounds to make Thailand a ‘sex paradise’ for foreigners (Cohen, 1982; Montgomery, 2008; Truong, 1990). A similar situation could be seen between Japan and Korea (Yea, 2003), and in the Philippines and Hong Kong as well (Truong, 1990). Prior and throughout World War II, there were about 200,000 to 300,000 women, serving Japanese soldiers, recruited from Japanese colonies and other neighboring countries such as Korea, Taiwan, China, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, as well as Japan. With regard to Brazil and most of the Caribbean nations too, such kind of military or colonialism influences could be noticed. Most scholars have mentioned that prostitution is the oldest profession in the world. In many countries, sex markets already existed for locals, before the advent of tourism and where there is a booming sex industry domestic prostitution also existed as a tradition of the country or
as an impact of colonization, military/political circumstances (Agrusa, 2003; Harrison, 1994; Leung, 2003; Yea, 2003; Pruth, 2008; Rao, 2003). With the advent of tourism, people in the north began traveling to the nations of the south, mostly which were held as colonies, but at that time such Third World countries had nothing to sell to those wealthy guests, so Graburn stated that as also one of the reasons there can be seen connections with sex (first commercial purposes) from the introduction of tourism (Graburn, 1983).

As such, the onset of sex tourism was marked by affluent male tourists from developed countries (First World) who traveled to less developed countries (Third World) in order to find exotic pleasures. Often international tourism referred to as the four ‘S’s – sun, sex, sea, and sand (Crick, 1989). Research related to tourism and sex, emerged by the 1970s. Some of them examined commercial and non-commercial sexual relationships, while some were discussing so called both aspects in sexual relationships in tourism. Most studies related to sex tourism have mainly focused on different forms of prostitution and the issues involved. For example, exploitation and trafficking of women and children for sex work (長谷川, 2007; Jeffreys, 2000, 2003; Kempadoo, 1996; Leung, 2003; O’Brien, 2009; Rao, 1999, 2003; Ryan and Hall, 2001; Yea, 2003), child sex tourism, child prostitution (Hoose, et al., 2000; 井上, 2001; Josiam et al, 1998; Leung, 2003; Loiselle, 1998; O’Connell, 2000; Truong, 1990) and relating to Sexually Transmitted Diseases especially HIV/AIDS (Agrusa, 2003; Cohen, 1988; Eldemire-Shearer and Bailey, 2008; Forsythe et al., 1998; Weniger et al., 1991) have been frequently discussed. Many studies related to prostitution or sex tourism have mostly focused on Southeast Asia commencing with Thailand, the Philippines, Cambodia, Vietnam; Australia, Caribbean Island including Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Gambia, Cuba; Western countries such as United States, United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand.

While there are countries renowned for sex tourism, sex trade can be seen anywhere in the world including Europe, North America, Latin America, Asia, Africa, Oceania (Harrison, 1994; O’Connell 1996). Since the main focus of the research had been on the commercial side, sex tourism was generally perceived as commercial sex tourism. According to McKercher and Bauer, that perception has given misleading impressions on the relationship of sex and tourism, as only commercial sex tourists engage in sexual acts while traveling and only tourists engage in sexual acts in a tourist destination. However, the majority of tourists engage in sex with their usual partner or with a new partner they met at the destination. Moreover, not only tourists but also many locals are used to consume those sex-oriented services (McKercher and Bauer, 2003). Most of the tourists who visit prostitutes are not traveling with the sole purpose of having sex, but it becomes a by-product (Oppermann, 1999) whereby that type of tourists have been referred to as ‘situational sex tourists’ (O’Connell, 1996). For example the majority of tourists who are on business trips and meetings are utilizing prostitutes (Ryan and Kinder, 1996). At the same time vacations such as ‘spring break’ in North America and
‘Schoolies Week’ in Australia are basically reputed for extreme involvement in sex, alcohol and drugs (Josiam et al., 1998; McKercher and Bauer, 2003; Smith and Rosenthal, 1997). Further, some scholars have argued that both tourism and sexual relationships in tourism are a liminal behavior, which involves similar motivations. Tourism provides opportunities for people to do things out of their social, economic and political structure back home and as result, they tend to seek novelty and excitement during travel, which allows some of them to try different sexual behaviors (McKercher and Bauer, 2003; Ryan and Kinder, 1996; Ryan and Hall 2001, Ryan and Martin, 2001).

At the same time there can be seen a well-established sex industry, solely dependent on monetary transactions. In such establishments, vaginal intercourse, oral sex, anal sex, threesomes, voyeurism and various types of sex styles are included (McKercher and Bauer, 2003). In some cases, youth, virginity and innocence have become commercialized and some bars advertise that they have virgins for sale (Montgomery, 2008). New technologies, especially Internet, are playing a major role in the sphere of both domestic and international prostitution (Koken at al, 2004; Parsons et al., 2001; Parsons et al., 2004; Phua and Caras, 2008) and in the case of sex tourism, both sex workers and tourists have been facilitated (Pruth, 2008; Ryan and Kinder, 1996a; Ryan and Hall, 2001). Parsons et al stated that the new technology has made the oldest profession in the world, the newest profession in the world (Parsons et al., 2004). There can be seen promotions of commercial sex tours and child sex tourism on Internet for the tourists from Western countries to developing countries. On those commercial sex tourism sites, the words sex, erotic, fucking are vividly used and sex workers were introduced as models and escorts (McKercher and Bauer, 2003). Oppermann states that such ‘Cyberspace Tourist’/‘Cyberspace Sex Tourists’ can satisfy their sexual needs through internet based sex services, even enjoy ‘peep shows’ through a credit card payment to relevant sites (Oppermann, 1999). Generally most of the tourist companies are promoting sex indistinctively, in a socially accepted manner. For example, romance is highlighted when promoting Paris and Niagara Falls but at the same time some companies mention that adults’ movies are available at the accommodations. Specifically the travel agencies mainly handle individual tours, are strongly encouraging the making of new friends, companionship and chances of new encounters (McKercher and Bauer, 2003). Moreover, taking part in voyeuristic activities, events and festivals explicitly holding a sexual image is also establishing involvement with sex tourism. Therefore it is said that activities such as Sidney Gay Mardi Gras, the San Francisco PRIDE parade are also considered as a part of sex tourism (McKercher and Bauer, 2003; Ryan, 2000). Topless bars, strip shows, lap-dancing bars too stimulate erotic feelings of customers (Oppermann, 1999; Ryan and Martin, 2001). On the other hand being mischievous while traveling by visiting strip clubs, sex shows and massage parlors have become relatively common in tourism (McKercher and Bauer, 2003).

Some studies discussed international travel and labor migration from less developed countries as having heightened the opportunities for sex work, shaping sex tourism as a
global activity. People from developed countries are traveling abroad hoping for exotic pleasures; while people from less developed countries migrate with the purpose of improving their economic options by engaging in sex work (Wonders and Michalowski, 2001). Importing exotic Third World sex workers to first world brothels or migration for sex work could also be seen (Leheny, 1995; Pettman, 1997; Wonders and Michalowski, 2001; Ryan, 2000). Kempadoo has indicated South Asian women and Caribbean Latinas are found in Europe’s sex industry even by the mid 1980s (Kempadoo, 1996) and there can be seen many girls from Laos, Myanmar and South China in the sex industry in Thailand (Oppermann, 1999). Hence, Wonders and Michalowski argued that sex tourism as a product of global forces (Wonders and Michalowski, 2001). Ryan claimed that, sex tourism can be voluntary or exploitative, commercial or non-commercial, enchanting or degrading for self-identity (Ryan, 2000).

Working conditions, risk of victimization (including exploitation), job satisfaction and social stigma involved with prostitutes, vary according to the types of prostitution (indoor and street sex work) (Call girl, escort, brothel worker, massage parlor worker, bar or casino worker, streetwalker). Weitzer (2009) pointed out that disproportionate focus on street prostitution, female sex workers, and illegal prostitution has given a distorted picture of the world of commercial sex. In order to get a clear and broad picture of the existing sex work, indoor workers, male and transgender workers, male and female customers, managers, organizations and legal systems should also be further examined (Weitzer, 2009).

However, there can be seen many studies focused on male prostitution and most of those studies discussed homosexual relationships (Bimbi, 2007; Browne and Minichiello, 1995; Koken at al, 2004; Kong, 2009; Luckenbill, 1986; Mathews, 1987; Mendoza, 2013; Parsons et al., 2001; Parsons et al., 2004; Phua and Caras, 2008; Pittman, 1971; Pleak and Meyer-Bahlburg, 1990). Prostitution is decriminalized in some parts of Australia and in New Zealand, but in most countries it is not a legal activity, yet is facilitated in an underhand way. Some have argued prostitution should be decriminalized due to various reasons, such as legalizing sex work will give prostitutes more power over their working conditions, making them less dependent on brothel owners, pimps and neutralize social stigma to some extent (Agrusa, 2003; Weitzer, 2009).

However, until the 1990s, earlier literature focused almost exclusively on female prostitution and male sex tourism. In contrast, sexual relationships between European female tourists and local men have been noticed since the 1980s, but it only began to draw attention of scholars during the mid 1990s (Brown, 1992; Meish, 1995; Momsen, 1994; Pruitt and LaFont, 1995). At that point, the new phenomenon called ‘romance tourism’ emerged in order to discuss such relationships involving female tourists and local men (sex workers, beach boys). Most of the studies, which examined such relationships, have emphasized emotional attachments between both parties, which is beyond just sex. Similarly, monetary exchange has also been highlighted stating that
local men do not demand money in exchange for sex, but expect to have a long-term relationship with female tourists in order to gain more secure benefits (Dahles and Bras, 1999; Herold, et al, 2001; Nyanzi, et al, 2005; Pruitt and LaFont, 1995). Specifically, Pruitt and LaFont have claimed that female tourists expect a romantic relationship more than just satisfying their sexual needs, and such long-term relationships cannot be found in sex tourism (Pruitt and LaFont, 1995). Thereafter, that phenomenon of ‘romance tourism’ has been enthusiastically researched from 2000 onwards, concerning both female tourists and local men and the nature of the relationship (Brown, 1992; Dahles and Bras, 1999; De Albuquerque, 1998a, 1998b; Herold et al., 2001; Karch and Dann, 1981; Kempadoo, 2001; Meish, 1995; Pruitt and LaFont, 1995; Sanchez, 2001). Some critically questioned the concept of ‘romance tourism’ (De Albuquerque, 1998a), whether it is sex tourism or romance tourism (Herold, et al, 2001) and some discussed the same content even under the context of sex tourism.
2 Sex Tourism or Romance Tourism?

2.1 Relationship between tourism and sex: McKercher and Bauer (2003)

McKercher and Bauer (2003) edited a book called ‘Sex and Tourism: journeys of romance, love and lust’, which consisted different studies on both positive and negative aspects of the relationships between tourism and sex. In the first chapter, discussing the nexus between tourism, romance and sex, they offered a conceptual framework claiming that this nexus is more multifaceted than the literature generally illustrates. They pointed out three dimensions to understand the role that sex and romance play in the context of tourism: sex as a travel motivator, the nature of the encounter, and tourism as facilitator of romantic and sexual encounters. For instance, sexual activities may play a central role in the decision to travel, or less or no role in the decision to travel. With regard to the nature of the encounter, even though a larger body of literature disproportionately focused on the exploitative nature of the sexual encounters in tourism, there can be seen non-commercial relationships, which both parties mutually benefit. Finally tourism as a facilitator, can play a direct role providing facilities, partners, services, and opportunities, or play an indirect role through the very nature of the tourism; liminal space for travelers to seek novelty and excitement free from social/cultural/political constraints of the home and experience different sexual behaviors (McKercher and Bauer, 2003).

Figure 2-1: Relationship between Tourism and Sex
Moreover, they included purely non-commercial activities such as family holidays, romantic getaways and honeymoon trips into this framework. But, I agree with this conceptual framework, since it discussed the relationship between tourism and sex as a whole, including overall sexual and romantic activities which can be occurred under the context of tourism.

2.2 Oppermann’s redefinition for sex tourism

On the other hand, Oppermann (1999) also presented a framework to understand ‘sex tourism’ beyond the typical definition of ‘sex tourism as tourism for commercial sex purposes’. Even though other scholars who have broadly argued the aspects of sex tourism (Clift and Carter, 2000; Cohen, 1983, 2003; Ryan and Kinder, 1996; Ryan and Hall 2001), Oppermann can be considered as the first researcher to offer a multidimensional framework for sex tourism in a broader view. He opposed the traditional perspective of sex tourism: ‘sex tourism as a subset of prostitution’, suggesting even though prostitution and sex tourism are tightly interwoven, they are not the same.

![Figure 2-2: Sex Tourism Framework](Source: Oppermann (1999:255))
To differentiate prostitution from sex tourism, mainly ‘monetary exchange’ has been considered. On the other hand, in the proposed framework for sex tourism, six parameters have been defined including travel purpose, monetary exchange, length of time spent together, sex seeker-provider relationship, sexual encounter and the question of who travels. It can be said McKercher and Bauer (2003) applied and extended some of those parameters in their study when they explored the nexus between sex and tourism in a broader view. In his study Oppermann pointed out that involving multi-purposes and multi-activities is a nature of tourism, thus sex tourists also need not travel only for sex. In addition he noted that the ‘ideal sex tourist’ who travels with the sole purpose of having sex, meeting with sex provider for the first time and obtaining sexual gratification in a short time for exchange of money, usually does not exist even in the typical sex tourist settings in South East Asia. At the same time, even among the tourists who depart with the intention of having sex with prostitutes, still the majority do not consider themselves as sex tourists.

![Figure 2-3: Prostitution and Sex Tourism Redefined](Source: Oppermann (1999:262))

With regard to monetary exchange, he cited that existing literature, which discussed prostitute-sex tourist relationship in a wider meaning than a financial transaction (Cohen, 1982; Dahles and Bras, 1999; Pruitt and LaFont, 1995). In this case, payments may take place in the forms of supporting sex provider’s family or an air ticket to the tourist’s home country. In the sexual contacts in sex tourism, the time spent with each other (prostitute and tourist) is higher than usual prostitution. Some of them visit the same prostitute several times and tend to convince themselves, as they are involved in a genuine, reciprocal emotional relationship in order to attain sexual and psychological satisfaction. At the same time, there can be seen ongoing contacts through letters, even marriages between prostitutes and tourists, and especially reversed sex roles with the
beginning of female sex tourists’ visits to male prostitutes. Sexual encounter has also been discussed in a broader view from the activities, which provide vaginal intercourse to voyeurism and the new space opened for sexual encounters on the Internet. Finally, Oppermann questions who travels in the prostitute-tourist relationship, and points out that not only tourists but also prostitutes migrate both within the country and out of the country in order to engage in sex industry.

Accordingly, he also redefined the interrelationship between sex tourism and prostitution as figure 2-3, stating ‘while some forms of sex tourism may also be considered part of prostitution, others are not and much of what is typically considered prostitution may actually fall into the domain of sex tourism (at times sex provider is a business tourist)’ (1999:261).

2.3 Arguing Oppermann’s redefinition & framework for sex tourism

Oppermann (1999) discussed different aspects of sexual relationships in tourism in a wider perspective than existing tourism literature, but this study rejects mainly his redefinition for the interrelationship between sex tourism and prostitution, and the proposed framework for sex tourism.

2.3.1 Emotional attachments in prostitution too

First, the sex industry as a whole operates for both domestic and international markets providing a range of services such as brothels, massage parlors, escort services, call girls, call boys, independent sex workers under prostitution, and strip clubs, numerous sex shows, internet sex and pornography under voyeurism. Moreover, prostitution related services can be divided into domestic prostitution, which is catering to locals, and international/tourism-oriented prostitution, which is predominantly catering to tourists. But, these two also cannot be divided clearly, as sometimes there are tourists who use services, which mainly operate for locals, and at the same time there are locals who are inclined to use tourism-oriented prostitution services. By the late 1980s, tourism-oriented prostitution begun to be widely discussed as ‘sex tourism’, mostly pertaining to emerged issues with the contribution of tourists from developed countries to the prostitution in the destination country and the spread of STD/AIDS.

The prostitute-customer relationship was generally considered as a purely commercial, short-term encounter. But, with the emergence of sex tourism (tourism-oriented prostitution) this concept of prostitution also became a discussion point in academic research (Cohen, 1982; Oppermann, 1999). As previously stated, Oppermann (1999) rejected the traditional concept of placing sex tourism as a subset of prostitution while offering a redefinition, as there is a part of sex tourism, which goes beyond a
direct monetary exchange for sex. To differentiate prostitution from sex tourism, he mainly pointed out the aspects of monetary exchange and long-term emotional relationships between sex seeker and sex provider. Apart from that, Cohen (1982) has also emphasized these two aspects when arguing prostitute-foreigner relationships are far more different from ideal types of prostitution.

Even though, I accept so-called relationships can be found in the context of tourism, I posit such relationships should be argued in a broader view than Oppermann stated. First, emotional relationships can be seen even in (domestic) prostitution, which are extended by visiting the same prostitute for a long period of time (Eldemire-Shearer and Bailey, 2008; Browne and Minichiello, 1995; Pittman, 1971; Weitzer, 2005, 2009). In discussing prostitute-customer relationship in a male house in the United States, Pittman (1971) noted that, emotional attachments could be seen even in homosexual prostitution between callboys (male prostitutes) and their customers. Male prostitutes were also willing to emotionally involve with their customers, so as to make a long-term relationship, which provides them either emotional or financial security (Pittman, 1971). Likewise, some studies pointed out that most of the sex workers tend to engage in unsafe sex with their regular clients, whom they can feel as having ‘feel good sex’ (Eldemire-Shearer and Bailey, 2008) or with whom they assume as the perfect man for a meaningful relationship (Browne & Minichiello, 1995). For such sexual encounters no fee is charged, but favors and gifts were exchanged (Eldemire-Shearer and Bailey, 2008). Especially, examining some types of clients who visit male prostitutes in Melbourne, Australia, Browne and Minichiello (1995) stated that ‘most of these workers are seeking a ‘knight in shining armor’: the special guy or perfect man who will take them away from sex work and free them to live in ‘happily married bliss’.

Further, escort services, call girls and callboys have become a thriving part of the sex industry, especially by providing ‘emotional work’ rather than an exchange of mere sex work (Lucas, 2005; Weitzer, 2005, 2009). For instance, they receive oral sex from the customer, and non-sexual massages, gifts, kissing, hugging are exchanged (Weitzer, 2005, 2009). There can be seen similar advertisements and even videos of heterosexual male escorts and female escorts who are providing sex for local sex seekers together with an emotional service. This might be a trend or a solution for the sex seekers in developed countries who travel in search of an emotional no-rush service, claiming that the sex workers in their home countries are cold. Moreover, among sex workers especially, the escorts do not self-identify as prostitutes, but claim it as their own small business enterprise or a self-employment similar to other service sector (Browne and Minichiello, 1996; Koken et al, 2004; Lucas, 2005). In most cases, prostitutes travel within the country in order to engage in domestic prostitution work. At the same time,

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3 This fact could be found in this study as well. It was reported that female prostitutes who are operating in Hikkaduwa are also not from main touristic area. Most of them were said to be coming from inland areas, other rural villages, or from Colombo.
while anyone can access the global sex market through cyberspace, sexual service sites for domestic prostitution can also be found. But mostly any discussions about marriages between local customers and prostitutes cannot be seen. However, while there are numerous reasons for a tourist to engage in either commercial or non-commercial sexual relationships on a travel, it can be argued that even in prostitution, non-commercial relationships can be found even without any involvement in tourism. Therefore, (domestic) prostitution is also not only a mere exchange of sex for money as Oppermann (1999) has discussed, and it can be claimed that his redefinition for the interrelationship between prostitution and sex tourism is problematic.

2.3.2 All the multifaceted sexual relations under sex tourism?

The next argument I raise is that Oppermann (1999) has argued all the multifaceted sexual relationships under the context of sex tourism. In addition, Clift and carter (2000) have made efforts to include complex and diverse nature of the ‘sex tourism’ (commercial part of sex in tourism) and ‘sex in tourism’ (non-commercial sexual encounters) in their book of ‘tourism and sex’, but they have also included all the variety of dimensions in the context of sex tourism. In the same book, Ryan (2000) asserted that sex tourism is not only about red-light districts, prostitution and exploitation, but a phenomenon, which involves many paradigms. He discussed sexual relationships in tourism from a variety of perspectives, but romance between regular partners on travel and sexual encounters among travelers were also argued as a part of sex tourism paradigms. This raises questions: will a couple that rekindles the romance on their holiday tell/at least think that they participated in sex tourism? How does it differ from the casual sex encounters take place in regular life? Similarly, Ryan and Hall (2001) have also included holiday romance (with no sex worker) and casual encounters when arguing sex tourism encounters and paradigms of sex tourism. They have discussed all the non-commercial, commercial, voluntary and exploited dimensions of sexual encounters under the context of sex tourism. I claim such arguments give a distorted picture to the sexual relationships in tourism, and more complicated and protracted relationships between tourists and locals, should be understood in a different way than the existing view of sex tourism. Hence, I suggest in discussing this context, the phenomenon of romance tourism should also be involved.
2.4 Rearranging existing concepts of sex tourism and romance tourism

2.4.1 Rearranging sex tourism

Having reviewed existing literature, this study rearranges existing concepts of sex tourism and romance tourism. First, it defines sex tourism as ‘prostitution + travel’, but not ‘sex + travel’. As previously discussed there are a whole range of sexual relationships, which take place under the context of tourism, which can be commercial, non-commercial, exploited, voluntary or mutually beneficial. Even the sexual encounter may occur with a new or existing/regular partner. As McKercher and Bauer (2003) also mentioned, new partners are not always sex workers, but other tourism sector workers such as guides, tour leaders, taxi drivers, accommodation and hospitality sectors’ staff; local men and women who have no involvement in tourism and other tourists. Existing partners can include: spouses and lovers who traveled together, extramarital partners and the above mentioned partners with whom extending an ongoing relationship. In addition, such protracted relationships may extend to a marriage as well. Successful international marriages between tourists and locals can also be found. Thus, I argue sex tourism is not ‘sex + travel’, and all the sexual relationships which occur in tourism, cannot be discussed under the context of sex tourism. Therefore, this study points out that sex activities, which take place during travel, should be understood under the context of both sex tourism and romance tourism. While one part shares both contexts, there is another part, which differs in each.

This study posits that sex tourism occurs when having sexual intercourse or other sexual pleasures for a direct monetary exchange, with a prior intention or having no prior intention, and as a one-time experience or as a continuous act. The main intention here is sexual pleasure, without any involvement of emotional bond. At the same time, I claim that a traveler who experiences sex tourism cannot be simply labeled as a sex tourist. For instance, Oppermann (1999) questioned ‘are all the Spring Break travelers \(^4\), in excess of one million students every year in the United Sates, sex tourists?’ (257). In the case of spring break travelers, they engage in sex with new partners, but in most cases it occurs with another student from somewhere else or with another traveler. Therefore, both of them want just to have sex, and no monetary or other veiled transactions are involved on both sides. Therefore, I posit this is none other than casual sex. Even though it involves traveling outside of the United States, still it can be considered as casual sex, if they engage in sex with a same group member, another

\(^4\) ‘Spring Break Phenomenon’ in the United States consists of students taking a trip, drinking and ultimately involving in sexual activities.
tourist or with a local, without any monetary exchange involved. But, if they purposely visit a prostitute or buy other tourist-oriented sexual pleasures, then it will be an experience of sex tourism. Hence, on one hand, if a traveler visits a prostitute or consumes other tourist-oriented sexual pleasures at the destination even as a one-time experience, he/she can be considered as experiencing sex tourism. But on the other hand, that traveler cannot be labeled as a ‘sex tourist’, since that act can also be no more than a one-time experience. On a different note, if he/she tends to continuously participate in such sexual acts on travel, then he/she can become either sex tourist or someone who seeks for romance/emotional bond on travel.

2.4.2 Arguing studies on female tourists’ and local men’s relations

With regard to the phenomenon of romance tourism, as mentioned in the previous section, it has emerged with the increase of females travel around the globe. There are a number of studies on the relationships involving female tourists and local men. While some arguing both female tourists and male tourists practice sex tourism (Kempadoo, 2001; Sanchez, T. J, 2000, 2001, 2006), some argue these relationships should be discussed in a broader view (Cabezas, 2004; Dahles and Bras, 1999; Herold et al., 2001). In the relationships between female tourists and local men, in most cases there cannot be seen direct exchange of money for the sexual act. But, veiled transactions take place in the form of baring regular expenses, providing material benefits, supporting his family, and at times providing an air ticket to visit her home country (Cabezas, 2004; Dahles and Bras, 1999; De Albuquerque, 1998a, 1998b; Herold, et al, 2001; Nyanzi, et al, 2005; Phillips, 1990; Pruitt and LaFont, 1995; Sanchez, 2000, 2001, 2006). At the same time, these relationships extend to a long-term romantic relationship and eventually to an international marriage as well. All the studies on these relationships, which have been discussed in this study, despite their main arguments, have mentioned such on-going relationships between female tourists and local men, or that most female tourists consider their sexual relationships with local men as ‘real love’.

Pruitt and LaFont (1995) were the first to discuss romance tourism in detail, illustrating the complex relationships between female tourists and local men in Jamaica. Female tourists in these relationships seek for companionship and emotional bond that they cannot get from inattentive, busy and unemotional men in their home country. With regard to local men, although their expectations are intertwined with economic benefits and migration, they also expect emotional and sexual intimacy that they are lacking in their lives. Apart from these long-term emotional relationships, gender and power relations have also been argued. Pruitt and LaFont (1995) asserted that while sex tourism is generally reflected as male dominance and female subordination, in romance tourism both female tourists and local men are manipulating and exploring gender repertoires. Especially female tourists are able to realize new gender identity with their
economic superiority. By suggesting ‘romance tourism’ to address such relationships, they pointed out that both female tourists and local men expect a romantic relationship rather than merely satisfying their sexual and economic needs, and such long-term relationships cannot be found in sex tourism (Pruitt and LaFont, 1995). Although the body of the study is acceptable, it embodies problematic arguments such as claiming only female tourists practice romance tourism and long-term relationships cannot be seen in sex tourism. As previously discussed, emotional and long-term relationships can be found even in prostitution as a whole, and as some other scholars argued (Brennan, 2001, 2004; Cabezas, 2004; Cohen, 1982, 2003; Seabrook, 1996), in the context of sex tourism as well. For instance, Cohen (1982, 2003) and Seabrook (1996) illustrated that in the case of sex tourism in Thailand, there can be seen long-term emotional relationships, which eventually extend to international marriages. Even though the expectations and final outcome are ambiguous, both local women and male tourists involve in a relationship, which is beyond mere exchange of sex for money. Moreover, Brennan (2001, 2004) and Cabezas (2004) also discussed protracted relationships and international marriages between male tourists and local women in the Caribbean. While Brennan points out that these relationships have been perceived as a ‘stepping stone’ and an ‘advancement strategy’ by female sex workers, Cabezas claimed that emotional labor provides opportunities that direct transactions cannot. Hence, it becomes apparent that ‘romance tourism’, which Pruitt and LaFont (1995) discussed, requires further research.

On the other hand, there can be seen some studies, which argue the same relationships between female tourists and local men under the context of sex tourism (De Albuquerque, 1998a; Kempadoo, 2001; Phillips, 1990; Sanchez, 2000, 2001, 2006). For instance, De Albuquerque (1998a) and Philips (1990) explicitly addressed female tourists as ‘female sex tourists’ and have given typologies of female sex tourists having conducted research in Barbados. Sanchez (2000, 2001, 2006) also critically argued that female tourists who enter into sexual relationships with local men are ‘sex tourists’ and the understanding of romance tourism as a female tourists’ practice and sex tourism as a male tourists’ practice, is not acceptable. She claimed that motivations of female tourists are similar to male sex tourists, stressing that there can be seen female tourists who are seeking purely physical sex while fulfilling their racial fantasies. At the same time, female tourists can be exploitative and predatory just as male tourists. Moreover, Kempadoo (2001) in her research on sex work in eight Caribbean nations also indicated that liaisons between local men and female tourists, and local women and male tourists are similar, stressing that it is an exchange of sex or romance for money, status or material goods.

However, while arguing tourist women are also ‘sex tourists’, Sanchez (2001) stated that only 3% of female tourists considered their relationship as ‘purely physical’ and 22% of them perceived as ‘real love’. At the same time, 66% of them had sexual activities with only one partner, including repeat visitors. With regard to transactions,
while nearly 60% of them have economically (cash or gifts) helped out local men, still 40% of female tourists have said that they never helped out. Similarly, in the studies of Albuquerque (1998a) and Phillips (1990), in their typology of female tourists one type was considered as ‘returnees’ who emphasize the relationship as romance and who denies the remunerative nature of the relationship. Kempadoo (2001) also stated that the majority of female tourists in Barbados perceived their relationship with local men as ‘romance’.

These studies have raised their arguments placing particular attention to the concepts of female ‘romance tourism’ and male ‘sex tourism’ and have ended up asserting female tourists are also ‘sex tourists’ who practice sex tourism as do male tourists. Although I accept their findings can be true with sexual behavior of female tourists and obviously there are tourist women whom can be called purely sex tourists, the group that asserts the relationship is ‘real love’ or ‘romance’ is been totally neglected in these studies. Therefore, I posit there should be new theoretical approaches to address these gaps in the sexual relationships in tourism. Moreover, there are studies, which discussed the female tourists’ and local men’s relationship as a phenomenon beyond the existing sex tourism and romance tourism concepts. In discussing the role of local men (street guides and beach boys) in Indonesia, Dahles and Bras (1999) claimed that those relationships are neither prostitution nor love. The authors state that the local men are not practicing prostitution, mainly because there is an absence of monetary exchange and a prevalence of long-term relationships. At the same time, the relationship cannot be called love either, as staged affection and involvement of falsehood (changing identity and hiding marital status) can be seen, in entering into relationships with female tourists. Since the main focus of this study is to understand beach boys in a broader view, this study also assumes beach boys are not male prostitutes, and assumes the discussions in their study will be helpful in grasping the role of beach boys. It can be assumed that, in establishing relationships staged affection can be seen even in Hikkaduwa. But, the existence of successful international marriages emphasize even such approaches of beach boys may embody something more than a narrow meaning.

Further, Herold et al (2001) also conducted research on the relationship of female tourists and beach boys arguing whether it is romance or sex tourism. They concluded that existing distinction of male sex tourism and female romance tourism is not acceptable, since there can be seen female tourists who expect only sexual pleasure and male tourists who tend to establish long-term relationships. They claimed this concept depends upon the motivation of tourists. Some tourists focus mainly on sexual activities and some of them focus mainly on romance. Some may equally expect both romance and sex. Although these sexual relations in tourism cannot be divided in terms of gender differences, men can be more prone to casual sex than women, while women prefer to engage in sex within a love relationship. Likewise, both Dahles and Bras (1999) and Herold et al (2001) discussed sexual relations in tourism within a wider perspective. But, both of these studies are confined to the context of sex tourism, and have not offered a
theoretical approach beyond sex tourism to understand their arguments more precisely. Therefore, this study investigates the relationship between female tourists and beach boys, while arguing the overall sexual relationships in tourism in a broader view.

Furthermore, there is a thorough study Cabezas (2004), which discussed local females’ and males’ relationship with tourists in Caribbean. In arguing the concept of sex worker in Cuba and the Dominican Republic, Cabezas (2004) noted that in both countries hospitality workers provide sexual services in order to gain extra money and material benefits. But, these relationships also involve emotional attachments and long-term relationships. Hence, she claimed that sex tourism is not victimization, exploitation or mere exchange of sex for money, but emotional work is also involved. At the same time, she discovered the identity of sex worker in the Caribbean depends upon race (skinned color), cultural capital and economic class. I assume Cabezas’ arguments will be useful, especially because this study also mainly focuses on beach boys (local men) and attempts to understand them more broadly than the existing view. While asserting these relationships should be understood through a more complex analytical framework, her study has also ended up stating it is a broader framework to sex tourism, not a concept beyond the existing sex tourism. Therefore, having analyzed previous studies pertaining to the relationships between female tourists and local men, it becomes clear that existing literature has given an ambiguous picture of sexual relations in tourism. Hence, this study attempts to understand such complex sexual relationships in tourism in a wider perspective and extend those profound existing arguments (Cabezas, 2004; Dahles & Bras, 1999; Herold et al., 2001) offering a broader picture beyond the existing framework of sex tourism.

2.4.3 Interrelationship between sex tourism and romance tourism

This study accepts that sexual relations cannot be clearly and sharply divided into sex or romance tourism, since they involve different dimensions as previous studies have also argued. But at the same time, it is apparent that still there are some elements, which cannot be discussed in the framework of sex tourism such as long-lasting emotional bonds and successful international marriages. Therefore, it can be assumed that these emotional and sexual activities in tourism may embody deeper meanings, just as it does with other people in general. Hence, in discussing the relationship between female tourists and beach boys in Hikkaduwa, Sri Lanka, this study suggests a redefinition for sexual relations in the context of tourism.

As previously mentioned, this study posits that sex tourism occurs when having sexual intercourse or other sexual pleasures for a direct or indirect monetary exchange, with a prior intention or having no prior intention, and as a one-time experience or as a continuous act. Both male tourists and female tourists practice sex tourism even though the scale of female sex tourism is smaller when compared with male tourists. But, still
there is a group of female tourists who travel for exotic sexual pleasures and consider their relationship with local men as ‘purely physical’ (Herold et al., 2001; Sanchez, 2000, 2006). As Sanchez (2001) also noted when compared with male tourists, there is no equivalent organized sex market for female tourists, and at the same time, most women are reluctant to make a direct payment and buy sex like men do. Therefore, although mostly this category of sex tourism occurs upon a direct monetary exchange, specifically female tourists may tend to make veiled transactions. In addition, this can be limited to one-time encounters or continuous encounters, but only focusing on satisfying their sexual desires.

![Figure 2-4: Interrelationship between Sex Tourism and Romance Tourism](image)

In contrast, this study posits romance tourism as occurring, when a person travels with a prior intention, or having no prior intention, but eventually engages in a sexual, emotional relationship, which extends to a long-term relationship or a marriage. In this case, no direct monetary exchanges take place except for veiled transactions, and at times there is no economic basis at all, since the sexual activities take place in the form of casual sex or as a part of the long-term relationship. Contrary to Pruitt and LaFont (1995), this study acknowledges that not only female tourists, but also male tourists participate in romance tourism by establishing protracted relationships and international marriages (Brennan, 2001, 2004; Cabezas, 2004; Cohen, 1982, 2003). Main differences with the category of sex tourism, are the possibility of no monetary exchange, sexual pleasure is not considered as the main intention and the relationship extends to a romantic relationship or a marriage. Thus, emotional bonds with other tourists and local men/women beside the people affiliated with the tourism sector can also be included in the category of romance tourism. However, women may tend to practice romance tourism more than men do due to several reasons. As previously mentioned, in terms of gender differences women may prefer to engage in sexual activities (especially sexual intercourse), within an emotional bond, which serves as a formal relationship. At the
same time, they are reluctant to directly pay for only sexual pleasures as men do. In addition, women may tend more to seek cultural experiences when traveling than men, and at times such desires eventually lead to a permanent bond with the destination, most of the time resulting a romantic relationship or marriage migration. For instance, Pruitt and LaFont (1995) pointed out how the Northern American and European female tourists’ love for Jamaican culture (Reggae music and Rastafarian culture), led them to romance with local men and got married to them. The authors argued that ‘the local man is not merely a sexual object, but rather the woman’s personal cultural broker. The desire for the ‘cultural’ experience, which the tourist woman seeks, coupled with prolonged exposure to local society demonstrates a readiness to embrace the local culture. This contrasts with the sexual liaisons of sex tourism’ (1995:426). Similarly, in investigating international marriages involving Japanese women and Indonesian men, Toyota and Thang (2012) indicated one of the reasons for Japanese women’s marriage migration is their attachment with Balinese culture (Balinese art: dance, gamelan and batik painting). However, as Cohen (1982, 2003) and Seabrook (1996) have also mentioned, a similar or different reasons can be found for male tourists to practice marriage migration, but it can be said that still female tourists may tend to desire for culture experiences more than men do.

On the other hand casual sex, which is not related to prostitution, and emotional bonds, extend between the people who practice sex tourism fall into the category, which is sharing the characteristics of both sex tourism and romance tourism. For instance, the case of Cohen (1982, 2003) and Brennan (2000, 2004) can be placed in that category since most first encounters between local women and male tourists take place on a sex worker-client basis, and eventually lead to emotional attachments and marriages. On the other hand, as McCarter and Clift (2000), Thomas (2000), and Ryan (2000) have also noted there are sex encounters with both local people and other tourists as well. Similar nature of sexual behavior has been called as ‘holiday romance’ or ‘holiday sex’ as well. At the same time, there can be found ongoing casual sexual relationships, which are ambiguous in nature: no economic basis but consensual sex for pleasure, no romantic relationships or marriages but somewhat emotionally involved. For instance, those emotions to each other imply sharing as friends rather than being as a couple (this may also equivalent to the concept of ‘friends with benefits’, but takes place on travel).

Rearranging existing concepts of sex tourism and romance tourism, this study mainly focuses on the relationship involving female tourists and beach boys (local men) in Hikkaduwa, Sri Lanka. But, I assume there could have been found all the categories, which discussed above especially because Hikkaduwa was once famous for child sex tourism, and sexual relations with both male and female tourists. However, this study examines the role of beach boy in the tourism sector, while arguing international marriages with female tourists as well, since it is the most prevalent element at present. This study hypothesized that the relationship between female tourists and beach boys is rather similar to the concept of romance tourism, which was discussed above.
3 Discussions on Beach Boys

As far as the relationship involving female tourists and local men (beach boys) is concerned, only one study (Pruitt and LaFont, 1995) has mainly argued that it should be discussed under the context of romance tourism. In contrast, while De Albuquerque (1998a), Kempadoo (2001), Phillips (1990) and Sanchez, (2000, 2001, 2006) claim that female tourists’ and local men’s relationship is also none other than sex tourism, Dahles and Bras (1999) and Herold et al (2001) acknowledge it is neither romance nor sex tourism (prostitution). Analyzing previous studies, it became apparent that there can be seen studies, which explicitly addressed local men ‘beach boy’ (Arachchi, 2011; Beddoe, 1998; Brown, 1992; Cabezas, 2004; Dahles and Bras, 1999; De Albuquerque, 1998a; Herold et al., 2002; Kempadoo, 2001; Miller, 2011; Nyanzi et al., 2005; Sanchez, 2001; Venables, 2009), and studies, which called them just local men but came up with another different term according to the local culture. For instance, local men in Jamaica who establish relationships with female tourists are called ‘rent-a-dread’ involving with Rastafarian culture in Jamaica (Pruitt and LaFont, 1995). Aside from that, in other studies the term ‘beach boy’ is commonly indicated when discussing local men’s relationships with female tourists. At the same time, some studies offered similar terms used in the relevant study areas: the Dominican Republic-‘sanky panky’ (Cabezas, 2004; Herold et al., 2001; Sanchez, 2001); Gambia-‘bumster’ (Brown, 1992; Nyanzi et al., 2005); ‘bomsa’ (Brown, 1992) and Senegal-‘coteman’ (Venables, 2009). Hence, it can be said that the term ‘beach boy’ has been identified in the academic history from the early 1990s and has been researched to some extent from the early 2000s.

Research pertaining to beach boys can be found in the Caribbean (Barbados, the Dominican Republic), Indonesia, Africa (Gambia, Senegal) and Sri Lanka. Brown (1992) discussed beach boys’ role in tourism in Gambia, their influence on socio-cultural changes and elders’ perceptions towards them. Brown referred beach boys as culture brokers acting as innovators and mediators in the community. At the same time, they try to travel to Babylon (Europe) as a ‘way out’ a means of changing their present conditions through both sexual and non-sexual relationships (Brown, 1992). Although, Brown’s study is helpful in understanding the role of beach boys and perceptions of the local community, it has not discussed much about their sexual relationships and marriages with female tourists. On the other hand, investigating Senegalese beach boys (coteman), Venagle (2009) illustrated her research process emphasizing the discomfort she experienced throughout her fieldwork and the strategies she made to overcome it. She stated coteman is a young, unemployed man at the side of tourists, and through providing services (both sexual and non-sexual), and making contacts with both tourist men and women they attempt to expand their social networks across international borders in the hope of one day being able to migrate. Although her study did not discuss any wider arguments, it can be referred to grasp the nature of beach boys and the stance of local community.
Similarly, focusing on beach boys (locally called bumsters) in Gambia and their relationship with (old) white women, Nyanzi et al (2005) discussed the embodiment of racial myths about male Black bodies and Western affluence. They stated that ‘Bumsters variously indulge in a complex web of sexual activity ranging from commercial to non-commercial, voluntary to socially-imposed, individual to peer driven, heterosexual to homosexual, casual to regular, particularly with foreign tourists’ (p.557). To understand the racial myths (negative attitudes on bumsters and their activities), they have compared bumsters’ view of their work with non-bumsters view (other people involved in tourism), young people outside of tourism, and older people in the local authorities attitudes towards bumsters. It is said that bumsters are also aware of the prevalent negative attitudes, but the reactions they display vary depending on personality, period spent bumsing\(^5\), access to other forms of income generation, location of practice, availability and nature of support network, and number of cultivated relationships with foreigners. In exploring bumsters’ sexual activities with female tourists and motivations, the authors asserted that bumsters and their sexual activities with tourists should be understood in a broader view. Bumsters support their family members and friends in numerous ways, and they have chosen this work due to unemployment and meager salaries offer in other jobs. At the same time, the majority of them dream to go to Babylon, escaping from the destitute life in Africa, and they use female tourists as ‘stepping stones to prosperity’ and the West. Authors have also asserted that bumsters were not exploited or abused by tourists, but they are exchanging material goods and services in a mutually appreciated manner (Nyanzi et al., 2005). I assume this study will be helpful to understand beach boys in Hikkaduwa and their relationships with tourists. Differing from other research, this study has discussed the ‘outsiders’ view’ in detail, and since I also argue societal perceptions and stance of legal authorities on beach boys and their activities, analysis here can be applicable to my study as well. However, although authors referred to bumsters’ work as ‘male sex work’ and ‘transactional sex’, they have also discussed the complexities involved in their life style and as well as in their sexual activities. When asked the reasons for specifically being with old white women, aside from material benefits few bumsters have asserted that they felt emotionally connected and romantically fulfilled even with old women. Thus, I assert that Nyanzi et al are also constrained in the frame of sex tourism, while having the possibility of extending their discussions into a broader theoretical

\(^5\) A verb referring to diverse activities involved in the process of misrepresentation of facts, usually a concoction of plight stories, and ineffective struggles to meet the need of large extended families, which are convincingly fed to sympathetic wealthy-looking foreigners with the motive of moving them to pity and compassion Nyanzi et al (2005:560).
framework. However, I assume these findings can be meaningfully applied in the framework I suggested in the previous section.

Moreover, conducting a comparative research on local guides (beach boys and street guides) in two tourists’ destinations in Indonesia, Dahles and Bras (1999) pointed out that small-scale entrepreneurs in tourism act as romantic entrepreneurs since they attempt to develop intimate relationships with female tourists in order to improve their life conditions. The authors also compared the opportunities available to local guides in each destination, applying Butler’s resort area cycle. Yogyakarta is regarded as a city of culture, which offers multifaceted tourism products, and having developed as a destination since 1980s, now it is in the consolidation phase of its tourism development. On the contrary, Lambok has started to develop tourism in late 1990s, relatively a new destination compared with Yogyakarta. Three main beach areas are located in Lambok, offering more differentiated tourism products and compared with Yogyakarta (1/2-1day) long stays of tourists (2.1-5.0 nights) can also be seen. Having compared these two destinations, Dahles and Bras asserted that the role of local guides, the process of establishing relationships and their future perspectives vary according to the life cycle of the destination. Interestingly in their study, beach boys attempt to set up a business of their own with the financial support of a female tourist, while street guides try to migrate with the help of female tourists to achieve their goals. Since the life abroad is different to what they imagined, most of the street guides’ dreams end up in failure by returning to Indonesia and back to their past jobs. But, as Lambok is experiencing a rapid growth, still more opportunities are available to beach boys to start their own enterprise (Dahles and Bras, 1999). This can also be applied to Hikkaduwa when analyzing characteristics and motivations of beach boys. Considering the process of tourism development, Hikkaduwa may have already passed the consolidation stage or, may have entered to stagnation or decline stage. However, it can be assumed that beach boys’ attempt in migration is a result of development stage of Hikkaduwa tourism sector. In addition, Dahles and Bras have asserted that local guides in Indonesia are not male prostitutes, but may be similar to Cohen’s open-ended prostitution. At the same time, the authors have acknowledged that relationships with female tourists are neither prostitution nor love, as staged affection is also at work when initiating relationships (Dahles and Bras, 1999). Even though I assume these arguments can be applicable to beach boys and their relationships with female tourists, I reject indicating it as open-ended prostitution. As discussed in the previous sector, I suppose it should be argued beyond the context of sex tourism.

On the other hand, Herold et al (2001) researched female tourists and beach boys in the Caribbean in order to determine a more applicable definition to their relationship, examining whether it is romance tourism or sex tourism. They analyzed characteristics of beach boys and female tourists, beach boys’ seduction process, payments, female tourists’ motivations and their long-term relationships in detail. As this study also attempts to argue beach boys’ and female tourists’ relationship in a broader view, their
analysis can be helpful. Moreover, they pointed out that there is a necessity to grasp cultural differences between the Dominican Republic and other Caribbean nations in understanding the nature of the relationship between tourists and local people. As one difference, they have noted that the Dominican Republic has a wide scale prostitution industry from the past, specifically servicing for male tourists who demand either heterosexual or homosexual partners. But, with the increase of female tourists’ arrivals, local men who predominantly engaged in homosexual activities with male tourists, started catering to female tourists as well (Herold et al, 2001). I assume this can be considered in examining beach boys and their relationship with female tourist in Hikkaduwa as well. Because, it is supposed to have various differences between Sri Lanka and the countries, which already have a huge sex industry such as Thailand and the Caribbean. Finally, Herold et al (2001) concluded that although there is some gender overlap in the continuum of romance/sex motivations, more of the female tourists are located toward the romance end and more of the male tourists toward the sex end (Herold et al, 2001). On one hand, this study accepts this argument, but on the other hand it asserts that there is a necessity to understand sex tourism and romance tourism in a wider perspective considering overall sexual relationships in tourism. As previously mentioned, although there are difficulties in understanding those relationships as distinct categories, including all of them in the context of sex tourism is more problematic and illogical. Since Herold et al’s argument is also limited to conceptualizing romance and sex tourism as the two ends of a continuum of motivations, I assume a part of this study can be considered as an extension of their arguments.

Further, there are few studies, which discussed beach boys in Sri Lanka as well. While providing demographic, historical, political, economic and cultural factors, Crick (1994) has analyzed international tourism industry in Sri Lanka and the local voice on the industry. This work is mostly based on his seven months field study in Kandy. Discussing informal tourism sector, he investigated street guides in Kandy, and mentioned beach boys as well. In his study beach boys were referred to as ‘young men who interacted with Western tourists and participated in informal tourist ‘hustles’, who grew up or lived in beach communities and has some engagement with sex tourism and/or drugs’. Focusing mainly on beach boys, another study stated that beach boys in Sri Lanka have similar patterns, to those identified in Gambia (Brow, 1992) and Barbados (Karsh and Dann, 1981), who are selling sexual services to tourists in exchange for cash or other goods. Further, Beddoe (1998) claimed that they adapted to the earlier hippie culture by providing goods and services for what the market demanded, and now (in the 1990s) beach boys are culture brokers in child sex tourism. For economic gain they have engaged in child prostitution or are engaging in prostitution, and at the same time, are convincing low-income families to give up their young children to go with tourists in exchange for cash or ensuring a better life to the child (Beddoe, 1998). But, Miller (2011) rejected Beddoe’s argument pointing out that beach boys in Sri Lanka are young men who have voluntarily serviced as child
prostitutes in their childhood and later became service providers in the informal tourism sector, working as a social group helping out each other. Miller stated that beach boys have identified transactional sex with tourists, as the only means by which they can gain the privilege of tourists and local elite, but they are considered as ‘social deviants’ and mostly degraded by the local community. By analyzing narratives of these young men, Miller asserted the role of beach boy should be broadly viewed and argued beyond the frame of cultural frames in Sri Lanka (Miller, 2011). Especially since his study argued local perceptions and the stance of authorities, I assume there are arguments, which can be applicable to my study. At the same time, his study raises a question to further studies: are beach boys former child prostitutes? Therefore, this will also be examined in this study.

Furthermore, Arachchi (2011) identified beach boys in Induruwa, Sri Lanka, as a group that depends upon tourists, and imposes both positive and negative impacts to the tourist industry as well as to the society. He analyzed demographic factors and reasons to work as beach boys, and compared their narratives with the perceptions of tourists, traders and locals, placing main attention to two questions: do beach boys impose a threat to the social harmony, and do beach boys impose a threat to the growth of Sri Lanka tourism? Then, he acknowledged that most tourists like to obtain beach boys’ service, as it is cheap and easily available, while some tourists are highly afraid of them. He finally claimed that due to the fact that beach boys are doing a great service to the society than a star class hotel, their work should be standardized (Arachchi, 2011). Although, Arachchi argued beach boys’ service in a relatively wider view, it is limited to discuss some statistical data of beach boys and their impacts. Especially there can be seen illogical analysis, such as concluding ‘many tourists come to Sri Lanka to fulfill their sexual desires’, by only comparing findings with a statement of a referred travel blog.

Discussing arguments of previous studies pertaining to beach boys in different countries, it can be said that some studies have argued beach boys and their relationships with female tourists broadly, but still a lack in theoretical analysis can be found. Hence, this study examines beach boys in Hikkaduwa and their relationships in a broader perspective than the existing literature, while applying to the proposed framework in previous section. Beach boys’ and female tourists’ relationship is assumed to be closer to the suggested romance tourism phenomenon. At the same time, it was apparent that most studies have not given a definition for beach boys, therefore a definition for beach boys will also be offered for analyzing findings of this study and as well as previous studies.
4 Understanding Sex and Sex Work in the Context of Sri Lanka

In this section I discuss how sex and sex work is perceived in Sri Lanka, analyzing academic works and discussions in blogs, other Internet pages and local newspapers.

Sri Lanka is a country where religious and cultural aspects are intertwined in its people’s contemporary daily life. Sex is not yet an openly discussed matter in Sri Lankan society. Being a Sri Lankan, I myself have observed that from my teenage years, and especially after starting this study, there were many occasions that I felt uneasy when questioning about sex related matters with local people. However, while matters of sex are not spoken in the family or in the society, ‘prostitution/sex work’ exists in Sri Lanka, pleasing many men’s sexual needs. Prostitution is considered the world’s oldest profession, and similarly it has existed in Sri Lanka from ancient times providing not only sexual satisfaction but also fulfillment of aesthetic aspirations of kings, princes and scholars. In Jathaka stories in Buddhism, we come across well-known sex workers such as Ambapali, Addhakasi, Salavathi, and they were the most beautiful girls in the city descending from good families and spent a wealthy, respectable life rendering professional work as sex workers. Also they were followers of Buddha, especially Ambaplai who entered the Order of Nuns and became ‘arhat’ achieving height of spiritual development. In ancient Ceylon, a sex worker was called as ‘Nagarasobini’ (the one who makes the city resplendent). Then the term ‘Vaisha or Vesagana’ was used, as the respectable version of prostitute, and today the term ‘Ganika’ is the most prevalent in addressing them. Both ‘Ganika and Vesi’ have been derived from India, but interestingly today in Sri Lanka the term ‘Vesi’ is used not only to address sex workers, but also any women who violate the accepted social norms of the society. Therefore, one could be called a ‘Vesi’ not only by sleeping with men as work or for fun, but also by breaking up with her formal lover. ‘Vesi’ is considered as the worst insult one could throw at women, as it has a very degrading connotation. In the case of men, if he was called as ‘Vesige Putha’ (a son of a Vesi), it could also be considered a serious insult made to a man as well as his family (Ratnapala, 1999, 2000).

However, discussing sex workers in Sri Lanka in a broad meaning, Ratnapala (1999, 2000) claimed that the role of sex workers is necessary for the society. But, in ancient Sri Lanka, women needed pre-qualification to become a sex worker due to the fact that her profession was intertwined with rendering aesthetic satisfaction as well. Even in Buddhist literature it is stated that a sex worker has to maintain different type of skills, characteristics and principles, and only then was she considered as not violating social norms and teachings of Buddhism (Ratnapala, 1999, 2000). But, at present while men are urging for sexual pleasures and furtively fulfilling their needs through a sex worker or other ways (girlfriend, pornography), women in sex work are seriously stigmatized. Moreover, due to low standards, sex work has lost the professionalism, which it originally had.
In Sri Lanka, there are sex workers in every city including Colombo, and even in other small towns. Street sex workers, massage clinic and brothel house sex workers, escort girls, part-time sex workers, child prostitutes, male sex workers and even foreign sex workers can be found. The lowest rank of the sex worker is ‘street sex worker’, and according to Ratnapala (1999, 2000) four sub-categories can be found, such as those who take their clients to a nearby shady hotel or guest house and engage in sex there, those who get into cars of the clients and have sex in the car, those who take the clients to their rooms in the shanty or the hut where they live, and those who engage in sex activities in parks, the seashore and under bushes. With regard to massage clinic sex workers, they work in the clinics, which range from super clinics run by star hotels and to small clinics employing 2-5 sex workers. Brothels also fall into 5 categories ranging from high class to lower class, and satellite brothel houses are also available. There are sex workers in rural areas in the middle of the country and some of them were servicing soldiers during the civil war period. A small number of foreign sex workers from Asia and Europe are also in the trade, and as cited in Ratnapala (1999, 2000) they have come first to Sri Lanka during the Non-aligned Conference in 1976, and then in 1992 to the SAARC Conference. Escort girls are also specifically catering to foreigners. With regard to part-time sex workers they engage in sex work, while doing a white color job or working in the Free Trade Zone or doing other lower class jobs. On the other hand, male sex workers have emerged from the 1980s as transvestites and some servicing tourists. According to Ratnapala (1999) in the 1990s the total number of sex workers were no more than 15,000. With regard to the clients, manual workers, clerks, petty traders, bus drivers, taxi and lorry drivers go to street sex workers, and massage clinic and brothel house clients vary according to the standard of the establishment. Lower and middle class men visit lower and middle class facilities, while men from medium and high-class strata visit high-class establishments. Especially high-class brothel houses operate very secretly offering wide range of pleasures, including virgins and even any other crazy sexual activities, which the wealthier clients demand (Ratnapala, 1999, 2000).

The Sunday Leader (2012) also said that in Colombo there are high-ranking massage parlors and karaoke bars operating as brothels. Three types of escort girls are available such as budget escorts ($120-150), standard escorts ($150-180) and deluxe escorts ($180-320), and charges will be doubled if the service extends to overnight. In massage parlors, Russian, Ukraine, Uzbek, Moroccan, Lebanese, Iranian, Thai and Chinese girls are also available. Russian, Ukraine and Uzbek girls are placed in high priced category. Discussing AIDS, Divaina Irida Sangrahaya (2015) reported that girls who are working in massage centers have also been recognized as HIV vectors as these palaces provide sexual services as well. Almost all girls were found to be school children under 17 years and university students.

On a different note, while prostitution is being illegal and having many religious and social taboos over sex, a high level of sexual stimulation has been created in the society.
Rape cases can also be found each year, and Ratnapala (1999) also noted that rape mostly takes place between family relatives. Sometimes alcohol-addicted-fathers rape their own daughter while mothers are working in the Middle East. Lanka C News (2011) also reported a case of a daughter (15 years) raped by her father became pregnant. A report on offences committed against children indicates that 1012 cases of sexual abuses, 63 cases of attempting to commit sexual harassment, 1463 cases of rape/incest and 36 cases of procuration/trafficking were reported in 2011. Recently, discussions and arguments spread all over the country regarding an assassination of a four-and-a-half-year-old girl found to be raped several times before her death (Daily Mirror, 2015a; News 1st, 2015; The Sunday Times, 2015)

On the other hand, some consider public transport (crowded buses, trains) as a place for releasing their sexual urges. Ratnapala (1999) also stated that both the young and the old seek sexual comfort leaning against and touching women, and while many women abhor these acts, some allow it due to inward desire for such pleasures. Although there are no love hotels in Sri Lanka, small-scale guesthouses with a signboard of ‘Rooms Available’ can be found in even small towns. Moreover, there can be seen many young couples kissing and touching each other under umbrellas in parks and seashores such as Galle Face Colombo and Galle Fort. Cinema halls also provide a space for couples to obtain their sexual pleasures. Universities too have become a place for the youth to engage in sexual exploration. In the university premises generally there is a well-known area, which couples use to experience sexual activities. Moreover, sexual abuses, consensual sexual relationships and even extra marital affairs can be largely found both in public and private working sectors.

These trends evidence that sexual stimulation in the society should be broadly understood and properly addressed beyond the existing socio-cultural frames. Recently some broad discussions on sex and even suggestions of legalizing sex work can be found in newspaper articles, web pages and blogs (Daily Mirror, 2015b; Gossip9news BlogSpot, 2012; Lanka e News, 2015). In one discussion on legalizing sex work, one commenter has stated that although legalization of prostitution is considered for the betterment of innocent women, only brothel owners and culprits will reap benefits. As a result of mushrooming brothels, sex trafficking would increase, and in turn young girls and women’s sufferings will be exacerbated. As cited in Ratnapala (1999, 2000), it is apparent that women sex workers are frequently arrested, treated brutally, fined and sometimes sent to prison as well. But Ratnapala also pointed out that problem of sex work cannot be curbed in such an easy way, especially when there is a massive urge for sexual pleasures in the society. The proper way to address this is reducing sex work to manageable levels, so as not to create any complex social problems. He claimed that a part of the sex work can be legalized, and at the same time reasons to enter into sex work should be properly and humanely addressed, as many women, specifically among low standard sex workers, are compelled to engage in it due to unemployment and various family problems.
On the other hand, with regard to international/tourist related sex work, a largely organized sex industry does not exist in Sri Lanka, compared with other sex tourism destinations such as Thailand and the Caribbean (the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Jamaica). As mentioned in the previous chapter, tourism has been developed in Sri Lanka from the 1970s, and from that period there could be seen tourism related sex work, both heterosexual and homosexual. Tourism related issues such as prostitution, nudity, homosexuality and drug addiction have drawn the attention of academics from the early 1980s (Mendis, 1981; Ratnapala, 1984; Samarasuriya, 1982). Specifically Ratnapala has investigated sex workers in Sri Lanka from the 1960s, and one of his studies conducted in five main beach resorts (Negombo, Mount Lavinia, Beruwala, Bentota, Hikkaduwa) pointed out that tourism has adversely affected cultural and rural values (Ratnapala, 1984).

Moreover, according to Ratnapala (1984), female sex workers fall into two categories, such as the women recruited by mediators from neighboring villages for the establishments in the destination, and the women brought from Colombo. Recently there can be seen establishments, which provide sex work masquerading as Ayurveda massage centers. There is a social network organized in every destination well prepared to address whatever tourists demand. Sex work is also supplied at the request of low budget tourists to high-class tourists. Although, homosexuality existed before the advent of tourism, male prostitution and child prostitution started to take place on commercial basis with the development of tourism. Ratnapala (1984) in his study of sex workers argued that Tim Bond’s (1980) estimated figure for child sex workers in Sri Lanka is inaccurate. Conducting a wider fieldwork, he stated that even in the late 1990s, the total number of child sex workers is only about 1459. Colombo and its environs are the capital for child sex workers and they can also be found in beach resorts such as Mount Lavinia, Negombo, Kalutara, Bentota, Hikkaduwa, Unawatuna, Tengalle, and in other areas such as Galle, Kandy and Anuradhapura. When traveling to Nuwaraeliya and Bandarawela, children are taken from Colombo. Main tourist clients are from Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, Australia, Italy and Switzerland (Ratnapala, 1999, 2000). On the other hand, Ratnapala noted that beach boys and even room boys, waiters, taxi drivers too are servicing as sex workers in a certain way. Beach boys were generally pointed out when reporting both heterosexual and homosexual relationships with tourists specifically take place in beach resorts. As previously mentioned, Beddoe (1998) claimed that beach boys are culture brokers in child sex tourism, and they persuade other children to perform sex with tourists, while they too engage in sex work. Miller (2011) rejected Beddoe’s argument pointing out that young children in beach resorts are not coerced to engage in sexual activities, but they gradually got accustomed to it while selling small goods in the beach since their childhood.

Another study (Archchi, 2011) pertaining to beach boys illustrated that their positive side outweighs the negatives; therefore their work needs to be standardized so as to make the best use of their service. But, some illogical arguments can also be seen in his
study. He has confirmed a statement of a travel blog, which indicates ‘many tourists come to Sri Lanka to fulfill their sexual desires’, by only comparing with the fact that all the beach boys (9) he interviewed had sexually engaged with female tourists. I assume researchers should be more aware when they come to conclusions. It is acceptable to refer to web pages or travel blogs accordingly, but he has not analyzed any more than the above-mentioned blog before making that statement. After all, it is only a personal view, not an academic work. Then confirming such a statement by interviewing 9 beach boys in a small-scale beach resort is also problematic. At the same time, Arachchi (2011) stated that according to the Ministry of Healthcare and Nutrition (2007), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has estimated there to be 30,000 beach boys in tourist resorts, but some may have lost their lives during the Tsunami disaster in 2004. I assume this figure cannot be true, and therefore propose to address.

Summing up, it can be said that both domestic and tourists related sex work exist in Sri Lanka. While having many religious and socially created taboos over sex, sexual stimulation among locals is also prevalent. Therefore, it can be said that understanding of sex in the society is ambivalent. Beside the research done in the early 1980s (Mendis, 1981; Ratnapala, 1984; Samarasuriya, 1982), and the detailed anthropological study of Crick (1994), there cannot be seen any sociological or anthropological research that thoroughly addressed the elements of international tourism in Sri Lanka. Further, thorough studies, which investigated beach boys and their international marriages with female tourists cannot be found. Although, Miller (2011) offered detailed findings on beach boys, he has also examined a part of their lives, and especially his study is based on the fieldwork done during 1999-2001. However, Arachchi (2011) conducted his survey in 2010, but the study is limited to assessing beach boys’ impact and some of his analyses are also problematic. Further, Beddoe has stated that beach boys in Sri Lanka provided marijuana to the hippies in the 1970s, batik and gems to the mass tourists in the 1980s, and children to the pedophiles in the 1990s. This also raises two questions: 1. Are beach boys changing according to the tourists’ demand? 2. If they change, what do today’s beach boys do? This study assumes that the role of the today’s beach boy is different from the 1990s. Hence, this study attempts to understand beach boys in Sri Lanka, comparatively analyze them with beach boys in other destinations, and place their relationship with female tourists in a broader framework than the existing sex tourism. At the same time, this study is assumed to fill the huge gap in sociological tourism studies, and offer a broad meaning beyond the existing understanding of sex and sex work in Sri Lanka.
5 Conclusion – Chapter Two

This chapter analyzed sexual relationships in tourism, drawing particular attention to sex and romance tourism. The first section discussed overall sexual relations, from the onset of sex tourism to the emergence of romance tourism phenomenon. In the second section, it specifically examined existing understanding of sex tourism and romance tourism. With regard to sex tourism, profound studies can be found and some of them have offered theoretical frameworks arguing that ‘sex tourism is not a mere exchange of sex for money’. Specifically Oppermann’s study (1999) was illustrated, as he was the first to discuss sex tourism in a broader view, from which the other scholars developed the multidimensional concept he suggested. Although this study accepts the existence of multidimensional sexual relations in tourism, it posits that such relationships need to be argued in a broader perspective than the existing literature. Thus, this study asserts due to two reasons Oppermann’s and other proposed frameworks (Clift and Carter, 2000; Ryan, 2000; Ryan and Hall, 2001) for sex tourism, need to be revised. First, to differentiate prostitution from sex tourism, Oppermann has basically given the elements of monetary exchange and long-term relationships. But, in examining literature it became clear that emotional attachments could be seen even in prostitution (domestic) and in homosexual prostitution as well. The second reason is they have discussed all the non-commercial, commercial, voluntary and exploitative dimensions of sexual encounters under the context of sex tourism. Especially romance between regular partners on travel has also been included in sex tourism. But at present there can be found complex sexual relations not only between tourists and local sex workers, but also with other tourists and other local people, and such relationships extending to marriages has also become frequent. Hence, this study asserts that discussing such relations under the same context of sex tourism gives a distorted picture; therefore more complicated and protracted sexual relationships in tourism need to be understood in a different way beyond the existing sex tourism framework.

Further, in analyzing previous studies on the relationship between female tourists and local men, it was apparent that existing arguments are ambiguous. Pruitt and LaFont (1995) claimed that it is romance tourism, and in sex tourism, which male tourists generally practice, long-term relationships cannot be found as female tourists with local men. But it was found that such relationships and even international marriages take place between male tourists and local women (sex workers) (Brennan, 2001, 2004; Cabezas, 2004; Cohen, 1982, 2003; Seabrook, 1996). Some studies argued that relationships between female tourists and local men are none other than sex tourism (Albuquerque, 1998a; Kempadoo, 2001; Phillips, 1990; Sanchez, 2000, 2001, 2006). While noting there were tourist women who perceived their relationship as ‘real love’ or ‘romance’, these studies claimed that female tourists are also sex tourists, and it should be argued under sex tourism. On the other hand, Dahles and Bras (1999) and Herold, et al (2001) have discussed these relationships in a broader view pointing out it is neither
sex tourism nor romance tourism. But, except offering a new theoretical framework, they have also ended claiming to broaden the same existing sex tourism framework.

Hence, this study rearranged existing concepts of both sex tourism and romance tourism, asserting that sexual relations, which take place in travel, should be understood under the context of both sex tourism and romance tourism; while one part shares both elements, there is another part, which differs from each other. This study posits sex tourism occurs, when having sexual intercourse or other sexual pleasures for a direct or indirect monetary exchange, with a prior intention or having no prior intention, and as a one-time experience or as a continuous act. On the contrary, romance tourism occurs, when a person travels with a prior intention or having no prior intention, but eventually engages in a sexual, emotional relationship, which extends to a long-term relationship or a marriage. In this case, no direct monetary exchanges take place apart from veiled transactions, and at times there is no economic basis at all, since the sexual activities take place in the form of casual sex or as a part of the long-term relationship. As Herold et al (2001) acknowledged, most men tend to have sex on a commercial basis, and most women prefer to engage in sex within an emotional relationship. But, both men and women tourists may practice either sex tourism or romance tourism. This study assumes that all the categories of sexual relations could be found in Hikkaduwa, but most prevalent at present are the relationships involving beach boys and female tourists, which is rather similar to the concept of romance tourism.

Then, section three examined the previous logic of female tourists’ and beach boys’ relationships, as well as definitions for beach boys in different countries. In analyzing a larger body of literature pertaining to sex tourism, romance tourism, and female tourists’ and beach boys’ relationships, what this study points out is that there are studies, which discussed sexual relations in a broader meaning, but none has offered a theoretical framework to understand those relationships in a so-called ‘broader view’. Thus, this study attempts to examine beach boys in Hikkaduwa in a wider perspective, applying the proposed framework. At the same time, since most studies have not given a definition for beach boys, there is a necessity to offer a definition.

Further, section four attempted to understand sex and sex work in Sri Lanka as a whole. Both domestic and tourism related sex work were discussed, while illustrating the existence of sexual stimulation in the society irrespective of religious and social taboos. However, considering tourism related literature it was apparent that there is a dearth of academic research, especially conducted in sociological and anthropological perspectives. At the same time there cannot be seen any thorough studies on beach boys and their international marriages with female tourists. Hence, this study is assumed to fill that huge gap by researching unexamined but necessary elements in Sri Lanka tourism as well.
Chapter Three

Tourism in Hikkaduwa: as a Setting for Sexual Relationships

This chapter examines the development process of the tourism sector in Hikkaduwa, and how it facilitated sexual relationships involving tourists and local people.

1 Development of Tourism in Hikkaduwa

1.1 Hikkaduwa before the advent of tourism

Hikkaduwa was a small coastal village, where most people were engaged in traditional livelihoods such as fishing, coir rope making, lime industry and other agricultural activities. The population was between 2400 and 3500 in the period of 1930-1948. There were only a few houses in the coastal area, among them some were cadjan huts on the beach, and some were scattered in the interior. In the 1900s a rest house consisting of 7 rooms was also built under colonial rule, in order to accommodate colonial officers and managers of tea and cinnamon plantations. Only the wealthy owned lands, and more than 25 acres of coconut land situated in todays’ touristic area was entitled to two wealthy families. At the same time, they could work in the government sector, as teachers, clerks and staff level employees due to their English knowledge. Some of them were traders, who owned limekilns and mud pits for making coir ropes, and who purchased ropes from coir rope makers (Samarasuiriya, 1982).

With regard to fishing, there could be seen coastal fishing, use of traditional small-scale boats called ‘oru’, and dragnet fishing called ‘madel’. On the south coast, fishing seasons were known as ‘haraya’ (on season) and ‘warakan’ (off-season). Haraya is from November to April, and from May to October is warakan, the time of the rough sea. Off-season the majority of fishermen migrated to east coast in order to continue fishing, since it is the on-season to the east coast (Alexander, 1977; Samarasuiriya, 1982; 高桑, 1988). Before the 1900s, there were no economic differences or social stratifications in the fishing community. But, with the emergence of ‘malu mudalali’ in the 1930s, fishing and its trading began to change. Malu mudalali acted as a middleman between fishermen and consumers, and he was playing a major role in the distribution process of fish stock up to Colombo. Different range of roles existed from buying fish from fishermen to transporting them to the fish markets in Colombo, and as a result different hierarchies of malu mudalali emerged. Simultaneously the former social structure of the fishing community also changed (高桑, 1988). Moreover, with the introduction of motorboats (power boats including large scale boats) in the mid 1950s, migration in the off-season became unnecessary, since fishermen found alternatives such as to continue coastal fishing or offshore fishing using large-scale motorboats.
In Hikkaduwa, fishermen were centered in a few areas such as Peraliya, a part of Wawulugoda, Narigama North and Dodanduwa. With regard to today’s touristic area, there was only one group of fishermen clustered within 1km of the inland area in Wawulugoda, neighboring to Hikkaduwa town. Fishermen who could purchase motorboats became powerful and rich, causing the growth of social stratification in the community. But, the fishermen who were in today’s touristic area did not possess larger amounts of money to purchase motorboats; therefore they remained in the lower strata, continuing fishing in small oru or being employed under rich malu mudalali. They were living in mud or cadjan huts, which were built in government lands, and their life was filled with incessant debts and hardships.

Further, the lime industry began to appear in Sri Lanka during the Dutch colonial period (1968-1796), but in Hikkaduwa it was established as a livelihood from the 1800s. By 1895 a railway and a small station were also constructed in Hikkaduwa in order to facilitate lime transportation (Samarasuriya, 1982). Coral mining took place both around the near shore and inland areas. By the mid 1970s there were 5 limekilns providing a good source of income specifically for many low-income earners. Fishermen were also engaged in coral mining and lime industry as a side income.

With regard to coir rope making, it emerged by the 1900s and grew fast with the demand of rope for fishing and agricultural purposes. It was considered as the only income generating activity opened for women, and both low and middle class women engaged in it. By the 1970s, about 90% of women in the fishing community was engaged in it. In the early 1900s, the price of a rope (about 10 meters long) was about 5 cents, and sometimes the income was divided to mediators as well. But that money was precious for women, as it allowed them to be free from total dependence on men, support household budgets and cover some extra expenditure, such as new clothes, books for children and allocate some money for a pilgrimage, though it very rarely materialized. Moreover, there could be seen agricultural activities such as coconut plantations in coastal area, and rice fields, rubber and cinnamon plantations inland.

As such, the majority of people in Hikkaduwa were poor, except few middle and upper class families, and few wealthier fishermen arose from fishing communities. Before the advent of tourism, they mostly engaged in traditional livelihoods, which opened for them in the coastal area, but especially people of lower class were trapped in a regular struggle to overcome poverty.
1.2 Introduction of tourism and its development

1.2.1 Change of livelihoods

Social changes stated in the previous section dramatically accelerated with the introduction of tourism in the late 1960s. Although, people gained meager income by engaging in fishing, coir rope making and lime industry, they were compelled to continue those traditional livelihoods, since no other employments were opened for them. But with the introduction of tourism, new employment opportunities arose as the growth of tourist arrivals increased. In the initial stage of tourism development only rich people from medium and upper classes could enter the tourism sector, but gradually other people also began to pursue it, finding it a more lucrative income generator than the existing livelihoods. Although fisheries and coir rope making can still be found in Hikkaduwa and its environs, neither of them exists in today’s touristic area.

With regard to fishing, it is still established as one of the main industries providing employment to 318 families in Pereliya, 310 families in Hikkaduwa and 329 families in Dodanduwa. But among them, most fishermen are still poor when compared to prevailing economic standards. Generally large-scale multiday boats (167) and one-day motorboats (60) belong to rich fishermen (malu mudalali), and some own even 2-5 boats. Medium and lower class fishermen own the rest of the vessels such as small motorboats (248) and oru (298). At the same time still there are poorer fishermen, who have no economic strength to purchase vessels. On the other hand, considering the expenses of maintenance, some fishermen find it beneficial to be employed under a rich malu mudalali to pursue multiday offshore fishing, rather than purchasing a boat for their own. A variety of jobs are available for fishermen other than fishing itself, such as working in the delivering process, manufacturing and mending fishing nets, and being a small-scale malu mudalali (ラナシンハ、2015).

As previously mentioned, the tourism sector developed only around the length of 4km area along the coastline, and the people in other beachfront areas such as Pereliya, Dodanduwa and a part of inland areas in Hikkaduwa town are still engaged in fisheries. Two reasons can be given in terms of their continuation of fishing activities. One reason is that tourism did not develop in those areas from the start, due to a lack of tourist attractions. Tourism began to grow from Wawulugoda, where there was the old guesthouse and coral reefs, and then gradually spread to Southern areas, Narigama. Especially the fishermen in northern part of Hikkaduwa (Peraliya) stated that, ‘we are willing to work in tourism sector, it is profitable than fishing, but tourists are not coming this way’. Therefore these fishermen continue fisheries not because it is more profitable than tourism or they have no interest in tourism, but because tourism does not develop in their native areas. Secondly, in terms of rich malu mudalali, there is no necessity to enter into tourism, as they have already become economically stable through fisheries.
With regard to fishermen in touristic areas, they gradually entered into the tourism sector, as ample opportunities were opened for them. Most of the elderly fishermen, who could not pursue multiday offshore fishing as they get old, have found alternatives in the tourism sector; the majority of them have become glass-bottom boat drivers or owners. At present 40 households can be seen in the touristic area, which used to engage in fishing. They were living in cadjan huts until the donation of cement houses by the government in the 1970s. But, these houses were also destroyed by the Indian Ocean tsunami 2004, and were replaced by even larger houses than they originally had. Most of the expenses were covered by the donations from tsunami aid projects and aids from their tourist friends.

Moreover, coral mining in the near shore was prohibited from the outset of coastal management plans in the 1980s. But, except the coral sanctuary it was illegally conducted in other shores, and inlands of Hikkaduwa. However some people said that even the illegal miners voluntarily stopped mining after the tsunami disaster having realized it aggravated tsunami damages in certain areas of Hikkaduwa. Thus, at present there cannot be seen any limekilns in the coastal area, and those who were pursuing it have entered into fisheries, other manual jobs or some into tourism sector. Similarly, in the touristic areas, any women who are engaged in coir rope making cannot be found. The majority of them have entered into tourism related self-employments such as making and selling batiks, sewing garments and provision of their own houses as lodging facilities. Some women, who could not afford to purchase a machine to sew few garments in the 1970s, have become successful shop owners employing few other women as well.

However, Hikkaduwa Divisional Secretary Report (2012) states that 2,335 women are still engaged in coir rope making in the inland areas and some of the beachfront areas. Pereliya is one of such areas, where majority of men still pursue fishing activities, and women engage in coir rope making. Nevertheless, women who make coir ropes are still experiencing many hardships, compared with the women who have entered into the tourism sector. Some of them are willing to see if tourists visit their area, claiming that ‘then only they will also be able to earn a lump sum of money as women in the touristic area’. Especially the income they gain from coir rope making cannot be compared with the income of women in the tourism sector. For instance, one-day income from coir rope making is about Rs.400 (In 2015 1 USD = Rs.142), and half of that amount goes to Kohu Mudalali who is selling fiber to make ropes. Then the rest of the amount (Rs.200) needs to be divided among three women (sometimes men also join) who take part in the making process, and eventually one-day income per person will be no more than Rs.70. It becomes relatively beneficial if the work is done with the help of family members. But still the monthly wage per person would only be Rs.1400, which is considerably low compared with women in touristic areas, who earn approximately Rs.1000 per day.
especially in the tourist season. Therefore, it is apparent that traditional livelihoods in Hikkaduwa have changed with the development of tourism, providing new ventures for its people (ラナシンハ、2015).

### 1.2.2 Emergence of an informal tourism sector

The informal tourism sector in Hikkaduwa has facilitated establishment of intimate relationships between local people and tourists. Locally based small-scale tourist facilities and long staying tourists can be considered as main reasons, which stimulated such relationships. Therefore, those reasons are discussed in detail in the following sub sections.

#### 1.2.2.1 Locally based small-scale tourist establishments

In the first half of the 1900s, there were only 6 households in today’s touristic areas, and most parts of the land were covered with screw pine and coconut trees. The rest house built by the 1900s was registered as a hotel in 1967 with the initiation of the international tourism promotion project in 1966 (Samarasuirya, 1982). Since then, that hotel was referred to as ‘Coral Garden’, but from 2011 it took the name of ‘Chaya Tranz’ having been reconstructed under a new company. In 1968 some of resort areas were selected and established under the plans of tourism development act, but Hikkaduwa was not included in this plan. Although tourist arrivals were low at the beginning, since early 1970s it started to grow rapidly. At the initial stage of tourism development, employment opportunities were only opened for wealthy outsiders, wealthy upper class and few medium class people in Hikkaduwa. Poor lower class could not enter into the tourism sector due to a lack of capital to set up a new business, and lack of English knowledge. But with the increase of tourist arrivals in the 1970s, mainly because of hippie type low budget tourists, most of the medium class and poor lower class also could pursue tourism, converting their own houses into lodging facilities, opening various souvenir shops, making and selling handicrafts, and other garments (Nakatani, et al., 1994; Samarasuriya, 1982). Although, most of the locally based small-scale enterprises were not registered under the tourist board, such opportunities facilitated the entrance of local people into tourism. Therefore, tourist facilities in Hikkaduwa are divided into two sectors such as the formal tourism sector (medium and large-scale

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6 Although the women engaged in tourism have to pay rents, salaries for employees and other bills, it is still more profitable than a livelihood such as coir rope making. Moreover, it is not only the economic benefits they gain by engaging in tourism.
registered establishments), and the informal tourism sector (small and medium scale unregistered establishments) parallel to its development without a proper plan and guidance of the state. While large-scale star hotels, medium-scale restaurants and guest houses fell into the category of formal sector, the informal sector accounted for about 90% of the total establishments, including medium and small scale guest houses, restaurants, souvenir shops, marine equipment rental shops and small stores. As cited in Nakatani et al., in 1978 there were 5 large-scale hotels and 5 medium-scale guest houses under the formal tourism sector, and 13 guest houses with less than 5 rooms, 9 food stalls and 6 restaurants under the informal sector. By the 1990s a total number of 27 registered establishments could be seen, while the informal sector soared to 309 enterprises including 118 guesthouses, 37 restaurants, 149 small stores and 5 diving spots (Nakatani et al., 1994).

When the current tourism sector is considered, an overwhelming number of informal enterprises can still be found. At present there are 387 informal tourist facilities, which account for 92% of the total tourism establishments. Table 3-1 shows the tourism establishments in Hikkaduwa, from 2005 to 2011. Referring to the table, it can be understood how the local community in touristic areas has engaged in the informal tourism sector. On the other hand, a number of income generating activities also informally exist. For instance, coral watching by glass bottom boats is one of the thriving activities in Hikkaduwa. There are 58 registered glass bottom boats, but with the exception of one boat, all belong to local people. As previously mentioned, the majority of glass bottom boat owners and drivers are former fishermen, among the owners some have sold their small fishing boats in order to purchase a glass bottom boat, and some have started as boat drivers and then become the boat owners by getting a loan or with the help of tourists (ラナシンハ、2015).

Recently boat tours to watch sea turtles have also become popular, and collecting seaweeds (paasi) and selling them to feed sea turtles have become work for about 7 local people. Moreover, three-wheeler drivers, beach vendors such as king coconut, pineapple, ice cream vendors, batik and readymade garment vendors, and handicraft vendors are also benefiting from tourism. The majority of these beach vendors are from Hikkaduwa inland areas, and women who sell batiks and readymade garments take up a high percentage of the whole (ラナシンハ、2015).

Further, there are a number of local people who are indirectly benefiting from tourism. Samarasuiya (1982) indicates that in the 1970s, 200 households, mainly women in the inland areas, were making handicrafts such as indikola bags, hats and

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7 Although I intended to collect documents form at least form the 1990s, all the reports were said to be destroyed by the tsunami 2004.
baskets. According to Hikkaduwa Divisional Secretary Report (2012), at present there are 101 places making *indikola* handicrafts. Similarly, small-scale farmers, fishermen and vendors, have got the opportunity to sell their goods to guest houses, restaurants, food stalls, and directly to the tourists as well.

Table 3-1: Tourism Establishments in Hikkaduwa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tourism Establishment</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Registered Establishments</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guest Houses</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurants</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewing Garments</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selling Garments</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selling Batiks</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making &amp; Selling Handicrafts</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batik Factories</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money Exchange Shop</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selling &amp; Renting Out Swimming/Diving Equipment</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diving Training Centers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel Agencies</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism Establishment</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>2011</td>
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<td>-----------------------</td>
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<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayurveda Hospital for Locals/ Tourists</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renting out Surfing Boards</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>02</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bookshops for Tourists</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renting Out Bicycles &amp; Motorbikes</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selling Arts</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tattoo Shops</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>435</strong></td>
<td><strong>446</strong></td>
<td><strong>429</strong></td>
<td><strong>412</strong></td>
<td><strong>380</strong></td>
<td><strong>426</strong></td>
<td><strong>419</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ニルマラ ラナシンハ, (2012)

As such, it is apparent that local people are predominantly engaged in the Hikkaduwa tourism sector. They have got the opportunity to directly connect with tourists; therefore intimate relationships have been built since the onset of tourism development. The relationship between beach boys and tourists is also one of such reciprocal relationships.

1.2.2.2 Tourists and their behavior

Tourists are also playing a major role in forming a tourist destination. As mentioned in the previous section, more than 90% of the total tourism establishments in Hikkaduwa fall into the informal sector, and it is the local people who are predominantly engaged in it. Although there are claims that Hikkaduwa is an unplanned destination, this has rather facilitated entrance of local people into the tourism sector. First and foremost, the factor, which paved the way for local people, specifically many medium and lower class poor people to pursue tourism, is low budget tourists’ arrivals. The majority of these low budget tourists were hippies, who started travelling in the 1970s, especially to Third World countries by steam ships. As
previously stated, only wealthier upper class and few medium class locals could enter into tourism at the initial stage of tourism development. Especially Hikkaduwa was first visited by English elites, and that was also from the 1900s with the construction of a rest house to accommodate colonial officers. As a result, such types of elites were the main tourists when tourism was introduced in the mid 1960s. Such tourists needed to be catered formally, and for that, the ability of conversing in English was also required. Hence, remaining locals who did not possess economic capital and English knowledge could not access the tourism sector. But in the early 1970s, with the rapid increase of tourist arrivals, and since the majority of them were hippie type tourists; a demand for low priced accommodation began to emerge. As a result, private house lodgings appeared in the tourism market and it paved the way to low income earners to enter into the tourism sector.

Two reasons can be given to illustrate how hippie type tourists facilitate low-income earners’ entrance into tourism. One is that hippie tourists were looking for cheap accommodation, so as to stay longer periods on a low budget. Therefore, they did not demand quality service; instead they were willing to stay at local houses where there were no facilities particularly set up for tourists. Analyzing long-term budget travellers, as Riley (1988) also noted, ‘meeting the people’ and sharing the local life style were their key motivations in travel. Then, they were eager to share local’s houses, eat the same food they eat, and experience whatever the locals go through in their regular life. Accordingly, low-income earners also could provide accommodation to such simple tourists, as no economic capital was needed. A second reason is that hippie type tourists’ nature itself diminished the barriers between locals and white people. Hippies were completely different from the English elites, whom locals were used to seeing. Especially Samarasuriya (1982) cited that some local people particularly went to surroundings of the old rest house only to see white people. On one hand, even seeing white people was kind of excitement, and on the other hand, they were the elites and rulers of the country. Therefore, local people especially low and middle class could not easily get familiar with the white people who started to visit their place. Local people were both afraid and nervous. But hippie tourists were the complete opposite to those elites. Their appearance and their willingness to interact with locals, made locals get closer to white people without fear or nervousness. Moreover, while hippie tourists were encouraging locals’ engagement with tourism, they were claimed to cause serious damages to local culture. They were the ones who were mainly blamed for the expansion of prostitution, drug use, homosexuality and nudism (Crick, 1994; Guruge, 1988). By the early 1980s anti hippie campaigns could also be seen (Crick, 1994).

Although, hippie tourists declined with time, low budget tourists never stopped visiting Hikkaduwa. At present, there are many backpackers and low budget tourists who used to stay longer. While the length of stay at beach resorts is generally high, paralleled with the influence of hippie tourists, Hikkaduwa has been established as a long stay destination. As cited in Tantrigama (1996), in the late 1990s the average
length of stay in Hikkaduwa was 20 days. Although this study did not mainly examine this fact, both local people and tourists in the sample indicated that many tourists stayed in Hikkaduwa at least one to two weeks, while some repeaters used to stay about a month. Among accommodation facilities, today there are many medium class guesthouses, which offer quality rooms and services. Provision of lodging at private houses has been declined, and instead a few separate rooms have been built to accommodate tourists. Especially after the cessation of civil war, many tourism projects were embarked upon throughout the country, and Hikkaduwa also drew the attention of states due its unplanned development. Large-scale hotels and even medium guesthouses were encouraged to reconstruct, with the promise of increasing the number of tourists, especially standard tourists who are supposed to spend more money. Therefore, at present Hikkaduwa is visited by a variety of tourists such as standard tourists who choose to stay at large scale hotels, medium class tourists but prefer to stay medium class quality guesthouses, medium and low budget tourists who choose medium and low priced guesthouses sometimes at about $10 to $15. At the same time, recently there is a trend of renting out a separate house in the inland areas for a month or more, which cover borrowed tourists’ own expenses by accommodating acquaintances that visit from their home country. The majority of them are said to be Russians, and most of the time they go to local markets to buy vegetables, fruits and seafood, and make meals by themselves without going to restaurants. Although this type of behavior negatively affects guesthouses and restaurants in the touristic area, it has a ripple effect upon the locals who are not closer to touristic areas and who are not directly involved with tourism.

However, it can be said that tourists and their behavior have shaped the tourism sector in Hikkaduwa. Specifically while local people are regularly interacting with tourists by engaging in the informal tourism sector, both locals and tourists get more opportunities to get to know each other in parallel during longer stays. This setting can be considered, as one of the main factors for creating various types of sexual relationships in Hikkaduwa and it will be discussed in detail in the next section.
2 Historical Transition of Hikkaduwa: In terms of intimate and sexual relationships

As discussed in previous sections, Hikkaduwa has changed into a touristic area, where the involvement of local people in tourism is remarkably high. While general host and guest exchanges were taking place on the front stage, a series of sexual and intimate relationships were occurring backstage since the onset of tourism development. This part illustrates the process of which purely sexual relations between tourists and locals turn into intimate relationships such as long-term relations and international marriages.

As tourism research first emerged in order to address the issues involved with mass tourism, similarly in Sri Lanka rapid tourism development and related issues, mainly cultural pollution drew the attention of academics by the late 1970s. In examining women’s involvement in tourism, Samarasuriya (1982) asserted that Hikkaduwa has completely changed compared with the coastal fishing village it used to be. Paralleled to economic impacts, severe social and cultural impacts have also emerged (Guruge, 1988; Nakatani et al., 1994; Ratnapala, 1984), and especially Mendis (1981) claimed that negative effects such as prostitution, homosexuality, nudism and narcotics (drug addiction) outnumbered its economic benefits.

In the case of prostitution and homosexual relationships, although such activities existed even before the inception of tourism (Ratnapala, 1984, 1999; Samarasuriya, 1982), tourism caused its expansion as a lucrative means of income. Ratnapala (1984) indicated that in the early 1980s approximately 50% of local people in Narigama, Hikkaduwa were aware of the existence of prostitution (46.26%) and homosexuality (43.61%). They have claimed that youth and children have begun to imitate and follow tourists, causing erosion of cultural and rural values, particularly of customs and habits. With regard to female prostitution, there had been a small village close to Hikkaduwa, which was notorious for prostitution. It was assumed that an army camp, which was located in the village during the time of the British, might have encouraged prostitution. From 1980 to 1982, 18 prostitutes were identified; among them some went to hotels and guesthouses in Hikkaduwa and Bentota, while some were travelling to Galle or Colombo to satisfy the demands of tourists. They were operated through a chain of ‘in-betweens’ such as local thugs, the hotel’s employees, the driver, the room boy etc. (Ratnapala, 1984). Samarsuriya (1982) also illustrated that prostitution had become a highly developed branch of the tourism sector by the late 1970s. Women who were

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8 The researcher was born and has lived in an adjoining village to Hikkaduwa (Sudugama). It has become an immense help for her to reconfirm the changes, which villagers indicated.
destitute found it as a profitable income generating activity, and were mainly catering to ‘loner’ type tourists, while a wealthier tourist may demand a better class prostitute. There were unregistered guesthouses reputed as brothels (Samarasuriya, 1982). There had been individuals who were willing to give over their women or daughters for prostitution. One respondent in Samarasuriya (1982) stated that ‘husbands are selling their wives, brothers their sisters on the roads’. Ratnapala (1984) also indicated that during his fieldwork, cases of a woman who allowed her two daughters to accompany tourists to another destination for one week, and another case of a woman who brought her daughter to the beach and agreed to give her to a tourist were observed. It is said that some guesthouses, hotels, batik centers and sewing centers were also supplying women to the tourists in an underhand way.

International marriages between male tourists and local women also emerged in Hikkaduwa since the late 1970s. According to Samarasuriya (1982) 15 such marriages were found by that time. Marriages were mostly arranged through a guide (pimp), offering money to the family, and also promising a monthly monetary contribution after the marriage. Such remittances were used for buying lands, constructing new houses and educating younger siblings (Samarasuriya, 1982).

In the case of homosexuality, it was in existence from earlier times and mainly practiced by males (Ratnapala, 1999, 2000). Tourism related homosexuality first widely emerged in Hikkaduwa with the association of child prostitution. From the late 1970s many pedophiles visited Sri Lanka in search of children, then some who were not pedophiles but homosexuals too got an opportunity to practice their sexual desires with those children. In the late 1970s, there were children between the age of 8-13, both male and female stalking tourists. Some were just begging, asking for school pens, money and bon bons (sweets). By doing so they earned around Rs.10 a day in a tourist season, which was a considerably large amount in the 1970s. Some parents approved that considering its economic benefits, as almost half of the amount was given for family expenses. Another group of children were acting as guides. They took the tourists to hotels, shops and sightseeing in the vicinity, services which the tourists accepted as they could obtain it at cheaper rates. Some children learnt a little English, some French or German. They received money and various gifts from tourists. When they took a tourist to a guesthouse or a shop they were offered a commission of 2%-10%, therefore earning a considerably high amount in the tourist season. Some children, specifically girls, took tourists to their home and entertained them with the intention of receiving rewards by ‘making friends’ with tourists. Most of them were dropouts or constant school absentees. Both children and parents were lured to the larger sum of money and gifts they received. Some of the respondents in this study illustrated as below⁹.

⁹ None of the respondents in touristic area indicated that child prostitution could be seen at present. These remarks were done by some respondents, who noted that in the past many children were on the beach, trying to earn some money from tourists.
‘Children knew the economic difficulties at home. Some of their fathers were alcoholics. Most mothers did not work. Some were trying to earn few bucks servicing to upper class families or cooking or cleaning at restaurants and guesthouses’

‘It was those children who experienced starvation; going without meals for days or having only one or two meals per day, and that may also small portion of rice with only a piece of fish and grated coconut. Who could have said ‘No’ when they could touch some notes?’

However, some of these children, mainly boys were fulfilling male tourists’ sexual desires as well, but mostly in a consensual manner, rather than a exploitative way.

At the same time ‘pimps’, predominately young males acting as tourist guides, could also be found from the mid 1970s. They were providing female prostitutes, ganja as well, but at the initial stage they did not sexually engage with tourists. Although homosexuality existed, it was not established in the community as female prostitution. Male prostitution, specifically for homosexuals, began to spread in Sri Lanka from the 1980s (Ratnapala, 1984). In the case of Hikkaduwa, the young men who acted as pimps/guides realized the tourists’ requirement for homosexuality with the demand for children, and gradually began to provide sexual services by the late 1970s. Samarasuriya (1982) states that in 1978 there were 3 or 4 well known cases of young boys, who received large amount of money as gifts, houses, cars and even trips to abroad. Some of such relationships were extended to a couple of years (Ratnapala, 1984; Samarasuriya, 1982), but most of them were very temporary (Samarasuriya, 1982). Ratnapala (1984) acknowledged that homosexual relationships could be found in his study, which conducted during 1980-1982, and if one could count the total number of cases in Hikkaduwa beach, it would be a hundred or a little more. Often sexual relationships were cultivated when the young men go to tourists to sell various items, or when they took the tourist to sightseeing or for a boat trip. In the early 1980s, such homosexual relationships became ‘normal’ in Hikkaduwa. If a male tourist came alone and rented a room for him, or if a young man took a tourist to show the river or sea, only that fact meant the existence of homosexual behavior.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970s</td>
<td>Mid 1970s: Emergence of female prostitution and pimps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Late 1970s: Child prostitution, international marriages between ‘local female + male tourists’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mostly sex tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>Early 1980s: Emergence of male sex workers among pimps and guides (especially homosexual relations with male tourists)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Late 1980s: Sexual relations between ‘male sex workers (pimps/guides) + elderly female tourists’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>International marriages between ‘male sex workers (pimps/guides) + elderly female tourists’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female prostitution, pimps, child prostitution, international marriages between ‘local female + male tourists’, male sex workers (homosexual relationships and heterosexual relations with elderly females), international marriages between ‘male sex workers (pimps/guides) + elderly female tourists’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Still the existence of sex tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990s</td>
<td>Early 1990s: Emergence of the term ‘beach boy’, but spread from the mid 1990s. Beach boys emerged among pimps, guides and male sex workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>By mid 1990s: Beach boys change to heterosexual relations from homosexual relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>International marriages between ‘beach boys + young female tourists’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Although, female prostitution, pimps, child prostitution, international marriages between ‘local female + male tourists’, homosexual relationships with male tourists and heterosexual relations with elderly females existed to some extent, an increase of international marriages between ‘beach boys + young female tourists’ could be seen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thus, ‘emergence of the elements of romance tourism instead of sex tourism’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At present?</td>
<td>Some existence of homosexual relationships, female prostitution in discreet manner, child prostitution has almost been curbed, international marriages between ‘local female + male tourists’ show a decline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beach boys play a major role and international marriages between ‘beach boys + young female tourists’ have been increased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relationship between female tourists and beach boys at present is closer to the concept of romance tourism rather than sex tourism?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Moreover, there were some young men having sexual relationships with female tourists in order to gain an income. According to Ratnapala (1984) it was middle aged or ‘past middle aged’ women, who preferred to have sexual experiences with young men in Hikkaduwa. These men were hanging around local restaurants at night, with the purpose of cultivating company of desirable female tourist. It is said that there was a well-known young man who conducted massage sessions to female tourists, which involved sexual pleasures. Mostly these tourist women took the young men with them when they toured around the island. Those men were offered even lands, houses, and sometimes visits to female tourists’ home country in addition to money. But, these sexual relationships with female tourists have not occurred on a well-organized basis.

Although there were some female tourists who looked forward to having sexual experiences with local men, it was not a large number when compared with male tourists’ demand for homosexual relationships. Therefore as a whole, it can be said that although international marriages involving male tourists and local women evidence the existence of relationships that were not purely sexual, relationships in the 1970s and 1980s imply the existence of sex tourism.

Further, the term ‘beach boy’ emerged in Hikkaduwa by the early 1990s. Obviously most of them were the pimps/guides who already existed from the mid 1970s. As discussed in the previous chapter, specifically Beddoe (1998) has claimed that beach boys are the culture brokers in child prostitution; they entice poor locals to give their children to tourists for economic gains, and these children will be sexually exploited. But, Miller (2011) rejected this argument indicating that these children are deliberately engaged in sexual relationships with male tourists in order to gain economic and other benefits. In that study he has investigated beach boys and young children in Hikkaduwa as well. Further, compared with what Ratnapala and Samarasuriya have discussed; a part of beach boys can be considered as the children who practiced sexual relationships with male tourists, while selling goods and guiding tourists.

However, from the early 1990s, beach boys gradually converted to heterosexual relationships with the increase of female tourists’ visits, simply because of the fact that they were not homosexuals by nature, but compelled to practice it only to make a living out of the opportunities available to them. But, until the mid 1990s most of the relationships were with past middle aged or elderly women. Although there were a few cases of international marriages with such female tourists, the majority of beach boys were pursuing it for short-term economic benefits, considering it as a survival strategy, but even female tourists were also mainly focusing on sexual pleasures. Further, since the mid 1990s there could be seen an increase of young females’ arrivals to Hikkaduwa. As a result, beach boys gradually began to develop relationships with relatively young female tourists, and international marriages between beach boys and young female tourists also started to grow. Thus, it can be said that from the 1990s, elements of romance tourism started to appear in the relations of tourists and locals instead of purely...
sexual motives. On the other hand, in this decade child prostitution was also continually thriving irrespective of constant international and national efforts made to curb them.

At present, beach boys are the ones who are playing a major role in sexual relationships in Hikkaduwa. When all the relationships are considered, there can be seen an increase of international marriages, that of which indicates sexual relationships in Hikkaduwa are converting to more complex relationships than mere exchange of sex for money or material benefits. Comparing with the arguments of romance tourism, it can be said that from the late 1990s, sexual relationships in Hikkaduwa began to develop as a form closer to romance tourism. Specifically, female tourists in most international marriages, which took place in the 2000s, are relatively young. Although, the existence of female prostitution is obvious, it has become more discreet than the 1970s, and international marriages involving local women also shows a decline compared with the 1980s. Both national and international efforts could be seen to curb child prostitution, but it existed in Hikkaduwa even in the early 2000s. But, at present child prostitution has almost been curbed. There is some evidence of the existence of homosexual relationships involving young men (beach boys) and male tourists, but almost all relationships, which can be found today, are between beach boys and relatively young female tourists. Beach boys assert that their main motivation is international marriage, and at the same time there are female tourists who are willing to get married to those boys. While successful marriages between beach boys and female tourists can be seen, the majority of present beach boys also assert that their relationships with female tourists are not purely sexual, and even that the sexual relationships are not purely physical.

As far as these relationships are concerned, it cannot be said that dimensions of sex tourism have completely disappeared in those relationships. But, it can be posited that beach boys and female tourists’ relationships (as the most prevalent type at present) are intertwined with more complex facts than ones in the 1970s. I assume this transition has occurred due to both inner factors in the local community and beach boys themselves, and outer factors on the side of female tourists and/or tourism itself.
3 Change of Sexual Relations from Local Female to Beach Boys (Local Male)

As stated above it is apparent that while beach boys and female tourists’ relations have increased, local females’ involvement with male tourists has declined. Therefore, this section illustrates reasons for that decline, the present condition of female prostitution, and beach boys’ emergence in Hikkaduwa.

3.1 Reasons for declining local female’s sexual relations/international marriages

As discussed previously, female prostitution existed in Hikkaduwa from the 1970s, but at present its existence is discreet, and even international marriages involving local females and male tourists have declined. Two main reasons can be given for the decline of sexual relations in tourism.

One reason is the economic development of Hikkaduwa community with the involvement of tourism sector. As stated above, almost all people in touristic area and some people in inland areas are benefitting from tourism. It was apparent that the local community is playing a major role in Hikkaduwa tourism. In my Master’s thesis too it was revealed that people in the touristic area have been economically advanced (ラナシシンハ, 2012). In exploring employment of women in the tourism industry, Samarasuriya (1982) stated that women in Hikkaduwa were actively engaged in tourism from the initial stage of tourism development in the 1970s. But as previously mentioned, first it was mostly elite and upper class women who reaped the benefits, but with the arrival of hippie tourists, women in poor families could also gradually enter into tourism. At present, women in touristic areas have become empowered both economically and socially by gaining self-employments in tourism. Therefore, especially the people in tourism have lost the necessity to improve their family conditions by sending their daughters abroad with elder tourists or involving in prostitution.

A second reason is the social stigma involved with female prostitution and even with international marriages. With regard to international marriages, in the local community, women marrying with tourists were not socially or culturally acceptable in the past. Although most women who got married to male tourists were not prostitutes, they were eventually labeled as prostitutes or bad girls in the local community, only due to the fact that they are married to male tourists, or sometimes only due to the involvement in the tourism sector. For instance, Samarasuriya (1982) indicated that there were girl children who accompanying tourists, going to restaurants and hanging out with them until late night, but they were strongly degraded than the boy children. Some people in the community have stated that ‘these girls will have to marry foreigners one day, as no villagers would marry them’. Therefore at present, young girls have also lost the interest in marrying elder men especially because of age difference and social stigma. Moreover, with regard to the families still having economic difficulties, it can be said that they
have got new opportunities with their sons’ involvement in tourism as beach boys, and the necessity to get married to a foreigner for the betterment of family shifted to their sons (beach boys) from their daughters.

### 3.2 Present condition of local females’ sexual relations

As stated in chapter two, female prostitution exists in each region, in each town in Sri Lanka in a discreet manner. But recently, organizations formed by sex workers can also be identified. Especially the organization called the Center for Sex Workers Rights (CSWR) held a discussion and requested from the government to provide them legal recognition so as to continue their profession without continuous police raids and verbal attacks from the society (Daily Mirror, 2015b). However, the very next day a Facebook page called Sinhala Buddhist uploaded that video, and asked people to stand against those sex workers (Vesiyo), claiming they degrade Buddhism and the respect of all women in Sri Lanka. While 208,262 people have viewed that post, 6642 people have shared and 2372 people have commented on the post (on 17th November 2015). Among the comments almost all have severely voiced against those women (sex workers) and if someone had favorably commented, they also have been harshly condemned. At the same time, most of them have criticized those women’s confidence of appearing in public without shame (Sinhala Buddhist Facebook Page, 2015).

Thus it is apparent that even though there are sexual urges in the society, female prostitution operates under pressure from the society due to sociocultural norms. Similarly in Hikkaduwa, female prostitution cannot be found overtly in the local community. The following tables represent tourism related and non-tourism related people’s awareness of female prostitution in Hikkaduwa.

According to the table 3-4 it can be said that half of the people of both tourism related and non-tourism people have stated that female prostitution exists in Hikkaduwa (51%). With regard to non-tourism people, 25% stated that some women in Hikkaduwa surrounding areas are said to be working as sex workers. While 31% of them saying sex workers are from outer cities, 39% claimed that they are from both Hikkaduwa environs and outer cities. 2 of them responded it is foreigners operating as sex workers in Colombo who come in order to cater to Hikkaduwa tourists as well (Table 3-4).

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10 In the discussion one of the women (sex worker) says that ‘If we go to temple saying no food for our kids, Buddhist monks only preach the doctrine. Being with their husbands is also kind of prostitution, so every single woman engages in sex work to some extent’. People have become outraged especially due to these facts. Further, another woman among them was a transgender and she requested to establish a system to change their identity card once they underwent sex change.
Among tourism related people, 65% stated that female sex workers come from both Hikkaduwa environs and outer cities like Colombo, Plonnaruwa, Anuradhapura, and the nearer cities such as Ambalangoda and Galle. At the same time all of them claimed that none of the women in Hikkaduwa touristic areas work as sex workers. Instead, they pointed to massage clinics in the name of Ayurveda treatment centers as thriving places for female sex work. Those massage clinics were said to be providing sexual services for both locals and foreigners.

HTRW\(^{(7)11}\) ‘We haven’t been to such places to tell you exactly such things take place there. But, those massage clinics, even Ayurveda centers and spas have become notorious for such sexual services as well’

HTSO\(^{(4)12}\) ‘Few girls come by bus in the morning and leave in the evening or night. We

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11 Hikkaduwa Tourism Restaurant Worker
12 Hikkaduwa Tourism Souvenir shop Owner
don’t know what happen inside. To big hotels prostitutes said to be brought from Colombo. Especially when there are night parties too such women are brought from other cities.’

I also could observe that in one nightclub. Since a considerable crowd from Colombo joins Hikkaduwa night parties especially in the tourist season, sometimes those female sex workers are taken by local men/young boys as well. Some respondents mentioned that there were cases of husbands who made his wife to prostitute with tourists, or other cases of husband leaves home and stay outside during tourist’s stay. But, today there cannot be overtly seen mothers, who try to make a deal with tourists on the beach, over their daughters’ body as Ratnapala (1984) and Samarasuriya (1982) stated. Especially, even bar girls or waitresses cannot be seen like in Thailand or the Caribbean. Except large-scale hotels, almost all workers in locally based guesthouses and restaurants are predominately local males (beach boys). As previously mentioned, the reason for that is mainly social stigma involved with such occupations in tourism, which has impacted negatively and severely more on women rather than men in the community.

However, still local women’s international marriages can be found especially in the inland areas, and some cases of women out of Hikkaduwa come asking assistance to befriend with a tourist for marriage were also reported. At the same time, divorced women and family members find international marriages agreeable, as it is difficult to find partners for divorced or widowed women in Sri Lankan society. Even in the touristic area few such international marriages could be found.

HTRO stated about a known international marriage as below.
‘There’s one of my friends from childhood who has got married to a tourist. Actually her first marriage didn’t go well. Then her parents tried to find a partner again after her divorce. But, when the proposed men came to see her to her home, people in neighborhood had spoken ill of her. That happened several times, so she couldn’t find a partner. But, later she met a male tourist, and then she got married again and migrated. Now they lead a happy life. So, I think international marriages are good opportunity for such ladies’

Another lady (48 years) got married to a foreigner said like this.
‘The Sri Lankan husband I was married always quarreled with me and even hit me. I tried to bare his harassments for long time, but at last I forcibly got divorced in 2006, as I couldn’t stand anymore. My present German husband (58 years) is a friend of my

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13 Especially among young boys/men who visit in small groups, some mainly try to hook up with a female tourist at least for a one-night-stand. But, it is difficult to do when there are beach boys, and then after some of them change their minds to take a local sex worker instead.
14 Hikkaduwa Tourism Restaurant Owner
brother who is working in a tourist company in Colombo. He loves Sri Lanka and Hikkaduwa a lot. As he is still working he can’t settle here, so after our marriage in 2011 he visits me at least 3 times a year. When compared with my first husband he is a very good-hearted person. He is honest and knows how to respect a woman. He even treats my son as his own son. Actually they are more like friends’

I also met him during my field trips. He seemed to be a nice person and they seemed to be leading a peaceful life together.

3.3 Beach boys’ emergence in Hikkaduwa

As previously discussed, the emphasis upon sexual and intimate relations with foreigners has shifted to beach boys (local males) from local females. Such local males first involved in the tourism sector as pimps/guides in the early 1970s. Then by the end of 1970s some of them started to provide sexual services for male tourists recognizing tourists’ preference for homosexuality with the demand for children. And they were referred to as male sex workers (Ratnapala, 1984). At the same time, some of these male sex workers catered to elderly female tourists for the exchange of money and material goods.

From the early 1990s young men who had sexual relations with foreigners gradually converted to heterosexual relationships with the increase of female tourists’ arrivals. It is during this time that this group of young men began to become recognized as ‘beach boys’. Since international marriages already existed in the local community (‘local females + male tourists’), marriages involving beach boys and female tourists also began to become frequent. As stated in section two, present beach boys mostly initiate relationships with young female tourists, and international marriages with young females have also increased. The next chapter will examine beach boys and their international marriages in detail.
4 Conclusion – Chapter Three

This chapter discussed the nexus between the development process in the Hikkaduwa tourism sector and the establishment of sexual relationships between tourists and local people. With regard to tourism development in the late 1970s, a respondent of Samarasuriya’s study stated that ‘it is like a busy street in of Colombo’ (Samarasuriya, 1982 p.27). Traditional livelihoods in the coastal area have declined with the development of tourism. Poorer people, who are still engaged in fisheries and coir rope making, are also willing to enter into the tourism sector considering economic benefits. Any traditional livelihoods cannot be seen in the touristic area. Many direct and indirect employment opportunities have been opened for locals both in touristic areas and inland areas. Stating about the development some young boys mentioned that ‘Hikkaduwa is like Europe, now no difference with Colombo’15.

Moreover, two basic reasons can be given for the establishment of intimate and sexual relationships between tourists and local people: 1) Emergence of an informal tourism sector and 2) Long stays of tourists. The informal tourism sector accounts for more than 90% of the total tourism establishments in Hikkaduwa. Therefore, local people’s involvement in tourism is high. People get more opportunities to interact with tourists and it doubles with the long stays of tourists. Hence, relationships involving tourists and locals are not confined to sexual relationships. There can be seen intimate relationships between individuals and even between families, where the tourists (mostly elderly tourists) help out and only having protracted relationships as friends or family friends.

With regard to sexual relationships, first female prostitution could be found from the mid 1970s. Local men working as pimps also emerged during that period. With the arrivals of pedophiles, child prostitution began to appear in the late 1970s. At the same time there were international marriages between male tourists and local women by the late 1970s, and most of the grooms were past middle age or elderly male tourists. Thus, it can be said that female prostitution, pimps, child prostitution and even international marriages could be found in Hikkaduwa by the 1970s. When the next decade (1980s) is considered, the entrance of young males into sexual relationships can be found. They were mainly engaged in homosexual relationships with male tourists. At the same time there were some cases of young men sexually involved with female tourists, but the number of homosexual relationships were larger than those heterosexual relationships. These young men were also considered as male prostitutes, even though they were not

15 They made this statement considering all the facilities as well (e.g. most of the banks, western food in supermarkets, nightlife etc.). There were a few who consider such things as positive impacts, even among the people who highlighted the negative impacts of tourism.
criticized like female prostitutes. As far as this decade is concerned, the existence of female prostitution, child prostitution, male prostitution (homosexual and heterosexual), international marriages between male tourists and local women, and sometimes, international marriages between male sex workers (pimps/guides) and elderly female tourists could be identified. Further, sexual relationships in these two decades mostly imply the existence of sex tourism, but international marriages involving male tourists and local women evidence that the existence of relationships were not always purely sexual.

Furthermore, in the early 1990s the informal stakeholders called 'beach boys’ emerged among pimps and guides. From that time onwards there can be seen a gradual increase of female tourists, mostly past middle age and elderly tourists. Beach boys began to sexually engage with those female tourists, as they were also ready to provide money and other material benefits for performing sex acts. At times, beach boys’ and elderly female tourist’s relationships developed to international marriages as well. Until the mid 1990s beach boys continued to have sexual relationships with elderly female tourists, and then they gradually shifted their relationships to young females. Specifically from the mid 1990s, the number of young female tourists arriving in Hikkaduwa began to increase. As result female tourists in sexual relationships gradually converted to relatively young women, and international marriages with beach boys also began to take place. As a whole, a new trend of beach boys could be found by the late 1990s; involving more with female tourists and getting married to them, specifically to young female tourists. Simultaneously, female prostitution, child prostitution, male prostitution and local women, male tourist’s international marriages also existed, but beach boys gradually occupied the main role in sexual relationships in Hikkaduwa.

Section three examined reasons for the decline in local females’ sexual relations and international marriages, the present condition of female’s involvement and beach boys’ emergence in Hikkaduwa. One reason for the decline of local females’ involvement was found to be the economic development of the Hikkaduwa community with the involvement of the tourism sector, and a second reason was the social stigma involved with female prostitution and even with international marriages. As far as the present condition is considered it was revealed that female prostitution operates in Hikkaduwa in a discreet manner. Reponses of 51% of Hikkaduwa local community (tourism related and non-tourism related) supported that fact. Even though nearly 50% stated that female prostitutes come from both Hikkaduwa environs and outer cities, it was apparent that women in the Hikkaduwa touristic areas do not work as sex workers. However, massage clinics and Ayurveda treatment centers were revealed to be providing sexual services for both locals and foreigners. At the same time, female sex workers are brought from Colombo and other outer cities for the night parties and for the demand of wealthy tourists who stay in large-scale hotels. Although I could observe such incidents, females who operate publicly could not be found. With regard to international marriages, it was apparent that mainly some women in the inland areas are willing to marry tourists, and
especially divorced women and family members find international marriages agreeable. However, with the emergence of beach boys, it is their relations with female tourists that have become predominant in Hikkaduwa.

Summing up, beach boys and female tourists’ relationships in Hikkaduwa is assumed to be a phenomenon closely related to romance tourism, and this study argues for mainly focusing on the facts the point of view of the beach boys and the local community. Therefore, the next chapter thoroughly investigates beach boys and their relationships: international marriages with female tourists.
Chapter Four

Beach Boys and their Life Strategies

1 The Usage of Term ‘Beach boy’ in Sri Lanka

In discussing beach boys, first it is important to understand how that term is perceived in Sri Lanka. Therefore, recognition in academic work, general public, among tourists, and view from the beach boys are examined below.

1.1 Academic discussions

As previously stated, the term ‘beach boy’ has rarely been indicated in academic work in Sri Lanka. Although renowned social scientists such as Mendis and Ratnapala have examined the impact of tourism from the early 1980s, the term ‘beach boy’ cannot be found in their studies (Mendis, 1981; Ratnapala, 1984). Similarly, detailed sociological research on Hikkaduwa tourism and women’s involvement in the tourism sector in 1980s (Samarasuriya, 1982), have not mentioned ‘beach boys’. In the late 1980s Guruge (1988) also examined social and economical impacts of tourism in three tourist destinations in the South coast in Sri Lanka. Claiming that Hikkaduwa is the most affected region, he pointed out that young men in the community have vastly changed. He indicated that young men tend to imitate hippie tourists, and some of them even wear the accessories, which hippie tourists wear. Although this explanation can be applicable to beach boys, he has also not used the term ‘beach boy’ in his study.

Thus, in analyzing these previous studies and filed data, it can be said that beach boys might have emerged by the late 1980s, but according to people in the community the term was used from the early 1990s, and that group has widely spread from the mid 1990s. Although, Ratnapala did not mention beach boys in his study published in 1984, in 1999 he described ‘beach boys’ when discussing sex workers in Sri Lanka. He has stated that beach boys are a group of sex workers, and all the beach boys found in a certain resort in the South were below the age of 16 years. He further indicated that ‘beach boys get enough opportunities to organize sex activities. They go about with the tourists and wait for an opportunity to make their intentions known when the proper time comes. Although they do not openly accept the sex role, the majority of them do perform it and satisfies the tourist’ (Ratnapala, 1999:25). Publishing the same work in Sinhala in 2000, he translated the term ‘beach boys’ as ‘Werala Lamai’ in Sinhala Weralal is beach and Lamai is children. This term can be identified as a respectful referent of the word ‘beach boys’ (Ratnapala, 2000).

Further, in 1998, in examining child prostitution in Sri Lanka, Beddoe (1999) claimed that beach boys are the culture brokers in child sex tourism, and they entice poor families to give up their younger children promising financial benefits and a better
life for their children. But, Miller (2011, but based on the fieldwork in 2000) argued that those young children are not sexually exploited or forced into sex work. They have voluntarily engaged in sex work and beach boys have also serviced as child prostitutes in their childhood. In analyzing all these studies, it can be said that although the term ‘beach boy’ had not emerged in the 1980s, similar role/activities in tourism have been discussed as male prostitutes (Mendis, 1981; Ratnapala, 1984), pimps (Ratnapala, 1984, Samarasuriya, 1982) and street guides (Crick, 1994)\(^\text{16}\). The study of Arachchi (2011) can be considered as a recent work on beach boys in Sri Lanka, but it is mostly based on quantitative data. He indicated the accepted definition for ‘beach boy’ in his study is the one Buddhakorala (1996)\(^\text{17}\) has stated. ‘The term ‘Beach Boy’ refers to young men who work near or on the beaches, typically tourist beaches and who offer sexual services in exchange for some form of payment. These young men may also work as tourist guides and may not all identify as ‘Beach boys’. Beach boys may also be working in restaurants, hotels, guesthouses and boat-related tourism’. In discussing beach boys in Induruwa, Arachchi claimed that beach boys impose both negative and positive impacts on tourism sector, but their work should be standardized since they are doing a great service to both tourism industry and the society.

1.2 ‘Beach boy’ as a local term

To understand whether the term ‘beach boy’ is a generally known word in Sri Lanka, a total number of 386 questionnaires were administered to Sri Lankans in different cities, and to some of the people residing overseas. Responses were collected via email, Facebook and Viber as well. The breakdown of the sample according to the regions was as follows: Southern region 122, Colombo 131, cities in the midland 79 and overseas 54 (Japan 34, Australia 15, England 5). O/L and A/L students (between the age of 16-18 years) were also included in the sample. Except one person (Non-tourism), all the people in the Hikkaduwa sample (116) stated that they know the word ‘beach boy’. The following table shows their responses by the region.

Although, these responses are not representative of the whole population, questionnaires were administered to the people in different social classes, different

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\(^{16}\) Crick (1994) has analyzed international tourism industry in Sri Lanka and the local voice on the industry. His work was mostly based on his seven months field study in Kandy. Discussing informal tourism sector, he investigated street guides in Kandy and double standards involved in the tourism sector.

\(^{17}\) Buddhakorala, K. (1996). Preventive Aspect of Sexually Transmitted Diseases and Acquires Immune Deficiency Syndrome in a High Risk Population. Unpublished Doctor of Medicine in Community Medicine Thesis, University of Colombo, Sri Lanka. Although, this study is an unpublished work and I also could not reference it, I stated his definition, since Arachchi (2011) has mentioned that it is the accepted definition in his study as well.
employments and people in cities and rural areas so as to represent a wider group in the society. Basically the aim of this survey was to investigate whether the term ‘beach boy’ is used as a local term in Sri Lanka. According to the results, it is apparent that the majority of Sri Lankans have heard the term ‘beach boy’ (82%). Of those who have heard that term (317), only 4% (13) mentioned that they have only heard the term, so that they do not know exactly about appearances and activities of beach boys.

Table 4-1: Responses of the General Public
(Have you ever heard a word called ‘beach boy’?)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Southern Region</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Children</td>
<td>25 (93.0%)</td>
<td>2 (7.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adults</td>
<td>91 (96.0%)</td>
<td>4 (4.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>116 (95.0%)</td>
<td>6 (5.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Children</td>
<td>39 (87.0%)</td>
<td>6 (13.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adults</td>
<td>77 (90.0%)</td>
<td>9 (10.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>116 (88.5%)</td>
<td>15 (11.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cities in the Mid Island</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Children</td>
<td>11 (34.0%)</td>
<td>21 (66.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adults</td>
<td>34 (72.0%)</td>
<td>13 (28.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>45 (57.0%)</td>
<td>34 (43.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residing Overseas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>25 (74.0%)</td>
<td>9 (26.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>11 (73.0%)</td>
<td>4 (27.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>4 (80.0%)</td>
<td>1 (20.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40 (74.0%)</td>
<td>14 (26.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of All Regions</td>
<td>317 (82.0%)</td>
<td>69 (18.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When considering the responses by region, the Southern region has the highest percentage of those who have heard about beach boys (95%). Similarly 88.5% of the people in Colombo also knew the term ‘beach boy’ whereas only 11.5% have mentioned that they do not know. On the contrary, nearly half of the respondents in cities of the midland such as Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa, Kurunegala, Kegalle and Kandy have not heard about ‘beach boys’ (43%), but the majority of them were school children. Except 2 boys, the rest of the people living overseas have been brought up in Sri Lanka, and they have moved there after marriage, for work or for higher education. Although, it is a small sample, 74% of them knew about beach boys. In analyzing, it can be said that although these responses may vary in terms of level of education, employment, social class and personal preferences, the term ‘beach boy’ is a generally known term in Sri Lanka.
Further, people in Hikkaduwa (tourism related and some non-tourism related) stated that although the young men are known as ‘beach boys’, in the community they do not directly call those boys ‘beach boys’. Most of the beach boys have nicknames, by which in the community, family and in the peer group they are called. There was no difference in their nicknames compared with those used in the general society.

1.3 The view from the tourists

Although the sample (N17) is not large, the view of tourists was also examined through informal conversations. 12 of them said that they have heard about a term called ‘beach boy’, and they consider the boys in Hikkaduwa beach also as beach boys. Those who were interviewed in the Hikkaduwa tourism sector also mentioned that most of the tourists visiting Hikkaduwa know those boys as ‘beach boys’, but they do not use that word when directly talking with the boys. The interview conducted with the Hikkaduwa Tourist Police was also revealing of that fact. Although the complaints against beach boys are less, if a tourist came to the police to make complaints against a beach boy, then they indicate him as ‘a beach boy’ saying ‘a beach boy did this and that’. Therefore, it can be said that most of the tourists who visit Hikkaduwa have heard the term ‘beach boy’, and of those who have heard perceive the young men in Hikkaduwa beach as ‘beach boys’.

1.4 Who is a beach boy to a beach boy?

Most of the young boys in the beach did not self-identify as ‘beach boys’; rather they introduce themselves as ‘area guides’ or marine sports instructors. During fieldwork some local people advised me not to call them as ‘beach boys’ stating that ‘if you call them beach boys, then they wouldn’t talk to you anymore. They don’t like being called so, they would get angry’. However when I asked the boys ‘whether they are beach boys’, only 7 boys directly accepted that they are. They had a relaxed attitude about that and few of them said that “‘beach boy’ means ‘welle kollo’ no (in Sinhala ‘wella’ means beach, ‘kollo’ is boys). In that case, as we are the kollo (boys) in wella (beach), that term fit to us”. Although, Ratnapala (2000) has also translated the term ‘beach boy’ into Sinhala as ‘Werala Lamai’, these Sinhala terms were not known among the general public; the generally used local term was ‘beach boy’.

Despite the fact that the Hikkaduwa local community and most people in general perceive these young men in the beach as ‘beach boys’, the majority in the sample of beach boys claimed that they are not ‘beach boys’ (74%). Of those who did not self-identify as beach boys, 11 (55%) asserted that there are beach boys in Hikkaduwa, but they themselves are not because they are engaged in other work such as maritime sports.
or restaurant works. CBB\textsuperscript{18} stated that ‘I’m not a beach boy; I’m a surfing instructor. Beach boys are the ones, who hang around in the beach, doing nothing, just going after tourists/girls’. Similarly, CBB\textsuperscript{3} also stated that ‘beach boys are the ones who wear dreadlocks, grew long hair, having tattoos and pierced ears. I’m not like that’. Thus, it is apparent that even among the beach boy community, they have their own description for the term ‘beach boy’ and most of them try to separate themselves from the group of beach boys, emphasizing their appearance or activities in the tourism sector.

On the other hand, there were 9 boys who refused the term ‘beach boy’ to indicate any boy in the beach (45%). CBB\textsuperscript{26} asserted that a ‘beach boy is a person who doesn’t have a shelter, so he is practically living on the beach. But, we are not like that. We have our own home and only coming to the beach to do some work’. CBB\textsuperscript{20} also stated that he is working at a restaurant for a low salary only to avoid being called a ‘beach boy’. ‘I’m not a beach boy, as I’m working in a restaurant. But, I follow Rasta; do you know what is Rasta\textsuperscript{19}? A simple way of living. People who follow it right, at least don’t wear slippers’. Similarly, most married beach boys also did not accept that they were beach boys, but they mentioned that the boys in the beach are called as ‘beach boys’. According to their statements, it can be assumed that there is a negative connotation in the term ‘beach boy’, so that most of them avoid the use of that term.

\textsuperscript{18} Current Beach Boy
\textsuperscript{19} That was during my first fieldwork; therefore I did not know exactly what Rasta is.
2 Beach Boys in Hikkaduwa

Data was collected through interviews with 27 beach boys and in-depth interviews took place with 8 of them. In addition, some observational work and informal conversations were also involved throughout the research process.

2.1 Basic characteristics

In terms of the appearance, beach boys have adapted their own style of dressing, which differ from boys/men in general. Most of them have long tinted hair and some with dreadlocks\(^20\), pierced ears and tattoos. Some are said to be following Rastafarian identity. But, as Pruitt and LaFont (1995) pointed out, it is not the representation of real Rastafarian culture, but merely a rent-a-dread\(^21\). However, Rasta, Reggae music and Bob Marley followers can be considered as an introduction of Hippie tourists who inundated to the country from 1970s. Among the interviewees, only 2 boys have grown their hair in dreadlocks, others had both long and short tinted hair. Most of them were black or dark brown, and possessed well-built muscular body.

![Beach Boy: Age Group](image)

**Figure 4-1: Beach Boy - Age Group**

\(^20\) ‘Locks’ or ‘dreads’ is the result of letting hair grow naturally without cutting or combing (Pruitt and LaFont, 1995).

\(^21\) Men with dreadlocks and following Rastafarian culture, symbolize a commitment to a natural way of life, unmediated by western standards and vanities. But the men actively participated in tourism activities follow it only to develop a presentation, ‘staged authenticity’ and only to appeal to tourist women (Pruitt and LaFont, 1995)
During the daytime, they are usually in beach pants; while most stating that it is because they get drenched time to time as they are engaged in swimming or other marine sports, few mentioned that it is to showcase their muscular upper body. When going out or in the night they wear t-shirts, but if it was around Hikkaduwa most remain in beach pants, and are very rarely seen in long trousers. Their accessories differ from person to person, but the majority wears simple accessories, which highlight their masculinity. Some wear hand and anklet bands, which depicts Rasta colors green, gold, red, and necklaces made of seashells or beads.

With regard to the age of beach boys, three quarter of the total number was between 21 to 30; having 12 boys in 21-25 age group and 8 boys in 26-30 age group. There were 4 boys below 20 years old, among them one was 16 years old, two were 17 years old and the other one was 18 years old. Three of them were in their thirties, but they were also maintaining a well-built masculine image.

![Beach boy: Residency](image)

Figure 4-2: Residency of Beach Boys

Nearly 90% of the beach boys were from Hikkaduwa and its environs such as Sinigama, Kumarakanda and Patuwatta. Four boys were residing within 500m from the main road, while 13 of them were between 1km and 2km inland, and 7 were from neighboring areas. Only three boys have come from outside, and among them, two were working in restaurants and the other one in a guesthouse.
Further, generally beach boys are considered to be multilingual. Hikkaduwa beach boys also speak at least one foreign language in addition to English. Among those languages, German is the most spoken language and in the sample, 6 guides, 1 restaurant worker and 12 boys who were engaged in marine sports were speaking. 3 guides, 2 restaurant workers and 9 related to marine sports, speak Japanese. At the same time, many tourism-related workers have started to learn Russian, with the increase of Russian tourists from 2011. There were 4 guides who understand all four languages and a little Swedish and Italian as well. Among others, 9 speak both German and Japanese, and there were 2 restaurant workers who speak only English. On the other hand, this multilingual ability does not mean that they are conversant in those languages. While few of them are fluent, others only understand to the extent of their role of work. Two of them said they took language classes, but the rest have gained that language ability on the spot, by practically conversing with foreigners, and some have specifically learned from their foreign friends as well. For instance, one young boy in the study (17 years) was eager to learn Japanese, stating that he is planning to go to Japan to master his surfing skills. He met me for a few days to learn some basic Japanese greetings and frequently used phrases.
Except the three boys who have finished high school, the rest were school dropouts. More than half of the boys have completed Ordinary Level (finished junior high school) and that implies most of them have joined tourism related work on fulltime basis from the age of 16 or above. 10 boys have gained only six to ten years education.

In terms of marital status, all of them were bachelors when I started the survey, but three of them got married to female tourists during the survey. Interviews were conducted with 3 guides and an owner of a surfing center, each of whom are married to local women as well. But they are not included in the sample of beach boys, as the ones who have already done international marriages are considered former beach boys. In addition, those married men mentioned that they are not practicing general sexual activities related to beach boys after the marriage.22

With regard to monthly income, most stated that it seasonally varies, and even in the on-season sometimes they do not get much work. Boys who are only working in restaurants get a fixed salary between Rs.10,000-20,000 without tips. Boys who are only engaged in marine sports earn around Rs.30,000 in the season without tips. Others who are engaged in few activities simultaneously gain between Rs.30,000 to Rs.40,000 without tips. Mostly it is the tips, which highly affect their gain. Therefore, in average they earn more than Rs.30,000 per month in the tourist season. While some give nothing, a satisfied customer would give even more than Rs.5,000. Therefore, at times including tips, other commissions and gift money, monthly income may increase to Rs.100,000.

2.2 Beach boys role in tourism

Generally beach boys are engaged in a wide range of activities. In discussing beach boys in Senggigi, Indonesia, Dahles and Bras (1999) stated that although their main activity is guiding, it is combined with being a waiter, a driver, a musician or being jobless. Senegalese beach boys also organize excursions, sell artifacts and arrange local entertainment such as concerts or drumming workshops while offering their services as guides (Venables, 2009). Nyanzi et al, (2005) illustrated that the majority of Gambian beach boys supplement bumsing with work as craft-sellers, tourist guides, escorts, entertainers, musicians, waiters, chefs, shell-gatherers, part-time taxi drivers. Brown (1992) also argued that they act as culture brokers within the Gambian community.

Similarly, Hikkaduwa beach boys are also playing different roles in the tourism sector. Mainly they work as guides, restaurant workers, glass-bottom boat drivers or marine sports (diving/surfing/snorkeling) instructors, but most of the time their work overlaps. For instance, in this study there were 6 guides, 5 restaurant workers and 16

22 This may not be 100% true. But this demonstrates beach boys’ sexual relationships are mainly connected with a further goal, marriage or finding a partner; not only a mere sexual satisfaction.
marine sports’ instructors/glass-bottom boat drivers, but while stating one of those as
their main work most of them were simultaneously engaged in another work. Beside 2
guides, all the others are giving diving/surfing lessons. Similarly, marine sports’
instructors also offer services as guides when they are asked to show nearby places or
accompany a female tourist, and some work as glass-bottom boat drivers. At the same
time, 4 of them work in a restaurant as well. Among restaurant workers, 3 of them
mentioned that they are giving surfing/diving lessons if asked by tourists. Therefore, it
can be said that they are catering not only to female tourists but also a whole range of
other tourists as well.

With regard to the boys who stated guiding as their main work, generally they offer
two types of tours; 1) Hikkaduwa environs and down south, and 2) Island wide tours.
There are temples, small rivers and lakes in Hikkaduwa environs. Thotagamuwa
Rajamaha Viharaya is a well-known ancient temple, which is situated in Thelwatta, the
North part of Hikkaduwa. Sinigama devalaya is also a shrine, which is visited by many
Sri Lankans from all over the country. Near Sinigama there is a Tsunami monument and
an 18 meters tall standing Buddha’s statue, which is also a memorial to the Tsunami
victims. Beside these religious places, beach boys take tourists for boat rides and fishing
in the inland areas as well. During such tours, if tourists seem friendly they stop by their
home to taste a cup of tea or a king coconut. Sometimes they offer local food at home or
allow tourists to participate in traditional gatherings as well.

A tour to Galle, one of the world heritage sites in Sri Lanka, may take a whole day,
sometimes including a diving lesson as well. Galle fort, lighthouse, ancient Dutch
architecture and museums are main attractions in Galle. Some beach boys in Galle are
their friends, and at times they allow their friends to earn some money by asking the
tourists with them to see a cliff jump. If the tourists are beach lovers, they may extend
the trip to other beaches in the same strip such as Unawatuna, Mirissa, and Tengalle etc.
Madu Ganga, which is located in Balapitiya, is also a well-established destination for
adventurous and fun-filled boat rides along an estuary of a complex ecosystem of
mangroves. There are 64 islands in the river and the lagoon, and in one island there is an
ancient Buddhist monastery. Sometimes these tours include ancient Kalutara temple and
Kosgoda turtle sanctuary as well. Irrespective of their main activity, most of the beach
boys engage in such tours around Hikkaduwa, but mostly they go with befriended
female tourists or sometimes with a family/a group who became friends by giving
diving/surfing lessons.

Most guides maintain a book with recommendations and pictures of their past clients,
and show it to tourists so as to acquire consent for a tour. Some of them walk along the
beach to find clients. Generally beach boys should obtain an Area Guide license to
guide, but that license only allows them to guide from Hikkaduwa to Galle. All of the
guides claimed that they have obtained the Area Guide license and two of them showed
it as well. They cannot guide in other destinations with that license, and at some
destinations such as Kandy and Sigiriya they happen to hire a national guide. Island
wide tours include different tour packages in terms of tourists’ preferences. Generally there are 3 to 6 nights’ tours, which cover most of the world heritage sites and if tourists want to travel more, then they extend it even to two weeks. Some guides stated the difference between them and national guides who work under a certain company, highlighting their independence in arranging tours.

‘We don’t keep our guests in a tight schedule. If they want to stay more days, we easily let them to stay, and we don’t rush them to return to vehicle by this and that time’.

‘We offer them flexible tours. No fixed schedules. But, loads of fun and quality time to enjoy the locality, real Sri Lanka’.

In souvenir shops at well-known destinations, guides generally demand 20%-25% commission from the total purchase. Beach boys also get such commissions and if they get lucky enough to carry out a gem purchase, at times they get more than Rs.100,000 as commission. But, very rarely they find tourists, who are willing to make such higher purchases. With regard to marine sports’ instructors, most of them are working under a surfing/diving training center. Only 5 of them had their own surfboards or diving equipment, and they were in 25-35 age group. Some said it is a gift from their tourists, while some saying that they paid some amount. Some tourists, when they are satisfied with beach boys’ service and befriended with them, leave their surfboards when they depart. Generally an hour surfing lesson cost $20 for foreigners and $15 for locals, and beach boys get 50% of the total amount. But these charges vary according to each center, and famous places charge $30-$40 per hour.

Generally most of the establishments built in the beachfront offer accommodation together with restaurant and bar service. One respondent (CBB20) was working in a small-scale guesthouse, which operates as a restaurant as well. There were only 6 rooms and only two workers were employed. CBB20 said ‘I’m the room boy, I’m the bartender, I’m the cook. Everything is done by me’. The rest of the boys were working at relatively crowded restaurants, therefore they only worked as waiters and bartenders. Additionally, it became clear that some beach boys choose to work in restaurants in order to avoid being labeled as a beach boy.

Specifically CBB20 put it like this:
‘I get only Rs.10,000 as monthly salary. But, I wanted to be employed under a certain establishment, instead of just stalking on the beach. Even some female tourists are afraid if someone is said to be a beach boy. But, I can say that I’m not a beach boy, when I’m working here’.

On the other hand, surfers and divers save many drowning tourists, and they generally rescue 10 to 15 tourists in a season. In the first quarter of year 2015 about 8 tourists reported as drowning, among them 7 were rescued by beach boys. As
mentioned in previous studies, some of them provide ganja and female sex workers to male tourists so as to meet any demands of tourists. In addition, some of beach boys, especially restaurant workers and marine sports’ instructors migrate to Eastern coast in the off-season. This option was opened for them mainly after the cessation of civil war in 2010. There are few people in Hikkaduwa tourism sector, who own tourism business in the Eastern coast as well. Then, beach boys also get to work at their employers’ or friends’ establishments. As previously mentioned, most of the beach boys hang out with their tourist friends regardless of their main work. Sometimes they arrange small gatherings, barbeques and *peduru parties* \(^{23}\) on the beach. As Brown (1992) and Venables (2009) mentioned, Hikkaduwa beach boys can also be considered as culture brokers, who allow tourists to experience locality and easily adapt to the region. Some respondents in the general public and Archchi (2011) also emphasized that the role of the beach boy is important to Sri Lanka tourism sector, and national guides are not capable enough to offer such a whole range of activities.

### 2.3 Beach boys as a social group

Brown (1992) has illustrated that Gambian beach boys’ activities are both economic and socio-cultural, a way of life, a lifestyle, so that they form a sub-culture within the community. Together with their activities, fashions, and behaviors, beach boys in Hikkaduwa can also be identified as a social group, which forms such sub-cultures.

At present, 4 beach boy territories can be identified in the Hikkaduwa touristic beach area. It is divided according to the place they mainly operate as guides, surfing or diving instructors. For instance, one group is operating at Wawulugoda where there is the coral reef sanctuary with glass bottom boats in operation, and the other one near famous Chaya Tranz (past Coral Garden) hotel in Wewala. These two places were the areas where tourism was first introduced. The remainder of the two groups are operating in Narigama, one is where Narigama area begins, and the other one from the middle of Narigama area. The first two groups are based on small-scale surfing/diving centers, and some senior beach boys are individually offering their services as guides, surfing/diving instructors. In Wawulugoda some are working as glass-bottom boat drivers as well. The two groups in Narigama are mainly based on restaurants and clubs, and mostly same proprietors operate surfing/diving centers. Although, they generally operate within their territory, some guides maintain friendly relations with each group, and act without limitations.

In the 1980s, young boys in the beach area came to the beach and worked with a

\(^{23}\) Singing and dancing, kind of celebrations in Sri Lankan style.
small peer group. Then it expanded to several groups as tourism developed to nearby areas. They have some informal rules within the peer group. Generally, everyone cannot come to the beach and engage in beach boy activities, as they prefer. If someone wants to join, an existing beach boy should introduce him to the group, and usually he can be a friend, a relative or sometimes a younger brother of a beach boy. Boys who are in outer areas very rarely get to join the group and all the boys who claimed to be from outer areas were restaurant workers. Even the boys in the inland areas and Hikkaduwa environs mainly join as restaurant workers or surfing/diving instructors. Rather than being employed in the same sector, their gradual involvement in guiding and relationships with female tourists is the major concern of existing beach boys. Therefore, beach boys will be aware of newcomers, and on the other hand if a newcomer intends to pursue other beach boy activities beside his main work, he should appeal to the existing group and gradually build rapport with them. But, friends or relatives of the existing beach boys will easily gain that trust through their connections.

Moreover, an informal network is activated within their peer group, and with other informal entrepreneurs and the community as well. Especially Miller (2011) has demonstrated how homosexual work passed on to younger generation from senior beach boys. Rejecting Beddoe’s (1998) argument, he claims that younger boys are not coerced to engage in sexual acts with male tourists, but they have deliberately adapted the elder beach boys’ life style. At present, child sex tourism or younger children pursuing homosexual activities cannot be seen. Instead, newcomers get into heterosexual activities with female tourists as that is what existing beach boys practice, and similarly all of them look at former beach boys’ strategies in the hope of succeeding through international marriages. Thus, it can be said that elder beach boys’ activities and strategies affect younger beach boys’ motivations.

Similarly they pass on guiding, surfing/diving jobs to each other, and take a cut for making the initial contact. On the other hand, they keep beneficial contacts with other informal sector establishments as well. For instance, when tourists are looking for accommodation, beach boys take them to a known guesthouse and get a commission from the owner. Although some proprietors do not keep contacts with beach boys, some small-scale guesthouses benefit from keeping friendly contacts with them. Moreover, beach boys maintain a good network with some part of the community and people out of Hikkaduwa, in order to efficiently meet any demand of the tourists. For instance, if tourists ask for ganja, female sex workers or even a local woman to get married, they know where to go or whom to contact, and this network may consist of different people from different stages.
2.4 Reasons for being a beach Boy

Various reasons were given for their involvement in the tourism sector as beach boys. In order to understand their motivations in a wider perspective, responses were collected from former beach boys (N=14), who have already done international marriages as well. A difference could be identified in the reasons for their involvement in terms of the age group.

i ) Poverty

Specifically former beach boys emphasized economic hardships as the main reason for them to involve in the informal tourism sector. Some of them related how destitute their life was and how they gradually got into tourism related work in order to get out of the poverty trap.

FBB\(^{(9)}\)\(^{24}\) ‘Those days we were living in a Cadjan hut. All of us slept on the floor. When it rains, water seep through the holes in thatched roof. So there were days we could not sleep, and our books got drenched, so we could not go to school next day. I determined to get out of that life somehow.’

FBB\(^{5}\) ‘We had seven members in the family including parents. I was the second child. I knew the hardships my family entangled with, when we get to eat only two meals per day. There were some days all of us went hungry. My father was a fisherman, he could not earn much and especially in the fishing offseason he rarely got a chance to make some money. So, my elder brother and me started to come to beach after school. Sometimes we got small gifts and money by guiding them around the area. By doing so we could help our family, and take care of ourselves without being a burden to Amma and Thatha.’

FBB\(^{(10)}\) ‘My father was a fishermen. His income was barely enough for household expenses. But you know, we have other needs when we get young, to buy a pair of shoes, new clothes. But how can we ask money from parents when we obviously know that they cannot afford such expenses. That’s why I first thought of coming to beach and earn some bucks.’

All of the former beach boys stated poverty as a main reason for their involvement and most of them related similar stories about their childhood life. Among 27 current beach boys, only 11 mentioned poverty as a reason for them to join beach boy activities and only few boys in the age group of 26-35 stressed their family hardships.

\(^{24}\) Former Beach Boy
Informal sector (beach boy activities) was the only opportunity

11 former beach boys and 20 current beach boys stated that beach boy activity is the only opportunity opened to them in the tourism sector.

**FBB**³ ‘We did not have land or any other resources when we joined this work in the late 1980s. We could have started up a guesthouse or a restaurant if we had money in hand. At least we did not have a proper home to provide lodging to tourists’

**FBB**² ‘My father was a fisherman, but we had a small land in the beachfront. After tourists started to visit this area my father started a very small restaurant. Actually it was a thatched cadjan hut. But, he did not have money to develop it. You need money to run it properly. So we happen to engage in these activities to save money to develop our business.’

**CBB**⁴ ‘Our home is not in the touristic area. Tourists even do not visit those inland areas. This was the only way that I could enter into the tourism sector. And today the touristic area has been developed a lot, so it is only a dream to start up a business here.’

Thus, it can be said that there is not much difference in the opportunities available for young men in the 1980s and at present. In the 1980s they did not possess either land or money to invest, or both. At present, most beach boys are coming from inland or neighboring areas; therefore they can access tourists only through beach boy activities.

Less education and lack of employment opportunities in other sectors

8 former beach boys and 10 current beach boys said that they could not work in the formal sector or get a white collar job, as they dropped out school due to economic hardships.

**FBB**⁶ ‘I couldn’t finish school. We had lot of financial issues. I was the eldest in the family. So, I came to beach in the hope of earning some money. First it was after school, then I skipped in the season and eventually I lost the interest in studying. I felt it is better to make a living out of the chances available, so I stopped going school in grade 7. You need at least O/L to work in large-scale hotels, and A/L or more qualifications to get other office works. We could not get such jobs as we haven’t get good education’

**CBB**¹⁹ ‘There are no other jobs available for us. We could have also gone to work in an office suit wearing a tie, if we could concentrate on our studies without any other burden on our head. Our parents could not afford for our education, rather than
educating us, each day they had to think how and what they are going to feed us. So, we dropped out school and started to earn some bucks from our childhood.’

However, overall a less proportion of beach boys were concerned about other employment opportunities. Instead, they admitted the reality, saying ‘those days we happened to choose it, not going to school due to our problems. Everyone can’t become doctors or engineers, we all have our own path for success’, and with regard to former beach boys most of them have not even thought of having good education or another employment opportunities: ‘we had thousands of problems. We only thought of how we can get out of them. Tourism appeared as a good opportunity, all the people around us started to reap benefits. That’s all what we also wanted, make money and escape from poverty’.

iv) Less salaries/less benefits in other employments

Most beach boys mentioned that fewer salaries are offered in many formal jobs, and the benefits they gain from beach boy activities cannot be gained from other jobs.

CBB²⁴ ‘How much does even an educated person get? For example, a teacher’s salary is about Rs.20,000 or less after finishing all the studies. But, we earn around Rs.50,000 or more, having no education qualifications. Today many degree holders are unemployed, and even if they get a job, salary will be between Rs.15,000-Rs.25,000.’

CBB²¹ ‘My brother is working in a garment factory. His monthly salary is 20,000. Working 6 days including night shifts and finally get that money. It’s terrible!’

CBB⁹ ‘We get other material benefits, other than cash. One of my clients gifted me a surfboard. Most of us have tourist friends, and then they send us gifts such as cameras, mobile phones etc. or bring us such gifts in their next visit.’

As previously mentioned, most former beach boys have not compared their work with other jobs when they joined, but 4 of them mentioned those facts as identified differences. But, 16 beach boys asserted one of the reasons to stay in beach boy activities is economic and other material benefits. While saying they earn more money than other government workers, more than half of the boys admitted that they do not save money: ‘But, the thing is other men save some amount even from that low paid salary. But we don’t save. As for me, even I get RS.100,000 or more, it will be in my purse. I haven’t saved a cent in a bank’. At the same time, most boys claimed that compared to earlier, nowadays tourists do not easily send them gifts or money. Only a
few who become intimate like family or girlfriends do, but that’s also mostly small gifts, not money.

\(\nu\) It is formed as self-employment

20 beach boys stated that they love their work, as they can work independently, no stress from employers or a need to stick to schedules.

CBB\(^{18}\) ‘9.00am to 5.00pm job is not for me, never! When we have a tour or fixed surf lessons, then we wake up even at 4 or 5 in the morning. That’s not the thing, thing is confining into the same routine in 5 days a week. It’s like lifetime. I don’t want to do that in my life. For me, life should be free. We all die one day, until then should live a happy and harmless life to others.’

CBB\(^{12}\) ‘I can’t stand someone bossing me around. Though, I work under a surf center, he is a brother/aya to me and we are like friends. So, it is easy to work and I can enjoy my work.’

CBB\(^{5}\) ‘We don’t have fixed schedules. I’m giving surf lessons, but they call me when there is a client. Until then I can stay at home or engage in other work. I love the freedom this job gives me.’

But at the same time, most of them also stated that they are willing to work more, as some weeks, especially in the off-season, they get to work only once or twice a week, or sometimes no work at all, which affects heavily on their income.

\(\nu\) Reluctance to pursue traditional livelihoods

When they were asked about their interest in fisheries or agriculture related jobs, 9 former beach boys and 22 beach boys asserted that they do not like to engage in traditional livelihoods, as they gain many other benefits that traditional livelihoods can never offer.

FBB\(^{6}\) : ‘Yes I admit that farming, fishing, carpenter jobs, working in construction sites or driving jobs are also like kind of self-employments. But, those work are stressful. We can’t do the same what our fathers did. They worked their whole life for nothing. No proper meal, no proper income to sustain the households. We have already experienced that life. We did not want to go through the same scenario until the death and give such a miserable life to our children as well.’
Some say we are lazy, that is why we don’t do fishing. But, it’s not like we don’t want to exert ourselves or work hard. It’s not like we are just killing time with tourists/suddo. To surf or dive it takes so much efforts and hard work. To find some guests/a party, a guide may walk along this beach 3, 4 times a day. We are also not like big people who are sitting on swivel chair in an air-conditioned office. Money doesn’t come very easily to our hands as others think. But, we do this job, as it makes us feel free, happy and we get many other benefits too.’

Will you stay in Sri Lanka and do a farming job if you were asked to? No! Because you may be curious about new things or you may want to learn new things. It’s the same with us. We want to step up, instead of remaining in the same life. And just think who respect a farmer or a fisherman? Though agriculture and fisheries are main sectors in Sri Lanka, and they do a great work, people only respect doctors, engineers or rich people and stupid politicians. So, for what do we need to carry on such work?’

We are also same young men like the other boys. Though we don’t have degrees or not descending from elite families, it doesn’t mean that we should remain in the same place or we are the ones who should do fishing throughout our life like our fathers did. As for me, I like fashionable clothes and live a modern life. And I don’t like to exert myself for nothing.

As such they emphasized their interest in entering into the tourism sector, rather than pursuing traditional livelihoods.

Other benefits beside economic and material gains

Other than monetary benefits, they enjoy working with foreigners, going on island wide tours, having rare chances to travel abroad and even being able to have sexual experiences with female tourists. All of the current beach boys mentioned at least one of these facts as their motivation in involvement and remaining in the job.

It’s not only the cash we get from this job. We get to keep contacts with foreigners. It’s not only bad things we learn from them as many others think. We learn about other countries and how to respect each other. Especially they don’t look down upon us like many Sri Lankans do. There are very nice, educated people among them. It’s a pleasure to meet such people from around the world.’

Suddo is the colloquial Sinhala term used for foreigners. Sudu is white. So, sudda = male foreigner, suddi = female foreigner, suddo = plural term.
All of us have many tourist friends from different countries. Some of them are real friends, they love hanging out with us. And you see I speak good German, English and little Russian as well. Did my parents send me to tuition classes? No. I got it from this job, by working with foreigners.

Any other job will give you money, but not some memorable time with real foreign friends or chances to travel abroad. Actually, one of the elder German couple that I had contacts for years arranged me a short visit to Germany. It was a great experience and how come we get such chances if it was not this job?

I have fun giving surfing lessons and I work as a guide as well. I get to travel throughout the country. Tour package covers my expenses, so I just have to travel with them, like another traveller. Though some gives hard time on us, most parties love to travel with us.

Hehe yeah we get to have sex with blonde girls too. Other guys only see them in porn no, but we get the real experience.

Yes, I enjoy having sex with them. Why not? I’ve had girl friends from different countries, German, Italian, Ukraine and Japanese too.

Actually, they highlighted the opportunities they get while being in a unprivileged community, not descending from a wealthier/upper class family or not having had good education compared to other young men in wider society. Similarly, they emphasized they are not sexual perverts like many others think. Instead the guys in outer society are more vulnerable and sexually stimulated than them, as they do not get a chance to get the experience in real life.

Success stories

All of the boys mentioned at least one name of the former beach boys, who have got married to female tourists and have succeeded their life.

There are lot of guys who have got married to female tourists. Both ayya and his mali are married to Japanese. They have succeeded, having business here and leading a good family life as well.

I have lot friends who migrated after getting married to foreigners. They have stepped up, looking after their families here and spending like suddo once come down.
Most of them stated that they want to become successful like the other beach boys did, and they think they also will be able to achieve that advancement if they could find a good girl who is willing to marry them (International marriages between beach boys and female tourists will be discussed in detail in the next section).

However, in analyzing, there could be seen a remarkable difference in the reasons emphasized by former beach boys and current beach boys. Most of the former beach boys stated poverty-stricken life as a main reason for their involvement, and having no other resources and less education were also relatively highlighted. But, with regard to current beach boys, a larger proportion revealed the rest of the facts and all of them were aware of success stories and other benefits aside from monetary gains. Since all the young men in Hikkaduwa do not become a beach boy, it can be said that there are other work options available both in the community in agriculture, fishing sector, other odd jobs (carpenters, drivers, shop assistants), and in outer cities in garments, in the army and other temporary jobs such as in construction sites. Despite the fact that beach boys also can survive by engaging in so-called “other work”, this group of boys choose beach boy activities in tourism taking higher benefits it offers into account. Having affected by success stories of former beach boys, beach boys at present engage in tourism with the intention of upgrading their living standards. Hence, it can be said that although former beach boys entered into tourism due to destitution as a mean of surviving, current beach boys choose their work in order to advance their life just as the examples set by former beach boys.

2.5 Relationships with female tourists

2.5.1 Converting female tourists from elderly to younger ones

As previously discussed in chapter three, beach boys have had different types of sexual relationships with tourists. Relations with female tourists have emerged by the early 1980s, but until the late 1990s majority of women were elderly tourists. Those relationships were mostly identified as sexual, transactional exchanges, where direct exchange of money or material goods took place. Specifically, international marriages rarely occurred between them. Crick (1994) pointed out that many street guides in Kandy provided sexual services to European women even in the early 1980s, and it was for money or material benefits. At the same time he stated that one of his respondents was waiting for an air ticket from a female tourist, as they have got used to hotel comforts, beer and foreign women. But as a whole, street guides have not mentioned international marriages or long-term relationships with female tourists. At the same time, Crick stated that during the early 1970s, a few had received air tickets from tourists, and at least one had married a European woman. Similarly, Ratnapala (1984) illustrated that young men had sexual relationships with middle age and past middle age tourist women, and they received land, houses and even visits to their home country apart from money.
One respondent from Hikkaduwa said that a number of young men have gone abroad having become friends with female tourists, but his study too never gave mention to international marriages between female tourists and those young men. Therefore, it can be said that to migrate, an international marriage was not necessary, since the regulations during the 1970s or 1980s were not as strict as nowadays. Respondents in this study too confirmed that fact and related the difficulty of acquiring visa especially to Western countries.

There are some studies, which illustrated that the majority of female tourists involved with local men (beach boys) are elder, overweight or in insufficient beauty standards of their own country (Dahles and Bras, 1999; Herold et al, 2001; Meisch, 1995; Nyanzi et al, 2005; Pruitt and La Font, 1995). Herold et al (2001) indicated that elderly or young overweight women are vulnerable and more open about their economic situations, and if beach boys are concerned about making money then they will target this group of tourists. Similarly, Nyanzi et al (2005) stated that Gambian beach boys prefer cultivating relationships/marriages with elderly foreign women due to three main reasons; 1) being able to play an active role as a successful provider of love, particularly for elderly women who claim for their affection, and then feeling self-worth irrespective of that which they lack in their lives such as poverty, permanent employment; 2) longer material benefits than with younger females (they believe elder tourists have saved more money, and also more independent than young females, which assure them a good monetary capital and an air ticket) and 3) more emotionally connected, romantically and sexually fulfilled than being with local women (only few have mentioned). Furthermore, Herold et al (2001) asserted that beach boys in the Caribbean would select a young and attractive blonde girl only if he is desirous of sexual conquest, as young women are generally unlikely to provide money. Hence, it is apparent that one of the main reasons to target elderly females for a long-term relationship is monetary benefit.

However, as previously mentioned, in Hikkaduwa female tourists in beach boys’ relationships have shifted to younger females. Alongside the fact that the increase of young female travellers to Hikkaduwa from the mid 1990s, another two main reasons can also be given from the behavior of beach boys. Firstly, in spite of the fact that beach boys’ main motivation towards international marriage is economical, they do not expect to depend on female tourists throughout their life. Once she assists him with migration/obtaining visa to Europe, they plan to work abroad to make money for their own. Although they think women being wealthy as an extra benefit, the main thing they expect from international marriage is migration. Therefore, being young men, they find young female tourists more desirable than elderly women. Secondly, the fact that marrying an elderly woman involves more social stigma than marrying a young foreign woman. In this survey, most beach boys proudly said that they do date only young pretty girls, not grannies. Both beach boys and people in the tourism sector affirmed the social stigma attached when hanging out with elder females, and the statements of ‘how can walk with a older women in public?’ were often reported.
Thus, it can be said that at present, beach boys prefer cultivating relationships with young female tourists, and the majority of female tourists who are initiating relations with beach boys are also relatively young. Statements of beach boys, people in tourism sector and participant observation confirmed that fact. CBB\textsuperscript{24} said that ‘it is room boys and waiters in large-scale hotels sleep with grannies now. We don’t sleep with grannies. We have beautiful girls from different countries’. A normal restaurant worker also stated that ‘CBB\textsuperscript{16} is often coming here with girls. Last night too came with a pretty Russian girl. Can’t get why such beautiful girls being with those guys’. Almost all people in the tourism sector and some non-tourism people in Hikkaduwa also similarly responded that at present beach boys are mostly with young beautiful girls. In addition, during the fieldwork too I could not observe any elderly female tourist walking along the beach hand in hand with young beach boys. All female spouses of former beach boys were also younger or a few years older than them. But, except 2 women, mostly it cannot be noticed because beach boys looked more mature than those ladies.

2.5.2 Present relations with female tourists

As far as the relationships between beach boys and female tourists are considered, it can be said that at present most of their relationships are not merely sexual or transactional. With regard to beach boys, their motivation to be with female tourists is economical, but rather than short-term monetary gains they expect long-term success through international marriages. At the same time, most of them enjoy sexual experiences with female tourists. They brag about their popularity among female tourists and sexual conquest with those women. Generally, one of the initial steps towards an intimate relationship, which extends to even an international marriage is sexual satisfaction. Boys in the age group of 16-20 (N 4) said they are not sexually engaged with female tourists. Actually they were between 16-18 years, small built boys, and not yet possessed the typical masculine image of beach boys. They were hanging out with female tourists in a friendly manner, but there were signs that they would follow the way of elder beach boys. Two boys in the age group of 21-25 also stated that they had no sexual involvement with female tourists. Beside them, the rest of the beach boys (N21) stated that they have had or are having sexual relationships with female tourists. But, the opportunities they get to initiate company with female tourists vary in terms of the activities they are engaged in. For instance, guides and marine sports’ instructors get more opportunities as they get more time to be with women and get to know each other. Beach boys, as well as many people in the tourism sector also stated that teaching surfing reinforces sexual involvements. When they teach surfing, close body contacts occur and then such contacts extend to sexual and later to intimate relationships. Some said that tourist women admire beach boys’ athletic skills as well. ‘It is the black skin together with their muscular bodies, which symbolizes their surfing
skills. Women fall for that and even beach boys show off their skills so as to get women’s attraction’.

On the other hand, restaurant workers get less time to hang out with female tourists, as they have to work in the restaurant on regular basis. With regard to marine sports instructors, they finish their work by the evening or sometimes they do not work whole day, then they can go for dinners, clubbing or even accompany a tour with them. But, restaurant workers have to work until late night. Some mentioned that even if they could get a girl, she might find another boy, as he cannot accompany her whenever she needs. FBB\textsuperscript{1} put it like this.

‘We should have time to devote for them. But, this job doesn’t allow doing that. Once I got a German girl. She was staying here. But, she wanted me to go with her when she is going out, clubs, dinner outs and even travel to other places with her. But, I should be here all the time. I’m the one who is looking after everything here, and I get only one day off. So, couple of days she went alone and one day said she found another boy’.

When I met him (FBB\textsuperscript{1}) again during later field trip he was engaged to a woman from Finland. Illustrating the love story, he stated that ‘she repeatedly visited 3 times in last year, rented a room here and stayed. But, finally I happened to quit the job as she also wanted to spend more time with me, get to know each other well before making the decision to get married’. However, this story implies an important aspect of female tourists’ relationship with beach boys: that female tourists do not expect merely a physical connection from beach boys. If the first German woman expected only sex, she could have had sex with him, instead of asking him to accompany her. Even the Finnish woman wanted to spend more time with him to get to know each other before getting married. At the same time, it implies that there are many beach boys around, each prepared for a relationship with a female tourist. Once FBB\textsuperscript{1} could not accompany her, she found another one soon. But, generally beach boys do not approach a girl who is already going out with another beach boy, and if they did so, it may lead to a big argument as well. But if the girl chose another boy over the one who she is already hanging out with, they do not make it a big issue, as it is the woman’s decision. But, most of the time such arguments or clashes cannot be seen.

With regard to female tourists, only a fewer number of women profess an interest in sexually involving with beach boys. Sanchez (2000) stated that even in the Caribbean, only one third of women engage in any form of sexual relationship with local men. Beach boys in Hikkaduwa also indicated that it is mostly single travellers or girls who travel in a small group incline to involve with them. CBB\textsuperscript{12} stated that ‘It’s mostly girls coming here alone, or some with 2, 3 girlfriends. It’s like this, 7 out of 10 girls at least talk with us. Some just like to get to know us, as they have travelled a lot; they may have heard about or have seen beach boys in other countries. But, only 2 or 3 out of them may have sex with us and go to an extending friendship or other kind of relationship’.
Further, Herold et al (2001) offered typologies of female tourists who involve with beach boys/local men in the Dominican Republic as 1) First time romantic tourists (who do not anticipate such involvement ahead of time and once they become involved, view their relationship as romantic rather than sexual), 2) First time sex tourists (who anticipated involvement and focused on sexual aspects), 3) Romantic returnees (who had a romantic relationship with a local man and make return visits as they wish to maintain that love relationship), 4) Committed sex tourists (who return with the intention of maximizing their sexual pleasure, but mostly with one regular partner) and 5) Adventurer sex tourists (who prefer to have casual sex with a number of partners).

Authors indicates most of the female tourists to the Dominican Republic are first time romantic tourists or romantic returnees, and the women included in the rest of the categories are the minority (Herold et al., 2001).

As far as beach boys’ and female tourists’ relationship in Hikkaduwa is concerned, it can be said that except ‘adventurer sex tourists’, all the other types of female tourists were reported. Women who visit fully prepared for sexual adventures and sleep with a number of different partners during their sojourn were not mentioned. Rather almost all were self-identified as ‘romantic returnees’ or ‘first time romantic tourists’. Since this study mainly focused on beach boys from the host side, female tourists were not thoroughly interviewed except 7 female spouses and 6 female tourists who are currently having relationships with beach boys. All the spouses claimed that they had been ‘romantic returnees’ until the marriage. Among unmarried girls, 2 said they are ‘first time romantic tourists’ and 2 stated they are ‘romantic returnees’, and none of them mentioned that they are with beach boys for sexual pleasures. In discussing their relationship with female tourists, beach boys also demonstrated that all the female tourists who become involved with them do not expect sexual pleasures from them.

‘Yes some want to have sex with us, but not everyone needs that. Some girls only want to drink and talk, spend some relaxing, cool time with us. Some like only kissing. Some kiss when they get drunk, but don’t go to bed with us. Girls, who don’t want to have sex, keep their limits and enjoy having company with us’

Thus, it can be said that another category of female tourists can be found in Hikkaduwa, ‘companion tourists’, a new concept of ‘companion tourism’ for the tourists who prefer companionship, neither love nor sex (Herold et al., 2001). At the same time beach boys indicated that the minority of female tourists comes only expecting sexual pleasures from them. Few mentioned that some women in married couples also become sexually involved with them, coming out while husband is in the hotel room or having made the husband drunk. Three other people in the tourism sector also mentioned the same. But, considering as a whole, some mentioned as below:
CBB also said that ‘it is not like we go to a room, have sex and then everything is over. Sometimes they don’t get emotionally involved, but we hang out, travel together, and maintain a good friendship even after they leave. Some of them call us, check on us. It’s not about money too. Mostly they don’t send us money if it is not a love affair or she is not my girlfriend’.

Hence, that type of sexual relationships cannot be defined as merely sex tourism or romance tourism, which is discussed in this study, and rather can be considered somewhat similar to ‘friendship with benefits’. Therefore, it can be said that there are sub-categories in the group of ‘committed sex tourists’, specifically of those who have sexual relationships with one partner. Therefore, it can be said that relationships between beach boys and female tourists are not merely about sexual satisfaction as widely perceived until now. Most relationships are based on an emotional involvement; that involvement can be a romantic, intimate feeling or a feeling like friends. Especially since there are successful international marriages, and beach boys are also focusing on marriages; most of their relationships are identified as closer to romance tourism as described in this study. As they intend to establish a relationship, which develops to an international marriage, somewhere in the relationship beach boys may strive to initiate or make women feel romance other than providing them sexual pleasures. The next section discusses their international marriages, motivations and the process until the marriage in further detail.
3 International Marriages as a Life Strategy

3.1 Discussions on international marriages through tourism

There are tourism and marriage migration studies, which argued the international marriages established through sexual and intimate relationships in tourism (Angeles and Sunanta, 2007; Brennan, 2004; Cohen, 1982, 2003; Dahles and Bras, 1999; Herold, et al, 2001; Nyanzi, et al, 2005; Pruitt and LaFont, 1995; Samarasuriya, 1982; Toyota and Thang, 2012; Wang, 2007). Those studies discussed various forms of international marriages such as foreign brides, mail order brides, correspondence brides, sex workers and lovers. In analyzing previous studies, two main patterns of international marriages could be identified; 1) marriages between women from less developed countries and men from developed countries (Brennan, 2001, 2004; Cohen, 1982, 2003; Seabrook, 1996), and 2) marriages involved men from less developed countries and women from developed countries (Dahles and Bras, 1999; Herold, et al, 2001; Kempadoo, 1995; Nyanzi, et al, 2005; Pruitt and LaFont, 1995; Samarasuriya, 1982; Toyota and Thang, 2012). Therefore, it can be said that irrespective of gender, both women and men in less developed countries focus on international marriages with the intention of migration or material benefits. With regard to men in developed countries, mostly they expect exoticism or feminineness, which has disappeared from the women in their home countries (Cohen, 1982; Seabrook, 1996). On the other hand, healing or relaxation from regular busy life, self-discovery, affection and care that they cannot get from the men in their societies, and gender superiority that gained from men’s economical dependency, are pointed out as expectations of female spouses in developed countries (Pruitt and LaFont, 1995; Toyota and Thang, 2012).

Few researchers explored international marriages, its expectations, establishment process and the situation after marriage in detail (Brennan, 2001, 2004; Cohen, 2003; Toyota and Thang, 2012). For instance, Cohen has investigated international marriages in Thailand, focusing on marriages between Western men and Thai women who settle down in Thailand after marriage. Rather than settling in Thailand, the majority of women focus on international marriages in the hope of migrating to developed countries such as America, Canada, Germany, Australia or Japan, but there are some couples who decide to reside in Thailand. Most women in these marriages are sex workers, and an organized marriage market can also be found, which stimulates international marriages catering to Westerners who are looking for Thai brides. Until the 1970s international marriages were limited to elite Thai men and foreign women, but relationships involving Thai women and foreign men began to develop in the form of prostitution to American military servicemen. From the late 1970s, Thailand gradually became reputed as a sex paradise, and some Westerners—especially elder men—began to establish protracted relationships with young sex workers.

Cohen’s 1982 study also thoroughly illustrated sex workers’ expectations and their strategies towards success through international marriages. With regard to men’s
decisions some are spontaneous, some become vulnerable, and some take time to find out her family background and to understand her before marriage. Although there are successful marriages, many unsuccessful ones can also be found. Especially when they settled in Thailand, some eventually separate due to gender issues, social and cultural, which occur between spouses or between foreign husband and Thai wife’s family (Cohen, 2003). At the same time, women who migrated to husband’s country also return to Thailand after some time because they were unable to survive in a foreign society. Cohen (1982) pointed out that although most Thai women engage in prostitution in the hope of becoming economically successful through long-term relationships or marriages with foreigners, ultimately these women are left with economic insecurity and emotional instability (Cohen, 1982). Moreover, there are foreign men, who consider the marriage only as a way to start up a business in Thailand, and Thai women, who only focus on migration and leading a luxurious life with the property of a wealthy foreign husband. Some women also play marriage swindles by getting married to a number of elderly Westerners, only to extract their money (Cohen, 2003). Seabrook (1996) also illustrated that most Westerners, who have got married to Thai women separate having become disappointed after making them spend all the money on building new houses, buying lands, starting businesses and taking care of their family members.

Further, in discussing Dominican women who strive to migrate through sex tourism, Brennan (2001, 2004) pointed out that international marriages in the Dominican society is not a ‘survival strategy’, but an ‘advancement strategy’. The majority of these women are single mothers, who have migrated to Sousa, a coastal resort area in order to engage in sex work due to financial issues, and they aim at long-term benefits, which provide them with a secure life, rather than short-term earnings. Therefore, they choose marriage for migration, and that is the reason Brennan considers their efforts as an advancement strategy. They cultivate long-term relationships with Westerners, mainly German men by rendering an emotional service and showing affection together with sexual pleasures. Male tourists are considered as a ‘walking visa’, which pave the way for them to achieve their dreams. Although, some women succeed in migration having married to tourists, the majority of them return having not been able to get accustomed to the foreign country, and/or due to exploitations by the foreign husbands (Brennan, 2001, 2004). Thus, it can be said that international marriages in Dominican society also become a reversal dream similar to the marriages in Thailand. But, Brennan stated that women in Sousa still choose international marriages positively, considering the benefits they gain during the relationship and while being married.

On the other hand, Toyota and Thang (2012) discussed international marriages between Japanese women and Indonesian men, focusing Japanese women’s expectations on marriage and permanently settling in Bali. As far as existing literature is concerned, the general pattern in marriage migration is Southeast Asian women marrying to wealthy men from East Asian countries such as Japan, Korea, Taiwan and
Singapore. But, Toyota and Thang (2012) argued the case of Bali as a reversal pattern, since it is the Japanese women who are getting married to Indonesian men and settling with their families in Bali. Moreover, three factors have been given to affirm the difference in this case. Firstly, after the marriage, Japanese women become the breadwinner of the family, as they migrate to a less developed country from an economically more affluent society. Secondly, the fact is that Japanese women have been brought up in a modern nuclear family, but after marriage they leave that urban lifestyle in search of a rural lifestyle, where they have to live with an extended family. Therefore, this differs from usual international marriages, where Asian women look for ‘modernity’ and men looking for ‘traditional’ Asian wives. At the same time, compared with their Bali husbands, these women are educated, having work experience and having traveled overseas. Thirdly, these Japanese women are relatively older than Bali men, while in most of international marriages Western/Japanese men marry much younger Asian women.

Before marriage, most of these Japanese women have repeatedly visited Bali due to their strong attachment to Balinese culture such as art, music and dance. Bali life makes them feel ‘healed’ (received energy, feeling relaxed, comfortable and being themselves), and international marriages have been established as a result of their longing for self-discovery, or escaping from the stresses of Japanese society. Such migrants have been defined as ‘cultural migrants’, people who migrate for cultural purposes, rather than economic or political reasons. But, these Japanese women go through many hardships in getting used to a different lifestyle, different community and especially to an extended family, where a daughter-in-law is expected to be duty-bounded. They should maintain the household, raise children and fulfill religious duties as a member of the Hindu community. But, with the motivation of self-discovery, most of them overcome these difficulties and continue to live with their Bali husbands, considering Bali as their ‘spiritual home’ (Toyota and Thang, 2012).

In analyzing, it is apparent that the case of Thailand and the Dominican Republic have the pattern of men in developed countries getting married to women in less developed countries, but the decision of whom migrates depends on their expectations. However, the expectations of women in both studies are similar in regards to the point of focusing on better life conditions and economic success than the prevailing life. It can be assumed that motivations of Hikkaduwa beach boys are also similar to these women, irrespective of gender differences. But, in the case of Hikkaduwa almost all beach boys first migrate to the foreign spouses’ country before some of them return to settle down with family. This is unlike both the Thailand (Cohen, 1982, 2003; Seabrook, 1996) and Dominican studies (Brennan, 2001, 2004), which asserted that women’s expectations become a reverse dream, as they happen to return to previous life with a broken marriage. Hence, it is necessary to examine the reality of international marriages between beach boys and female tourists in Hikkaduwa, as many young men choose international marriages as a life strategy. Success of their marriages can be varied due to
gender differences as well. However, the case of Bali can also be referred in this study, as there can be seen female tourists, specifically Japanese women who have settled in Hikkaduwa with Sri Lankan husbands. Although, Indonesia and Sri Lanka are similar with regard to being less developed countries, circumstances may vary in terms of cultural and religious background of the community.

Only a fewer number of studies have mainly focused on international marriages between men in less developed countries and women from developed countries. But, in the existing literature on sex tourism and romance tourism, there are some discussions on young men, who are eager to migrate having married to female tourists with the intention of being socially and economically successful (Dahles and Bras, 1999; Herold, et al, 2001; Nyanzi, et al, 2005; Pruitt and LaFont, 1995). In these international marriages, local men are generally younger than female tourists, and female tourists are attracted to appearance (black skin, muscular bodies), sexual prowess and natural attitudes (cultural attitudes, or more caring and affectionate than the men in their countries) of young men. In discussing relationships involving Western women and Jamaican men, Pruitt and LaFont (1995) claimed that female spouses attempt to seek new gender roles and expand their gender repertoires by gaining superiority using their economical power over men, and that had affected power relations in Jamaican society.

On the other hand, authors pointed out that men focus on international marriages desiring for both money and love, which they lack in their existing lives. Specifically in native culture, relationships with local women depend on his ability to contribute financial support, and since they lack employment opportunities and a stable income, they get fewer chances to be with local women. In contrast, foreign women’s interest in him is not financial, and that makes it easier for local men to get into relationships with foreign women and at the same time they economically benefit. Especially in Jamaican culture, reputation depends on economic success, and establishing relationships with female tourists make it possible to gain both reputation and being successful with women. But, at the same time men lack their ability to control foreign spouses playing a dominant role in the family, and that becomes inappropriate for Jamaican manhood. But, Pruitt and LaFont (1995) asserted that they have intense desire in being dominant in gender relations. Therefore, ‘to maintain his reputation and avoid the appearance that the woman controls him, the Jamaican man without economic means continually seeks new ways to exhibit his dominion over women’ (1995:430). Therefore, some men continue to stick to common features of their gender script for control over women, and some commit acts of violence against women.

Hence, it is apparent that relationships, international marriages and marriage migration between local men and female tourists vary in terms of gender, their own expectations, and cultural, religious and social background of the existing society. In the following sections, international marriage involving Hikkaduwa beach boys and female tourists are discussed in detail, in order to determine similarities, differences and specialties in the context of Sri Lanka.
3.2 International marriages in Hikkaduwa

In Hikkaduwa, international marriages involving both above mentioned patterns–local women marrying male tourists and local men (beach boys) marrying female tourists–can be found. In the 1970s and 1980s, at the initial stage of tourism development, there were many international marriages involving local women, but at present this has changed to local men marrying with female tourists.

With regard to local women’s marriages, the main purpose was to improve their life conditions: escaping from the destitute life. Women already engaged in the tourism sector (especially private lodgings and souvenir shops run by family) and women in the inland areas were both willing to get married to wealthy tourists. Generally men were in their 40’s or 50’s while most women were in their 20’s. A pimp (broker) mediated with the tourist in the search of local women, and male tourist has given money to both the pimp and the family of local women. Usually the woman’s family consented to the marriage, getting lured by a gift of money and the promise of monthly remittances after marriage. At the same time, international marriages reduced the family burden of preparing a dowry for their daughters’ marriage. During 1974 and 1978, more than 15 local women married to male tourists could be found (Samarasuriya, 1982).

As previously stated in chapter three, international marriages between beach boys (local men) and female tourists began to increase from the mid 1990s, and at present local women’s international marriages cannot be frequently seen. Compared with beach boys, local women are always backstage and even though a marriage takes place it still goes through a silent process. But, with regard to beach boys, they are playing a major role in the front stage of Hikkaduwa tourism, actively involving with female tourists and international marriages.

3.3 International marriages involving beach boys and female tourists

Local men’s international marriages with female tourists could be seen since the mid 1980s, but it began to gradually increase with the emergence of beach boys in the early 1990s. Until the mid 1990s most of the relationships were with past middle aged or elderly women. Relationships with relatively young female tourists, and international marriages between beach boys and young female tourists began to grow with the increase of young females’ arrivals to Hikkaduwa. In this section, motivations of both beach boys and female tourists’ towards marriage, process until the marriage and life after the marriage are discussed. Reasons for replacing elderly females with younger tourists are also analyzed.
3.3.1 Beach boys motivations towards international marriages

To thoroughly understand the motives, 14 men already had international marriages (former beach boys) were also interviewed. 11 of them were in the age group of 31-35 and 3 of them were between 36-40 years. Both former beach boys and current beach boys claimed that migration is the main motivation for marriages. At the same time, they are motivated by the opportunity of being able to migrate to Western/developed countries. The main reason given for migration was work abroad so as to make more money and become economically improved. Although, there are some families permanently settled in Hikkaduwa, all of them have once stayed abroad after the marriage.

As reasons for international marriages, other than migration, some boys (N4) stated that they have got used to foreign girls and European culture. Therefore, it is difficult for them to marry a Sri Lankan girl, and few of them specifically indicated their sex related activities as well. FBB\textsuperscript{1} said that it is not good to get married to a local girl, after being with many foreign girls, especially because many traditional local girls stay as a virgin until the marriage. Some married boys mentioned that in spite of the cultural differences, in a way they find it easy to live with foreign wives, and they notice it when they engage in the tourism sector as well. FBB\textsuperscript{8} said that ‘some traditional local women don’t allow their husbands even to sip a drink. But, we always hang out with foreigners and prefer to spend that lifestyle too. So, I think in that way foreign wives understand us and our life better than local women’.

Moreover, 11 boys (including married boys) noted that local girls do not like them at the first glance due to their appearance. ‘It is foreign girls who fall into our black skin and our appearance. Girls here are looking for fair skin guys like Suddo no (laugh). They think we are ‘rasthiyadukarayo’. On the other hand, 14 boys (including the boys above) mentioned that it is not difficult to get even a local girl if they were economically stable. ‘It’s all money. If we could get rich, finding a local girl is very easy, they will consent even if we were engaged in these activities. And if girls in Hikkaduwa do not consent, there are lot of girls in other cities, and rural areas’.

Further, there were 3 boys who mentioned that they have no interest in doing an international marriage. One of them is a successful guide. He was dating foreign girls, but said he want to marry a local girl, as he does not like to leave Sri Lanka. All boys in the age group of 16-20 and other 2 boys did not exactly indicate that their purpose is international marriage.

However, all of them had an interest in migration and becoming more successful. One boy of 17 years mentioned that ‘I want to go master in surfing, learn more things about surfing. About getting married to a foreign girl, can’t decide it at once no. It’s a lifetime decision. If I found a good girl, I might get married’. Therefore, overall situation of migration in Sri Lanka, and reasons to choose international marriages as a
pathway to migration are discussed below, to understand their motivation of migration well.

### 3.3.1.1 Labor migration in Sri Lanka

As far as migration is concerned, there is a wider concept in the Sri Lankan society that it is possible to earn more money by working overseas than in Sri Lanka. In this survey, at least a few such cases were reported in each cities, such as Colombo, Kandy, Gampaha, Negombo, Anuradhapura, Kurunegala, Galle and even in Hikkaduwa inland areas\(^\text{26}\). Since I was residing in Colombo, some families who have succeeded through labor migration could be interviewed in the cities such as Homagama, Maharagama, Kottawa, Malabe and Horana. Most of the women have returned to Sri Lanka and the average salary stated was between Rs.30,000-50,000\(^\text{27}\). In addition, in the survey of general public, adults and school children have stated that they think going abroad will pave a way to success, and have mentioned that they know people who succeeded by going abroad.

Non-Alignment conference held in 1976 and liberalized economic policies in 1977 caused an increase of migration for foreign employment, especially in the Middle East Region. Still Middle Eastern countries act as the major destination for labor migration and around 95% of Sri Lankans are mainly employed in 8 Middle Eastern countries (Annual Statistical Report of Foreign Employment, 2012). Many women throughout the country have chosen this strategy, and most of them are mothers who chose it to sustain their families or educate their children. Although, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, South Korea, Cyprus and Maldives also receive migrant workers from Sri Lanka, the intake of each country is less than 2%. At present private foreign remittances rank in the 1\(^{st}\) level of foreign exchange earners, contributing 29.6% to the total earnings (Annual Statistical Report of Sri Lanka Tourism, 2013).

\(^{26}\) Since this was not my main purpose, this was not examined in detail. But some people to whom I gave the questionnaires have also mentioned that they have relatives, neighbors or friends who have migrated as domestic workers.

\(^{27}\) Although they have become economically successful, eventually they had become involved with many other problems while working abroad as well as having family problems in Sri Lanka. Although, most of them migrate with the purpose of educating children and giving them a better life, children tend to dropouts of school and get addicted to malpractices such as drugs or become the victims of sexual abuses, as they are left with grandparents or alcoholic fathers.
The statistics on foreign employments began to be officially recorded with the establishment of Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment (SLBFE) in 1985. According to the reports, labor migration has increased from the total number of 14,456 in 1986 to 282,331 in 2012. Mainly due to a large number of employment opportunities in domestic and garment sector, female migration increased dramatically from the beginning. Specifically in 1988, female migration outnumbered males and retained that position until 2007 (see Table 4-3). But, the margin has become narrower since the late 1990s as the departures of males for foreign employments have gradually increased. From 2010 males outnumbered females with a very narrow margin. The reason for this transition can be considered mainly as the social cost it caused, especially with migration of mothers and related problems (Annual Statistical Report of Foreign Employment, 2012; Hettige, et al., 2012). However, even in 2012, departures of

<table>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>Male (%)</th>
<th>Female (%)</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>3,433 (24.0%)</td>
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<td>10,119 (55.0%)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>16,044 (65.0%)</td>
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<td>1990</td>
<td>15,377 (36.0%)</td>
<td>27,248 (64.0%)</td>
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<td>89,636 (72.0%)</td>
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<td>1993</td>
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<td>96,807 (75.0%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>16,377 (27.0%)</td>
<td>43,791 (73.0%)</td>
<td>60,168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>46,021 (27.0%)</td>
<td>126,468 (73.0%)</td>
<td>172,489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>43,112 (27.0%)</td>
<td>119,464 (73.0%)</td>
<td>162,576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>37,552 (25.0%)</td>
<td>112,731 (75.0%)</td>
<td>150,283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>53,867 (34.0%)</td>
<td>105,949 (66.0%)</td>
<td>159,816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>63,720 (35.0%)</td>
<td>116,015 (65.0%)</td>
<td>179,735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>59,793 (33.0%)</td>
<td>122,395 (67.0%)</td>
<td>182,188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>59,807 (32.5%)</td>
<td>124,200 (67.5%)</td>
<td>184,007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>70,522 (35.0%)</td>
<td>133,251 (65.0%)</td>
<td>203,773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>74,508 (36.0%)</td>
<td>135,338 (64.0%)</td>
<td>209,846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>80,699 (38.0%)</td>
<td>134,010 (62.0%)</td>
<td>214,709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>93,896 (41.0%)</td>
<td>137,394 (59.0%)</td>
<td>231,290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>90,170 (45.0%)</td>
<td>111,778 (55.0%)</td>
<td>201,948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>103,476 (47.0%)</td>
<td>114,983 (53.0%)</td>
<td>218,459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>128,232 (51.0%)</td>
<td>122,267 (49.0%)</td>
<td>250,499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>119,381 (48.0%)</td>
<td>127,745 (52.0%)</td>
<td>247,126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>136,850 (51.0%)</td>
<td>130,657 (49.0%)</td>
<td>267,507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>136,307 (52.0%)</td>
<td>126,654 (48.0%)</td>
<td>262,961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>143,784 (51.0%)</td>
<td>138,547 (49.0%)</td>
<td>282,331</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Statistical Report of Foreign Employment (SLBFE), 2012
housemaids accounted for 42%, while professionals (1.57%), clerical and related workers (5.73%), skilled workers (23.76%), and unskilled workers other than housemaids (22.26%) showed a significantly fewer number. Moreover, despite the fact that nearly 80% of complaints are received from or on behalf of female workers, 86% of the female departures for labor migration were under housemaid category. Due to inadequate employment opportunities and with the intention of saving sufficient funds to improve their life conditions, females choose to migrate to the Middle East albeit reluctantly.

Table 4-4: Male Departures for Foreign Employment by Manpower Level 1994-2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Professional Level</th>
<th>Middle Level</th>
<th>Clerical &amp; Related</th>
<th>Skilled</th>
<th>Semi Skilled</th>
<th>Unskilled</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>787</td>
<td>1,408</td>
<td>7,133</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>16,377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>837</td>
<td>2,074</td>
<td>4,088</td>
<td>19,431</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6,805</td>
<td>46,021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>1,635</td>
<td>2,894</td>
<td>19,387</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>43,112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>534</td>
<td>1,386</td>
<td>3,008</td>
<td>15,832</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16,792</td>
<td>37,552</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>2,512</td>
<td>4,054</td>
<td>22,093</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24,553</td>
<td>53,867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>1,175</td>
<td>2,738</td>
<td>5,270</td>
<td>24,425</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>30,112</td>
<td>63,720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>897</td>
<td>3,354</td>
<td>4,828</td>
<td>24,344</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>26,370</td>
<td>59,793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>1,125</td>
<td>3,205</td>
<td>4,631</td>
<td>25,262</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25,584</td>
<td>59,807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>1,297</td>
<td>3,924</td>
<td>5,604</td>
<td>30,567</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>29,130</td>
<td>70,522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>1,410</td>
<td>5,281</td>
<td>5,342</td>
<td>31,638</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>30,837</td>
<td>74,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>1,722</td>
<td>5,388</td>
<td>5,830</td>
<td>33,947</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>33,812</td>
<td>80,699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>1,324</td>
<td>7,150</td>
<td>6,988</td>
<td>39,882</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>38,552</td>
<td>93,896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>1,617</td>
<td>5,880</td>
<td>7,011</td>
<td>38,737</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>36,925</td>
<td>90,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>1,585</td>
<td>3,433</td>
<td>3,944</td>
<td>44,239</td>
<td>3,254</td>
<td>47,021</td>
<td>103,476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>2,680</td>
<td>7,127</td>
<td>5,959</td>
<td>54,538</td>
<td>4,998</td>
<td>52,930</td>
<td>128,232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>2,698</td>
<td>5,404</td>
<td>5,877</td>
<td>55,941</td>
<td>5,654</td>
<td>43,807</td>
<td>119,381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>2,923</td>
<td>5,981</td>
<td>6,996</td>
<td>65,120</td>
<td>4,370</td>
<td>51,460</td>
<td>136,850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>4,018</td>
<td>8,724</td>
<td>14,976</td>
<td>59,781</td>
<td>3,008</td>
<td>53,277</td>
<td>143,784</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Statistical Report of Foreign Employment (SLBFE), 2012

On the other hand, with regard to male migration, the majority of male departures are under the skilled and unskilled categories (Table 4-4). Siriwardhane et al (2014) also stated that while 93% of the female migrant workers to the Middle East Region are unskilled housemaids, more than 64% of the male migrants are skilled workers, such as professionals, middle level workers, clerical workers or semi-skilled workers. As previously noted, male migrants outnumbered females in 2008, and a significant increase from 136,307 in 2011, to 143,784 in 2012 was also recorded, mainly due to the
increase in ‘clerical and related’ and ‘middle level’ categories. In 2012, more than half of the employment opportunities for males were under so called skilled categories (unskilled 37%).

As far as foreign employments by district are concerned, while the majority recorded from Colombo (32,339), 13,250 people have migrated from Galle District where Hikkaduwa is located. Among that population, the total number of male and female migrants showed only a slight difference (male- 6702, female- 6948). But, while 6,283 female workers have migrated as unskilled workers or housemaids, only 2,522 males have migrated under unskilled category (Annual Statistical Report of Foreign Employment, 2012). Further, in Hikkaduwa, out of 274 male migrant workers, only 71 are recorded as unskilled workers (Table 4-5). Thus in comparison, it becomes apparent that foreign employment opportunities for low skilled and low educated males are fewer than in similar category for females.

Table 4-5: Departures for Foreign Employment by Manpower & Sex- Hikkaduwa/ Wellabada Pattuwa South, 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manpower Level</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle level</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical &amp; related</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi skilled</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housemaids</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>589</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Statistical Report of Foreign Employment (SLBFE), 2012

Moreover, in this survey it was revealed that in general, people in Sri Lanka prefer Western/developed countries as migration destinations rather than the Middle East Region. But, as previously stated, most employment opportunities are available in the Middle East Region, and only a smaller number of people get the opportunity to migrate to Western/developed countries (Table 4-6).

Especially concerning the countries where beach boys migrate, only Japan and Canada have offered employment for unskilled male migrants, and yet it is also a lesser number\(^{28}\). Therefore, being able to migrate to a Western/developed country can be considered as a good but rare opportunity in the Sri Lankan society. However, beach boys, while being low skilled and low educated young boys, gain that opportunity

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through international marriages in tourism. Hence, beach boys’ migration through international marriages can be considered a phenomenon different from the general labor migration in Sri Lanka. Therefore, the next section discusses the meaning behind migrating to Western/developed countries in the context of Sri Lanka, and beach boys.

Table 4-6: Departures for Foreign Employment by Country & Sex 2010-2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>33,953</td>
<td>36,877</td>
<td>34,010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>11,305</td>
<td>36,803</td>
<td>13,989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.A.E</td>
<td>24,933</td>
<td>17,377</td>
<td>23,762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>5,581</td>
<td>511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>1,701</td>
<td>7,724</td>
<td>1,221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qatar</td>
<td>45,418</td>
<td>9,258</td>
<td>43,442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oman</td>
<td>2,829</td>
<td>3,538</td>
<td>2,626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>1,684</td>
<td>5,368</td>
<td>1,724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>2,382</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maldives</td>
<td>3,680</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>3,724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>885</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>1,758</td>
<td>1,935</td>
<td>1,356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>1,339</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seychelles</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Yemen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Yemen</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brunei</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madagascar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>749</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3.1.2 Migrating to Western/developed countries

Expressing their thoughts on international marriages, most beach boys indicated that their main purpose is migration for work, and marriages help them to obtain a visa especially to Western/European countries. The longing for migrating to Western/developed countries such as Japan, Australia, Canada, United States, United Kingdom was revealed even in the survey of general public. Among both adults and children, the majority has stated that they would like to go to a Western/developed country either for work or for studies. Being able to study at a university in Japan, myself have also experienced this, especially once I returned to Sri Lanka. People are keen to know about the lifestyle and some of them especially want to know how much money I can make and whether they have chances to migrate.

However, despite the fact that going to Western/developed countries is the majority’s interest, most of them cannot achieve that owing to difficulties in obtaining a visa, baring expenses for the visa process, and other related matters. Especially, it became apparent that, foreign employment positions opened for low skilled/less educated men and women are predominantly in the Middle Eastern countries or more recently in Korea. Therefore, although most people long to migrate to a developed country, there is less of a labor market opened for foreign employees, and at the same time, most of those employment opportunities are also opened under skilled categories.

Further, when the longing for migrating to Western/developed countries is considered, two reasons were revealed from the discussions with beach boys and general public.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Bangladesh</th>
<th>Kurdistan</th>
<th>Djibouti</th>
<th>Thailand</th>
<th>South Korea</th>
<th>China</th>
<th>Italy</th>
<th>Ireland</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>Japan</th>
<th>United Kingdom</th>
<th>Switzerland</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5,143</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>385</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>130,657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>96</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7,303</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>438</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>93</td>
<td>126,654</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>107</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5,530</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>143,784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>138,547</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Statistical Report of Foreign Employment (SLBFE), 2012
i. Middle Eastern countries have become less desirable migration destinations and, ii. Working and living condition are better in Western countries.

i. Middle Eastern countries have become less desirable migration destinations

As previously stated migrant workers especially to the Middle East Region encounter many problems related to work and living conditions, and issues arise in the family in Sri Lanka too. Table 4-7 represents complaints received by country in year 2010-2012, and table 4-8 shows complaints received by nature. Out of the total number of complaints received in the year 2012, 18% were on Non-payment of Agreed Wages, 15.8% were on Sickness of Workers, 15.3% were on Breach of Terms and Conditions of Employment Contract, 14.9% on Harassment (physical and sexual), and 11% were on Lack of Communication. Although, unskilled/low educated people, especially females still choose that due to less employment opportunities within the country, migration has become a less agreeable and less desirable option throughout the country.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>6,954</td>
<td>4,756</td>
<td>5,390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.A.E</td>
<td>981</td>
<td>594</td>
<td>467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oman</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>3,034</td>
<td>1,969</td>
<td>1,762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qatar</td>
<td>1,052</td>
<td>632</td>
<td>574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>1,250</td>
<td>1,021</td>
<td>1,377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumania</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maldives</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14,704</td>
<td>9,939</td>
<td>10,220</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Statistical Report of Foreign Employment (SLBFE), 201
Table 4-8: Complaints Received by Nature and Sex 2010-2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Complaints</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th></th>
<th>2011</th>
<th></th>
<th>2012</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-payment of agreed Wages</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>2,312</td>
<td>2,875</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>1,545</td>
<td>1,963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of communication</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>1,599</td>
<td>1,689</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>958</td>
<td>1,031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sickness</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>1,675</td>
<td>1,837</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>1,339</td>
<td>1,469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harassment (Physical &amp; Sexual)</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>1,997</td>
<td>2,073</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>1,453</td>
<td>1,520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death - Natural</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death – Accidental</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death - Suicide</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sent back after completion of contract</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>712</td>
<td>797</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>897</td>
<td>983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stranded- Lack of reception on arrival</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problem at home (Sri Lanka)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breach of Employment Contract</td>
<td>1,091</td>
<td>2,067</td>
<td>3,158</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>935</td>
<td>1,602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stranded without employment</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Premature termination</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegal money transition</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (Domestic Sector)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (Non-domestic)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>1,160</td>
<td>1,495</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>633</td>
<td>797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,801</td>
<td>11,903</td>
<td>14,704</td>
<td>1,931</td>
<td>8,005</td>
<td>9,936</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Statistical Report of Foreign Employment (SLBFE), 2012

ii. Working and living conditions are better in Western countries

It was revealed that the general impression of Western/developed countries is that anyone can easily earn money and become wealthy in a short period. At the same time, some assume that more income can be gained than in the Middle Eastern countries. Due to difficulties and less opportunities available, Western/developed countries have therefore become the most desirable migration destinations. As a result, being able to migrate to such a country is considered as a fact to gain reputation in the society as well. However, only higher income/elite families can afford to send their children to
Europe/developed countries for education. Unless it is a scholarship, most middleclass and low-income families take loans or sell their properties to fulfill their children’s dream of studying abroad or working abroad. Interviews with 24 young boys in Japan and Australia also revealed that fact. Most of them were between of 20-25 years old, 12 of which said they got loans, and 7 said they sold some properties to pay for the initial process. Therefore, it can be said that beach boys are specifically motivated by the possibility of being able to migrate to European/developed countries that even the majority of the wider society can hardly achieve.

On the other hand, while the Middle Eastern region is reputed only for labor migration, Western/developed countries are considered as desirable places for temporary or permanent residence with families. Hence, migrant workers or even students try to find a permanent employment once they migrated to a Western/developed country. While some return after several years, some take their spouses on a dependent visa, bring up the children abroad, and eventually decide to settle abroad, acquiring citizenship or permanent residence. However, this trend cannot be seen with the majority who migrate to Middle Eastern countries, specifically with the unskilled migrant workers. Thus, the opportunity that beach boys can get is not only a benefit for themselves, but also for their children, parents and siblings as well. What follows are some excerpts from the fieldwork.

GP\textsuperscript{29} ‘In each region you can find lot of people who went to Middle East. But, I think especially mothers should not go abroad for work leaving their children behind. See what we listen on radio or TV every day. They beat our women, sexually harass them, and if something happened at the side of our people, then they impose even death penalty to those innocent people. Our government should stop sending our people, especially females to those Middle East countries’

HNTR\textsuperscript{30} ‘Yes, it’s a big thing if someone could go to Europe. Especially, poor people can’t get that chance no. So, beach boys are lucky that way. Sometimes even their parents go to such counties for visits after their international marriages. It’s something that they can’t think even in dream. Who would give such poor, uneducated people a chance like that?’

FBB\textsuperscript{6} ‘It’s better to stay here than going to Middle East. We can earn more money in Europe, and more than everything who can work under those work conditions. This is not only about going to a foreign country for work. How many girls and boys are waiting out there to go to a Western country? I could go to Japan, and lots of other boys have been. These boys (current beach boys) also can go to Japan or to other Europe country. Who would give us such chance? We are just young boys in this

\textsuperscript{29} General Public  
\textsuperscript{30} Hikkaduwa Non-Tourism Related
coastal area (wella). But, we get this chance engaging in tourism’

CBB5 ‘yes, if we need we can find a way to go to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait or Korea, if we can pay about Rs.300,000. But, for what? Salaries are less, and happen to lead a miserable life too. Especially in those Muslim countries, there is no freedom for people, we will also happen to lead a slavery life under their Muslim laws. Going to Europe is difficult, but lots of our boys have settled in such countries. Good people, good place to live and work compared with Middle East’

Thus, it become apparent that since migration to Western/developed countries has become desirable and respectable in Sri Lankan society, beach boys also strive to take the benefits of the chances opened for them in their community in tourism. In spite of other work options or migration options available to them, they choose to become a beach boy by involving in tourism with the main motivation of migrating to a Western/developed country through international marriages.

3.3.1.3 Reasons for beach boys’ migration

3.3.1.3.1 Work abroad & improve life conditions

As discussed earlier, most people in Sri Lanka consider migration for work as a good opportunity to make more money than working in Sri Lanka. Similarly, beach boys in Hikkaduwa also choose migration in order to improve their life by working overseas. However, while both former and current beach boys indicate that they mainly focus on international marriages with the intention of improving their life conditions, a distinction between their statements of ‘improving life conditions’ could be identified. For instance, all the former beach boys stated that the main reason for engaging in beach boy activities was poverty, and no other opportunities were available for them other than being beach boys. Therefore, they have mainly chosen migration to escape from poverty and destitution; using phrases such as ‘no proper meal’, ‘went hungry’, ‘living in cadjan huts’. But compared with former beach boys, except a few from the age group of 26-35, current beach boys did not mention a poverty-stricken life as former beach boys described. It can be said that most of the families have overcome the destitute life with time. Some families had benefited from tourism in some way and other families have also managed to fulfill their basic needs31. Therefore, they were

31 During the interview with Officer in Charge of Police Tourist Unit, Narigama, Hikkaduwa, he stated that his hometown is Galgamuwa, Kurunegala, and compared with the people in that area, people in Hikkaduwa cannot be said to be poor. Most of the people in Galgamuwa are farmers and they strive to make a living out of that while facing many hardships.
aware of other benefits, and most of them stated that they gain more income than the other young men who are engaged in other jobs. Thus, it can be said that although these boys are poor compared with other families in touristic area, their motivation for international marriages is not to fulfill their basic needs such as food, clothes, a place to live, but to advance their life, to go up in the economic ladder in order to achieve the same standards that the successful people in the community possess.

Hence, it can be said that their involvement in international marriages is ‘an advancement strategy’ rather than ‘a survival strategy’. Former beach boys’ reason for choosing migration through international marriages was destitution. Then, they could fulfill their basic needs in life, and eventually advanced their life conditions. But with regards to current beach boys, their reason for choosing migration through international marriages itself is advancement of their life, specifically seeing the success of former beach boys in the community. They are more aware of successful stories and other benefits beside short-term monetary gains, and they presume international marriages and migration will materialize their dreams of achieving economical and social advancement as former beach boys.

3.3.1.3.2 Awareness of their work & difficulty in starting a business in Hikkaduwa

Since their main purpose of migration is working abroad, it was apparent that they do not expect to solely depend on their foreign wives. This can be considered as one of the main reasons for transferring their marriages to younger females. They explained their migration purposes as below:

‘In Western countries more money can be earned, even by doing a part-time job. We get considerable income in the season, but it is not stable, especially in the off-season’

‘There are lot of boys in Hikkaduwa, who succeeded by going abroad. Many boys in our peer group too have gone Europe having married to female tourists. It’s a speedy way to improve our life conditions such as constructing a bigger house, purchasing lands, cars to live a quality life like others do’

‘Yes, I’ll get the chance to go abroad with the help of her. She is working in a pharmacy, not such a rich person. So, I cannot and I do not like to depend on her. I just want to go there (Sweden), then I’ll find a job and earn by myself’

A former beach boy (FBB³) who settled in Hikkaduwa also explained his experiences: ‘First I moved to Japan after the marriage. I could find a part-time job in a construction site, with the help of her friends. Until we return here I worked to save to develop this business, so as to settle here permanently. They initially help us to migrate,
but it’s not like we succeeded only with their money. To develop this business to this extent, I worked hard in Japan and here too. Now leading a relax life’

At the same time, they are aware of the reality of their work as beach boys. Most of them knew that they could not continue beach boy activities throughout their lives, especially the role related to sex acts. Former beach boys residing abroad explained their reasons for migration and continue living abroad as below.

FBB³ ‘I come back to Hikkaduwa each year. I love the beach; love the place I brought up. But we have nothing to do here permanently. We can’t afford to start up a business in Hikkaduwa now, a perch of land has been soared in the touristic area, and there is no bare land around here to purchase either’

FBB⁴ ‘I like to settle in Hikkaduwa, but starting a business here is very difficult now. Price of lands has been escalated and no one sell their property, especially after war ends. They have hopes that tourism will be developed further. Sometimes there are lands in inland, but if we are going to construct a hotel or guesthouse in the inland, it should be in good quality. But, there are a lot of tourism businesses in Hikkaduwa now. So, it’s risky to spend all of the money on a business here. As we have saved that money with difficulty, would not be able to bear if the businesses go bankrupt’

Hence, the awareness of their work as beach boys, and the difficulty of starting a tourism related business in Hikkaduwa, can also be given as a significant reason for migration after marriage and continuing to reside abroad.

### 3.3.2 Female tourists’ motivations towards international marriages

Studies pointed out that female tourists also employ fantasies of exotic others/otherness (Pruitt and LaFont, 1995; Sanchez, 2000), and they have constructed imaginations as hypersexual ‘black male stud’ (Kempadoo, 2001). Sanchez (2006) stated that they are looking more for ‘real men’ than ‘new men’, and black men are considered as being hyper masculine, more intuitive, irrational and emotional than white men. Moreover, in arguing female tourists as also sex tourists, Phillips (1990) offered typologies of sex tourists as 1) the ‘situationer’ (who emphasizes romance), 2) ‘Repeat situationer’ (who denies the remunerative nature of the relationship), 3) The one nighters (who come for fun and to ‘fuck a black man’) and similarly, Albuquerque (1998) have given 4 types of female sex tourists as 1) the first timers, 2) the situational sex tourists (who do not travel with the specific intention of buying sex, but get it when the opportunity arises), 3) the veterans (who travel explicitly for anonymous sex and usually find multiple partners, 4) the returnee (who visits to be specifically with one man whom she has met on a previous visit). Sanchez (2006) also pointed out that there
are female tourists whose motive is purely sex, indicating some examples from female tourists to the Caribbean such as ‘don’t need a man in their lives, except for sex’ (p.49) and ‘I’m not coming to live and set up a house with a guy. I just want some fun and good sex’ (p.50). However, she stated that there were only 3% of women, who said it is ‘purely sex’ and more than half mentioned it is ‘romance’.

While these researchers place female tourists in pure sex tourism, Herold et al (2001) categorized them as 1) first time romantic tourists, 2) first time sex tourists, 3) romantic returnees, 4) committed sex tourists and 5) adventurer sex tourists. While pointing out that the majority of female tourists identify themselves as romantic tourists, and the sex tourists are the minority, he claimed that motivations for female tourist involvement with local men vary; therefore it cannot be sharply understood as sex tourism or romance tourism (Herold et al., 2001). As previously stated this study takes a similar position to Herold et al, but points out that as far as their successful international marriages are concerned, beach boys and female tourists’ relationship are closer to romance tourism. Women whose main motivation is sexual pleasures were also reported in this study, but that was the minority. Specifically with regard to female spouses, many other different motivations were involved.

In this study, seven female spouses (Japanese 4, one from Sweden, German and Austria), and four unmarried girls were interviewed. To understand their motivations thoroughly, views and experiences of beach boys and people in the tourism sector were also explored. As far as female tourists’ motivations are concerned, it can be said that they have found something lacking in their lives through international marriages. All the female spouses settled in Hikkaduwa (N 5) stated that they like the stress-less, slow life in Hikkaduwa, and most Japanese women mentioned that they are attracted to Sri Lankan culture as well.

‘Life in Japan is very hectic. It’s like an incessant run from dawn to dust. But the life in Hikkaduwa is very peaceful and relaxed’

‘I like Hikkaduwa and Sri Lankan culture as well. I want to learn more Sinhala and cook delicious Sri Lankan food’

‘I love the relaxed life here. Especially I love this beach. Though I’m busy with the work in the guesthouse, that work doesn’t make me stressful’

Moreover, all of them indicated that they were also attracted to beach boys’ characteristics, such as being natural, simple, attentive, romantic and caring.

‘Before marriage I made several visits. I felt he is so caring and nice. Especially I loved he being so natural and simple. I felt so relaxed and stress-less when being with him. I wanted to enjoy that feeling forever’
‘Actually I met him after the Tsunami 2004. Many local people and boys were doing charity work here. He was also enthusiastically engaged in those works. I was so impressed, he was so benevolent and supportive’

‘I don’t know exactly what that feeling was. But, I was charmed by him. After returning to Japan, until I made the next visit in 4 months, I spent around 20,000-30,000 yen on phone calls. I couldn’t stay away from him longer, so we got married within 2 years’

Further, first time visitors were also seen them as romantic tourists. They said that they are attracted to beach boys’ qualities, and hope to return soon in their next vacation. In addition, beach boys also expressed their experiences and thoughts about motivations of female tourists.

‘When it comes to marriage, I think they find love and care from us. Their life back home is busy. Men in their countries are also busy. They don’t get what they expect from men in home. If it is only sex, then they can get it from those men too. And even if it is sex, I think they lack ‘sex with love’’

‘They love our lifestyle, we being us. Even after the marriage my wife admired my hard work, how I have managed to survive in Japan and developed this business to this extent. They trust us, love us especially when we are not going to totally depend on them’

In analyzing, it can be said that female tourists try to fulfill something lacking in their life. Some want to lead a relaxing life away from the hustle-and-bustle in big cities, and stressful routines in developed countries. Some want to find the love and attention they long from the men who are over-occupied with their work and stress in life. Some are first attracted to that other country, and then find a life partner from that country also agreeable. Usually female tourists have a fixed job to gain a stable income, but their emotional needs are unattended in the long run of their lives. Therefore, they find international marriages with beach boys as a fulfillment of their emotional needs of having an attentive, romantic partner, having kids and making a family. The majority of people in the tourism sector assumed that it is the beach boys’ appearance and dark skin, which attracts female tourists. However, they claimed that there are many couples of beach boys and female tourists, who are leading a successful life settling in Hikkaduwa or residing in a foreign country.
3.3.3 Process until the marriage

When the international marriages are considered, it goes through a long process until the marriage takes place. Some said that only 2 or 3 girls out of 10 would even get into a close talk or sexual relation with them. That fact could be confirmed in the participant observation as well. According to the statistics of Divisional Secretariat office in Hikkaduwa, average annual number of international marriages is between 2 and 4. But, 12 boys stated that currently they have relationships with female tourists and 5 of them said mostly female tourists consider it as ‘romance’, but still have not reached to the marriage level. 9 said that they have had foreign girlfriends, but are at present not in such romantic relationships. Thus, it can be said that although the majority of beach boys’ main motivation is migration through an international marriage, a relationship, which develops into a marriage, would not be easily established.

3.3.3.1 Initiating the relationship

As far as the process to a relationship is concerned, generally beach boys take the initial step. As previously stated, the opportunities they get vary according to the activities they are engaged in. For instance, guides and marine sports instructors get more time to hang out or increased physical contacts with girls than restaurant workers. However, clubs and bars are also playing a major role providing a platform for such relationships. Generally, they approach unattached single travellers or girls in small groups. There is a common concept that a single traveller is interested in having sex and overall Westerners are more liberal about sexual practices. Beach boys have experienced it in the reality, as white girls get into sexual relationships with them, while most Sri Lankan girls are still restricted in a society, which values virginity. But, there were some tourists girls who criticized that view saying ‘we are not travelling for sex, and also beach boys are not my type’.

Some of beach boys approach girls at the beach when female tourists are taking a walk, sun bathing or relaxing in an open-door restaurant. Beach boys initiate the chat by greeting them saying ‘Hi, Hello’, ‘you need any help’, and ‘you look pretty today’. Some of them stated that they have skills in guessing the nationality of foreigner with the skin color, shape of the face and cloth they wear. There are established tourists images in terms of the nationality as well. They prefer Germans to other tourists stating that they are nicer and spending more money on their vacation. English and French are

32 Those girls asked me whether I am also interested in beach boys. Then I said I have come for studies, and now some of them have become my friends.
also good spenders, but most Japanese are stingy. Russians and Chinese are not warmly welcomed, and especially Russians are considered as easily getting into fights when they are drunk. But, Russian girls are taken as easily preyed upon, ‘most of them need eat, drink and have sex’. In contrast, Italian girls were reported to be more difficult to meet.

However, it is very rare for female tourists to befriend beach boys only by being approached in the beach. Unless it is a girl known about them ahead of the visit or focusing on a sexual experience with them, most of the girls develop a close chat with beach boys having had multiple opportunities to hang out with them. Sometimes they notice the boy when he approached and again noticed each other in a bar or a club, and then conversations begin and develop with one another. Although, there is a general view that beach boys are the hustlers in the beach, mostly they approach women in a friendly and non-threatening manner. They may approach any tourist on the beach asking for their needs, but even if it is a girl, they do not force them if she made it clear that she has no interest in them. For instance, there were some girls who had talked with them saying ‘wanted to talk with them, as their presence in the beach is interesting’, but stated that they are not interested in any other things than that. At the same time, some beach boys indicated that sometimes even such girls emotionally involve with them, if they get to meet and talk to each other few days.

However, beach boys also behave according to the nature of the tourist, and basically they do not make any indication about sex or money. If a girl shows interest in sex, then they will fulfill her needs with the hope of developing it to the next stage as well. If a girl wants to have a beer and make company, then they will start from that, and even later if she wants to remain as just companions then they will do that too. However, while playing the ‘friendly’ role, they see whether there is any possibility to turn it out to a rewarding relationship for them. There were some boys who played subtle strategies on me as well. Some of them sent me ‘good morning, have a nice day, good night’ texts continually for few days, after exchanging phone numbers. Generally, they did not directly ask anything, or became a threat, but basically they see whether there is any further interest than ongoing research talks.

Moreover, they get into an initial interaction or sexual contacts with female tourists in the bars and clubs as well. There are 4 clubs in Hikkaduwa, Narigama area, which share the crowd. They operate from Thursday to Sunday after having discussions among club owners. Generally ladies can enter free, and entrance fee for men is Rs.2000. There are particular clubs beach boys used to hang out with their peer group, and there were some boys who claimed that they do not go to certain clubs. Especially, there is one club where no entrance fee is charged and provides a space to enjoy billiard games, table

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33 Sometimes exchanging phone numbers was necessary to keep contacts with them, especially because most of them do not have fixed schedules for their work. Therefore, I happened to call them in advance and make sure whether they are at the beach or free to talk. At the same time, this helped in building rapport with them.
tennis, rope walking and background music is also played. Most beach boys considered that club as a beach boy friendly place. However, especially in the on season all the bars and restaurants are also providing a fun, romantic atmosphere with music played and the cold sea breeze. Most boys initiate conversations at the bars and clubs, by drinking and dancing together. Specifically if a girl consented to dance, that may extend to some kind of sexual contacts. Sometimes, boys buy drinks for the girl, having the thought that she may initiate sexual relations once she got drunk, or he will be able to win her by being a generous and nice person. Although, sometimes boys achieve what they expected, some girls go back to their hotels having enjoyed fun company and free drinks. However, if the boys succeeded in befriending her, then they get to meet her on the next day, and eventually come to the stage of traveling together. As previously stated, it is mostly guides who make island wide tours with them, and the rest of the boys take her to nearer tourist destinations or for fishing, boat rides in the inland areas. Most of the beach boys become the ‘personal broker’ or ‘culture broker’ of girls, providing them with the experiences of the local culture backstage.

3.3.3.2 Continuing the relationship

When they could cultivate company with a specific girl, they are prepared to fulfill both sexual and romantic (physical and emotional) needs of her. But, as previously mentioned, most of the boys try to maintain their masculinity among peer group and the local community as well. When they get to spend more time together, girls also begin to share their lives, and since the presence of beach boys throughout their sojourn, and anytime when they need, they eventually get emotionally attached having felt that it is kind of dating. Moreover, when sexually involved with girls, beach boys focus more on sexually pleasing the girl, baring the thought of giving them ‘best sex’. Especially they use sex to strengthen the girls’ attachment to them providing ‘sex with romance’, and it can be said that at times the initial step towards an intimate relationship, which develops to an international marriage, is also sexual satisfaction. However, it is the skillful beach boys who go through this process well so as to continue contacts with her even after she returns to her country.

When having protracted relationships, they keep contacts via Skype, Viber, Line and some on Facebook and via mails too. Most claimed that it became easier to make international calls, with the introduction of free call apps such as Viber, Line and Skype. If the girl is extremely attracted to the boy, she may make repeat visits and they eventually become boyfriend and girlfriend. When they are in such romantic relationships, the girl visits at least once a year, and if they have reached the stage of marriage discussions, she may make a couple of visits within a year, marry him and take actions to bring him to her country of residence. All the female spouses too stated that
they visited their boyfriend several times until the marriage. The following is an excerpt from field notes.

CBB35 ‘She is a German. She calls me almost every day. Now I also have Viber, so it’s easier to keep contacts, and I can make a call whenever I want too. Yes, she visits me once or twice a year. It’s been 2 years since we have met’

FFBS(2)34 ‘Long-distance relationships are difficult to carry on. It was 2004 when I met him. We didn’t have Skype or Line those days. So I made calls from Japan. It was costly, but I wanted to talk to him every day. I came to see him twice and got married in the very year’

However, it was apparent that most decisions, especially until the marriage, depended on the female tourist; whether to have only sex, whether to have formed an emotional bond, whether to extend the sexual relationship into a romantic one or whether to extend the romantic relationship into a marriage. But since the main motivation of beach boys is migration through international marriage, they continuously try until they find that prospective partner.

3.3.3.3 Economic and romantic base of the relationship

As far as the economical base of the relationship is concerned, it can be said that beach boys do not focus on short-term benefits, especially when a protracted relationship is established. As previous studies (Herold et al, 2001; Nyanzi et al., 2005) have also illustrated, beach boys use subtle strategies to gain money from women, indicating their economic difficulties in paying bills, baring daily expenses and taking care of family needs. But, only 3 boys in the sample stated that they get monthly allowance of Rs.20,000-30,000 from their girlfriends. 9 boys claimed that they do not get such allowances, but 4 of them said that she would send money anytime if he asked. Explaining the difference, some stated that, at present most girls do not easily agree to send money, especially because they do not like to place the relationship on an economic basis, and then they lose their trust on the relationship as a ‘romantic one’.

CBB18 ‘If they felt that we try to extract money out of the relationship, then they gradually start to get away from us. Now most of the tourists have basic knowledge about the place they travel, or at least they will find more about us on Internet or asking from other friends. So, most of them are aware of those things. If we initiate a chat about money, then they get that impression and try to avoid us’

34 Former Beach Boy Spouse
‘Yeah, we happen to think whether we need money or the relationship. If need the relationship better not asking for money’

Moreover, some professional beach boys stated that when girls are completely emotionally involved with them, they begin to assist their boyfriends in any circumstances, whether it is economical or emotional. But, it takes more time and efforts to establish that type of relationship. Although, the majority of beach boys prefer young tourists, still there are some boys who select relatively older or unattractive, overweight girls, thinking they are good for a marriage, and they will love them unconditionally due to their sexual, emotional needs and less fear of abandoning them for another man.

However, since beach boys choose international marriages as a life strategy, as a pathway to success through migration, on the beach boys’ side, economical need is higher than romance (emotional needs). They become kind, romantic, attentive, or caring as a part of their work. When compared with beach boys, it is mostly female tourists first emotionally get involved. It can be said that while beach boys try to fulfill their economic needs, female tourists try to fulfill their emotional needs through this relationship, and this can be regarded as a reciprocal relationship. For instance, beach boys do not possess an economic capital, but they can give what female tourists lack of. On the other hand, female tourists do not have their emotional needs met in life, even though they have economically succeeded. Therefore, once they meet these boys and befriend them, they feel emotionally attended. Hence, this relationship is nurtured through the process of fulfilling each other’s dissatisfactions or lacks in life. Beach boys can achieve economical success through migration when the female tourists marry them. Female tourists can be emotionally satisfied when they can feel the romance and care they lacked and especially being able to lead a simple life with beach boys. Moreover as previously mentioned, they are aware of the present condition of young female tourists (no big economic capital, up-to-date, unwilling to give money), so that they do not bring economic needs in the middle of the relationship and try to keep the romantic base of it. At the same time, it was revealed that although beach boys’ main intention is economic advancement, they do not expect to depend on female tourists throughout their life. Instead, they want to work abroad and become economically independent. And once they became economically advanced, as husbands they attend to the economical needs of the female tourist (their foreign wife) as well.

Further, with discussions with beach boys it was revealed that although their main intention is fulfilling their economic needs, they lack romance too. More than half (N 24)\textsuperscript{35} mentioned that they have not had a Sri Lankan girlfriend, and among the rest, the majority stated it was during school that they had a Sri Lankan girlfriend. At the same time, most of them stated that Sri Lankan girls do not like to keep company with them.

\textsuperscript{35} This was asked from a total number of 41 beach boys (both current (N 27) and former beach boys (14). 15 current beach boys and 9 former beach boys stated that they did not have a Sri Lankan girlfriend.
Therefore, when they are in a relationship, even with a female tourist, they also get emotionally attached, as they have not experienced the feeling of romance well. During informal conversations, current beach boys related as below.

**CBB**\(^{12}\) *I had a Sri Lankan girlfriend when I was schooling. Now she is married and having kids too. I don’t know what real love means. I’m 24 now. I have met suddiyo, but I haven’t had a real relationship with them either*

**CBB**\(^{24}\) *Yes, it’s not only sex or money. We feel love too, especially when they (female tourists) start making love to us. We are also human no. It’s good to have that feeling. But, we should be aware, who knows this will work out or not*

Thus, it is apparent that beach boys also do have emotional feelings. But, most of the boys did not like to talk about their inner feelings, and expose their emotional needs. At the same time, they mentioned that the reason for looking for a young girl to get married is also because they want to continue the marriage and have a good family life too.

**CBB**\(^{15}\) *who would like to be with an elderly lady? Who would marry them unless it’s for money? We are young, so we like young girls. That’s the truth. If I marry a young girl, I can stay with her, and have a family. But if it was an elderly lady, who want to be with her lifetime? That won’t happen*

Furthermore, promiscuity or the feeling of promiscuity involved on both sides was also revealed as a reason, which makes it difficult to form a protracted romantic relationship. Despite all the seduction, fulfillment of sexual, emotional or economical needs, they tend to have established images for each other. For instance, female tourists are aware of beach boys’ activities and they find it difficult to admit them as trustworthy boyfriends, who do not attempt to seduce other girls. Likewise, Westerners are basically considered as sexually liberated and more prone to casual sex. Therefore, beach boys are also not easily emotionally involved with them or not prepared to devote to one girl. Therefore, most beach boys are also not loyal to one girl until the relationship reaches to the stage of marriage.

Similarly, at times, female tourists also become opportunistic and exploitative in the relationships. For instance, during the fieldwork a case of a female tourist who abandoned her beach boy lover, when fallen into another beach boy was reported. A few other beach boys and local people in the tourism sector stated that the abandoned boy went through many difficulties in overcoming the betrayal and disappointment, as he truly loved her. Illustrating that story, some local people stated that *‘should not love those white women, they are not faithful and don’t know how to live with one man’*. Hence, such incidents and continuous disappointments they feel in establishing a long-term relationship keep beach boys away from emotional bonds with female tourists.
Most of the boys expressed their feelings of rejection and disappointment when girls do not keep contacts once they leave the country. ‘Some girls even don’t make a call to say ‘thank you’. That’s true; some girls pay for all the trips and give some money when they leave. But, they think it’s all about money. Then yes, if so it’s all about money for us too’. Thus it can be said that the feeling of promiscuity or difficulty in establishing a strong relationship involves the awareness of emotional damage of each partners.

Hence, it is apparent that they go through a long process (unsuccessful attempts, infidelity) until they succeed in a romantic relationship, which leads to a marriage. The average number of annual international marriages also demonstrates that fact. It is a reciprocal relationship, which satisfies the economic and emotional needs of both parties. Sexual satisfaction also plays a major role in nurturing this relationship, just as it does with other people’s relationships in general. Once they could establish this strong relationship, then they reach the next stage of marriage.

### 3.3.3.4 The marriage

When their relationship reached the stage of marriage, they have already done the negotiations about their future, such as where they settle, how he finds a job after migration etc. But, taking approval from female tourist’s parents was given as one of the critical situations they come across in the process until the marriage. Most former beach boys mentioned that at least one parent or sibling of her side opposed their marriage.

FBB⁹ ‘Her parents knew she had a relationship with me. But, when she told about the marriage they didn’t approve. I talked to them over the phone, and then her father became bit ok. But, her mother didn’t like our relationship from the beginning. So, she didn’t like to talk with me even on the phone. Somehow, we got married as my wife wanted to be with me no matter what’

FBB¹ ‘Her farther strongly disapproved our marriage. He was worried that I would leave her one-day. I said I wouldn’t do that unless and until she wants to be with me. Then, before the marriage her sister once visited me with her and discussed, and then only we got married’

Thus, it become clear that even after establishing a romantic relationship, they encounter critical junctures until they succeed to the journey of marriage. The following is a detailed story of FBB¹ until the marriage. FBB¹ is 30 years old. He has 2 siblings, a younger sister and an elder brother. His father engages in odd jobs, and his mother sews clothes for a tourist shop. His elder brother also works in a garment company in Colombo.
‘I already had few friends who worked in surfing centers and restaurants. When I came to beach (wella), I saw many young boys involve in tourism. They spend a free and fun life, while earning good amount of money. So, I also thought quitting school after my O/Ls, and join tourism. Continuing school didn’t show me any future. To gain a good salary through education, you need to reach the highest positions or become doctors, engineers or lawyers. Even the degree holders don’t have proper jobs. What most degree holders get is teaching jobs. What is the salary of a schoolteacher? It’s about Rs.20,000. So, we can’t see a clear future in education either, devoting more than 20 years in life and spending parents’ hard earned money as well.

Yes there are other jobs too, but I wanted to engage in tourism. I’ve seen many guys who have succeeded after marrying to a female tourist and migrate. I wanted to become one of them. I didn’t see such opportunities in other jobs available to us. We can earn considerable amount of money if we engage in fishing too; 2,3 long trips in a tank boat also a good money. But, that doesn’t give us the chance of making contacts, keeping company with various people from the globe, and also it’s not an easy job to stay in the sea for 2,3 weeks. So I chose tourism.

Actually, I love surfing. I have learnt it from my friends before joining tourism. However, I first worked in a guesthouse, as I didn’t want to be called a ‘beach boy’. I wanted to find a girl to get married, but some girls don’t like to talk with us if we came to know as ‘beach boys’. So, I didn’t want to do guiding or give surf lessons always hanging around the beach. I did guiding and surfing if I was asked from a girl I met, or other party (tourist group) stayed in our guesthouse.

Yes, we meet girls from different countries. I have been with girls from Sweden, Japan, and Germany. But, I didn’t have much time to go outside and befriend with girls, as I was busy with work here. But, sometimes I went for night parties and have met girls there too. Sometimes girls stayed here were also willing to form friendships with us. Of course, some girls want only sex. They say they want to get the experience only, being with a guy in Sri Lanka. I’ve met such type of girls too. But, even that is not for money. Some give us money as tips, or bare some expenses when drinking or on a tour. But, sex part takes places mostly on friendship and understanding. You may know no. Such things happen in other countries, and even in Sri Lanka. That’s not something to surprise. If someone is not married or not in a certain relationship committed to one person, most people don’t see wrong having sex with some other person they meet. It’s a normal thing. But, all the girls are not that type. Some just want to spend time with us as only friends, embrace our culture and locality. So, mostly we drink together; have fun chat while sharing our experiences. If I get time I join with them when going out, and give surf lessons too. Sometimes we arrange small group parties on the beach, not only girls, other tourists also join and enjoy drinking, singing and dancing.

You know, after all I didn’t feel like marrying a Sri Lankan girl. Because most girls are still traditional, and they keep their virginity until they get married, for the person who marry them. So I think it’s not good to marry such girl, after we being in this kind
of lifestyle. Even I’ve a sister. I love her so much. Before I married to this girl, I’ve had two serious relationships with female tourists. One girl was from Sweden and one was from German. Those didn’t work out. It’s not an easy thing to form a strong relationship, especially when living in two different countries. I met this girl 2 years before the marriage. First I met her in a club. Some girls don’t have sex on the same day, but we were drunk and had sex on the very night. After that we kept company, went out for dinners, sightseeing, but she said she don’t like to have sex again, until she feels we have true feelings for each other. So, I gave her time. Finally we became girlfriend and boyfriend before she left.

After that she visited me twice a year, and phoned me almost every day. She sent me money for my expenses saying not to involve in tourist activities. But, I didn’t want to build big hopes until the marriage takes place. You know I’ve already experienced these things. When they left you at the end, you would get hurt like nothing, if you completely attached to them. However, I finally felt she truly wants to be with me. When she came down, she worked with me in the restaurant, helping my work. When she visited the last time before marriage, I had to quit the job to make time for us. She said she wants to spend more time with me. So, I took her to my place and introduced to my family as well. My parents were ok with the marriage, but my elder brother didn’t like me marrying a foreigner, saying foreigners can’t be trusted. However, we got married and now waiting for my visa to go to her. We had to apply for the visa via India, because we don’t have a Finland embassy here. So, once she visited me, both of us went to India and applied.

Yes, I think she loves me. Unless why would she marry me? Yes, I love her too. I’ll stay with her unless and until she stays with me and loves me like this way’

Thus, it becomes apparent that it takes much effort and time to establish a relationship, which extends to a marriage.

Moreover, Additional District Registrar of Hikkaduwa Divisional Secretariat office indicated that there is no special regulation in registering a marriage between a Sri Lankan and a foreigner, other than submitting a copy of the passport. Generally both partners should be unmarried, and if the Sri Lankan is a resident of Hikkaduwa, he/she should register the marriage in one of the registrar’s offices in Hikkaduwa. There are 8 registrars in Hikkaduwa. The table 4-9 shows the total number of international marriages in Hikkaduwa, which took place from 2007 to 2014. International marriages indicated in the table 4-9 demonstrate the total number of international marriages that took place in Hikkaduwa. Therefore, it includes the marriages between foreigners who planned to get married in Sri Lanka and spend their honeymoon there. According to a registrar’s statement, the majority of international marriages reported here are between foreigners. As stated earlier, the average annual number of international marriages is between 2 and 4. Actually, the data regarding international marriages was not arranged beforehand, but was collected from the 8 registrars servicing in different areas at my request. When I went to the Hikkaduwa
office, she showed me a large book, and said I have to check one by one to get the total number. But, I could not check it since that information was said to be confidential\(^{36}\).

Table 4-9: Local and International Marriages in Hikkaduwa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Local Marriages</th>
<th>Number of International Marriages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>925</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>1250</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>1475</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>1250</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>775</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.4 Life after the marriage

As previously stated, all of the former beach boys who have got married to female tourists, migrated to the spouse’s country after the marriage, and there are some families, which have returned after a few years. As far as migration is considered, they have negotiated it from the beginning, and have come to the decision of moving to the spouse’s country, as the men do not have a stable income to sustain a family in Sri Lanka. Most of the female spouses were also aware of sexual aspects involved with the role of beach boys. Therefore, spouses did not want them to continue working as beach boys, and as previously noted, beach boys also did not possess any resources to start up another business in the tourism sector. Similarly, married beach boys also mentioned that their main motivation was migration, as they wanted to become successful in their lives instead of remaining as beach boys.

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\(^{36}\) This data about international marriages may not be 100% accurate, as they were collected from different registrars. But, I am extremely thankful for the Additional District Registrar of Hikkaduwa Divisional Secretariat office for kindly supporting to collect the data from other registrars.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Marriage: Year</th>
<th>Country of the Spouse</th>
<th>Length of Stay in Japan</th>
<th>Tourism Establishments in Hikkaduwa</th>
<th>Number of Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FBB¹⁷ Family</td>
<td>Encounter: 2004 Marriage: 2005</td>
<td>Chiba, Japan</td>
<td>6 years (Possessing PR)</td>
<td>Restaurant, Guesthouse, Surfing Centre, Same establishments in East Coast (Family business), Boutique hotel</td>
<td>1 (Boy, 5 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBB¹ Family</td>
<td>Encounter: 2004 Marriage: 2004</td>
<td>Chiba, Japan</td>
<td>About 3 years</td>
<td>Restaurant, Guesthouse, Surfing Centre, Same establishments in East Coast (Family business)</td>
<td>2 (Girl, 3 years &amp; Boy, 1 year)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBB¹¹ Family</td>
<td>Encounter: 2001 Marriage: 2001</td>
<td>Shizuoka, Japan</td>
<td>10 years</td>
<td>Rented restaurant from 2011</td>
<td>1 (Girl, 3 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBB¹⁴ Family</td>
<td>Encounter in Japan Marriage: 2004</td>
<td>Shizuoka, Japan</td>
<td>About 10 years (Possessing PR)</td>
<td>Guesthouse &amp; Restaurant</td>
<td>1 (Girl, 1 year)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBB¹⁰ Family</td>
<td>Encounter: 2002 Marriage: 2004</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>About 10 years (Possessing PR)</td>
<td>Guesthouse &amp; Restaurant</td>
<td>2 (Girls 6 years &amp; 8 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBB¹³ Family</td>
<td>Encounter: 2005 Marriage: 2006</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>About 6 years (Possessing PR)</td>
<td>Guesthouse, Restaurant</td>
<td>2 (Girls 3 years &amp; 5 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBB¹⁰ Family</td>
<td>Encounter: 2008 Marriage: 2009</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>About 3 years</td>
<td>Guesthouse</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBB¹² Family</td>
<td>Encounter: 2003 Marriage: 2005</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>About 5 Years</td>
<td>Guesthouse, Restaurant</td>
<td>1 (Boy 6 years)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Regarding life abroad (Japan, German, Austria, Denmark, Sweden), almost all boys stated that it was difficult to get used to that life. All of them have been doing part-time jobs in factories, restaurants, construction sites and surf schools. Some have been appointed as permanent workers having worked at the same place for a long period. Most of them claimed that language was not a barrier in living abroad. They have found their first job with the help of her family or relatives, and usually language ability was not required for that job, or they have been able to manage as they could speak English or spouse’s native language to some extent. They said that they improved in a short time as they have the ability of learning languages by practical use. Most men stated that leaving Sri Lanka and Hikkaduwa affected them seriously. Compared with the life in Hikkaduwa, life abroad had been very busy and stressful for them as they have a strong attachment to the life brought up associated to the beach.

FBB⁹ said that ‘every day I have a bath in the sea, take a walk along the beach and surf too. During the season sometimes I even sleep on the beach. When I was living in Japan, in most weekends I used to go to beach, sit there and look at the sea for hours’.

On the other hand, some mentioned that first it was difficult to live a life without their friends. But, especially the boys who migrated to Japan said that finally they could hang out with the same friends, as most of them came to Japan having married to Japanese girls. As such, this attachment to the life in Hikkaduwa have led some boys to make return visits each year, or some of them to decide in settling in Hikkaduwa permanently. As previously noted, men continuously living in the spouse’s country claimed that they cannot settle in Hikkaduwa since they cannot make a stable income there, as it has become difficult to start up a tourism related business in Hikkaduwa. Therefore, they have chosen to live abroad as they have established a stable life there.

With regard to the families that settled in Hikkaduwa, I could interview 8 families. 6 spouses were Japanese, 1 was German and 1 was Austrian. It is said that there are about 15 Japanese spouses, and a considerable number of German communities have settled in Hikkaduwa. Negotiations in moving back have been done between spouses and have come to the decision of settling in Hikkaduwa. But, there were 2 female spouses who preferred a life in Japan rather than the life in Sri Lanka, but have settled with their husband, as they wanted to be supportive.

Expressing foreign spouses’ view on life in Sri Lanka, FBBS⁵ stated that ‘I feel so sorry for the women here. They are confined to home. Women also should work and earn for themselves, then they can enjoy the life and even travel to different countries. Even the most men in Sri Lanka don’t like to work hard, and they don’t respect money either’. Further she mentioned that although she liked Sri Lanka food, she always gets the longing of having Japanese food.

However, all the female spouses mentioned that they like the life in Sri Lanka too, stating their love for relaxed, stress-less life and culture. But, the majority of them
return to Japan each year during the summer as children get a long school holiday in August.

With regard to married men, 4 of them stated that they migrated having a prior purpose of returning back and settle in Hikkaduwa, and all of them have had a small-scale tourism establishment even before they migrate. Some have decided to move back after migrating. Illustrating his decision FBB\(^6\) said that ‘I like Japan, not I love Japan’. Table 4-10 shows the summary of 8 families settled in Hikkaduwa. FBB\(^9\), FBB\(^2\), FBB\(^{14}\), FBB\(^6\), FBB\(^3\) have owned small-scale tourism establishment before migrate, and among them FBB\(^9\) is the most successful entrepreneur. FBB\(^9\) and FBB\(^2\) are siblings who have met their Japanese wives in the same period, after the Tsunami in 2004. FBB\(^2\) has returned before obtaining his PR in Japan, as he could not get use to that life. At present, they are running successful family businesses in Hikkaduwa and in the Eastern coast as well.

The case of FBB\(^8\) is also a specific one, as he has married to a Sri Lankan girl, who has been adopted by a wealthy Austrian couple. She was brought up in Austria when she was little, and she has met her husband when she visited Hikkaduwa similar to other female tourists. They have started a small guesthouse in the inland area in 2012, and have purchased a beachfront land with the financial assistance of her Austrian mother. During the fieldwork in 2014 (Summer), their guesthouse was being constructed, but when I returned in February 2015, it was opened having finished construction of 4 rooms in the ground floor. It is a standard class guesthouse, a room cost about Rs.10,000 in the on season. FBB\(^9\) also stated that some of his rooms also cost about Rs.10,000, and especially he had constructed a quality boutique hotel, which consist of 2 apartments in the inland area by the end of 2014. FBB\(^{11}\) and FBB\(^6\) wives were helping with their business, but FBB\(^8\) business was seemed to be ran mainly by his wife and her mother.

School going children of FBB\(^9\) and FBB\(^6\) were sent to an international school in Galle. They were fluent in Japanese, but could converse a little in Sinhala and English as well. Japanese wives were also able to understand and converse in Sinhala to some extent. Majority of the beach boys and people in the tourism sector stated that, although unsuccessful marriages can also be seen, most of the young men have succeeded through international marriages. During the survey, 3 unsuccessful marriages were reported. One of them was married to a Japanese and the other 2 were with women from England. FBBD\(^{(1)}\)\(^{37}\) is in his early 50’s, and he has good knowledge of Japanese, speaking, reading and writing. Some of his friends expressed about his life as below.

*He might be the first to do an international marriage in Hikkaduwa. He has got married in late 1980s. He had a very successful life, lands, and a restaurant. But he kept drinking and sometimes he even harassed her wife. That Japanese wife was a very

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\(^{37}\) Former Beach Boy Divorced
nice lady, but she couldn’t bear his acts and got divorced. He kept drinking and lost all
his property. Now he is married to a Sri Lankan. He in vain lost such a good life
because of alcoholism’

During the survey it was revealed that FBB\textsuperscript{11} have rented FBBD\textsuperscript{1}’s restaurant.

FBBD\textsuperscript{2} (in late 40’s) said that ‘I was married to an England lady, but I couldn’t get
used to the life there. I wanted to come back, we had arguments and eventually we got
divorced. I have a beautiful daughter; they are coming once in a while’. I could not talk
directly with FBBD\textsuperscript{3}. When discussing about international marriages one of the
respondents showed him and revealed about his unsuccessful international marriage.
‘That boy (in his late 20’s) is a friend of my son too. I even went to his wedding. She
was a pretty girl from England. I think he was living there with her for 2,3 years. I don’t
know what happened; now he has returned here alone. But, he had earned a lot, and
now running a quality guesthouse in the inland’.

Thus, it can be said that almost all beach boys are willing to get married to female
tourists with the purpose of migration in order to become economically successful.
Some of them have returned to Sri Lanka with the family, and engage in tourism in
Hikkaduwa, while the rest have settled in spouse’s country of residence. However, most
of the boys have accomplished the economical success that they longed for, and are
leading a good family life either settling in Hikkaduwa or overseas.
4 Conclusion – Chapter Four

This chapter discussed usage of the term ‘beach boy’ in Sri Lanka, Hikkaduwa beach boys and their relations with female tourists, and their international marriages as a life strategy. In analyzing the usage of the term beach boy in Sri Lanka, it became apparent that the term is a generally known word in academic work, general public and among many tourists who visit coastal areas. Two equivalent Sinhala terms could also be identified, ‘werala lamai’ and ‘welle kollo’. ‘Werala lamai’ was stated in Ratnapala’s study (2000), rather a formal referent to beach boys, and ‘welle kollo’ was mentioned during the fieldwork, mostly a colloquial term. But, rather than those Sinhala terms, ‘beach boy’ was the local term used referring to boys in the beach.

At the same time it became clear that most beach boys do not self-identify as ‘beach boys’, rather they introduce themselves as area guides or marine sports instructors. Of those who did not accept the term beach boy, there were boys who have their own definition for ‘beach boy’, and tend to distinguish them from beach boys in terms of the appearance and the activities they are engaged in. But, when the view of the local community is considered, it can be said that all of them fall into the category of beach boys. According to their distinction, in terms of the activities only few of them, mainly guides are the beach boys. But, guides also asserted that they are not killing time on the beach, they walk 2 or 3 times along the beach to find a party to take for a tour. Especially there were some boys, who claimed that they wanted to work in restaurants so as not to be labeled as ‘beach boys’. Similarly, some beach boys distanced themselves from the term ‘beach boy’, due to appearance, such as a particular fashion or a style. For instance, some boys who claimed that beach boys are the guys who wear dreadlocks, had long hair; or who mentioned dreadlocks, longhair, and tattoos had colored hair and pierced ears. As far as the boys who work as marine sports’ instructors are concerned, there were many boys who follow at least one of those fashions. Hence, it can be said that it was their own explanation to avoid the use of term ‘beach boys’, and it was assumed that the term has a negative connotation. Therefore, it will be explored in detail in chapter five.

In the second section basic characteristics of beach boys, their role in tourism, their work as a social group, reasons for being a beach boy and their relations with female tourists were investigated. With regard to the appearance they have adapted various fashions, which differ from the young men in the general society. While stating that although very rarely young men in general put their hair in locks, there are boys with long hair, colored hair, tattoos and even with pierced ears in the society as a whole. There is a trend of following such fashions among young men even in other cities. Moreover, most of the beach boys in the sample were between the age of 21-30 years (74%), and 44% of them (12) were in 21-25 age group. Nearly 90% of the beach boys were from Hikkaduwa and its environs (24). Distribution of their educational level demonstrates that most of them have joined on a fulltime basis from the age of 16 or...
above, as more than half of them have completed Ordinary Level examination (52%). While all of them could speak English, almost all (25) could converse at least in another foreign language such as German, Japanese or Russian. Basically I chose bachelors for the beach boy sample, but during the survey 3 of them got married to female tourists. With regard to monthly income, most of them earn more than Rs.30,000 in the tourist season, but it varies according to the season and their fortune, as tips from satisfied customers can highly affect their final outcome.

As far as beach boys’ role in tourism is concerned, all of the beach boys in the sample are employed as guides, restaurant workers, glass-bottom boat drivers or marine sports instructors, but their work is not sharply divided. Therefore most of them engaged in different activities at the request of tourists. It should be noted that generally beach boys render their service to all types of tourists. Further, beach boys are formed as a social group, and they have their own territories to engage in their activities. Newcomers are introduced through personal networks, but boys from out of Hikkaduwa rarely get an opportunity to pursue other beach boy activities such as involvement in guiding while being marine sports’ instructors, and start relationships with female tourists. In addition they pass on jobs to each other in the peer group and maintain a beneficial network with other informal sector establishments, mainly for gaining commission and meeting various demands of tourists effectively. Moreover, poverty, informal sector (beach boy activities) being the only opportunity, less education and lack of employment opportunities in other sectors, less salaries/less benefits in other employments, its nature as a self-employment, reluctance to pursue traditional livelihoods, other benefits beside economic and material gains, and success stories were given as their reasons for being a beach boy. In analyzing, a remarkable difference in the reasons of former and current beach boys could be identified. While most of former beach boys have chosen beach boy activities due to poverty-stricken life, having no other resources and less education, current beach boys highlighted rest of the reasons. It became clear that, all of the current beach boys are aware of success stories of former beach boys and other benefits beside monetary gains. Thus, it can be said that elder beach boys’ activities and the strategies they adapted affect younger beach boys’ motivations, and current beach boys chose to be involved in tourism with the intention of advancing their life conditions, just like former beach boys.

Next, I discussed beach boys’ relations with female tourists. During the 1980s most relations were with elderly female tourists and mostly sexual and transactional exchanges occurred between them, whereas international marriages rarely took place. But, with the increase of young female tourists in the mid 1990s, beach boys got the opportunity to cultivate company with young girls and their motivation in forming relations with female tourists gradually changed to international marriages and migration. Further, two main reasons for converting their relationship from elderly females to younger ones were revealed. 1. Beach boys do not expect to depend on female tourists throughout their life, and 2. Marrying elderly women involves more
social stigma. Thus in analyzing, it can be said that at present, most of the relationships are not merely sexual or transactional; rather they involve romance and other aspects of a general relationship, which extends to a marriage.

Furthermore, 21 beach boys stated that they have had or having sexual relations with female tourists. The opportunities they get to form a relationship vary in terms of their role in tourism. As far as female tourists are concerned, it is only a fewer number of women who initiate sexual relations with beach boys, and the majority of those women are single travelers or girls traveling in small groups. Among them 1) first time romantic tourists, 2) first time sex tourists, 3) romantic returnees, 4) committed sex tourists, and 5) companion tourists were reported. However, interviews with female spouses, female tourists and beach boys, revealed that almost all female tourists self-identify as ‘romantic returnees’ or ‘first time romantic tourists’. Although, the minority of female tourists comes only for sexual pleasures, most beach boys do not see them as sex tourists or the relationship with them as completely sexual one. Therefore, it can be said there are sub-categories in the group of ‘committed sex tourists’, especially because women visiting to become sexually involved with only one partner could also be found. In identifying the above categories, this study referred to De Albuquerque (1998), Herold et al (2001) and Phillips (1990), but the categories were developed mainly according to Herold et al (2001), as they have broadly discussed the relationships between beach boys and female tourists. However, ‘adventurer sex tourists’, women who visit fully prepared for sexual adventures and sleep with a number of different partners during their sojourn, were not reported in this study. The term ‘companion tourists’ was basically identified according to the new concept of ‘companion tourism’, which Herold et al. (2001) pointed out. Specifically, although Herold et al. (2001) and Albuquerque (1998) have stated that most beach boys were involved in sexual relationships with local women, common law relationships (e.g. some had local girlfriends), all the beach boys in Hikkaduwa were bachelors and most of them reported not maintaining any relationships with local girls. This fact also demonstrates their motivation of extending their relationship with female tourists into an international marriage. In analyzing, ultimately it was apparent that beach boys’ and female tourists’ relationships are not merely sexual as widely understood until now. Most relationships involve some kind of emotional attachment, an involvement of romantic, intimate feeling or a feeling like friends. Further, most of their relationships could be identified as closer to romance tourism, which defines in this study, especially because there are successful international marriages and many beach boys are motivated to have such marriage with a female tourist.

The third section discussed how beach boys pursue international marriages as a life strategy, motivations of both beach boys and female tourists, how they establish a long-term relationship, which develops to a marriage, and life after the marriage. In analyzing previous studies related to international marriages through tourism, two main patterns of international marriages were identified; 1) marriages between women from
less developed countries and men from developed countries, and 2) marriages between men from less developed countries and women from developed countries. In Hikkaduwa both patterns could be seen. In the 1970s and 1980s marriages between local women and male tourists were frequent, but at present it has changed to marriages involving local men specifically beach boys and female tourists. Although local men’s international marriages existed from the 1980s, it began to gradually increase with the emergence of beach boys in the late 1980s.

The main motivation of both former beach boys and current beach boys in focusing on international marriages was found to be migration, in the hope of improving their life conditions. But, in analyzing the factors in both groups it was apparent that although former beach boys have opted for international marriages as a ‘survival strategy’, current beach boys rather focus on it as an ‘advancement strategy’. Their main purpose of migration is working abroad as they think they can earn more money and become successful like former beach boys. All of the current beach boys mentioned at least one case of former beach boys, who succeeded through international marriages. However, motivation of migration is a significant factor, which implies their involvement with female tourists is not merely for sexual pleasures. At the same time, the shift of international marriages to younger females also demonstrates that their expectations are not only economical. Therefore, together with their preference for being with younger women as young men, beach boys gradually incline to have relations with younger women despite not possessing big economic capital like elderly women. Another reason revealed for opting for migration and continuing living abroad after marriage is the difficulty of commencing tourism related business in Hikkaduwa. It has been difficult to purchase lands and run a business in Hikkaduwa, as there is a seasonally variable huge competition. Additionally, some boys think that they cannot marry a local girl, as they have got accustomed to Western culture and foreign girls. Moreover, female spouses settled in Hikkaduwa stated that they like the stress-less life and Sri Lankan culture. In addition, all of them stated that they are attracted to beach boys’ qualities, of being natural, simple, attentive, romantic and caring.

Despite the fact that beach boys actively focus on international marriages, an average annual number of international marriages in Hikkaduwa is between 2 and 4. It implies a relationship, which develops to a marriage is not easily established. As far as the process of such relationships is concerned, generally beach boys take the initial step by approaching female tourists on the beach, at clubs or while giving them surfing lessons. Then they get closer after multiple brief encounters and reach the next stage of traveling together or spending more time together. In the meantime, girls especially get emotionally involved with boys, due to romantic and tender qualities of the boys, together with sexual satisfaction. If they get strongly attached to the boy, then they make repeated visits. It was apparent that beach boys do not focus on short-term benefits, especially when they are in a protracted relationship, since they are aware of maintaining the ‘romantic base’ of the relationship. At the same time, it was stated that
when the girls are strongly emotionally involved with boys, they deliberately assist their boyfriends in any circumstances, whether it is economical or emotional. But, it takes more time and efforts to cultivate such relationships. Promiscuity or the feeling of infidelity also makes it difficult to establish a meaningful long-term relationship. In analyzing, it became apparent that, their relationship satisfies the economic and emotional needs of both parties, just as it does with other people’s relationships in general.

With regard to life after marriage, all the boys in the sample have migrated to the spouses’ country with the intention of working abroad. It has been difficult for them to get used to that life, but the majority of them have overcome such hardships having a strong will of reaching their goals. Some have settled in Hikkaduwa after saving some money to develop their small-scale business in Hikkaduwa, but still the majority of couples are living abroad. Although some unsuccessful marriages were reported, it became apparent that most beach boys have succeeded through international marriages.
Chapter Five
A New Perspective of ‘Beach Boys’

This chapter first investigates the existing understanding of beach boys analyzing perceptions of people from different categories, and reasons for their perceptions. Next, it examines existing legal stances on sexual relations related to tourism. Having analyzed beach boys’ economic, social and psychological empowerment, finally it argues the necessity of a new perspective of beach boys and offers a new definition of them.

1 Analysis of Existing Understanding of Beach Boys

In this section I report data collected from the fieldwork and questionnaires between 2013 and 2015. 42 participants of tourism related people in Hikkaduwa, 75 of non-tourism related people in Hikkaduwa, and 386 people from general society comprised the sample. 5 research assistants and some of my acquaintances in different regions in Sri Lanka and overseas assisted me with collecting data from the people in Hikkaduwa and the general public. I directly interviewed 26 tourism related people, 21 non-tourism related people, and almost all of the people from general society were examined through a questionnaire survey. A questionnaire of the same content was administered to both tourism related and non-tourism related people, as they know more about beach boys and their international marriages. All the interviews were conducted in Sinhala language. Although the questionnaire was in Sinhala, there was a smaller number of people in the general public category, who responded in English, or both Sinhala and English. To determine their view of beach boys, the questions ‘what is your perception on beach boys (their appearance, activities etc.)? Why do you think so?’ were included in the questionnaires of all categories. In analyzing, four responses were identified, such as ‘good’, ‘bad’, ‘both good and bad’ and ‘not bad’. When examining the reasons of those who responded ‘not bad’, most of those were favorable to beach boys. At the same time, there were some people who have only heard the term ‘beach boy’, but exactly do not know what kind of activities they are engaged in.

1.1 Perceptions toward beach boys

Most of the previous studies have pointed out that the local community and authorities generally have a negative perception towards beach boys (Brown, 1992; Nyanzi et al., 2005; Dhales and Bras, 1999). In analyzing both beach boys and street guides in Indonesia as romantic entrepreneurs, Dahles and Bras (1999) stated that the
authorities and people related to tourism regard street guides as unlicensed guides, informal guides, wild guides, or a nuisance to be removed from the tourism sector by occasional police raids. Similarly, Nyanzi et al. (2005) reports that Gambian beach boys are labeled as ‘a menace to tourism’, ‘a syndrome of beggars’, ‘beach trudging youngsters’, ‘society’s misfits’, ‘tourist rippers’, ‘bottom of the social ladder’ and ‘foolish day-dreaming misguided youth’. Senegalese beach boys, coteman are also perceived negatively due to their appearance (e.g. dreadlocks) and sexual behaviors with female tourists. On the other hand, the elderly people of Bakau town in Gambia claims that the emergence of a new social group in the form of beach boys worsened the relationship between youth and elders, as beach boys ignore the social norms and values, which were once respected in the area. They strongly disapprove of beach boys’ habits of drinking alcohol, their fashion, their general lack of morals and their sexual relationships with older European women. However, Brown pointed out that elders are between two contradictory worlds since beach boys are the mediators between them and tourists, which bring them large economical and material gains (Brown, 1992). Further, in discussing young men engaging in tourism in beach communities in Sri Lanka, Miller (2011) pointed out that those young men are considered as either ‘abused child’ or ‘beach boy’, and when someone is identified as a ‘beach boy’ that implies a troublemaker, con artist or a delinquent. Arachchi (2011) has also examined 17 locals’ and traders’ attitude on beach boys in Induruwa as a part of his study. He stated that 64% of respondents said that beach boys are a threat to the social harmony, highlighting their drug use, unacceptable way of behavior, supplying prostitutes to tourists and leading child abuse. But, 59% have stated that beach boys are not a threat to the growth of Sri Lanka tourism, as they bring tourists to Sri Lanka (repeaters), they help tourists to spend their vacation comfortably, and tourists like beach boys. Of those who claimed beach boys impose a threat to Sri Lanka tourism (41%), have mentioned that beach boys supply prostitutes, child sex workers and drugs to tourists, they cheats/harass/threaten/misguide and rob tourists.

1.1.1 Perception of tourism related people in Hikkaduwa

To understand the perceptions of tourism related people in Hikkaduwa, 42 people who are engaged in tourism in various levels were interviewed. 11 restaurants and guesthouses, 10 souvenir shops, 7 glass-bottom boat owners, 3 guides who are married to Sri Lankan women, 5 beach vendors, 3 small-scale grocery store owners and 3 three-wheel drivers were included in the sample. I directly interviewed 26 of them and 16

38 In the word ‘Coteman’, ‘cote’ is a French word, meaning ‘side’, because they are always at the side of tourists (Venables, 2009:1).
people responded to questionnaires. Comparing those two methods, more descriptive responses were obtained by directly interviewing them.\textsuperscript{39}

The majority of tourism related people stated that beach boys are ‘good’ (64%), and 34 of them (81%) claimed that beach boys are ‘good’, ‘important’ for the wellbeing of Hikkaduwa tourism sector. According to the opinions of those who perceived beach boys positively, ‘beach boys are not doing anything wrong to us/no threat to the society’, ‘they do a great service to the Hikkaduwa tourism sector’, ‘they bring/pass on business to us’ and ‘they are same young men like us’ have been given.

Table 5-1: Perception of Tourism Related People in Hikkaduwa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perception</th>
<th>Number (Percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>27 (64%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both good and bad</td>
<td>7 (16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>6 (14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not bad</td>
<td>2 (5%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They expressed their thoughts as below.

HTR\textsuperscript{(1)}\textsuperscript{40}: ‘They do their work, we mind on our business. There is no special threat or menace from them to this society. They should also do something to survive no’

HTR\textsuperscript{2}: ‘I think they cause the growth of Hikkaduwa tourism. Most tourists make repeat visits because of them. They know how to attract tourists by supplying what they need. When tourists are satisfied, they visit again and sometimes bring their friends as well. If they got married to female tourists, then her family and friends also begin to visit here. We can only earn some money only if tourists come here. Majority of people around Hikkaduwa are engaged in tourism in some way’

HTR\textsuperscript{3}: ‘Sometimes tourists make good rapport with them, not with us. Most tourists are satisfied with their service. They supply whatever tourists need. It’s true ganja/marijuana or other traditionally unacceptable things (sexual behaviors) are also

\textsuperscript{39} Most of the interviewees were well-known people whom I have met during my Masters fieldwork and they talked for an hour to 1 and ½ hours. In contrast, research assistants have written down the rest of the people’s responses to the questionnaire within 20 to 30 minutes.

\textsuperscript{40} Hikkaduwa Tourism Related
included in their activities. But, it’s tourists’ interest no. Our people always see small faults and neglect all the other good things. I think they introduce our culture to foreigners. There are lots of tourists who like them, like to travel with them and even visit their home for a Sri Lankan cuisine. Tourists call them ‘friends’

Moreover, most of the souvenir shops, guesthouse and restaurant owners, and three-wheeler drivers mentioned that ‘they bring/pass on business to us’.

HTR⁴: ‘They bring tourists to us, when they want to go here and there. Sometimes, they introduce us to their friend tourists too, and then they also call us when they want to go somewhere. It’s good for us’

HTR⁵: ‘They bring guests to our shops. Even though some may not buy, some make good purchases. Sometimes tourists come with those boys, buy more than other tourists. Because, some boys explain them to the lives of local people and if they make a purchase at a small-scale local business, it will be a contribution to the whole community. They are from poor families no, then they know the hardships and try to help out other people in tourism too’

Some guesthouse owners also mentioned that they bring guests to their places.

HTR⁶: ‘We know they have some bad habits (drugs, sexual acts) too. But, they are doing this to make a living, and it’s not only them who are engaged in those activities. What matters is they are not a menace or burden to the community. We have only 7 rooms, but as there are lots of small-scale guesthouses, sometimes rooms remain empty even in the season. So, it’s good thing for us, they bring their guests here’

HTR⁷: ‘They bring tourists to our place. Sometimes they come with female tourists too. Most of the time that’s only for a night or few hours in the daytime. Actually that happens when the girl is staying in a star hotel. Those big hotels don’t let tourists to bring beach boys to their rooms. So, when they befriend such girls, they take a room from us and stay over. If girl stays long, sometimes she permanently moves to our place’

HTR⁸: ‘I have some friends among them. They are young men just like us. They also do those things for a living no. There are very good guys among them. It’s their choice, what I can say is we or this community have no nuisance because of them’

Of those who claimed beach boys are ‘bad’, the majority gave their drug addiction as a reason to think so. Two of them mentioned both drug addiction and their sexual contacts with female tourists. When referring to beach boys’ sexual relations, they emphasized the spread of STDs (Sexually Transmitted Diseases).
HTR^9^: ‘Some of them are heavily addicted to drugs. When they run out of money to buy drugs, they start robbing. That is a threat to this community and our business too’

HTR^10^: ‘It’s shameful to see that some of them changing girls like trying out different clothes. One girl in this season, and a different one in next season. That’s not good for our culture’

HTR^11^: ‘In different seasons, different girls are on the back seat of their bikes. That is not good. That may cause spread of venereal diseases too. If we say 25% of local women are bad, it’s only 25% of foreign women are good. Sex is nothing for them. They sleep with different men, who knows what kind of venereal diseases they have got’

In addition, of those who perceived beach boys negatively, 5 of them asserted that their existence is not good for the Hikkaduwa tourism sector as well. A further 7 people noted that there are both good and bad people among beach boys. They have expressed mostly similar opinions to previously discussed categories. Except for those reasons, some mentioned that they personally do not like beach boys’ fashions.

HTR^12^: ‘There are both good and bad habits in them. In one hand, some of them contribute to Hikkaduwa Tourism by introducing local culture and passing on business to small people in the tourism sector. On the other hand, they join hands with tourists to spread bad habits in country. Nothing to mention about alcohol, but they are addicted to drugs too. Sometimes, they become a burden to their family and the community’

HTR^13^: ‘Some are drug addicted, some are having sexual relations with female tourists, such things are not good for the community, Hikkaduwa tourism and for themselves as well. They may get infected with venereal diseases and spread to others too. I don’t like their appearance with long colored hair, pierced ears and tattoos either. I can’t get why those foreign girls are with these guys like ‘kapiri’\(^{41}\). But, since there are a few bad people, all of them can’t be labeled as ‘bad’. There are good qualities in them too. That’s what they have compelled to choose. Such people don’t descend from a good family. If they had a good family background, other opportunities to earn a good income, then they wouldn’t have done this. Actually, I feel pity for them’

Moreover, all of them stated that there are boys who have succeeded through international marriages, and even the people who claimed beach boys are ‘bad’ also stated that international marriages are good. Three of them stated that ‘it is a good

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\(^{41}\) A term used in Sri Lanka to refer to black skinned people such as ‘Negro’.
opportunity for them to get out of their bad habits, and there can be seen such boys as well. Therefore, international marriages have a good impact not only for individuals but also for the community/country as well’.

1.1.2 Perceptions of non-tourism related people in Hikkaduwa

A total number of 75 people were included in the sample of non-tourism category. As previously mentioned, 21 of them were directly interviewed and the rest were administered a questionnaire with same content. People from different occupations (fishermen, farmers, labors, teachers, house wives, students and office workers), and different age groups (18-58) were included. 11 people have not mentioned their gender, and among the rest, 59% (38) were male and 41% (26) were female. Table 5-2 shows their perception towards beach boys. One person has stated that he has not heard the word ‘beach boy’, and another also mentioned that she has only heard the word, but does not exactly know what beach boys are doing. Among 73 respondents, exactly half of them indicated that beach boys are ‘not bad’ (50%).

Table 5-2: Perceptions of Non-tourism Related People in Hikkaduwa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perception</th>
<th>Number (Percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not bad</td>
<td>37 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>24 (32%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>6 (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both good and bad</td>
<td>6 (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exactly don’t know (only heard)</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As far as the reasons for their responses were concerned, it can be said that almost all the people in this category have expressed their views as mostly favorable to beach boys. Of those who perceived beach boys as ‘good’ stated that ‘they are important to the tourism sector’, ‘they are having good qualities too’, ‘they are living without making any troubles to others’, people who responded ‘not bad’ claimed ‘most are keeping company with tourists, so no bad impacts to the general community’, ‘they are also a group of young men like us’, ‘that’s their livelihood’, ‘they are helping/guiding tourists’, and ‘they are important to the tourism sector’. Thus, altogether nearly 60% of
Hikkaduwa non-tourism related people could be considered as favorable to beach boys. At the same time, overall 56% (41) have claimed that ‘beach boys are good/important to Hikkaduwa tourism’, and 48% (35) have indicated ‘they are not imposing threat/influence to the society’.

Of those who have seen beach boys favorably (‘good’, most ‘not bad’), they expressed their thoughts as below:

HNTR\(^1\): ‘They are doing a good service to Hikkaduwa tourism. They help tourists. I think they need to exist in the tourism sector’

HNTR\(^2\): ‘Everyone thinks that they are ‘kuddo’\(^{42}\). But, there are good guys among them. We can’t say they are ‘bad’, only by their outer appearance. Though they differ from clothing and fashions, they live according to the social norms. Some people can’t stand them, but I think they are not bad’

HNTR\(^3\): ‘They are mainly hanging out with tourists or all the day they are in the beach. Eat, drink, play, all the things are done with those people. So, there is no special threats they impose to the general society’

HNTR\(^4\): ‘They should also have some kind of job no. That’s their livelihood. Especially, they are not rich people. They try to make money out of the opportunities they have got’

In addition, ‘everyone has a right to follow fashions on their will’, ‘everyone can live as they wish’, ‘it’s a way of showing their talents’ have also been mentioned.

In contrast, 32% (24) Hikkaduwa non-tourism people claimed that beach boys are ‘bad’. To affirm that they pointed out the facts that ‘they are engaged in wrong things’, ‘they cheat tourists’, ‘they are exacerbating our culture’ and ‘they are not socially acceptable’.

HNTR\(^5\): ‘All of them are addicted to drugs, going after tourists like lunatics to extract money from them somehow. They have no shame. They are cheating tourists than helping, and having sexual contacts with foreign women (suddiyo). How can they be good?’

HNTR\(^6\): ‘We have been brought up under good social values and in a traditional background. Still these villagers are leading a traditional life style. But those boys are deteriorating our culture. That’s what so called tourism brought us. It made the youngsters lazy, just idling on the beach to beg money from foreigners. They have got

\(^{42}\) ‘Kudu’ refer to heroin/drugs in Sinhala language. People who are addicted to kudu are called ‘kuddo’; a derogatory colloquial word.
that physical strength to work, not to make easy money. Tourism has exacerbated the name of Hikkaduwa too. Now it’s not Hikkaduwa, ‘Hikka’.

At the same time, some mentioned that the general society do not accept them due to their appearance and behavior. Most of them have also indicated that they are following fashions, which are appropriate for Western culture, and have a different appearance to the people in general. To describe appearance, they noted ‘long hair, colored hair, wearing sunglasses, pierced ears, necklaces, bangles, tattoos, attractive, untidy, black skinned’. Additionally, some have referred to them as ‘decoration boys’ and ‘rasthiyadukarayo’ (loiterer). Some have stated that beach boys try out various fashions to attract tourists. When they come to villages in that outfits, younger boys may imitate them, and that causes an erosion of culture and social values in the village.

Further, 60% (44) of them have asserted that international marriages between beach boys and female tourists are good, since it improves the life of those boys and their families, and contributes to the foreign exchange earnings as well. However, more than half of the respondents who perceived beach boys negatively have claimed that, international marriages are bad as it is based on money not love, and that is against the culture of Sri Lanka. But, even among them there were some people who accepted the fact that, there are beach boys whose marriage migration eventually improved their lives, and there are other successful boys who have started up tourism related businesses after returning to Hikkaduwa.

1.1.3 Perceptions of the general public

A total number of 386 people were included in the sample of the general public. To grasp the understanding of beach boys in a wider perspective, the opinions of people in different regions were investigated. As previously mentioned in chapter four, 317 people responded that they have heard the word ‘beach boy’, and their perceptions towards beach boys are arranged in the following tables.

Table 5-3: Perceptions of the General Public

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perception</th>
<th>Southern Region</th>
<th>Colombo</th>
<th>Cities in the Mid Island</th>
<th>Overseas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>66 (57%)</td>
<td>60 (52%)</td>
<td>31 (69%)</td>
<td>14 (35%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not bad</td>
<td>32 (27%)</td>
<td>36 (31%)</td>
<td>9 (20%)</td>
<td>20 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exactly don’t know (only heard)</td>
<td>8 (7%)</td>
<td>6 (5%)</td>
<td>5 (11%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both good and bad</td>
<td>7 (6%)</td>
<td>8 (7%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>3 (3%)</td>
<td>6 (5%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4 (10%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In analyzing their perceptions, it became apparent that in each region more than half of the people perceived beach boys negatively stating they are ‘bad’, and this significantly differs from the perceptions of people in Hikkaduwa (Hikkaduwa tourism related people 64% ‘good’ and non-tourism related people 50% ‘not bad’). Most of the people in the southern region and a considerable number of people in Colombo have seen beach boys. Some people in other cities have also seen them when they visited coastal areas. Some stated that they have seen beach boys on television. With regard to the ways in which they got to know about beach boys, mass media such as newspapers, television and Internet, friends (society, general knowledge), were given as response. Among those frequently mentioned were newspapers and television. At the same time, there were some who have heard about beach boys in university lectures, have read about them in academic articles, or have seen them in a drama and a short film related to HIV. Among school children, there were some who have got to know them at school from teachers and friends.


### Table 5-4: Total Number of General Public: yes 317/386

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perception</th>
<th>Number (Percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>171 (54%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not bad</td>
<td>97 (31%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exactly don’t know (only heard)</td>
<td>19 (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both good and bad</td>
<td>17 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>13 (4%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Furthermore, some have explained their views on beach boys as below.

**GPSR**

‘Their behaviors can be understood only by the name ‘beach boy’. They are against our culture. They violate social values in the country’

**GPC**

‘Their behaviors are wrong according to Sri Lankan culture, they create social problems’

**RO**

‘They don’t fit in our culture. They will be an influence to future generation too’

**GPS**

‘They are engaged in bad/wrong things (drugs, prostitution). They cause social problems’

**GPSC**

‘They introduce improper things to the society, and they are harmful, an infection to the society. They are a main reason for social corruption’

**GPCMI**

‘They are destroying the country. They are engaged in prostitution, drug dealing and child abuse’

In addition, some people have indicated that beach boys are not accepted by the general society.

**GPS**

‘This society don’t accept them, so those people are not necessary to our country and our culture’

**GPSC**

‘This society sees them negatively, so we also don’t like them’

**GPC**

‘They are not socially accepted. Therefore, we also can’t accept what they do for any reason. It is another side of prostitution, and they mainly target foreigners, not locals’

In analyzing beach boys’ activities, it was apparent that many people consider that beach boys are ‘unemployed’ and have ‘no hope’. That was also pointed out as a reason for perceiving them negatively.

**GPC**

‘They are just loitering in the beach and just killing time. They are living like people who have no hopes’

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43 General Public Southern
44 General Public Colombo
45 Residing Overseas
46 General Public School Children
47 General Public Cities in the Mid Island
GPSR⁴: ‘They can work hard to gain money. It’s not poverty; it’s called laziness’

GPC⁴: ‘They only think of today. They have no hope for tomorrow, so spend all the money they earn’

GPSR⁵: ‘They are operated in the tourism sector on daily wages, it’s not an employment’

Moreover, there were some people who have identified beach boys as beach hustlers that impact negatively on the tourism sector.

GPSR⁶: ‘They are trying to gain money by misleading tourists. They are spreading a bad impression about Sri Lanka and they are a menace for the people who are engaged in tourism in a proper manner’

GPC⁵: ‘They have become an attraction to Sri Lanka in a bad way, especially in the Europe. When I was in Japan, even a foreigner from England asked whether there are beach boys in Sri Lanka’

GPCMI¹: ‘They cheat tourists. They try to sell goods forcibly and somehow extract money. I think they are troublemakers and a nuisance to tourists’

On the contrary, with regard to each region and even when the overall perception is considered, a considerable number of people have claimed that beach boys are ‘not bad’ (Southern 27%, Colombo 31% and mid island 20%, overseas 50%, overall 31%). However as far as their reasons are concerned, it became apparent that while most of them are claiming that ‘it’s their job’, ‘no direct threat to the society’, ‘they are also a part of this society’, ‘everyone has a right to live as they wish’, ‘they are important to the tourism sector’; some of them pointed out both negative and positive impacts of them.

GPSR⁷: ‘It’s their job. A whole family may sustain by his income. They should also live no. And they are not bad compared with the things happen in today’s society’

GPSC³: ‘Some beach boys help people when they are in troubles. But, common concept in the society is beach boys are an undisciplined group of people. But, it’s common to be seen bad people among good one. So all the beach boys can’t be said as bad’

GPC⁶: ‘They are doing it as they can’t find another job to sustain their family. Unless and until it’s not a trouble and threat to other people, it’s ok’
People who have asserted that beach boys have both good and bad explained their thoughts as below:

GPSR: ‘I can’t say they are good as they cause spread of STD and erosion of culture. But their work is economically beneficial for the country as a foreign exchange earner’

GPC: ‘I personally don’t like their appearance or behavior, but it’s their job. So, it’s ok’

GPSR: ‘Their acts may be against to general etiquettes, but that’s their personal choice. Anyway, we can’t judge people by their appearance’

GPC: ‘They are a part of the tourism industry. Some tourists look for a beach boy type person, not a professional guide. In other word, a professional guide is appropriate for a tourist, because a tourist will satisfy when a guide pick them up from the airport, show all the attractions sticking to a schedule and drop them back at the airport. But, a traveler is looking for unlimited experiences. He/she experiences every bit of their trip, so they need a person to hang out with them and let them to experience the locality. So, it is beach boys who can provide that type of tourists’ demands. But, I have a fear that if the number of beach boys increased that may affect badly to the tourism industry. Especially younger generation is aware of beach boys’ fast success and they may follow it as an easy way to make money. Even for a guy who completed school has to work hard to get a monthly salary of about Rs.12, 000, but a beach boy may earn that money in a week by working few days’

Similarly people who stated beach boys are ‘both good and bad’ expressed following opinions too.

GPSR: ‘Though they improve their life by doing those work, they spread bad things to the society such as STD, AIDS’

GPSR: ‘We can’t separate people as ‘good’ or ‘bad’. Everyone may show different qualities according to the circumstances’

GPC: ‘They think about only ‘today’. Though, some are married, they are having family problems. But, most of them are good as human. So, shouldn’t say ‘bad’ only because of few among them are bad people’

Hence, in analyzing their views on beach boys it can be said that only a lesser percentage has claimed beach boys are ‘good’. But, including the people who perceived them ‘not bad’ and ‘they have both good and bad’, it is apparent that there is a
considerable number of people seeing them with a broader view. However, since there were many people in the category of ‘not bad’ who stated that ‘it’s their job’, that demonstrates their preference of ‘not judging people’ or ‘perceiving other people in a broad mind’; not only beach boys and their activities. According to the table 5-4, it becomes clear that more than half of the people in other cities have a negative perception towards beach boys (54%), and only 4% have indicated that they are good. However, since 31% have claimed that they are ‘not bad’, it can be said that there are people in the general society who perceive them favorably to some extent.

1.1.4 Overall analysis of people’s perception on beach boys

This part summarizes the overall perception of beach boys according to each region. According to the table 5-5, it is apparent that fewer people in the Hikkaduwa tourism sector have perceived beach boys negatively (14%), and compared with Hikkaduwa, more than half of the people in other regions have negative perceptions towards beach boys. Among those regions nearly 70% from mid island have claimed beach boys are bad. In contrast, a disproportionately larger percentage in the Hikkaduwa tourism sector indicated that beach boys are ‘good’. In comparison, in each city less than 10% have mentioned that beach boys are ‘good’ and especially none of the people in mid island has given a positive view towards beach boys.

Further, considerable numbers of people have claimed that beach boys are ‘not bad’. Half of the people in the Hikkaduwa non-tourism sector have stated beach boys are ‘not bad’ and as a whole 31% have mentioned the same. 7% out of the total population has indicated they are both good and bad. However, as previously discussed, most of the people in the category of ‘not bad’ also revealed to have favorable attitudes towards beach boys. On the other hand, while all the people in the Hikkaduwa tourism sector knew beach boys, one person has noted that he does not know what exactly beach boys are. Overall 19 people (6%) in the general public did not know beach boys’ appearance or activities, although they have heard a word called ‘beach boy’.

In analyzing, it can be said that while people in Hikkaduwa perceive beach boys more favorably, most people in outer regions have negative perceptions towards them. That fact demonstrates that people who live closer to beach boys may perceive them positively. In order to confirm that fact, the next parts of this chapter further examine the reasons for both negative and positive perceptions towards beach boys.
Table 5-5: Overall Analysis of People’s Perception on Beach Boys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>‘Bad’</th>
<th>‘Not bad’</th>
<th>‘Good’</th>
<th>‘Both good &amp; bad’</th>
<th>‘Exactly don’t know’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hikkaduwa tourism sector</td>
<td>6 (14%)</td>
<td>2 (5%)</td>
<td>27 (64%)</td>
<td>7 (16%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hikkaduwa non-tourism region</td>
<td>24 (32%)</td>
<td>37 (50%)</td>
<td>6 (8%)</td>
<td>6 (8%)</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern region</td>
<td>66 (57%)</td>
<td>32 (27%)</td>
<td>3 (3%)</td>
<td>7 (6%)</td>
<td>8 (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombo</td>
<td>60 (52%)</td>
<td>36 (31%)</td>
<td>6 (5%)</td>
<td>8 (7%)</td>
<td>6 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cities in the Mid Island</td>
<td>31 (69%)</td>
<td>9 (20%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5 (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residing Overseas</td>
<td>14 (35%)</td>
<td>20 (50%)</td>
<td>4 (10%)</td>
<td>2 (5%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Public all</td>
<td>171 (54%)</td>
<td>97 (31%)</td>
<td>13 (4%)</td>
<td>23 (7%)</td>
<td>19 (6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2 Why are beach boys perceived negatively?

In analyzing data gathered through the questionnaire, it became apparent that although there was a considerable number of people who mentioned beach boys are ‘not bad’ stating both negative and positive impacts of them, more than half of the people in each region have claimed beach boys are ‘bad’. As far as their feedback is concerned, two main factors for their negative perceptions could be identified. Of those who perceived beach boys negatively, the majority cited an erosion of culture and social corruption, pointing out their appearance, drug addiction and sexual behavior, and there were many people who thought beach boys are ‘unemployed’. However, the majority of people have not seen beach boys or talked with them. When reviewing their responses, it became clear that they have described the image established in the general society or through other mediators (especially mass media). Therefore, this part discusses two factors which mainly influenced people’s negative attitudes towards beach boys: 1) sociocultural aspects and 2) influence from previously established images.

1.2.1 Sociocultural aspects

As stated above, it was apparent that negative perceptions towards beach boys are created mostly based on sociocultural factors, such as beach boys’ appearance, drug addiction, sexual behavior and nature of their work (unemployed).
1.2.1.1 Appearance

Irrespective of the perception, the majority of people have asserted that, a beach boy is a different person from the general society especially because of their appearance. Various hairstyles (long hair, colored hair) and different fashions (pierced ears, tattoos, various accessories) were frequently highlighted when describing beach boys’ appearance. However, it can be said that some assumptions about their appearance are not accurate, as discussed in chapter four where most beach boys were noted as having long or/and colored hair, and pierced ears.

1.2.1.2 Drug and alcohol addiction

Most of the people who perceived beach boys negatively have stressed that beach boys cause an erosion of culture and social corruption, mainly due to their drug addiction and different sexual behaviors. With regard to drugs, it is marijuana (weed), which is generally taken by beach boys and the local term used in Sri Lanka is ‘ganja’. But, ‘mal’, ‘susthi’ and ‘joint’ are also equivalent colloquial terms. As far as beach boys in the sample (27) are concerned, 25 of them acknowledged they have tried ganja, and all of them stated that they have tried alcohol. Among them 11 stated that they smoke ganja at least once a day, but their habit has not been an obstacle in leading their day-to-day life in the community and at home, and in carrying out their work in tourism. There were two boys who asserted that they started to smoke ganja in order to get rid of the habit of smoking cigarettes, as they believe cigarettes cause more health problems than ganja. However, when they are occupied with working they do not get much time to smoke, but when they are out of work and when they are chilling out with tourist friends and peer groups at night, ganja is also circulating with a glass of drink.

1.2.1.3 Sexual behavior

With regard to beach boys’ sexual behavior, 21 of them asserted that they have had or already having sexual relationships with female tourists. Although some people have mentioned beach boys are engaged in homosexual activities with tourists and cause child abuse, none of the beach boys accepted such behaviors.

However, culturally and socially accepted norms about virginity and premarital sex can be considered as main reasons for beach boys been offended for their sexual behaviors. Especially after attaining puberty, a girl/daughter is protected by parents, elder siblings, and even by relatives and neighbors until she leaves home after marriage. The basis of this concept includes protecting virginity or refraining from premarital sex as well. Although this affects both males and females, females are strictly scrutinized,
as there is a ritual of checking virginity by examining the blood drops released in the first sexual intercourse of a woman. For example, on the night of the honeymoon, the husband may check it and the next morning the groom’s mother and female elders may also check white bed sheets for drops of blood.

Table 5-6: People’s Perception of Sex Related Matters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hikkaduwa Tourism (42)</th>
<th>Hikkaduwa non-tourism (71)</th>
<th>Southern Region (86)</th>
<th>Colombo (79)</th>
<th>Cities in the Mid Island (44)</th>
<th>Residing Overseas (54)</th>
<th>Total (376)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Premarital sex (No)</td>
<td>23 (55%)</td>
<td>47 (66%)</td>
<td>61 (71%)</td>
<td>48 (61%)</td>
<td>35 (80%)</td>
<td>31 (57%)</td>
<td>245 (65%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marry a person already had sex (No)</td>
<td>26 (62%)</td>
<td>53 (75%)</td>
<td>69 (80%)</td>
<td>53 (67%)</td>
<td>36 (82%)</td>
<td>31 (57%)</td>
<td>268 (71%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Checking virginity (Yes)</td>
<td>11 (26%)</td>
<td>21 (30%)</td>
<td>29 (34%)</td>
<td>19 (24%)</td>
<td>21 (48%)</td>
<td>12 (22%)</td>
<td>113 (30%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitution (No)</td>
<td>19 (45%)</td>
<td>42 (59%)</td>
<td>57 (66%)</td>
<td>39 (49%)</td>
<td>30 (68%)</td>
<td>22 (41%)</td>
<td>209 (56%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the country is widely opened to the globe, still there are many people who stick to social values embodied with its culture and religions. In discussing people’s attitude to tourism, Ratnapala (1984) indicated that some people consider even kissing on the lips in public as ‘indecent exposure’. This kind of attitude has not considerably changed during the past three decades. Although some people (specifically the young) with different views can be seen, according to the table 5-6 it is apparent that the concept of protecting virginity is still remaining as a sociocultural value in the general society. More than half of the people in each region have noted premarital sex is not good, and almost 70% of them claimed that they do not like to marry a person who has had sexual intercourse before marriage. In this case female respondents were stricter about virginity than males regarding both themselves and male partners. There were girls who were stating that ‘we have to remain as a virgin because of our culture, unless it’s ok’. While stating premarital sex is ‘ok’, there were some men who claimed that they do not like to marry a girl who had already sexually engaged with another man. ‘Fear of STD infection’, ‘hindrance to maintain a trustworthy marriage life’, ‘it’s an act against cultural norms and social values’ were frequently given reasons for their opinions.

However, overall 70% of them opposed the ritual of checking virginity claiming that ‘it’s not reasonable for females as there is no way to check male’s purity’, ‘marriage life and trust should not depend on mere blood drops’, and ‘some girls may lose
virginity when doing sports and there are some who do not release blood in their first intercourse’. But, 30% have still responded that the ritual of checking virginity should be retained in the society as it will deter girls from engaging in premarital sexual intercourse, and that will preserve both the traditional social values and the marriage life. Hence, it can be said that the majority of general society do not accept beach boys’ sexual relationships with female tourists, and some consider them as deviants or male prostitutes. However, it became clear that most people in the general society did not know about beach boys’ international marriages, and about the people who have improved their life conditions. And specifically in the previous chapter, it was revealed that the relationship between beach boys and female tourists is not purely sexual.

In contrast, there were some people who have open views about ‘sex’ despite general socio-cultural frames. Specifically there were young men who responded by saying that they have experienced sexual intercourse; therefore they do not expect girls to be a virgin as well. Some asserted that every man watches pornography so that almost all men have various sexual fantasies, and most of them are curious to experience those things. Therefore, almost all young men experience sexual intercourse before marriage with their girlfriends or experience some other women through consensual sex or by visiting a prostitute. Similarly, there were some girls who mentioned that they have had sexual intercourse, but most of them claimed that their first sexual contact was with their boyfriends.

1.2.1.4 Unemployed?

Moreover, many people who perceived beach boys negatively have stated that beach boys are ‘unemployed’. In addition, most people have described beach boys as ‘rasthiyadakarayo’/‘loiterers’ based upon their appearance, and stated that they do nothing other than wandering at the beach.

But as previously discussed in chapter four, almost all beach boys are engaged in some kind of activities in the tourism sector. Although it is not permanent work, which offers a fixed income, it was revealed that beach boys earn more money compared specifically with the low skilled and low educated young men in the general society. For instance, 78% of the population in Sri Lanka is in the rural sector, which recorded as 15.7 million, and 5% in the estate sector. Population in the urban sector is only 3.6 million (17%). In 2012 per capita income in Sri Lanka was Rs.11,932 per month. Among above 3 sectors, the urban sector recorded the highest mean per capita income showing Rs.17,150 (Household Income and Expenditure Survey, 2012/13). But, it was apparent that on average, beach boys earn more than Rs.30,000 per month in the tourist season, which exceeds even the per capita income of urban sector. Further, it was revealed that after the cessation of civil war, a considerable number of tourists visit even in the off-season (ラナシンハ、2012), and some beach boys have found jobs in newly
constructed beach resorts in East coast (Arugambay) as well. Therefore, they manage to earn some money even in off-season although it will not be the same amount as in on-season. Thus, even when compared with the table 5-7, it can be said that beach boys also earn an average income just like the other people in general society. Therefore, they cannot be simply referred to as ‘unemployed’ or ‘rasthiyadukarayo’.

Table 5-7: Average Monthly Income Receiver’s Income – 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Mean Income (Rs.)</th>
<th>Median Income (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>25,778</td>
<td>16,210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>36,174</td>
<td>21,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>24,079</td>
<td>15,771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estate</td>
<td>15,035</td>
<td>11,440</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Household Income and Expenditure Survey, 2012/13

Moreover, some of them illustrated that beach boys have no future plans and so that they often try to get short-term benefits. But, analysis in chapter four confirmed that the majority of them have a life goal of migration and become successful like former beach boys. Although some people assumed beach boys go after easy money, easily migrate with the help of a tourist, and depend on tourists throughout their lifetime; it was revealed that specifically former beach boys have worked hard to gain what they possess today.

However, there were some people who claimed beach boys are bad, only because they are not accepted by the wider society. Having analyzed people’s negative perceptions towards beach boys, it was apparent that the majority of people have considered beach boys as ‘deviants’ from general social frames and values, in terms of their appearance and their activities (drug addiction, sexual behavior and perception as they are unemployed). But, ultimately it becomes apparent that most people do not exactly know the real situation with the life of a beach boy, his view of life, his motivations and his goals. Especially most people in outer regions did not know about beach boys’ success through international marriages, and such unawareness can be identified as a main reason for holding negative perceptions towards beach boys48.

48 For instance, although GPC8 viewed beach boys and their activities broadly, he was worried about the fact that ‘what would happen if the number of beach boys increase, especially because they cannot continue their work when they are aged’. He did not know much about their international marriages and their success through international marriages. When I talked about my findings regarding their international marriages, he began to see them more broadly saying ‘it’s a good opportunity even for the society as a whole’.
1.2.2 Influence from previously established images

As far as the responses of the general public is concerned, it was apparent that most people have not seen beach boys or associated with them, but they have negative perceptions towards them specifically due to their appearance and their activities. In analyzing their feedback, it was apparent that peoples’ perceptions are mostly built through mass media, especially newspapers, and some have mentioned television (drama, TV programs) as well. Some said they have heard about beach boys at university lectures and have read academic articles. Hence, it can be said that majority of people have judged beach boys through previously established images, on their appearance or their activities.

First with regard to academic discussions, it became clear that there are no thorough sociological/anthropological studies on beach boys in Sri Lanka. Even the existing tourism studies have been conducted during the 1980s and 1990s (Crick, 1994; Mendis, 1981; Ratnapala, 1984; Samarasuriya, 1982), and most of the studies done in the 1980s, have predominately addressed the negative impacts of tourism. In discussing social impacts of tourism, Ratnapala (1984) indicated prostitution, homosexuality, nudism, alcohol and drug addiction as having affected coastal destinations such as Hikkaduwa, Bentota, Beruwala, Mt. Lavinia and Negombo. Compared with other regions, specifically a large number of people in Hikkaduwa were aware of prostitution, homosexuality, alcoholism and drug addiction (Ratnapala, 1984). Further, in arguing economic, social and cultural impacts of tourism, Mendis (1981) pointed out that nudism, prostitution, homosexuality and narcotics have impacted badly on Sri Lankan culture, by illustrating some reports in newspapers published in 1980.

‘In a village of Hikkaduwa, a tourist youth who was having a nude bath at a well, was admonished by an elderly lady women. He returned the next day and while he was bathing nude, the old lady burnt some part of his anatomy with a firebrand. He fled naked and the villagers threw stones at him (Davasa, 9. 1. 80)’

‘A Sinhala newspaper speaks of widespread homosexuality in Mount Lavinia, Galle Face and Hikkaduwa. Schoolboys of 14-17 years take to homosexuality in order to earn pocket money. Boys with lipstick and pink powdered cheeks, sometimes dressed in female attire are able to earn over Rs. 300 in one day (Tharuni, 24. 7. 80)’

‘During the last two months, 45 tourists in Hikkaduwa and other resorts have been caught by the Narcotics Bureau of the Police (Davasa, 5. 3. 80)’

‘Sri Lankans culture is being ruined by tourists who display a woeful ignorance of our mores. Nudism and promiscuity, prostitution and homosexuality, husbands selling their wives, parents selling their children, cause irreparable damage to our society. The
complex social problems created by such evils cannot be solved by money, by law, or even by force of arms (Tharuni, 13. 3. 80)’ (cited in Mendis, 1981, p.20).

Similarly, Guruge (1988) also asserted that in Hikkaduwa, the tourism industry has spread fast imposing severe social and economic impacts on the local community. Compared with Bentota and Koggala, Hikkaduwa was identified as the most affected region in terms of female prostitution, nudity, homosexual relationships, drug addiction and sociocultural aspects (Guruge, 1988). Further, Crick (1994) also stated that there were anti-hippie campaigns in the early 1980s since hippie-type of tourists were frequently offended as ‘the one who were encouraging youths to drop outs of school and to emulate a western life of idleness. They were the drug traffickers. They were the ones who strolled nude on the beaches in total disregard of local standard of decency’ (1994:45). Therefore, it can be said that alcohol, drug addiction and sexual behaviors were stressed as negative impacts of tourism from the 1980s, and Hikkaduwa had also been frequently pointed out especially in newspaper articles. This fact of perceiving tourism and Hikkaduwa as a notorious place could be identified in my Masters research as well. But, eventually it was revealed that although negative impacts were frequently emphasized in the existing discussions in the 1980s, at present, positive impact of tourism outweighs the negative impact (ラナシンハ，2012).

However, although there were many newspaper articles and discussions on female prostitution, during my fieldwork (2012-2015) I could find only a few articles related to beach boys49. There were 2 articles mainly related to beach boys; one was in the Internet page BBC Sinhala (2012, November, 18), and the second one was published in Lankadeepa newspaper (2012, July, 06). BBC Sinhala (2012) reported on a program about formulating facilitators in the tourism industry. In the first phase of that program beach boys in Bentara were trained so as to render a better service to tourists. Trained beach boys were given a uniform, and given a title such as ‘Beach Operators’ instead of the term ‘Beach Boys’. On the other hand, Lankadeepa (2012) reported on a title of ‘Beach Boys, a Severe Threat’ (Beach Boy Tharjanaya Barapathalai), that a doctor from Negombo hospital had recognized beach boys as AIDS carriers. It stated that there are about 30,000 beach boys in the coastal areas including Kalpitiya, Puttalam, Gampaha, Kalutara and Galle, and ‘beach boys’ were described as ‘men who allow unapproved acts for money’. Similarly, Divaina (2015) has also mentioned beach boys when discussing spread of AIDS.

With regard to television and radio programs, the investigation radio program ‘Belumgala’ on Neth FM Radio station has broadcasted two programs related to beach

49 In fact, I cannot claim there were no other articles published on them, since I was living in Japan most of the time. But to my knowledge any significant incidence related to beach boys did not occur or was not reported during that period. Especially I had a few friends engaged in the field of mass media, and since I had informed them about my research works I could collect latest news from them. I am sincerely grateful for their support.
boy activities. One program (2013, August, 19) was about homosexual activities, whereby beach boys in Mount Lavinia were pointed out as one of the main organizers of gay beach parties, which is related to the activities of a gay community organized in that beach area. Neth FM Belumgala team has investigated this by acting as a part of the gay community. That team stated that rather than homosexual activities, they wanted to reveal about the group, which was organized as a gay community and used school children for sex business, enticing them for monetary or other material benefits. However, as previously mentioned with regard to Hikkaduwa, this study could not find such homosexual activities especially in public, and this demonstrates the fact that beach boys and their activities can differ according to the destination.

Moreover, the Belumgala program (2015, October, 19) discussed negative impacts beach boys cause on Sri Lanka tourism industry. This team has conducted an investigation in the south coast, and pointed out beach boys do not possess a proper knowledge about guiding or giving surf lessons, they steal tourists’ properties, do not having a professional look (outward appearance) and do not know how to keep respectable contacts with tourists. At the same time, a sound bite of a respondent in Polhena beach revealed the existence of homosexual activities of beach boys as well. Some locals also blamed beach boys for the small-scale establishments on the beach claiming that locals do not have a freedom to use the beach. When they asked about the government stance from a minister related to the tourism industry, he asserted that they would prosecute such people in tourism, and smash all the illegal establishments erected on the beach (Neth FM Belumgala, 2015, October, 19). However, to confirm their investigation I contacted one of the presenters of the program50, especially because they did not mention names of the destinations, other than stating as southern coastal areas. He said although they visited Hikkaduwa, special cases of beach boys could not be found other than addiction to drugs such as ganja, and the coral-watching place was also operated systematically without a threat from beach boys. It became clear that they have talked with beach boys and other people related to tourism mainly in Weligama, Mirissa and Polhena beach. At the same time, he mentioned that Panadura, Kalutara and Wadduwa beaches have also not been much affected. However, according to these statements it can be assumed that beach boy activities may differ from destination to destination even within the country.

Further, I could watch a television drama on the Internet, which some people had mentioned as the way in which they saw and got to know about beach boys. Name of the drama is ‘Ahasin Wetuna’ (‘Fallen from Sky’), which was broadcasted in 2012 in the channel called Swarnavahaini. It is based on a young man who is going to Galle to find hidden treasure of his dead friend and a beach boy plays a supporting role as a

50 I could contact one of the presenters on 20th October 2015, through a friend who is working as a lecturer of Mass media. I first asked more details about October 19, 2015 program, and when we discussed further he revealed other programs related to this (August, 2013 program). It was about an hour discussion via Viber. I am extremely thankful for allocating his valuable time for the discussion.
friend of that young man. Somewhere it mentioned about finding a marriage partner for an elderly German lady, but nothing was stated about sexual relations of beach boys. At the end, the beach boy determines to get out of beach boy activities, but unfortunately he dies hitting his head on a rock when trying to perform a cliff jump for money. It can be said that as a whole, this drama illustrates the good side of beach boys; that they help each other in the peer group, their life struggles and emotions kept hidden from the outer world (e.g. such as reasons for get into that work, how hard they try to earn some money etc.). Moreover, when compared with the real beach boys in Galle Fort who appeared in the drama as well, the main beach boy character seemed to be over adorned with different types of necklaces, colorful bands in hand and anklet. In comparison, the beach boys with similar appearance could not be found in Hikkaduwa as well. In addition, beach boys illustrated in Galle Fort had more connections with the local community and they seemed to do any type of work to earn some money, such as collecting antique furniture and old books and selling those on the beach, performing Veddah shows, and accepting to do wedding photography for an old local couple. Compared with the role of Hikkaduwa beach boys, it can be said that the beach boy character created in the drama is more exaggerated than the reality. Moreover, it can be assumed that the role of the beach boys in Galle Fort may differ from Hikkaduwa beach boys. However, the impression of people who have watched it confirmed that the drama has heavily affected the image constructed of beach boys.

Furthermore, another TV program called ‘Wenasa’ (The Change) discussed with Galle Fort beach boys about their life risking cliff jumps (2014, January, 29). They also illustrated their family background, reasons to choose such dangerous work, and what they expect from the general public and government authorities. When the presenter asked about their fashions and the appearance, one of the beach boys responded that ‘we also like to wear a suit like you, but we can’t do our job in such attire. We choose to be like this due to the nature of our work. Most people have put us into the group of ‘rasthiyadukarayo’ (loiterers) or ‘ganja smokers’, but they should talk with us and see what kind of people we are’. Specifically, this program did not use the term ‘beach boy’; instead called them ‘young boys’.

However, while most of the people perceive beach boys negatively according to established images, there were some young men who claimed that they changed their established image of beach boys, once they were able to talk with them directly. Many people who have viewed them positively, have met them and talked with them. Specifically two young men who were working at a branch of Wildlife Department in Hikkaduwa claimed that before coming to Hikkaduwa they also had a similar view of beach boys as ‘rasthiyadukarayo’ or ‘very bad guys’, but as they got to know the beach boys better, they realized beach boys differ from what they have imagined. Hence, it

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51 The indigenous people in Sri Lanka
can be said that the image constructed through mass media or general community also influences heavily on the perception towards beach boys.

1.3 Why do tourism related people perceive beach boys more favorably?

As far as the perceptions of local people in Hikkaduwa are concerned, a significantly large number of people in the tourism sector have stated that beach boys are ‘good’ (64%). While more than half of the people in outer regions claiming beach boys are ‘bad’, only 14% of Hikkaduwa tourism related people perceived beach boys negatively. In analyzing responses of the general public, it became clear that beach boys’ appearance and their activities (drug addiction, sexual behavior and unemployed) were the main charges against beach boys to as causes of erosion of culture and social corruption. As previously discussed in an earlier part of this chapter, even tourism related people who indicated beach boys are ‘bad’ (6) have also given drug addiction and sexual contacts with female tourists as reasons to consider that. But unlike the general public, they have also stressed the spread of robberies and STDs rather than an erosion of culture and social values. When questioned about beach boys’ appearance, even the people who had negative perceptions stated that they have become used to those things.

Further, the majority who asserted beach boys are good (64%) has perceived their activities more broadly beyond general sociocultural frames. At the same time, some stakeholders in tourism try to maintain good connection with beach boys as they pass on business. When analyzed, the perceptions of tourism related people who perceived beach boys positively, especially small-scale guesthouse owners, souvenir shop owners and three-wheeler drivers had mentioned that fact. On the other hand, some guesthouse owners do not like tourists having connections with beach boys, as beach boys sometimes introduce other places to tourists, so that they lose customers. But, as a whole, beach boys and other stakeholders (local community) have a good connection, and in revealing their opinions, they stated that ‘beach boys are not a threat to the local society’ and ‘their existence is important to the Hikkaduwa tourism sector’. When questioned about beach boys’ drug addiction and sexual behavior, most of them explained that those are not limited only to beach boys, but common practices in wider society.

52 Change of life values and attitudes were revealed as one of the impacts of tourism in my Masters research as well. Tourism related people claimed that people in outer regions should leave the stereotypical frames, which derive from the past, and understand Hikkaduwa tourism and even the foreigners once again (ラナシンハ、2012).
HTGO\textsuperscript{(5)53}: ‘Nothing to mention that alcohol and cigarettes are widely taken in all over the country, so are other drugs, especially ganja. So it’s not something only Hikkaduwa beach boys do, Hikkaduwa may be highlighted as it is a tourist destination’

HTRW\textsuperscript{8}: ‘You can find ganja in every nook and corner of the country. Few years back I was working in a hotel in Ingiriya (mid island), even there was a demand for ganja’

FBB\textsuperscript{2}: ‘It’s not only beach boys or people in tourism smoke ganja. Most of the young crowd come from Colombo ask for ganja, and even girls do smoke them. So, taking drugs is not a special thing to consider beach boys as ‘bad’

Furthermore, they expressed their views on beach boys’ sexual behaviors as below:

HTSO\textsuperscript{5}: ‘at first even we felt uneasy to see foreigners cuddling and kissing in public, but we got used to those things as time passed by. It’s same with beach boys and female tourists. Those sights are not strange to us’

HTGO\textsuperscript{2}: ‘can’t say premarital sex is ok, because it’s not our culture. But world has been changed now. Not only beach boys, most of the young generation is into sex at their early ages. It’s ok unless and until they don’t cause social problems’

HTSO\textsuperscript{4}: ‘beach boys are doing it openly, others do furtively, that’s the only difference. It’s not only beach boys engage in premarital sex. Most men have fantasies to have sex with foreign girls too. Big people who have money go to Thailand or high-class brothels in Colombo. But, women who operated individually or low standard brothels are taken into custody. Prostitution should also be decriminalized in a certain standard. That will be a good thing for the people who are sexually aroused, and to reduce family problems, rape cases and sexual pressures. Compared with such people in wider society, beach boys are not perverts. They have seen foreigners half naked or naked, have had sex with them, so they don’t care. It’s the people in outer society make big fuss about that’

Similarly, Ratnapala (1984) also illustrated that homosexual behavior patterns and nudism (topless or nude bath at the beach or at village wells) have become almost normal to Hikkaduwa, Narigama people (p. 52, 59). However, it should be noted that people in Hikkaduwa have not turned a blind eye to all the things that tourism brought to their community. Especially elders have raised their voices against nudism and child prostitution, and it was revealed that child prostitution and other crimes (mainly robberies) are controlled as a result of community awareness. Thus, it is apparent that people engaged in tourism have not easily accepted beach boys’ activities merely for the

\textsuperscript{53} Hikkaduwa Tourism Guesthouse Owner
sake of benefits from tourism; rather they have understood their behaviors compared with the acts in wider society and considered beach boys’ success as well. All the tourism related people acknowledged that there are beach boys who have succeeded through international marriages, and even the people who perceived beach boys negatively have responded international marriages are ‘good’. Some have illustrated that it is a good opportunity for them to get out of poverty and even get away from their bad habits (mainly drugs), and most of them help out their family members or relatives to advance their life conditions. Some stated that young men who have returned and started up businesses are also the most successful businessmen in Hikkaduwa. Having analyzed, it can be said that former beach boys may have faced more pressure from the local community rather than today’s beach boys, but once they set good examples by improving their life conditions and empowering through international marriages, attitudes of the local community have also gradually changed.
2 Legal Stance on Sexual Relations Related to Tourism

When discussing beach boys, child sex workers are also frequently pointed out. Therefore, legal actions on both child prostitution and beach boys are investigated in this section.

2.1 Regulating child sex tourism

Child sex work in Sri Lanka has been examined and reported from the early 1980s (Beddoe, 1998; Miller, 2011; Ratnapala, 1999), and Ratnapala (1999) indicated that the awareness of child sex work and child sexual exploitation emerged in tourist destinations, as early as 1977-1980s. Hoose et al (2000) noted that according to ECPAT (End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism) an estimated number of children in child prostitution is 20,000, and according to UNICEF it is 30,000. In arguing sexual slaving and trafficking sex Ryan & Hall (2001) indicated that Sri Lanka has become notorious as a destination of pedophiles. They stated an estimated number of Sri Lankan boys between the ages of 6-14, who have been victimized by foreign pedophiles is about 10,000-15,000, but ECPAT has claimed it is up to 30,000 in the early 1990s. Ratnapala (1999) also argued that somehow number of child sex workers in Sri Lanka have been estimated as 30,000, and this number was quoted both by the national and international media (Ministry of Health & Women’s Affairs, 1992; Save the Children Overseas Department Working Paper, London, 1993; UNICEF, A South Asian Report Series, Sri Lanka, 10), but that estimate had been made without proper sociological data, as none of those reports have not produced their data collection methods. Based on a thorough field study from the 1980s he pointed out that an estimated number of child sex workers in 1999 is 1459 and even leaving a margin for those who are operating in closed conditions, the figure does not exceed 2000 or 2500 in the entire country. Further he illustrated that those children can be either males or females, but except Colombo and Negombo, male children were predominant. There were 334 child sex workers in Hikkaduwa and Unawatuna, but among them only 14 were females, and all of them were directly engaged in the tourism sector. Clients of child sex work were mainly foreigners from Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, Australia, Italy and Switzerland. In

Ratnapala is a Sri Lankan researcher, who contributed immensely to the academic world of sociology and anthropology offering remarkable research works. Specifically he was involved in research on sex work from the 1970s and he has carried out field studies and gathered data throughout Sri Lanka utilizing research assistants, especially his students from the university where he worked. He has personally conducted participant observation, and since 1993 he has been working closely with the women on the streets and their children observing their sex activities. Based on such filed studies, he has published ‘Tourism in Sri Lanka; the Social Impact’ in 1981 and ‘Sex Workers of Sri Lanka’ in 1999, and a Sinhala edition of the same book in 2000. He has published many books both in Sinhala and English related to tourism, sex work, criminology, drug addiction, alcoholism and other books about Buddhism as well.
some European countries, Sri Lanka was reputed as a ‘gay’ paradise, particularly as a place where young male children were available, and Sri Lankan children played a major role both in sex magazines and videotapes circulated around the world. Ratnapala asserted that he has seen 12 such videos exhibited in Europe (Ratnapala, 1999). As previously stated Beddoe (1998) has also reported about child prostitution in Sri Lanka.

However, with the increase of child sex tourism both international and local authorities began to activate in order to curb this issue, which was spreading world over. UN Convention on the Rights of the Child can be given as one of the most important action taken in the early 1990s. It activated in 1990 with the contribution of over 180 countries, and Sri Lanka joined in 1992. ECPAT also came to force from the early 1990s with the intention of protect the rights of children who are victimized especially by the name of tourism activities (Amarasinghe, 2002). Fight against Child Sex Tourism is also a movement initiated by ECPAT, WTO and European Commission. This movement paid attention to both children in tourist destinations and tourists sending countries by making them raise awareness on the issue (Hoose et al., 2000).

Sri Lanka with its involvement in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, took some steps to revise and formulate several laws to ensure the rights of children. In 1992, Sri Lanka adopted the Children’s Charter and a committee was appointed by the Ministry of Reconstruction, Rehabilitation and Social Welfare to review the existing legal framework and to suggest necessary actions to be taken in order to save children. In 1995, amending the existing Penal Code enacted in 1865 by the Penal Code (Amendment) Act No.22 of 1995, the definitions of sexual exploitation was broadened, so as to inquire into offenses and deal with people who are guilty of sexually abused children. Moreover, in 1998 National Child Protection Authority was established to support the development of Child protection Legislation and to monitor its enforcement. Government of Sri Lanka ratified the ILO (International Labor Organization) Convention on Minimum Age for Admission to Employment (No. 138) in 1999, and adopted the ILO Convention (No. 182) concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor. When referring to the Worst Forms of child labor, engaging in illegal activities for prostitution and creation of Pornography were also included.

However, it can be said that until the present moment, the National Child Protection Authority (NCPA) is playing a dominant role in combating the issue of child prostitution in Sri Lanka. I could make an interview with Retired Chief Inspector of Police W.D.T Wijesena, who was the Officer in charge of the Special Police Investigation Unit in National Child Protection Authority. Mr. Wijesena stated that special investigations were launched from 2001 under the guidance of his chief officer in NCPA to combat both local and foreign pedophiles.

‘These actions were taken in a very discreet manner, as it’s difficult to detect and convict the people who are engaged in child sex work. We made special surveillances
on this regard. Specifically we launched a Cyber Surveillances Unit at NCPA. It was very fruitful detection method, and we could detect many pedophiles utilizing this. There can be seen pedophile rings, which is strongly established locally and internationally. They make contacts with locals through certain web sites before their arrival. In one case a foreign pedophile had sent a message via Internet asking for Sri Lankan children for his sexual desires. The Cyber Unit of NCPA detected this message. Due to such detections some foreign websites especially the website called ‘Gay Teens of Sri Lanka’ was banned. From 2003 to 2005 we could investigate 10 of such foreign pedophiles through Cyber Surveillance Unit’

Table 5-8: Number of Foreign Pedophiles Detected during 2003-2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maldives</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAE</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Furthermore, it was revealed that, special investigations had taken place in coastal areas, since this issue had close link with tourism, and especially because some local guides were prepared to arrange young boys for foreign pedophiles.

‘There was a trend of using children for pornography. Foreigners come here and arrange filming discreetly with the help of some locals. We detected such type of cases and prosecuted both foreign pedophile and the locals involved. In 2003, we raided such group in Negombo. There were 11 children, who were promised to give Rs.1000. It was interesting to note that we had an objection from parents in the locality at first. Later we came to know some parents knew about this and when questioning they said ‘for what you all make a big fuss about this? Our boys won’t get pregnant’. Anyway, there can be other financial issues, whatever it is children are children. Consensual sex is after the age of 18. But, children have a right to stay away from sexual activities till that
These foreign pedophiles mainly target the boys of 12-15. Especially children using for commercial purposes should be curbed, and the people involved should be penalized. Anyhow, compared with other Asian countries like Thailand, Cambodia, India, we can be happy that we have almost combated this issue. But, it’s not completely eradicated from the country

Moreover, as previously mentioned it was revealed that even in Hikkaduwa, homosexual behaviors and sexual activities related to children have been reduced. Mr. Wijesena also mentioned that this unit mainly focused on Negombo, as it was more reputed for child prostitution, but they detected one case in Hikkaduwa during 2003-2005, the abuse of a boy by a foreigner from the Netherlands (age between 40-50) who was operating a Billiard club. They have raided the place, prosecuted and deported the foreigner. Further, he asserted that before NCPA take actions there were no firm restrictions over pedophiles, so that both foreign and local pedophiles and dealers overtly engaged in those activities.

Pointing out beach boys’ connection with this issue, he further stated as below:

‘Beach boys were also one group that acts as mediators between foreign pedophiles and children or elders of children. When they arrived here, they take a child for a week or two, and during that time child accompanied the foreigner and eventually he acts as the guide as well. So, once this fact was revealed, in 2006 another law was enforced that a child under 18 can’t work as a guide. According to the current law, citizens are bound to inform if abuse or exploitation related to children take place in their premises (hotel, guesthouse, cyber cafes), or with their knowledge, unless they can also be accused. So, with the restrictions of legal actions, at present sexual activities related to children have been mostly curbed. We can’t say no such incidents take place in Hikkaduwa either, but when there are legal restrictions no one will easily get into such acts’

As far as the perceptions of the Hikkaduwa local community is concerned, 69% (29) of tourism related people have responded that there had been or they have heard of child prostitution in Hikkaduwa, but 83% (35) of them claimed that at present such acts cannot be seen in Hikkaduwa. In contrast, 64% (47) of non-tourism related people mentioned that there had been or they had heard of child prostitution in Hikkaduwa, and 19% (14) stated they do not know exactly. While 19 people (26%) state that child prostitution cannot be found at present, 25 people (34%) posit that child prostitution may exist discreetly. Moreover, the interview with Officer in Charge of Police Tourist Unit Narigama, Hikkaduwa also confirmed the fact that child prostitution in

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55 There are 9 Police Tourist Units established in main tourist destinations in Sri Lanka, such as Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa, Matale/Dambulla, Kandy, Nuwara Eliya, Kalutara/Moragalla, Galle/Narigama (Hikkaduwa), Ampara/Arugambay and Negombo/Edthukala.
Hikkaduwa has been combated and sexual acts related to children cannot also be found at present. Specifically he mentioned community awareness over such illegal acts.

‘We could detect a case of child abuse in 2009; a Australian Pastor trying to abuse a boy child in Hikkaduwa, but we got the news beforehand and arrested him. My service here is from 2009, and since then no special case was reported, especially at present there are strict regulations. Especially in the tourist season we make patrols 6,7 times a day. People in the community are also aware of such cases than before. If they notice something suspicious, soon they will make a call and inform us. That’s a good movement emerged within the community, and even beach boys actively contribute in that regard. Because, they also know if something happened first blame would come on them’

Hence, in analyzing the above facts it can be said that child prostitution and child sex tourism have been combated, compared with the time when it was specifically emphasized in the 1980s and 1990s.

2.2 Legal stance on beach boys

Once I started researching beach boys, I assumed that there might be a conflict between beach boys and the local community due to their activities especially related to their sexual behavior. But as previously stated, it was revealed that people in Hikkaduwa, especially people related tourism, perceived beach boys more favorably and in a broader view. Although there were some people who considered beach boys as ‘bad’, any conflict between them could not be found, and most of the people who had positive attitude towards beach boys claimed that ‘beach boys don’t do anything wrong to them’/’they are not a threat to the local community’. Similarly 50% of non-tourism related people in Hikkaduwa have also asserted that beach boys are ‘not bad’.

Further, I found there is a necessity to explore the perspective of government authorities towards beach boys in order to thoroughly understand their existence in the general society. Therefore, interviews were conducted with the officials in Sri Lanka Tourism Development Authority (SLTDA) and Officer in charge of Tourist Police, Narigama, Hikkaduwa. I visited the Tourism Development Authority during my field study in 2015 (February), and at that time officials were reluctant to provide further information due to instable political conditions in the country. However, it was confirmed that beach boys are authorized under the category of ‘tourism facilitator’, but other local guides, beach vendors and small-scale entertainers are also included in the
same category. When questioned about the action of providing them a proper ‘guide license’, they stated that licenses were granted from 2009 to 2012, but it did not proceed from 2013. Basically it became clear that there are no regulations, which were enacted specifically on beach boys, and they are considered as ‘tourism facilitators’ similar to other small-scale stakeholders.

On the other hand, discussions with the Hikkaduwa Tourist Police revealed further details about legal stance and beach boys’ existence in the local community. Officer in Charge of the Tourist Police also confirmed that, although they are generally known as beach boys, officially categorized under ‘tourism facilitators’. Tourist Police keeps personal information of all tourist facilitators including beach boys, and a photograph with their fingerprint is also attached to each record. Expressing his opinions on beach boys he stated as below:

‘Before I come to Hikkaduwa, I had a different attitude on beach boys. Earlier I have worked in Kalutara, but beach boys in Kalutara differ from Hikkaduwa beach boys; in Kalutara most of them have shorthair and they don’t wear dreadlocks either. General concept given about a criminal, even in our police training is that ‘a person with longhair and pierced ears can be considered as a criminal’. So, at first I also looked at them in a stereotypical way. But later understood they follow those fashions due to the nature of their work and tourists like them that way’

When questioned about legal actions over beach boys, he also confirmed that there are no particular rules for beach boys.

‘Tourist Police was established with the intention of providing more secure environment for tourists and to control other negative influences such as nudism, drug smuggling, and prostitution. I have been servicing here for 5 years. Usually we have 6,7 officers here, but in tourist season we increase the staff about to 20, and we make patrols 6,7 times a day along the beach and in environs. No incidence was reported about child abuse after the case in 2009. Some boys come to beach in younger age like 16, 17 years, mostly because their brothers, relatives or friends working in tourism sector. We can’t restrict them coming to beach, but we pay special attention on them. Especially when we notice such young boys, we warn their families to send them school. As for beach boys, I think 60% of them are good, 40% can be said ‘bad’. ‘Bad’ means there are some boys who are addicted to drugs, some make troubles at guesthouses, restaurants and on the beach. But, in that case tourists also start arguments or fights, when they got drunk’
Table 5-9: Summary of Received Complaints: Hikkaduwa Police Tourist Unit 2009-2014

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<tr>
<td>Lost Property</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assaults</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disputes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harassment/Disturbance</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threat</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5-9 shows all complaints made by tourists from 2009 to 2014. It was revealed that a complaint made particularly against a beach boy is very rare. As far as data was concerned, it can be seen that a comparatively large number of complaints are about ‘lost property’. This fact was further questioned since people in Hikkaduwa and general society have accused beach boys on robberies.

‘As I said these complaints are also not particularly against beach boys. On the other hand, we are aware of a fact that some tourists make false complaints to claim compensation from their travel insurances back home. So, they finally asked for a letter certified about their loss. Sometimes people from outer cities engage in robberies. Especially in last season (2014) burglary cases took place continuously, one after another. Finally we caught him, but he was a young man from Ambalangoda. He was a drug addict, used to come to Hikkaduwa by last train at night and go back by first train after the burglary. At present, beach boys are also aware of robberies or any other crimes, so as to protect their good name and reputation of Hikkaduwa as a safe tourist destination’

Moreover, it was revealed that no rape cases or cases related to sexual abuse were reported recently in Hikkaduwa. ‘I have observed that it’s people from outside and people who drive along the Galle road would stare at girls in bikinis or other exposing attires (shorts, skinneys). Beach boys and people in the tourist area have got used to those sights. In that case, I think Hikkaduwa is safer than some other outer regions’. Mr. Wijesena also asserted that ‘if he (beach boy) is 18 years, then he has a right to choose a job he likes and engages in it. It’s not an illegal work, but it may consist some illegal acts like drugs. That’s why their work should be formulated. Until and unless they don’t violate any rules or cause social issues, its ok to continue their work’. Therefore, it can be said that there cannot be seen strict regulations on beach boys, and the beach boys in Hikkaduwa have not been a menace/threat to the local community, or to the tourism industry as wider society assumes.
3 Empowerment of Beach Boys

In analyzing the background of beach boys, their international marriages and perceptions of the local community, it became apparent that beach boys have been empowered both economically and socially, and eventually that empowerment has been connected to their psychological advancement as well.

3.1 Economical aspects of their empowerment

As far as their economic empowerment is concerned, most of the beach boys have improved their life conditions through international marriages by migrating overseas for work. That is the main purpose of beach boys, and especially success stories in the community have reinforced current beach boys’ motives. As previously mentioned in chapter four, almost all beach boys migrate after the marriage and they begin to work overseas with the purpose of earning more money to become economically stable. Most of them do not expect to depend on their wives throughout their life; rather they make efforts to become economically independent and maintain their gender scripts in the community as a ‘man’. Some people, who already possessed a small-scale business or a land in the touristic area, have returned to Hikkaduwa in order to start up a business of their own. There are successful businessmen among them, and they have constructed guesthouses, restaurants, have built luxurious houses for them and purchased vehicles. Table 4-10 also demonstrates the success of some former beach boys, who settled in Hikkaduwa. Further, those who still living abroad have also fulfilled their dream of being successful. Most of them come back to Hikkaduwa in their vacation individually or with their families, and they have also purchased lands and constructed houses in Hikkaduwa. Hence, it becomes clear that they have become economically successful as individuals.

Furthermore, the most important fact in their success is that beach boys help out their extended family, relatives and even the poor in the community. It was revealed that especially former beach boys were entangled in many hardships before migration; that they did not have a proper shelter, proper education and at least proper meals. Therefore, once they succeeded they spend money for their family on purchasing land, building a proper house, educating siblings or cousins and bearing monthly expenses of the family. Some of them try to take their siblings to the countries they migrated. Sometimes they take their parents for a visit to where they live, and some send them individual visits to Dambadiv, India or Thailand. Therefore, with the economic success of beach boys, not only themselves but also their families gained the ability of living a better life in the community. In addition, some of them help the poor in the community and contribute to welfare, charity activities in the country. Specifically, some family members stated that their migrated brother/son actively participated in past Tsunami aids activities.
HNTR\(^4\) ‘They become big men through tourism and international marriages. There are lots of people settled here and abroad too. I remember some people were living in wattle and daub houses. Now they have even vehicles’

HNTR\(^7\) ‘Most of them improve their life through international marriages. It’s a good thing, than remaining as ‘kuddo’ or ‘rasthiyakarayo’. They help their family here, and sometimes poor in the community too. And their involvement is good as a foreign exchange earning too’

HT\(^7\) ‘As for them international marriage is a good chance. Should try hard for that. But, once it is done, most of them somehow become successful. They buy lands, built restaurants, and even they take their parents to foreign countries. How can those old parents get such chances unless their son couldn’t afford? Somehow at last they don’t become a burden to this society no. That’s the most important thing’

HT\(^12\) ‘My elder brothers have migrated to German and Denmark. They supported us and even relatives and people in the community a lot during that terrible period (Tsunami, 2004). The house we were living was destroyed and father’s boat was also smashed. We lived in a rescuing campsite only one day. Elder brother didn’t let us to stay there. He had purchased a land in the inland and had built a house there. So, until we rebuild our house all of us stayed in his place. They also came back few days after the disaster and helped us to regain what we lost. Even the brother’s wife was very supportive. That was a big support both economically and mentally’

During my fieldwork I could also observe beach boys (including other tourism related people) make charities when there was a severe drought and a landslide in the country. Hence, it can be said that beach boys’ economic empowerment causes great impact upon individuals, but also has ripple effects on the community as a whole.

3.2 Social aspects of their empowerment

Beach boys’ economic success followed by migration through international marriages is eventually connected to the advancement of their social standards as well. Beach boys, who were economically, socially and educationally weak, have succeeded more than/similar to the local elites and middle class people who were engaged in the industry since the advent of tourism. As previously mentioned, 83\% (35) of tourism related people have responded that most beach boys succeed after migration, and 70\% of non-tourism related people have also confirmed that fact. Moreover, 80\% of tourism related people and 66\% of non-tourism related people perceived the boys, who have settled in Hikkaduwa having started a business after migration, as successful. At the
same time, the majority of tourism related people (80%) and 65% of non-tourism related people have claimed that beach boys gain good social status and reputation in the local community with the economical advancement after marriage. Explaining their responses, many people have stated that in today’s society, status can be easily earned with economic success. Specifically, being able to migrate to Western/developed countries, which have become desirable and respectable in the Sri Lankan society, can also be considered as a fact that refines beach boys’ social status.

Further, significantly large numbers of people have claimed that beach boys are ‘good’ (64%), and 50% of non-tourism people have also stated that beach boys are ‘not bad’. Especially, in analyzing responses for favorable attitudes of tourism related people, it became clear that although tourism related people are also concerned about beach boys’ appearance and activities (drug addiction, sexual behaviors) in the beginning, their attitudes have gradually changed as time passed by, with their experience in tourism and beach boys’ success as well. Therefore, it can be said that former beach boys have faced more social pressure than the existing beach boys, and that fact demonstrates their determination of achieving their goals and becoming economically successful to overcome the social stigma they experienced.

FBB°: ‘nobody would say anything at your face, but it was harder than now to deal with local people. Most of the people gave a derogatory look on us. Luckily we could reach this standard. Until and unless you can’t stand on your feet, you will just be like a dumb person in the society’

Goffman (1963) in his study on social stigma acknowledges three types of conditions, which may stigmatize the individual, and one type he identified as ‘blemishes of character’, which referred to an individual’s perceived moral defects. Homosexuals, both female and male sex workers who are labeled as ‘deviants’, are included in this category. Since most of the people in general society have claimed that beach boys are ‘bad’, and many of them spoke of their opinions of beach boys as ‘deviants’, it can be said that beach boys in Hikkaduwa have also experienced a great deal of social stigma. Specifically Koken et al (2004) pointed out that stigmatized people often struggle to maintain a positive identity in spite of the negative assumptions society makes about them. One of the strategies they employ to reduce stigma is covering identity or name changing. This could be found in current beach boys as well. Most of the boys did not self-identify as ‘beach boys’; rather they introduce themselves as ‘area guides’ or marine sports instructors. As many people in the general society have stated ‘we can understand about them only by hearing their name ‘beach boys’’, ‘wider society does not accept them’, it is apparent that the term ‘beach boy’ has derogatory connotations and since beach boys are aware of that fact they try to situate themselves in the service sector by reframing their work in a more socially acceptable way.
Thus, it can be said that in their motivation of migration through international marriages and being economically successful, the intention of becoming socially empowered is also included. Further, it is apparent the extent of stigma involved with beach boys has varied as time passed by. For instance, former beach boys have faced more social pressure, but current beach boys enjoy more independence because of the sociocultural settings in the touristic area becoming less-strict and due to the empowerment of former beach boys as well. Especially after getting married and becoming successful, they are not considered as ‘beach boys’.

3.3 Psychological aspects of their empowerment

It can be said that both economic and social advancement have empowered beach boys psychologically as well. Especially former beach boys illustrated that their life is more economically and psychologically stable than in the past.

FBB\textsuperscript{13} ‘We were trapped in poverty from our childhood. Even we got into tourism; it was not easy to reach where I am today. We went through lot of hardships. But now we have a proper way to gain a stable income, have a family, so we can live a relax life now’

FBB\textsuperscript{4} ‘Some people say you can’t buy happiness. But, who can be happy when there is no food to eat, no money to spend. We have experienced that life too. Compared with those days now we are satisfied with what we have, and what we have achieved. Now we have a family, fixed income and all the things to lead a relax life. And we can help our family here; that’s also a great relief, my mother and father suffered a lot when we were children. Now they also can live peacefully’

Moreover, they have gained more confidence with the opportunity of accessing global world through tourism, international marriages and migration. When considered as a group of low educated people, their language ability is also significant. The possibility of migrating to Europe is also an opportunity even the people in the wider society can hardly gain.

FBB\textsuperscript{10} ‘if there was no option called tourism, and we couldn’t involve in it, we would have also ended up doing odd jobs or becoming fishermen. Engaging in tourism is different; you gain lot of things that other jobs can’t offer. I speak English and German. Even being able to speak only English is considered respectable in this society. That’s why parents sending them private classes since the nursery. But, our parents didn’t have money to do that for us. We gained it in tourism. We could associate with tourists
from different countries. Their stories also made me want to visit those countries. Now I’m in Germany, I’d like to travel other counties too.’

Thus, it becomes apparent that beach boys’ socioeconomic advancement, and their personal growth in tourism and migration have empowered them psychologically as well. The following is the life history of FBB⁹, which represents the empowerment of beach boys.

‘I’ve an elder brother, sister and a younger brother. Including parents and grandparents we have 7 in the family. But, we were living in a tiny coconut leaves thatched house. My father was a fisherman, and mother also did some odd jobs to feed us. Our house was also near the beach. So, when tourists started to visit, my father set up a small-scale restaurant in the late 1980s. That was also a small thatched hall next to our place. Even though that gave some extra money for family expenses, our father didn’t have money to develop it. So, it was in the same position until me and my elder brother joined tourism.

We brought up with the sea in this wella (beach), and with tourism. I went to school up to O/Ls, but actually I didn’t want to go to school. I saw people in this area improve their life through tourism. I also wanted to become successful escaping from the destitute life we had. Everyone can’t become a doctor or engineer. We should make the benefits of what is opened for us. After getting back from school I learned surfing from elder boys and started giving surf lessons and sometimes did guiding too. My elder brother has also started surfing and working in the restaurant and we developed it to some extent.

I met my Japanese wife during 2004 Tsunami. She said that she fell for my qualities and especially for the way I actively engaged in Tsunami aids activities. Elder brother married early to a Sri Lankan, whom he had a relationship, and now they have two children. My younger brother is also married to a Japanese girl, and they also have two kids. I have one kid, a boy of 5 years old.

After marriage in 2005, I went to Japan with her. Because I wanted to earn more to develop the restaurant here, and also start up my own business too. The life in Japan was not easy. I could speak Japanese, so language was not a big issue. But, it was difficult to get use to that life. We were brought up in the wella, in a free environment, but in Japan I felt like I was caged. But, somehow I bared those things, and my wife also helped me in getting used. Luckily after couple of years most of my friends in Hikkaduwa too came to Japan marrying Japanese girls. Then, it was not that boring and stressful as we could meet at least twice a month.

I worked in different places, but after two years I found a job at a TV factory. I continued that job until I returned in 2010. Japan is a good country, but I don’t like to live there; only working like machines is not life. I wanted the life I used to spend here in this wella. But, I had determined to get the PR before I leave, and I could get it only
after 5 years. Actually I returned each year and invested the money I saved for the business in Hikkaduwa. I could also make contacts with lot of Japanese people, and most of them are our customers even now. After settling here I gradually started my own business too. I bought a land to construct a hotel in Tengalle, and this year (2014) finished the construction of a boutique hotel consists of 3 apartments in the inland area.

Money may not be everything. But for people like us, having money, this economic success plays a big role in our life. Who cares if we were poor, or we had nothing. But, now we can stand on our feet in this society, since we have that power, since we can maintain some position in this society. That’s also a big relief. Now we have everything to live a peaceful life; have a family, can attend to their needs and even the needs of our parents. As the business is going smoothly, we can spend a relaxed life now. My son is going to an International school in Galle. I’ll spend for his education, but I think he had better take after this business. But, my wife prefers if he continued his higher studies in Japan. I don’t force them for anything, I have earned these things for them, and they can choose what they want to do’

3.4 Not survival, but an advancement strategy

In discussing beach boys’ empowerment it can be said that what Brennan (2001, 2004) asserted in her work on the Dominican female sex workers: international marriages are not a survival strategy but an advancement strategy; is more relevant to beach boys in Hikkaduwa. With regard to female sex workers in the Caribbean, it still can be considered as a survival strategy especially because they are single mothers; they have a family to look after back in their hometown. But, in the case of beach boys, at present most of them are not entangled in severe poverty; rather they have fulfilled their basic needs. Compared with those female sex workers, they are young, unmarried and men (social pressure is also less compared to females).

This fact was revealed when analyzing their reasons for choosing beach boy activities in tourism, and their motivations in international marriages as well. While most of the former beach boys stated poverty-stricken life as a main reason for their involvement, current beach boys emphasized their goal of becoming successful as former beach boys, and as well as the other benefits in tourism beside monetary gains (language ability, connected to the globe etc.). Similarly, as discussed in chapter four, it became clear that current beach boys’ reason for choosing migration through international marriages itself is working abroad for the advancement of their life. Specifically, when compared with the other migrant workers in the society, being able to migrate to Western/developed countries was also considered as an advancement. Although they can survive engaging in other work or continuing to work as beach boys, they want to become more successful, especially seeing the advancement of former beach boys in the community. Therefore, they do not focus on merely short-term benefits. Together with their
awareness of social stigma involved in their activities—especially in marrying elderly tourists, and their personal interest in leading a real family life—they have started finding young female tourists as their life partners. Hence, increase of their motivations is one of the facts, which confirms beach boys’ involvement in tourism as an advancement strategy.

Further, it was revealed that both in Thailand (Cohen, 1982, 2003; Seabrook, 1996) and in the Caribbean (Brennan, 2001, 2004), women’s expectations have become a reverse dream, as they happen to return to previous life in their countries after dissolution of their international marriage. Similarly, Dahles and Bras (1999) also pointed out that Indonesian guides, who mainly focus on international marriages are also not successful, as most of them return not being able to get accustomed to the life abroad. Compared with them, it was apparent that most beach boys in Hikkaduwa focus on international marriages as a ladder to success, and ultimately they gain not only economical advancement but also social and psychological empowerment. This was confirmed by the people related to tourism and non-tourism people as well. Further, as discussed earlier, beach boys’ empowerment causes ripple effects, and eventually it is connected to the betterment of the community and country through the next generation as well (children of beach boys).

\textit{HNTR} \textsuperscript{11} ‘They send their children to international schools. Those children also get a better life and good education. They don’t have to go through similar ordeals, which their fathers faced or follow beach boy activities. That’s a very good thing’

At the same time in examining current beach boys’ background, it was revealed that at present most beach boys come from Hikkaduwa environs or 1, 2kms inland areas. That also confirms that people who are engaged in tourism have become economically stable so as to sustain their families and educate their children. For instance, there were some people who mentioned that they give priority to children’s education and never let their sons come to the beach.

\textit{HT} \textsuperscript{7} ‘I have a daughter and a son. We have asked them to focus on studies, because only thing they got to do is that, we spend for everything, for school, private classes. Especially, I don’t let my son come to the beach. He is told to pass A/L examination, and then I can send him to Germany. I have a very close tourist family there’

Specifically beach boys’ economical success causes wider impacts on their family members. In the sample of current beach boys (27) only 5 had a family member as a beach boy. Most of the others who had brothers claimed that they focus on studies or they do not allow their younger brother to come to the beach. On the other hand, when they look after economic needs of the family, and if there are girls as siblings, those girls also lose the need of getting married to elderly male tourists like some did in the
past. Although it is mainly due to overall economic development in the touristic area, beach boys may also have contributed in that regard to some extent.

Thus, it is apparent that beach boys have been empowered economically, socially and psychologically, and their empowerment has caused ripple effects contributing to the local community and the country in a wider way. And eventually beach boys’ empowerment has affected the perceptions of the local community towards beach boys and their activities as well. As mentioned in a previous part, while more than 50% of people in outer regions consider beach boys as ‘bad’, 64% of tourism related people claimed they are ‘good’, and 50% of non-tourism related people responded beach boys are ‘not bad’. In analyzing their responses, it became clear that people who are closer to beach boys (living in the same community), perceive beach boys’ activities more broadly especially with their personal experiences in tourism, and have changed their attitudes towards beach boys from negative to more favorable ones, seeing their empowerment through international marriages as well. Hence, their real success/empowerment can also be considered as another fact, which confirms beach boys’ involvement in tourism is an advancement strategy.
4 A Definition for ‘Beach boy’

In analyzing existing understanding of beach boys, it became clear that while a significant number of tourism related people perceive beach boys favorably, the majority in wider society perceive them negatively, mainly due to sociocultural aspects and previously established images via mass media and the general society. Having discussed favorable perceptions of tourism related people, legal stance, and beach boys’ empowerment; it became apparent that beach boys should be understood in a broader perspective than the existing understanding. Hence, this section offers a new understanding of beach boys, arguing whether they are child or male sex workers, and deviants.

4.1 Are they child and/or male sex workers?

When analyzing previous studies, specifically Miller’s study (2011) raised an assumption whether beach boys are former child prostitutes. Therefore, during the fieldwork I gave special attention to that fact and investigated tourism related and non-tourism related people’s opinions as well. Of those who have answered, 59% (23) of tourism related people and 35% of non-tourism related people have stated that beach boys are not former child prostitutes or sexually abused children. About 25% from both categories stated that they do not know. While 18% (7) of tourism related people assumed beach boys may have been child prostitutes, there were 41% (26) of non-tourism related people who assumed the same. When further discussing this with the OIC of tourist police, Hikkaduwa, he also mentioned that there are no considerable evidence to confirm that fact, and as per his knowledge, there is only one boy who has become a beach boy after involved in a child abuse case. That was the child who was mentioned in the case of 2009, but the Police has arrested the foreigner before he abused that child.

Thus, I could not find sufficient data, which support Miller’s argument: that ‘beach boys are former child prostitutes’. But, since 3 boys below 18 years of age could be seen in the study sample, Miller might have considered that type of beach boys who came to the beach and entered beach boy activities before they turn 18 years old. In this study, although more than half of the people have joined tourism related work on full-time basis from the age of 16 or above, there were 37% of boys who have completed only 6-10 years of school. That also demonstrates they may have joined beach boys’ activities between the age of 13-15. When considering their age of entrance to the tourism sector, it is said to be the same period during which child prostitution existed in Hikkaduwa. But, only 2 (in 31-35 age group), or 5 (including 3 boys in 26-30 group), can be assumed as having entered into sexual activities at younger ages. However, all the 3 boys below 18 years claimed that they do not engage in sexual activities even with female tourists.
With regard to the arguments on beach boys as mediators or culture brokers in child sex tourism, this study also accepts that they may have engaged in such activities in the past. Especially Mr. Wijesena also pointed out that some beach boys played a major role as mediators by providing information and children to foreign pedophiles. But, findings in this study supports Miller’s study (2011) more than Beddoe’s (1998), which argued beach boys were merely mediators in child sex tourism and who support sexual exploitation of children. Even in this study, it was revealed that beach boys pass on business among their peer group and with other people in the tourism sector. Hence, it can be said that beach boys may have acted as mediators in child sex tourism, but rather than being sexually exploited or coerced by beach boys, those children have deliberately got into sexual activities with male tourists for monetary purposes and also for sexual experiments. For instance, Mathews (1987) pointed out that in the Philippines, boys between 12-20 engage in prostitution as a part time work while working as dressmakers, models and beauty parlor attendants. Even those boys consider the sexual relationship as an act of friendship, and foreigners assist them in escaping from rural life and monetary issues. Therefore, cases in Hikkaduwa can also be considered, as younger boys who came to the beach to earn some money by engaging in tourism, deliberately opted for sexual activities with male tourists rather than being coerced by beach boys. However, in analyzing responses of the local community, government authorities and beach boys, it can be said that beach boys are not child prostitutes or sexually abused children; and due to strict legal actions, child prostitution in Sri Lanka has been reduced. Thus, beach boys acting as mediators in child sex tourism have also been minimized. Especially all the beach boys in the sample claimed that they never support child prostitution or sexual exploitation of children.

Moreover, as revealed in chapter three, due to changes of tourists’ demands and the circumstances in host community, a transition of sexual relations in Hikkaduwa could be seen. Until the late 1980s, homosexual relationships predominately existed and even until the late 1990s, most sexual contacts with female tourists were also with elderly females, which can be considered as mostly sexual relationships. Ratnapala (1999) has also pointed out beach boys as a group of male sex workers. He stated that ‘in a certain resort in the South, all beach boys were found to be below the age of 16 years, and all of them were sex workers. The unwritten law is that by 16 years of age, they must leave the place, what then happens is that the sex worker has to leave the place and go to another locality when reaches the age of 16’ (p. 24). However, any fact related to this could not be found in Hikkaduwa at present, which supports this statement. Boys below 16 years of age were not reported in Hikkaduwa and as mentioned earlier, all the boys below 18 years asserted that they do not engage in sexual relations with female tourists.

With regard to homosexual relationships, only one boy in the sample mentioned that he had engaged in homosexual acts some time ago, but is now having relations only with females. Therefore, even now, there may be boys who cater to homosexual demands discreetly. However, as argued in chapter three and four, beach boys have
changed their motivations with inner and outer influences, and at present their relationship with female tourists can be considered as closer to romance tourism than a sexual one, especially because they focus on international marriages. They maintain sexual contacts with female tourists, but it is not a mere exchange of sex for money. Although, they receive other benefits (covering expenses, material benefits) instead of a direct monetary exchange, sexual acts take place between beach boys and female tourists mostly and are not limited to a one-night stand. As discussed in chapter four, they go through a long process until succeeding with international marriages, which pave a way to migrate. It is a reciprocal relationship, which satisfies the economic and emotional needs of both parties. Thus, it was apparent that their sexual relationships and marriages are also not much different than the relationships in the wider society. Moreover, it was revealed that sexual pressures in the wider society are more aggressive than the beach boys’, as most of the people are confined to socio-cultural frames. Especially, many men in general visit prostitutes or have had sexual intercourse with their girlfriends prior to marriage. But, only beach boys are criticized as they openly engage in sexual acts with female tourists as a part of their work, but many men in wider society behave the same way furtively, but they are not exposed as they descend from respected/wealthy social classes, possess white color jobs and material objects.

Specifically arguing about sex workers in the Caribbean, Cabesaz (2004) pointed out that differences in race, class and gender create and delimit sex work or sex workers. Explaining that, Cabesaz stated that ‘a mulata from Santiago living in Havana, seen in the company of foreigners, is automatically categorized as a sex worker. But a pale-skinned university student, who only dates foreigners and eventually marries a Frenchman, is not considered a sex worker. A graduate student from California, walking the streets of Havana with a black Cuban man, is readily perceived as a sex tourist. An office worker in the Dominican Republic who drives her car every night after work to a hotel casino with the intent of attracting a foreigner boyfriend is not considered a sex worker. However, a Dominican woman with dark skin, exiting a disco alone in a tourist area, runs the risk of being incarcerated as part of a mass arrest of prostitutes’ (1001). Further she claimed that ‘there is no justification for imposing the term ‘sex worker’ on people who do not identify as such’ (1003). As discussed earlier it was revealed that beach boys do not prefer to be called ‘beach boys’, as that term has a negative connotation. Although the local community is also aware of their sexual behaviors, none of them used the term ‘sex worker’ to describe them or their activities. Specifically, they are aware of social stigma and prevalent negative attitudes surrounding their activities, and they have been trying to keep themselves within existing social standards as much as possible by not engaging homosexual activities and reducing connections with elderly female tourists.

With regard to female tourists, although a category who focuses only on fulfilling sexual desires could be identified, single female tourists and foreign spouses of former beach boys claimed that they are/were first time romance tourists, or romantic returnees.
Beach boys also confirmed that even though it would not extend to a marriage, most female tourist like to involve in sex acts on some kind of emotional understanding. Further, it was revealed that when they are in an extended relationship, beach boys who mainly focus on international marriages do not try to extract female tourists’ money or expect monthly remittances, so as to maintain the romantic base of the relationship. Thus, it is apparent that although they engaged in transactional sex focusing on short-term benefits due to economic hardships in the 1980s and 1990s, beach boys at present focus more on extended relationships with female tourists, which lead to an international marriage. Hence, they cannot be called ‘male sex workers’.

Furthermore, in terms of the nature of their work, I assumed whether they could be called ‘male escorts’. But, when investigating their work, it became clear that guiding is not the only activity they are engaged in. Especially there were only 5 guides in the sample of 27. Although, other beach boys also accompany female tourists/their girlfriends when they travel around, beach boys’ work cannot be precisely classified as ‘male escorts’. Besides, in many studies, male escorts were generally discussed as homosexual sex workers. Hence, if that term is used for beach boys, a distorted picture on beach boys could be created.

4.2 Are they deviants?

In analyzing perceptions towards beach boys, it was revealed that more than half of the people in general society perceived beach boys negatively, and many people consider them as ‘deviants’, as a different group in the society in terms of appearance, drug addiction and sexual behaviors. But as previously stated, people in wider society also follow those fashions, and have got into those habits, which have been considered as a damage to sociocultural values. For example, drugs (especially ganja) have spread throughout the entire country. With regard to sexual behaviors, although a lesser percentage have agreed with premarital sexual intercourse (35%) and marry a person who already have experienced sexual intercourse (30%), half of the people in general public have asserted that there is no issue in prostitution as a profession. Especially, informal conversations with some young men revealed that almost all men generally experience premarital sexual intercourse with their girlfriends, female acquaintances, or by visiting a prostitute.

On the other hand, when describing beach boys’ appearance, various hairstyles (longhair, colored hair) and different fashions (pierced ears, tattoos, various accessories) were highlighted. Further, they were frequently called ‘rasthiyadukarayo’ due to both their appearance and people’s perceptions, as beach boys are ‘unemployed’, doing nothing other than wandering/loitering on the beach. But, a previous part revealed that beach boys are engaged in some work in tourism, and they make an income similar/more than the people in general. Moreover, compared with the general public,
there is a young generation from middle and upper classes that follow different hairstyles, color their hair, pierce their ears and even wear tattoos. Therefore, as argued in the previous part, it is apparent that beach boys are classified as ‘deviants’ due to factors, which young men in the general society also used to practice. People who descend from wealthy families, from respected social backgrounds, or in possession of white color jobs, are not pointed out as ‘rasthiyadukarayo’ or labeled ‘deviants’, but beach boys are. Because they descend from low class poor families, they are less educated; they do not possess properties such as big houses, luxurious cars or other material objects.

Discussing sex workers in the Caribbean, Cabezas (2004) also argued that ‘social location and characteristics of the participants often determine what counts as sex work more than any particular type of behavior’ (p. 1000). Similarly Crick (1994) illustrated that double standards and strong negative stereotypes existed in informal tourism industry in Sri Lanka in the early 1980s describing it as a ‘middle class indulgence’. Further, arguing about sexual activities, which took place between young men and (male) tourists in a wider perspective, Miller (2011) claimed that ‘moral crusaders against CSEC (Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children) expected those living in tourist communities, especially their youth to remain untouched by modernity, to be pure and innocent, and to uphold the ‘idyllic’ space of the traditional seaside village. Only in framing them in these ways could child victims be seen as ‘helpless slaves’, while anyone failing to fit this category was greedy, morally corrupt, or criminal’ (P. 504). In other words, young men related to tourism in the beach communities in Sri Lanka, are identified as either ‘abused children’ (in need of rescue and rehabilitation or salvation), or ‘beach boys’ (troublemaker, con artist, delinquent). Hence, it become clear that according to the sociocultural frames in the society, if a young man is identified as a ‘beach boy’, he will be automatically perceived as a criminal or deviant. Miller (2011) also confirmed that young men in the beach communities engage in transactional sex with tourists, in order to tap into privileges reserved for tourists and local elites. However, as far as beach boys at present are concerned, it became apparent that they are neither child sex workers nor male sex workers who engage in merely transactional sex, but young men who chose to continue beach boy activities with the motivation of migration through international marriages to advance their life conditions. Narratives of former beach boys, tourism related and non-tourism related people also confirmed their economical, social and psychological empowerment. Thus, it can be said that beach boys at present cannot be considered as ‘deviants’, they are young men similar to other men in the general society.
4.3 Redefining beach boys

Beddoe (1998) claimed that, in the 1970s beach boys sold marijuana to the hippies, in the 1980s they sold batiks and gems to the mass tourists, and in the 1990s they acted as culture brokers in child prostitution for economic gain and acceptance into the tourist domain. Although, Beddoe has stressed the negative side of beach boys, that statement demonstrates beach boys have changed as time passed by with the demands of tourists. But, when examining transition of sexual relationships in Hikkaduwa, it was revealed that beach boys’ motivations have changed not only due to demands of tourists, but also the facts in the host community as well (gradual economic development, legal stance on child sex work, social stigma involved in homosexual activities and relations with elderly female tourists). Further, it became apparent that due to an increase in their motivations and their empowerment, the perceptions of the local community have also changed to favorable ones. In the previous part, it was revealed that beach boys are neither child/male sex workers nor deviants. They are young men similar to the men in general society who attempt to gain a secure future. Therefore, in analyzing previous studies, beach boys in Hikkaduwa, their life strategies, and people and authority’s perceptions, this study suggests a definition for beach boys.

This study defines ‘beach boy’ as ‘a young aged 16-30 years, who works as a guide, restaurant worker or a instructor of marine sports etc. (at times, providing ganja and female sex workers to male tourists), while seeking for opportunities to establish a long-term relationship with female tourists which eventually extends to a marriage, in order to empower himself both economically and socially. In this case, sexual acts with female tourists mostly take place as casual sex (but not as a sex work) or as a part of the romantic relationship. Hence beach boy is not merely a sex provider, but a young man who tries to gain a more secure future and social standards within limited opportunities opened for him in the tourism industry. But, this concept of ‘beach boy’ varies from place to place according to legal, socio-cultural aspects and the scope of the existing tourism/sex industry’.

With regard to other countries, especially when compared with Thailand and Caribbean, which are reputed for sex tourism, Sri Lanka also entered into international tourism approximately during the same period (in the mid 1960s), and began to develop from the 1970s. Similar to Sri Lanka, there had been an increase of child prostitution in Thailand from the early 1980s. But, due to recognition as a “Rest and Recreational site” for military bases, Thailand boomed as a sex paradise for both locals and tourists. There had been over 20,000 sex related establishments including bars, nightclubs, brothels by the mid 1970s, and by 1980 there had been more than 500,000 prostitutes catering as special service girls (bar girls, masseuses and sex workers), escorts and call girls (Truong, 1990). There were ‘sex tours’ as tour packages by the 1980s and ‘gay sex’ (male sex workers cater to both locals and male tourists) was also established as an industry parallel to female sex work (Cohen, 1982, 1988). Unlike Sri Lanka, both
private companies and government authorities promoted the sex trade as a main tourist attraction (Montgomery, 2008; Truong, 1990). It is in 2012, after the cessation of civil war, Sri Lanka reached one million tourists arrivals, but Thailand has marked that in the 1970s showing a spectacular growth and over 26 million tourists have visited in 2013.

With regard to countries in the Caribbean, those countries also have a long history of prostitution; especially prostitution for foreigners appeared in the 1800s under colonial rule (Kempadoo, 1996). In Cuba, there had been 270 casinos and brothels, and about 100,000 prostitutes by the time of 1950s. After the revolution in 1959, again tourism began to appear from the 1980s, and sex tourism has boomed again from the 1990s. In Jamaica and the Dominican Republic, both female and male sex workers operated from bars, nightclubs, hotels, brothels, massage parlors and the streets. In 1980 total tourists arrivals to Dominican Republic was 480,000, and that was relatively similar to Sri Lanka, 321,780. But, by 1994 it had increased to 1,400,000 tourists while Sri Lanka marking 407,511 arrivals in the same year.

As such, compared to the largest sex markets in the world, Sri Lanka is incomparable as a tourist generating country, and as a destination for sex related services too. Similarly in the case of beach boys, relations between beach boys and female tourists in the Caribbean may be still closer to sex tourism due to its reputation as a sex tourism destination and socio-cultural background. But, previous studies confirmed that beach boys in the Caribbean (Jamaica, Dominican Republic) also focus on international marriages and migration (Pruitt and LaFont, 1995; Herold et al., 2001).

Within Sri Lanka, beach boys and their motivations can even be varied according to the nature of the destination. For instance, it was revealed that activities of beach boys in Galle Fort differ from Hikkaduwa beach boys (cliff jumps, more connections with locals). Induruwa, the beach area where Arachchi (2011) investigated, is also a small-scale recently established destination compared to Hikkaduwa. Further, the discussion with the presenter of radio program Belumgala also revealed that beach boys and their impacts on the local community differ according to the destination. Thus, it is apparent that beach boys’ activities, motivations and even the impacts may vary not only due to the nature of tourist industry, scope of the sex industry in each country, but also according to the nature of tourist destination within the country. However, as far as beach boys in Hikkaduwa are concerned, it can be said that they have rewritten the script normally associated with beach boys by being empowered economically, socially and psychologically.
5 Conclusion – Chapter Five

Having analyzed existing understanding of beach boys, the legal stance on them and their empowerment, this chapter argued the need for a new perspective of beach boys. When investigating existing understanding, I analyzed perceptions towards beach boys from tourism related people (42) and non-tourism related people (75) in Hikkaduwa and the general public (386). Significantly, a large number of tourism related people had favorable perceptions towards beach boys responding that beach boys are ‘good’ (64%), and only 14% (6) had stated beach boys are ‘bad’. In contrast 32% of non-tourism related people had claimed beach boys are ‘bad’, but half of the people in the sample have posited that beach boys are ‘not bad’ (37). In analyzing their responses it was apparent that most of the people in that category had favorable perceptions towards beach boys, but they had responded ‘not bad’ as they are aware of both the negative and positive impacts beach boys bring. To determine the perceptions of the general public, opinions of people in the southern region, Colombo, cities in mid island and people living overseas were examined. In comparison, it was revealed that more than half of the people in each region have negative perceptions regarding beach boys, but 31% responded beach boys are ‘not bad’. However, as previously mentioned, most of those who perceived beach boys as ‘not bad’ had favorable perceptions towards them. In analyzing their perceptions it became apparent that while a large number of people in Hikkaduwa tourism sector perceived beach boys favorably (64%), (non-tourism people: ‘not bad’ (50%), more than half of the people in outer regions have perceived beach boys negatively (54%).

Moreover, in analyzing their responses for their negative perceptions, two main reasons could be identified: 1) erosion of culture and 2) social corruption. Their consideration was mainly based upon beach boys’ appearance, drug addiction, sexual behavior and their perception, as beach boys are unemployed. Most of them have not seen beach boys, but that image has mainly been constructed via media and widespread notions in general society, by which accepted sociocultural values have also been affected. On the other hand, although tourism related people are also aware of beach boys’ appearance, drug use and sexual behaviors, they have perceived beach boys’ activities more broadly than the people in general society. In explaining their drug use and sexual behavior, most of them stated that those acts are not limited only to beach boys, but people in wider society also got into such habits. At the same time, they have become accustomed to the nature of tourists and beach boys, engaging in tourism for many years. Specifically success stories of beach boys have also influenced the change of their attitudes. At the same time, there were some people who have changed their negative attitudes of beach boys once they got an opportunity to meet and befriend them. Hence, it can be said that people who know beach boys closely (have met and talked with them or living in the same community), have more favorable attitudes than those who do not.
In the next part, the legal stance on child sex tourism and beach boys were examined. During the fieldwork it was revealed that child prostitution or child abuse incidents do not take place in Hikkaduwa at present. But, to confirm that fact, an interview was conducted with W.D.T. Wijesena, who was the Officer in Charge of Special Police Investigation Unit in NCPA. Discussions with Mr. Wijesena confirmed that child prostitution or abusing children for sexual purposes have been significantly minimized, and authorities are taking strict legal actions in combating such issues. Further, in his study, Miller (2011) has stated that ‘those active in the informal tourist sector were under heavy surveillance. For example, in order to legally interact with tourists, locals had to register with the police and obtain a guide permit. These were in limited supply. The Sri Lankan tourist police could thus enter the beach and arrest those believed to be interacting with tourists illicitly’ (p. 496). He has conducted field study in 2000, and compared with that time severe legal actions could not be found. Especially, at present most people in the informal industry are regulated to some extent. Beach boys are also classified under the category of ‘tourism facilitators’, and among them some guides are having area guide licenses. Interviews with the Hikkaduwa Tourist Police also confirmed that beach boys have not been a menace to the local community or to the tourism industry as the general public assumes.

Next, I discussed the empowerment of beach boys, paying particular attention to the narratives of former beach boys and perceptions of people in the local community. It became apparent that beach boys have been empowered economically, socially and psychologically. Their economic success has impacted positively on their children, extended family, relatives and even the poor in the community. Moreover, they have become socially empowered by gaining good social status with the economical advancement following international marriages and migration. Social pressure and social stigma in the community on beach boys and their activities have also been gradually reduced with their empowerment. Consequently, their position in the local community has also been refined. Both economic and social advancement have empowered them psychologically as well. Further, it became clear that beach boys’ activities, especially their motivation of migration through international marriages is an advancement strategy rather than a survival strategy. Their advancement causes ripple effects contributing to the local community and the country in a broader way.

Having analyzed the above facts, the final section offered a new perspective of beach boys. It was apparent that beach boys are neither child/male sex workers nor deviants. Specifically men in the general society also follow different fashions, use drug and practice premarital sex, which have been claimed as a corruption of sociocultural values, but they are not labeled as ‘rasthiyadukarayo’ or ‘deviants’ due to their social class, wealth or white color job. Thus, it became clear that beach boys are also young men similar to the men in wider society who attempt to empower themselves to secure a better future. Furthermore, due to an increase in motivations and their empowerment, their position in the local community has also changed. At present, a larger number of
tourism related people (good-64%), a considerable number of non-tourism related people (not bad-50%) and people from outer regions (31%) perceive beach boys favorably. Ultimately these findings demonstrated the need of redefining ‘beach boys’ beyond the existing understanding. However, the offered concept of ‘beach boy’ is assumed to vary from place to place according to legal, sociocultural aspects and the scope of the existing tourism/sex industry.
Chapter Six
Conclusion

This study clarified a new perspective of beach boys, rearranging existing concepts of sex tourism and romance tourism in a broader perspective. First it discussed the background of the study analyzing previous studies pertaining to sex tourism, romance tourism, beach boys and sexual relations in Sri Lanka in order to clarify the objectives of the study. There were three hypotheses; 1. The relationship between female tourists and beach boys is rather similar to the concept of romance tourism, 2. Beach boys’ involvement in tourism has changed to an advancement strategy, rather than a survival strategy, 3. Due to an increase of beach boys’ motivations and their empowerment, perceptions of general society have also changed from negative to more favorable ones, and all of the hypotheses were accepted by the findings.

In analyzing previous studies it became apparent that existing arguments of sex tourism and romance tourism are problematic. This study accepts that sexual relations cannot be clearly and sharply divided into sex or romance tourism, since they involve different dimensions as previous studies have also argued (Clift and Carter, 2000; Oppermann, 1999; Ryan, 2000; Ryan and Hall 2001). But, at the same time, it was apparent that still there are some elements, which cannot be discussed in the framework of sex tourism, and sex tourism is not ‘sex + travel’, but ‘sex work + travel’. There is a huge sex market specifically established for the demand of pure sexual pleasures. Therefore, this study asserted that commercial sexual encounters, which do not extend to an emotional attachment, should be discussed under the context of sex tourism, and the other broader relationships, which extend even to a marriage, should be discussed under the phenomenon of romance tourism. Hence, this study rejects Oppermann (1999) and other proposed frameworks (Clift and Carter, 2000; Ryan, 2000; Ryan and Hall, 2001) for sex tourism due to two reasons.

First, to differentiate prostitution from sex tourism, Oppermann has basically given the elements of monetary exchange and long-term relationships. But, in examining literature it became clear that there could be found emotional attachments in prostitution (domestic), and in homosexual prostitution as well. The second reason is that they have discussed all the non-commercial, commercial, voluntary and exploitative dimensions of sexual encounters under the context of sex tourism. Especially romance between regular partners when traveling has also been included in sex tourism. But at present, there are complex sexual relations not only between tourists and local sex workers, but also with other tourists and other local people, and such relationships extending to marriages has also become frequent. Hence, this study asserted that discussing such relations under the same context of sex tourism gives a distorted picture.
Thus, this study rearranged concepts of sex tourism and romance tourism in order to offer a broader understanding of sexual relations in the context of tourism. This study claimed that sex activities, which take place during travel, should be understood under the context of both sex tourism and romance tourism; while one part is sharing both contexts, there is another part that solely focuses on sex and mainly focuses on romance. Hence, sex tourism occurs when having sexual intercourse or other sexual pleasures for a direct or indirect monetary exchange, with a prior intention or having no prior intention, and as a one-time experience or as a continuous act. Both male tourists and female tourists practice sex tourism even though the scale of female sex tourism is smaller when compared with male tourists. Although this category of sex tourism mostly occurs upon a direct monetary exchange, specifically female tourists may tend to make veiled transactions. In addition, this can be limited to a one-time encounter, or there can be continuous encounters, but only focusing on satisfying their sexual desires.

On the contrary, romance tourism occurs when a person travels with a prior intention or having no prior intention, but eventually engages in a sexual, emotional relationship, which extends to a long-term relationship or a marriage. In this case, no direct monetary exchanges take place apart from veiled transactions. Moreover, at times there is no economic basis at all, since the sexual activities take place in the form of casual sex or as a part of the long-term relationship. Therefore, emotional bonds with other tourists and local men/women beside the people affiliated with tourism sector can also be included in the category of romance tourism. As Herold et al (2001) pointed out, most men tend to have sex on a commercial basis, and most women prefer to engage in sex within an emotional relationship. However, opposing to Pruitt and LaFont (1995), this study acknowledged not only female tourists, but also male tourists participating in romance tourism by establishing protracted relationships and international marriages (Brennan, 2001, 2004; Cabesaz, 2004; Cohen, 1982, 2003). The main difference with the category of sex tourism is the possibility of no monetary exchange; sexual pleasure is not considered as the main intention, and the relationship leads to a romantic relationship or a marriage.

This study assumed the elements related to both sex tourism and romance tourism could be found in Hikkaduwa, especially because Hikkaduwa was once reputed for child sex tourism and sexual relations with both male and female tourists. Findings of this research confirmed that assumption. In analyzing the historical transition of sexual relationships in Hikkaduwa, it became apparent that sexual relationships in Hikkaduwa have changed from completely commercial sex tourism to more complex relationships, which is closer to romance tourism, and that transition is similar to the history of sexual relations in tourism, increase of sex tourism from the 1970s and, emergence of a new phenomenon called romance tourism by the 1990s specifically with the increase of females travel.

At present, beach boys play a major role in sexual relationships in Hikkaduwa. When all the relationships are considered, there could be seen an increase of international
marriages between beach boys and female tourists, that of which indicated sexual relationships in Hikkaduwa are converting to more complex relationships than mere exchange of sex for money or material benefits. Thus, this study hypothesized that the relationship between female tourists and beach boys at present is rather similar to the concept of romance tourism.

Further, having analyzed previous studies pertaining to beach boys and their relationships with female tourists, it became clear that even though some studies have argued their relations broadly, still there are insufficient parts in theoretical analysis. At the same time, none of the studies have discussed in detail the future of those couples for whom it is ‘romance’. Thus, the second objective of this study was to offer a new perspective of beach boys, analyzing them broadly. In exploring that, two more hypotheses were formulated, 1. Beach boys’ involvement in tourism has changed to an advancement strategy from a survival strategy, 2. Perceptions of general society have also changed from negative to more favorable ones, due to an increase of beach boys’ motivations and their empowerment.

Consequently, this study discussed Hikkaduwa beach boys and their relations with female tourists and international marriages. In analyzing the usage of term beach boy in Sri Lanka, it became apparent that term is generally known in the academic work, the general public (82%) and among tourists who visit coastal areas. Similarly, the term ‘beach boy’ was explicitly used in the studies of the Caribbean (Barbados, the Dominican Republic), Indonesia and Africa (Gambia, Senegal) (Brown, 1992; Cabezas, 2004; Dahles and Bras, 1999; De Albuquerque, 1998a; Herold et al., 2002; Kempadoo, 2001; Nyanzi et al., 2005; Sanchez, 2001; Venables, 2009). Two equivalent Sinhala terms could also be identified, ‘werala lamai’ and ‘welle kollo’. But, rather than those Sinhala terms, ‘beach boy’ was the local term used referring boys in the beach, unlike other countries, which simultaneously use the native terms for beach boys, such as in the Dominican Republic- ‘sanky panky’ (Cabezas, 2004; Herold et al., 2001; Sanchez, 2001); in Gambia- ‘bumster’ (Brown, 1992; Nyanzi et al., 2005); ‘bomsa’ (Brown, 1992) and in Senegal- ‘coteman’ (Venables, 2009). At the same time, in despite of the fact that the Hikkaduwa local community and most of the people in general perceive these young men in the beach as ‘beach boys’, most beach boys did not self-identify as beach boys (74%); rather they introduce themselves as ‘area guides’ or marine sports instructors. Then it led to an assumption that the term ‘beach boy’ may have a derogatory connotation, and it was confirmed by further discussions.

With regard to the appearance of beach boys, Brown (1992) (Gambia) and Venables (2009) (Senegal) also mentioned that beach boy’s adoption of Rastafarian styles. Illustrating female tourists’ and local men’s relationship in Jamaica, Pruitt and LaFont (1995) are the first to pointed out local men following Rasta identity to appeal to tourists. But, since Jamaica is the origin of the Rastafarian culture, she pointed out such local men are called rent-a-dread in Jamaican community, as it is not the presentation of real Rastafarian culture, but only ‘staged authenticity’. Further, Venables (2009) have
illustrated Cotemen as extremely athletic, had dreadlocks and many wore long, baggy patchwork trousers, or cloths printed in African textiles with brightly colored batik background. Also, jewelry made from beads and shell adorns their neck and wrists. Further she stated that their appearance is a demonstration of Western lifestyle. However, comparing with these Senegalese beach boys, it can be said that beach boys in Hikkaduwa have a different appearance. Although they have got accustomed to Western culture to some extent, the appearance of some of them is still closer to hippie culture and some maintain a decent look even with colored hair and tattoos, and the majority wears simple accessories, which highlight their masculinity.

Moreover, Herold et al (2001) stated that most beach boys found in Dominican Republic were between the age from 17-25, and very few were older than 25 years. But, in this study there were 11 boys who were older than 25 years. Brown (1992) also mentioned Gambian beach boys were in the age group of 16-25. On the other hand, in discussing beach boys in Sri Lanka, Miller has stated that they ranged in age from 15 to 38, and 5 of them were in their late teens to early 20s. This is in line with the findings of this study. Hence it can be said that differing from other countries, relatively older beach boys can be found in Sri Lanka.

As far as beach boys’ role in tourism is concerned, all of the beach boys in the sample were employed, and they catered to all types of tourists. Archchi, 2011; Brown, 1992; Dahles and Bras, 1999; Herold et al., 2001; Nyanzi et al, 2005 and Venables, 2009 have also asserted that beach boys are engaged in a wide range of activities. Further, Brown (1992) stated that selling ganja and finding female sex workers for male tourists are also included in their activities, and this could be recognized in beach boys in Hikkaduwa as well. As Brown (1992) and Venables (2009) mentioned, Hikkaduwa beach boys can also be considered as culture brokers, who allow tourists to experience locality and easily adapted to the region. Some respondents in general public also emphasized that role of the beach boy is important to Sri Lanka tourism sector, and national guides are not capable enough to offer such a whole range of activities. In comparing with the beach boys in other countries, it was apparent that there are both similarities and differences in their basic characteristics and role in tourism sector.

Moreover, Beddoe (1998) claimed that, in the 1970s beach boys sold marijuana to the hippies, in the 1980s they sold batiks and gems to the mass tourists, and in the 1990s they act as culture brokers in child prostitution for economic gain and acceptance into the tourist domain. Although Beddoe has stressed the negative side of beach boys that statement demonstrated beach boys have changed as time passed by with the demands of tourists. But, when examining the transition of sexual relationships in Hikkaduwa, it was revealed that beach boys’ motivations have changed not only due to demands of tourists, but also due to facts in the host community as well (gradual economic development, legal stance on child sex work, social stigma involved in homosexual activities and relations with elderly female tourists). Therefore, the change of their motivations in involvement in tourism was further investigated. As result, the second
hypothesis of this study was confirmed revealing three reasons to claim that it is an advancement strategy; 1. Their reasons for being a beach boy have changed, 2. Their main motivation is migration through an international marriage, and 3. Their empowerment, especially as a fact, which proves their advancement.

For instance, the following facts were identified as the reasons for being a beach boy: poverty, informal sector (beach boy activities) as the only opportunity, less education and lack of employment opportunities in other sectors, less salaries/less benefits in other employments, its nature as a self-employment, reluctance to pursue traditional livelihoods, other benefits beside economic and material gains, and success stories of former beach boys. In analyzing, a remarkable difference in the reasons of former and current beach boys could be identified. While most of former beach boys emphasized poverty-stricken life, having no other resources, and less education as main reasons for their involvement; current beach boys highlighted other reasons. At the same time, it was apparent that elder beach boys’ activities and the strategies they adapted have affected younger beach boys’ motivations.

Brown (1992) also mentioned that Gambian beach boys are unable to find formal employment in tourism, due to competition for hotel jobs being fierce. But in Hikkaduwa, while there is a fact that star hotels do not prefer recruiting locals from the community, beach boys also did not profess an interest in formal jobs in so-called hotels, mentioning less salaries and their preference for self-employed nature of the beach boy work as reasons involved in their opinion. Further, Miller (2011) and Ratnapala (1999) have asserted that beach boys in Sri Lanka engage in transactional sex with male tourists especially due to poverty. But, findings of this study did not support their statement in two ways. One is that this study found beach boys at present mainly establish relations with female tourists, and those relations are also not merely sexual or based on monetary purposes. The other is, as mentioned above, reasons to become a beach boy is also not only dire poverty. Despite the fact that beach boys can also find other work options both in the community and in outer cities, this group of boys chooses beach boy activities having considered the higher benefits it offers. Having been affected by success stories of former beach boys, beach boys at present engage in tourism with the intention of upgrading their living standards. Thus, it was apparent that although former beach boys entered into tourism due to destitution as a mean of surviving, current beach boys choose their work in order to advance their life just as the examples set by former beach boys.

Moreover, in examining their international marriages, the main motivation for international marriages was revealed as migration. This fact was revealed in the studies on beach boys in Indonesia, Gambia, the Dominican Republic and Jamaica as well (Dahles and Bras, 1999; Herold, et al, 2001; Nyanzi, et al, 2005; Pruitt and LaFont, 1995). Beach boys in Hikkaduwa have begun to focus more on international marriages by the mid 1990s with the increase of female tourists’ travel around the globe. Since then, the focus on female tourists in their sexual relationships and international
marriages shifted to younger females. Together with the increase of young female travelers to Hikkaduwa from the mid 1990s, another two main reasons could also be identified from the behavior of beach boys. One reason is that although their motivation towards international marriages is mainly economical, they do not plan to depend on female tourists throughout their life. The second reason is their awareness of the social stigma involved with the fact of being with/marrying an elderly woman. Therefore, together with their preference for being with younger women as young men, and expectations of leading a real marriage life, beach boys have gradually inclined to have relations with younger women, although they do not possess big economic capital like elderly women. Most of the female spouses married to former beach boys were also relatively young, and couples of beach boys and elderly women could not also been observed. This finding did not support the illustrations of many previous studies, which stated that the majority of female tourists involved with local men (beach boys) are older, overweight or within insufficient beauty standards of their own country (Dahles and Bras, 1999; Herold et al, 2001; Meisch, 1995; Nyanzi et al, 2005; Pruitt and La Font, 1995). Thus, in despite of the common fact that elderly females are better to extract monetary benefits through a long-term relationship, Hikkaduwa beach boys focusing on international marriages with young female tourists demonstrates how their motivations have changed from purely sexual, economical ones to broader goals.

Further, as previously mentioned, their main purpose of migration is working abroad in order to improve their life conditions. Specifically they have been motivated by the opportunities of migrating to Western/developed countries, which have become desirable and respectable in Sri Lankan society as a whole. Despite the fact that going to Western/developed countries is the majority’s interest, most of the people cannot achieve that owing to difficulties in obtaining a visa, baring expenses for the visa process, a reduced labor market and other related matters. But, beach boys, who are low educated/low social class young men in the society, materialize that through international marriages in tourism. Therefore, being able to migrate to Western/developed countries of which even the majority of the wider society struggle to attain, is also a fact that evidences their advancement in the society.

However, in analyzing the factors in both current and former beach boys, it was apparent that although former beach boys have opted for international marriages as a ‘survival strategy’, current beach boys focus on it as an ‘advancement strategy’. Former beach boys’ reason for choosing migration through international marriages was found to be destitution. Then, they had been able to fulfill their basic needs in life, and eventually advanced their life conditions. But, with regard to current beach boys, their reason for choosing migration itself is advancement of their life, specifically seeing the success of former beach boys in the community. Although these boys are poor compared with other families in touristic area, their motivation for international marriages is not to fulfill their basic needs such as food, cloths, place to live as Miller (2011) and Ratnapala (1999) stated, but to advance their life; to go up in the economic ladder in order to
achieve same standards that the successful people in the community possess. They presume international marriages and migration will materialize their dreams of achieving economical and social advancement.

Furthermore, this study did not support Cohen (2003) and Toyota and Thang’s (2012) findings, which acknowledged some international marriages become unsuccessful due to religious and cultural conflicts occurring within extended family and in the community. Although, this study fits in the ‘reverse’ case that Toyota and Thang (2012) explored, different facts could be identified in spouses’ motivation, process until marriage and even life after the marriage. Although, traditional social values do exist in Sri Lankan society, in Hikkaduwa, elders do not expect foreign brides to fulfill religious or social duties, and to become a traditional daughter-in-law to the extended family. Also all these married couples are living in separate places, while maintaining family ties with extended family and relatives. At the same time regardless of international marriages, this fact can be commonly found in general society in Sri Lanka as well. Further, Toyota and Thang has stated that Japanese spouses in Bali need to convert to Hinduism, but in Hikkaduwa, local grooms or even elders do not expect them to become Buddhists. Another main difference that could be identified was in Bali where Japanese spouses start up business and become the breadwinner to the extended family. In contrast, in Hikkaduwa, although there were some foreign spouses who assisted the husband’s business, it was men who predominantly operated the business. Hence, it became apparent that relationships, international marriages and marriage migration between local men and female tourists vary in terms of their own expectations, and cultural, religious and social background of the existing society.

As stated earlier, beach boys’ empowerment was also identified as a fact, which confirmed their involvement in tourism is an advancement strategy. Beach boys have been empowered both economically and socially, and eventually that empowerment has been connected to their psychological advancement as well. It was revealed that beach boys, who were economically, socially and educationally weak, have succeeded more than/similar to the local elites and middle class people who were engaged in the industry since the advent of tourism. Social pressure and social stigma in the community on beach boys and their activities have also been gradually reduced with their empowerment. Further, it became clear that beach boys’ empowerment causes ripple effects, and eventually it is connected to the betterment of the community and country through the next generation as well (children of beach boys). Compared with the studies of Brennan (2001, 2004); Cohen (1982, 2003); Dahles and Bras (1999) and Seabrook (1996), which indicated that women/men’s expectations have become a reverse dream, as they happen to return to previous life in their countries after

56 This fact can vary according to the religion. All the men (former and current beach boys) in Hikkaduwa reported to be Buddhists. But, if it was Islam, foreign spouses might need to convert their religion.
dissolution of their marriage, beach boys’ international marriages in Hikkaduwa revealed the opposite. It became apparent that most beach boys in Hikkaduwa focus on international marriages as a ladder to success, and ultimately they gain not only economical empowerment but also social and psychological advancement as well. Hence, it can be said that the above facts confirmed the second hypothesis of this study: that beach boys’ involvement in tourism changed to an advancement strategy, rather than a survival strategy.

Subsequently, to explore the existing understanding of beach boys, this study analyzed the perceptions of general society, and discovered the need of a new perspective of beach boys. In analyzing perceptions of local community in Hikkaduwa, it became apparent that significantly large number of tourism related people had favorable perceptions toward beach boys responding that beach boys are ‘good’ (64%). With regard to non-tourism related people, exactly half of them indicated that beach boys are not bad (50%) and their views were almost favorable to beach boys. Furthermore, it was revealed that 81% of tourism related people and 56% of non-tourism people claimed that beach boys are ‘good’/’important’ for the wellbeing of Hikkaduwa tourism sector. Further, 48% of non-tourism people have indicated ‘beach boys are not imposing threat/influence to the society’. With regard to the general public, more than half of the people in outer regions perceived beach boys negatively (54%), and this fact significantly differed from the perceptions of people in Hikkaduwa.

In analyzing their responses for their negative perceptions, two main reasons could be identified: 1. erosion of culture, and 2. social corruption. They had emphasized beach boys’ appearance, drug addiction, sexual behavior and their perception as beach boys are unemployed. Most of them have not seen beach boys, but that image has been mainly constructed via media and widespread notions in general society, and accepted socio-cultural values have also affected. These findings support previous studies, which have pointed out that in general, the local community has a negative attitude towards beach boys (Brown, 1992; Miller, 2011; Nyanzi et al., 2005; Venables, 2009). For instance, Senegalese beach boys were perceived negatively due to their appearance with dreadlocks and sexual behaviors with female tourists (Venables, 2009). Gambian elders have also strongly disapproved of beach boys’ habits of drinking alcohol, dress, general lack of morals and their sexual relationships with older European women (Brown, 1992).

On the contrary, although tourism related people are also aware of beach boys’ appearance, drug use and sexual behaviors, they have perceived beach boys’ activities more broadly than the people in general society claimed. In explaining their drug use and sexual behavior, most of them stated that those acts are not limited only to beach boys, but people in wider society also got into such habits. Investigations of this study also confirmed that fact.

Moreover, it can be said that these findings confirmed the third hypothesis of this study, that due to increase of beach boys’ motivations and their empowerment, perceptions of general society have also been changed from negative to more favorable
ones. But, as previously mentioned this differs according to the possibility of accessing beach boys’ day-to-day life. Tourism related people had the most favorable perceptions on beach boys (64%-good), and they were the people who knew beach boys, their activities and their empowerment better than the other groups. Similarly, 50% of non-tourism related people in Hikkaduwa also had favorable attitudes on beach boys, claiming they are ‘not bad’. Thus, it can be said that, although former beach boys may have faced more pressure from the local community rather than today’s beach boys, once they set examples by improving their life conditions and empowering through international marriages, attitudes of local community have also gradually changed. On the other hand, even in outer regions, there were some people who have changed their negative perceptions toward beach boys, once they got an opportunity to meet and befriend them. At the same time, since 31% from the general public have claimed that they are ‘not bad’, it can be said there are people even in outer regions who perceive beach boys favorably to some extent.

With regard to the majority who perceived beach boys negatively (54%), it was revealed that most of them do not exactly know the real situation with the life of beach boys, their motivations, their goals, and especially about their success through international marriages. There were some people who have not even seen beach boys, but claimed they are ‘bad’, only because of established images and general social frames in the society. Hence, that unawareness could be identified as a main reason for having negative attitudes towards beach boys. Thus, it can be said that people who know beach boys intimately (have met and talked with them or living in the same community), have more favorable attitudes than those who do not. Further, tourism related people’s broader understanding of beach boy activities can also be given as a significant finding of this study since no other studies have identified that fact. At the same time, it can also be said that none of the studies have examined perceptions towards beach boys to this extent.

Having analyzed previous studies, the beach boys in Hikkaduwa, their international marriages, their empowerment, and perceptions of the general public and legal authorities; it became apparent that beach boys should be understood in a broader perspective than the existing understanding. Further, it became apparent that beach boys are neither child/male sex workers nor deviants, but young men similar to the men in general society who attempt to gain a secure future. Hence, findings of this study claimed a new perspective of beach boys.

This study had an assumption whether beach boys are former child prostitutes, mainly due to Miller’s (2011) arguments. But, findings of this study did not support that argument either. With regard to the arguments on beach boys as mediators or culture brokers in child sex tourism (Beddoe, 1998), this study also accepts that they may have engaged in such activities in the past, but the findings presented here rather support Miller’s study (2011). Therefore, this study asserts that beach boys may have acted as mediators in child sex tourism, but rather than being sexually exploited or coerced by
beach boys, those children have deliberately got into sexual activities with male tourists for monetary purposes. However, it could be found that due to strict legal actions, child prostitution in Sri Lanka has been reduced. Thus, beach boys acting as mediators in child sex tourism have also been minimized. Especially all beach boys in the sample claimed that they never support child prostitution or sexual exploitation of children.

Moreover as previously stated, it was revealed that, beach boys’ motivations and their relationships with tourists have been changed with inner and outer influences. For instance, only one boy in the sample mentioned that he had engaged in homosexual acts sometime ago (but now having relations only with females), and even in the fieldwork, relationships with elderly females could not be found. At present most of them focus on international marriages with relatively young females. Comparing with their international marriages, it was apparent that their sexual relationships and marriages are also not much different than relationships in wider society. In analyzing, it became clear that whereas beach boys engaged in transactional sex focusing on short-term benefits due to economic hardships in the 1980s and 1990s, beach boys at present focus more on extended relationships with female tourists, which lead to an international marriage. Thus, beach boys cannot be regarded as ‘male sex workers’.

Further, most of the people who perceived beach boys negatively, have considered them as ‘deviants’ and as a different societal group in terms of appearance, drug addiction and sexual behaviors. But, it was revealed that men in the general society also follow different fashions, use drugs and practice premarital sex, which have been claimed as a corruption of socio-cultural values, but they are not labeled as ‘deviants’ due to their social class, wealth or white collar job. Therefore, it became apparent that beach boys are also young men similar to the men in wider society, who attempt to empower themselves to secure a better future.

Accordingly, a definition for beach boys was also offered. This study defined ‘beach boy’ as ‘a young man aged 16-30 years, who works as a guide, restaurant worker or a instructor of marine sports etc., while seeking for opportunities to establish a long-term relationship with female tourists which eventually extends to a marriage, in order to empower himself both economically and socially. In this case sexual acts with female tourists mostly take place as casual sex (but not as a sex worker), or as a part of the romantic relationship. Hence, a beach boy is not merely a sex provider, but a young man who tries to gain a more secure future and social standards within limited opportunities opened for him in the tourism industry. But, this concept of ‘beach boy’ varies from place to place according to legal, socio-cultural aspects and the scope of the existing tourism/sex industry’. Further it was revealed that beach boys and their motivations could be varied even within the country, according to the nature of each tourist destination.

Ultimately, these new findings of beach boys and their relationship with female tourists confirmed the first hypothesis of this study that the relationship between female tourists and beach boys is rather similar to the concept of romance tourism. In analyzing
overall relations, it became apparent that beach boys’ and female tourists’ relationship is not merely a sexual relationship as widely understood until now. As previously mentioned, female tourists in beach boys’ relationships have shifted to younger females from elderly women. Most relationships involve some kind of emotional attachment, an involvement of romantic, intimate feeling or companionship. Hence, most of their relationships could be identified as closer to romance tourism as defined in this study. The successful international marriages in particular form strong evidence that beach boys’ and female tourists’ relationships have broader meanings beyond the existing understanding. Thus, this study rejects Albuquerque (1998), Kempadoo (2001), Phillips, (1990) and Sanchez (2000, 2001, 2006), which claimed that female tourists only search for sexual excitement, thus their relationship is also purely sexual. On the other hand, results of this study support the study of Herold et al (2001), which argued many of the women preferred a romantic relationship, which may include sex, and only the minority considered sex as their main purpose in initiating a relationship with beach boys. On a different note, Brown (1992) and Venables (2009) also asserted that beach boys try to make contacts with both men and women, and interactions with them do not have to be sexual, but both sexual and non-sexual relations exist.

However, it can be said that mostly the nature of their relationship depends on the decision of the tourist. Even a woman or man operating in a sex tourism setting, may engage in romance, if the tourist’s demand is a romantic relationship. Even though a local woman or man expects romance and a long-term relationship, an encounter with a tourist may end up in just experiencing a sexual act, if the tourist’s demand is only sex. In the case of Hikkaduwa, as it was revealed that the main motivation of beach boys is marriage for migration, and their relationship with female tourists is also not purely sexual, beach boys’ and female tourists’ relationship in Hikkaduwa can be mostly considered as romance tourism.

Further, in analyzing the process until their marriage, it became clear that they go through a long process (unsuccessful attempts, infidelity) until they succeed in a romantic relationship, which leads to a marriage. As far as the economic and romantic base of the relationship is concerned, it was revealed that beach boys do not focus on short-term benefits, especially when they are in a protracted relationship, since they are aware of maintaining the ‘romantic base’ of the relationship. In the sample only 3 boys stated that they get a monthly allowance of Rs.20,000–30,000 from their girlfriends, and 9 boys claimed that they do not get such allowances. This finding rejects almost all the previous studies, which illustrated that beach boys mainly focus on monetary and material benefits, and they use subtle strategies to gain such benefits indicating their economic difficulties in paying bills, baring day-to-day expenses and taking care of family needs (Brown, 1992; Dahles and Bras, 1999; Herold et al, 2001; Kempadoo, 1995; Nyanzi et al., 2005; Pruitt and LaFont, 1995; Sanchez, 2000, 2001, 2006). Comparing with previous studies, this can also be claimed as a significant factor revealed in this study. Specifically since there were beach boys’ statements such as
now most of the tourists have basic knowledge about the place they travel, or at least they will find more about us on Internet or asking from other friends. So, most of them are aware of those things. If we initiate a talk about money, then they get that impression and try to avoid us’ and ‘we happen to think whether we need money or the relationship. If need the relationship better not asking for money’, it can be said that today’s beach boys think further as their motivations have changed to broader ones. At the same time, since tourism has become a global act more so than in the past, it has become difficult to play tricks on tourists, especially to extract their money.

Hence, their relationship was identified as a reciprocal relationship, which is formed and nurtured through a process of fulfilling each other’s dissatisfactions in life. While beach boys try to fulfill their economic needs, female tourists try to fulfill their emotional needs through this relationship. However, it was revealed that although beach boys’ main intention is economic advancement, they do not expect to depend on female tourists throughout their life. Instead, they want to work abroad and become economically independent. And once they became economically advanced, as husbands, they attend economical needs of the female tourist (their foreign wife) as well.

Furthermore, it was apparent that beach boys also have emotional feelings, and when they are in a relationship, even with a female tourist, they also get emotionally attached, as they have not experienced the feeling of romance well. They mentioned that the reason for looking for a young girl to get married is also because they want to continue the marriage, and have a good family life too. However, it became clear that difficulty in establishing a strong relationship involves the awareness of emotional damage of each partner. Once they could establish that strong relationship, then they proceed to the next stage, the marriage. And after the marriage, most of the boys have materialized the economical success that they longed for, and leading a good family life either settling in Hikkaduwa or overseas. Thus, their successful international marriages can be given as one of the main facts, which demonstrates that beach boys’ and female tourists’ relationship in Hikkaduwa is not merely a sexual one, but rather similar to the concept of romance tourism.

Hence, it can be said that these emotional and sexual activities in tourism embody deeper meanings, just as it does with other people in general. Specifically, even the concept of romance tourism differs from romance in general, only by its involvement in travel. For instance, romance formed while traveling and international marriages established based upon such romantic relationships are no different to the romantic relationships and marriages that take place in the general society. At the same time, marriage in general is also not based only on romance. Most people choose their intended life partner so as to fit into their dreams (outward appearance, education, wealth, qualities etc.) or/and goals (apart from dreams, a partner who is capable enough to elevate to their goals). Similarly, beach boys choose their life partner or utilize their marriage so as to fit into their goal of advancing their life conditions, and that is their life strategy. The majority of people in general also have some kind of a strategy (plan)
in life, and that strategy is always focused on growth and advancement. Therefore, migration through international marriages established in the setting of tourism is also a similar life strategy chosen by a group of young men, who are economically, educationally and socially of a low standard.

As far as beach boys in Hikkaduwa are concerned, it could be argued that they have rewritten the script of beach boys by being empowered economically, socially and psychologically. Further, it should be noted that they have got that opportunity through tourism and, unless that pathway was not open to them in their local community, their life could have been more different. Although Hikkaduwa is criticized as an unplanned tourist destination that nature has paved specifically low/medium class people a way to success. Therefore, while accepting some parts of beach boy activities need to be formulated, this study emphasizes the importance of prioritizing local people and community development when initiating new tourism plans.

Further, when considering previous studies, most of the studies were found to be conducted before 2005, and that is almost a decade ago from now. As revealed in this study, many things in a tourist destination can be changed within a decade due to inner and outer influences, and especially because tourism is also one of the major global activities. Thus, this study claims the necessity of conducting consecutive academic research studies, since the involved circumstances are continuously changing as time passes. Further, as Cabezas (2004) pointed out ‘researchers must keep in mind that our evolutions need to have some connection to the way people understand themselves. We cannot employ categories to understand diverse cultures by ignoring how people make sense of their lives’ (p.1010).

Ultimately, it can be said that this study successfully filled the gap in sociological tourism studies, and offered a broader meaning beyond the existing understanding of sex and sex work in Sri Lanka. In discussing sex and sex work, it was revealed that both domestic and tourism related sex work exist in Sri Lanka. At the same time it became apparent that, while having many religiously and socially created taboos over sex, sexual stimulation among locals is also prevalent in the general society. Hence, it could be identified that the understanding of sex in the society is ambivalent. When compared to other tourist destinations where generally based to discussions on sex, Sri Lanka is yet making efforts to protect the image of the country both domestically and internationally as a country, which Buddhism plays a major role or traditional and cultural values remain. Therefore, until now, sex is displayed only backstage, even though considerably high pressure for sexual needs could be found in general society. Constantly occurring rape cases, child abuses, spread of domestic prostitution and extra marital affairs, is evidence for such prevailing sexual pressures. This situation has been heightened with easy access to Internet pornography. Hence, by taking a basic step to provide a broader view of beach boys, this study emphasizes the need of being opened to global society not only physically, but also psychologically as well.

Moreover, since it could be identified that the concept of beach boys and their
relationships with tourists may vary according to the nature of the tourist destination, those issues will be investigated through future research. Research is also needed to further explore the issues of international marriages, and overall relationships between hosts and guests, especially because non-sexual intimate relationships could also be found in Hikkaduwa. Labor migration was also an interesting topic that emerged in the investigation process of this study. A comparative study can be done to thoroughly grasp the meanings and issues of migration to the Middle East region and Western/developed countries. Further research will be conducted placing more attention on gender and power relations, tourist behavior and host and guest relations in both sociological and psychological perspectives.
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Sinhalese

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Appendix 1: Summery – Current Beach Boys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>About International Marriage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CBB¹</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Completed O/L</td>
<td>Marine Instructor</td>
<td>Didn’t exactly indicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBB²</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Completed 6-10 years</td>
<td>Marine Instructor</td>
<td>Didn’t exactly indicate, but want to migrate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBB³</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Completed O/L</td>
<td>Marine Instructor</td>
<td>Didn’t exactly indicate, but want to migrate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBB⁴</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Completed 6-10 years</td>
<td>Restaurant Worker</td>
<td>Didn’t exactly indicate, but want to migrate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBB⁵</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Completed O/L</td>
<td>Marine Instructor</td>
<td>Focusing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBB⁶</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Completed O/L</td>
<td>Marine Instructor</td>
<td>Didn’t exactly indicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBB⁷</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Completed O/L</td>
<td>Restaurant Worker</td>
<td>Focusing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBB⁸</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Completed A/L</td>
<td>Marine Instructor</td>
<td>Focusing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBB⁹</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Completed O/L</td>
<td>Marine Instructor</td>
<td>Focusing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBB¹⁰</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Completed 6-10 years</td>
<td>Restaurant Worker</td>
<td>Didn’t exactly indicate, but want to migrate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBB¹¹</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Completed A/L</td>
<td>Guide</td>
<td>No interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBB¹²</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Completed 6-10 years</td>
<td>Marine Instructor</td>
<td>Focusing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBB¹³</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Completed O/L</td>
<td>Marine Instructor</td>
<td>Focusing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBB¹⁴</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Completed O/L</td>
<td>Guide</td>
<td>Focusing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBB¹⁵</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Completed 6-10 years</td>
<td>Restaurant Worker</td>
<td>Focusing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBB¹⁶</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Completed O/L</td>
<td>Marine Instructor</td>
<td>Focusing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBB¹⁷</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Completed O/L</td>
<td>Marine Instructor</td>
<td>No interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBB¹⁸</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Completed A/L</td>
<td>Guide</td>
<td>Focusing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBB¹⁹</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Completed 6-10 years</td>
<td>Marine Instructor</td>
<td>Focusing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBB²⁰</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Completed O/L</td>
<td>Restaurant Worker</td>
<td>Focusing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBB²¹</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Completed O/L</td>
<td>Marine Instructor</td>
<td>Focusing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBB²²</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Completed 6-10 years</td>
<td>Marine Instructor</td>
<td>Focusing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBB²³</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Completed O/L</td>
<td>Marine Instructor</td>
<td>Focusing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBB²⁴</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Completed 6-10 years</td>
<td>Guide</td>
<td>Focusing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBB²⁵</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Completed O/L</td>
<td>Marine Instructor</td>
<td>Focusing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBB²⁶</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Completed 6-10 years</td>
<td>Guide</td>
<td>No interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBB²⁷</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Completed 6-10 years</td>
<td>Guide</td>
<td>Focusing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix 2: Summery – Former Beach Boys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Place Settled in (Spouse from?)</th>
<th>Possession</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FBB¹</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Completed O/L</td>
<td>Finland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBB²</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Completed 6-10 years</td>
<td>Hikkaduwa (Japan)</td>
<td>Restaurant, Guesthouse, Surfing Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBB³</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Completed 6-10 years</td>
<td>Hikkaduwa (Japan)</td>
<td>Guesthouse &amp; Restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBB⁴</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Completed O/L</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>House in Hikkaduwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBB⁵</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Completed O/L</td>
<td>Hikkaduwa (Japan)</td>
<td>Guesthouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBB⁶</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Completed 6-10 years</td>
<td>Hikkaduwa (Japan)</td>
<td>Guesthouse &amp; Restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBB⁷</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Completed A/L</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>Land in Hikkaduwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBB⁸</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Completed O/L</td>
<td>Hikkaduwa (Austria)</td>
<td>Guesthouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBB⁹</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Completed 6-10 years</td>
<td>Hikkaduwa (Japan)</td>
<td>Restaurant, Guesthouse, Surfing Centre &amp; a Boutique hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBB¹⁰</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Completed 6-10 years</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Land &amp; House in Hikkaduwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBB¹¹</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Completed O/L</td>
<td>Hikkaduwa (Japan)</td>
<td>Rented restaurant from 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBB¹²</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Completed O/L</td>
<td>Hikkaduwa (German)</td>
<td>Guesthouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBB¹³</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Completed 6-10 years</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>Land &amp; Surf Center in Hikkaduwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBB¹⁴</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Completed 6-10 years</td>
<td>Hikkaduwa (Japan)</td>
<td>Guesthouse &amp; Restaurant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>