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SEXUAL HIERARCHIES AND EROTIC AUTONOMY

Colonizing and decolonizing sex in the Caribbean

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The Caribbean is immensely heterogeneous, the legacy of a long process of imperialism by British, French, Dutch, Spanish, and Danish states from 1492. The original Carib and Arawak communities were decimated by colonial wars and slavery in the region, largely replaced by a mix of white European settlers, enslaved Africans, and indentured Asian laborers. As a result, Caribbean cultures contain elements from multiple traditions and Caribbean peoples speak a range of European and creole languages. Political decolonization has also been an uneven process in the region. Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Cuba shed their European colonial masters in the nineteenth century but faced repeated American interventions throughout the early twentieth century. Suriname, a Dutch colony, and the majority of British Caribbean islands obtained independence in the 1950s–1970s, but a number of islands remain territories or overseas departments of European countries, or contain ambiguous status (such as Puerto Rico, an "unincorporated territory" of the United States). The region also continues to be economically dominated by foreign interests, exercising a fragile sovereignty in the context of an unequal world system.

The linguistic, cultural, and political diversity of the Caribbean has made it difficult at times to visualize the region as a coherent entity. And yet, when we look to the field of sexuality, we see a remarkable degree of convergence. Below, I explore the rich literature on sexuality in the Caribbean, identifying common themes, interesting departures, and areas for future research. The first section—"Colonizing islands, colonizing bodies"—focuses on the dominant discourses of reproduction and sexuality instilled by the colonial project. "Nationalism and colonial continuities" examines how nationalist movements responded to colonial discourses with their own regimes of sexual control and how the region's dependent position in the world economy continues to reinforce colonial sexual hierarchies. Indeed, in this context, it is nearly impossible to employ a neat analytical separation between the "colonial" and the "postcolonial." Scholars of the present—anthropologists, sociologists, and gender theorists—have had as much to say as historians about the powerful hold of colonial structures, making interdisciplinary exchanges crucial. This scholarship has also illustrated how actors have attempted to adapt, circumvent, or outright refuse colonial hierarchies throughout history. "Sexual practice and agency in a colonial/neo-colonial world" thus

moves beyond discourse and politics to highlight sexual practices, as documented by social histories, ethnographies, and cultural studies. These studies provide us with an entry point to envision a more complete form of sexual decolonization, with implications for scholarship and politics far beyond the region.

Colonizing islands, colonizing bodies

One of the most dominant characteristics shared across the Caribbean has been the deep impact of the trans-Atlantic slave trade on the structure of colonial societies. From 1501–1866 an estimated six million enslaved Africans arrived in the Caribbean, where they labored on plantations under the violent control of a small white European elite. As Jennifer Morgan, Sasha Turner, and others have illustrated, this system relied on tight control over the sexual and reproductive bodies of enslaved men and women.[1] The slave system was also justified by claims of European superiority and African inferiority that had a distinct sexual dimension. In colonial documents, missionary records, and travel narratives alike, black men were portrayed as sexually pathological and black women as loose and available, in need of "civilizing" through contact with white Christian sexual morality.[2] At the same time, plantation records illustrate how European men used their position of power to sexually dominate enslaved women. Black women were also hired out for commercial sex by white women, who outnumbered male slaveowners in some Caribbean cities.[3] Although white female sexuality was subject to tight regulation by colonial institutions, white women had the ability to claim protection from non-marital rape and a vitally different relationship to reproduction: white women produced free humans, black women birthed slaves.[4] As a result, patterns of sex and reproduction tightly enforced hierarchies of race, class, and gender across Caribbean societies.[5]

The legacies of the slave system continued well beyond emancipation. Low marriage rates, female-headed households, and the high rates of children born outside of wedlock amongst freed peoples across the region were condemned by colonial officials and Christian missionaries, who saw the sexually restrained nuclear family model as the basis of social order.[6] This anxiety intersected with concerns over low population growth in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century English Caribbean to drive a series of state interventions aimed at increasing reproduction.[7] By the 1930s, however, the narrative had shifted starkly: now *high* fertility and "overpopulation" were seen as the problem, in need of containment from Puerto Rico to Barbados and beyond.[8] The 1930s–1950s also saw an outpouring of research by social scientists and colonial states investigating the supposedly "disordered" Caribbean family structure, blamed for everything from poverty to labor rebellion to anti-colonial sentiment.[9] Locating the cause of unrest in the reproductive and familial practices of black women, of course, conveniently directed attention away from the impact of colonial structures and policies.

While the majority of the historiography has focused on the dynamics between white European and Afro-Caribbean populations, some pioneering works have turned their attention to the intimate contours of Asian indentureship, a major source of labor following the abolition of slavery.[10] More than 400,000 Indian (and a lesser number of Chinese and Javanese) laborers arrived in the Caribbean from 1834 to 1920, coming to form significant populations in Trinidad and the Guianas.[11] The preference for male laborers led to a significant gender imbalance within this community; in Trinidad, for example, there were twice as many Indian men than women until the 1930s.[12] Colonial officials, missionaries, and indentured men alike expressed concern over women's supposed "freedom of intercourse," lack of faithfulness, and exercise of polyandry in this context.[13] Colonial officials also replicated discourses from British India, setting up the "feminized" Indian male in contrast to the "hypersexual" African.[14]

If historical scholarship has provided a rich analysis of the formation and evolution of the race–sex nexus from the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries, there are some notable lacunas. Scholars often recognize how maritime culture facilitated sex work in the early colonial period, yet discussions of the actual nature and regulation of prostitution prior to the twentieth century appear only occasionally.[15] In-depth study of the sex trade within particular ports or a consideration of the trans-regional circulation of sex, perhaps using ship records or local law enforcement records, would provide a critical foundation for the in-depth explorations of sex work that exist for later periods (as discussed below). We also know little about the regulation of same-sex sexuality before the late twentieth century. As Robinson points out, although contemporary laws against sodomy and sexual indecency are often seen as a "giant fossil or contemptible relic"[16] of the colonial era, these laws have not been static or consistently applied over time. Tracing the political, economic, and social contexts that shaped legal reforms and the application of law in practice in earlier periods might help us better understand the institutionalization of —and potential fissures in—colonial heterosexual norms that continue to impact the region today.

Nationalism and colonial continuities

Whether currently independent or not, the territories of the Caribbean have experienced both the pull of nationalist sentiment and the limits of sovereignty in an unequal world system. Historical scholarship across the region has carefully tracked how nationalist movements in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries challenged European claims of racial and moral superiority, undermined colonial power, and enhanced the degree of political and economic control at the local level. However, these movements have been widely critiqued for failing to challenge the constrictive hierarchies of sex and gender instilled by colonial rule. As Sheller argues, the revolutionary war in Haiti (1791–1804) further entrenched a militarized, hierarchical masculinity that undermined the egalitarian and democratic values of republicanism.[17] Middle-class nationalist leaders across the twentieth-century Spanish, Dutch, and English Caribbean embraced discourses of "respectability," condemning single motherhood and childbirth outside of wedlock among the working classes in ways often starkly reminiscent of colonial narratives.[18] Even pan-Africanist movements rooted more firmly in the working classes largely replicated conservative sexual discourses, calling on black women to reproduce and defend the purity of the race.[19] The limited scholarship on middle-class Indo-Caribbean activism similarly highlights the efforts of male leaders to construct an image of a delicate, modern Indian woman firmly under patriarchal control.[20] In the face of colonial discourses that justified political rule on the basis of the subjects' supposedly disordered sexuality, nationalist movements responded by attempting to enforce sexual order within their communities.

These nationalist narratives drew on common scapegoats in defining the limits of sexual citizenship. As studies of Puerto Rico, Bahamas, Curaçao, and Aruba alike have shown, middle-class movements particularly targeted sexually "immoral" women and prostitutes.[21] Nationalisms were also constructed in relation to other subordinated communities and other islands: Arubans blamed moral decay on Afro-Curaçaoan prostitutes while Curaçaoans in turn condemned Dominican prostitutes.[22] Same-sex practices have also been frequently invoked by political leaders in the region, portrayed as a form of "deviance" threatening national coherence and/or a sign of the influence of "Westerners" impinging on a supposedly firmly heterosexual native past. As Alexander argues, this narrative seems ironically to forget the colonial roots of *anti*-sodomy legislation (as noted above).[23] Regardless of the internal

coherence of these discourses or who is deemed the "other," all accept the underlying (colonial) premise that a community's sexual practices are critical to "the success or failure of political rule."[24]

There have been challenges to these narratives throughout the region: liberal nationalists and black feminist activists on several Anglophone Caribbean islands, for example, called out sexual double standards and demanded recognition of women's reproductive rights as early as the 1930s and 1940s.[25] More historical analysis that moves beyond dominant leaders would help us see the multiple versions of nationalism put forward during decolonization processes and think more critically about why broader visions did not come to fruition. However, it is generally safe to say that those who assumed power in the post-colonial period did not prioritize sexual decolonization. As Kempadoo argues, the new postcolonial elite "privileged heterosexuality and masculine dominance, upheld a modified version of the European monogamous marriage system as the dominant norm, and continued to view African Caribbean working women's sexual behavior as loose yet subordinate to men's needs."[26] Alexander refers to this as a process of "recolonization"[27] in which postcolonial states replaced white colonial heteropatriarchy with black heteropatriarchy, in the process undermining the full "psychic, sexual and material" self-determination of the broader population. As she argues, "the neo-colonial state continues the policing of sexualized bodies … as if the colonial masters were still looking on."[28]

The socialist Cuban Revolution (1953–1959) provides an interesting potential counterpoint, promising a more fundamental rupture with colonial political, social, and economic structures. Scholars have shown how revolutionary ideology did, indeed, challenge several aspects of male domination and racial discrimination. Oral histories and anthropological studies of Cuba, however, illustrate the resilience of pre-revolutionary double standards surrounding sexuality, the heteropatriarchal underpinnings of the revolutionary "New Man" ideal, and the continued hypersexualization of black bodies.[29] The regime's program of "rehabilitation" of prostitutes—widely touted as one of the revolution's success stories—also took on conservative tones as female nationalist leaders attempted to remake sex workers into "maternal," desexualized women.[30] Most infamously, the regime undertook an unprecedented crackdown on same-sex practices, purging presumed homosexuals from institutions and sending them to forced labor camps.[31] While recent official policy has shifted to condemning homophobia, oral histories indicate continued trauma surrounding this policy.[32] Sex work in Cuba has also gained renewed visibility in the past few decades as the collapse of the Soviet Union fuelled an economic crisis and the island joined the rest of the region in turning to foreign tourism for survival.[33]

Perhaps nowhere are the continuities between colonial and neo-colonial structures more evident than in the contemporary position of the Caribbean within the structures of global sex tourism. As Kempadoo points out, "territories that once served as sex havens for the colonial elite are today frequented by sex tourists, and several economies now depend upon the region's racialized, sexualized image."[34] Scholars have illustrated how sex tourism across the islands has been fuelled by both colonial narratives of the hypersexualized "native" female body and by continuing global economic inequality.[35] The more recent phenomenon of white tourist women seeking out transactional sexual relationships with black men does little to disrupt sexual and racial hierarchies. As Kempadoo points out, these women's narratives of island "romance" uphold traditional ideas about white femininity, while their underlying desire for sexual experimentation with a racial Other builds on and maintains colonial race structures.[36]

Interestingly, scholars of the region have argued that even more progressive interventions by European actors, such as contemporary LGBTQ activism and the legalization of same-sex marriage in French and Dutch overseas departments, remain mired by the legacy of colonialism. King criticizes a model in which imperial interventionism becomes the basis for expanding the rights of sexual minorities, such that "a particular 'freedom' … depends upon a particular unfreedom."[37] Agard-Jones argues that French activists writing about the islands "unwittingly support the mapping of a development teleology on France's Caribbean territories," labeling them as less "modern" and positioning themselves as "saving" local gay people in a way that invokes colonial narratives.[38] The labeling of the Caribbean as "the most homophobic place on earth" by the international press might also be seen as a neo-colonial, paternalistic narrative.[39] Andil Gosine further criticizes the assumption that the labels and structure of gay activism in the North are the standard by which all forms of sexual activism in the South must be measured. As Trinidadian activist Corey Robinson puts it, "this is sounding a bit like Columbus here, discovering us."[40]

While these critiques challenge the colonial undertones and continued privileging of Northern actors in transnational spaces, they also create an underlying tension. As Smith points out, scholars and activists alike often find themselves trapped, forced to either reinforce narratives that portray the Caribbean as "other," based on its supposedly extreme homophobia, or to deny homophobia exists altogether.[41] Perhaps one way out of this bind is to ensure that analysis of the political realm—which tends to accentuate the most extreme voices on any end of an issue—is accompanied by attention to the daily realities of Caribbean people, so that we can see how these narratives play out, or do not, in practice. In the next section I turn to the rich scholarship from Caribbean social history, anthropology, and cultural studies that has taken us beyond discourse analysis to consider how Caribbean peoples have navigated sexuality under colonial and neo-colonial regimes.

Sexual practice and agency in a colonial/neo-colonial world

It has become something of a truism to remark on the difficulty of accessing marginalized voices within colonial archives, perhaps nowhere more so than in the context of slave societies. And yet scholars of the Caribbean have managed to painstakingly comb sources to provide us with glimpses of the sexual practices of enslaved peoples. Bush-Slimani argues that references in plantation records to abortion methods and late weaning might be read as evidence of enslaved women taking measures to control their reproduction.[42] Turner argues that the *silences* in the archives may also be telling. Planters' ignorance of women's pregnancy and childbirth practices, for example, illustrates their exclusion from this aspect of enslaved life, which may have provided women with a "small measure of autonomy."[43] Planters' complaints about their difficulty controlling enslaved women's "nocturnal wanderings"[44] also hint at the possibility of sexual lives outside of plantation boundaries. And yet scholars have been careful to remind us of the limits to this sexual "agency" within slave societies. Fuentes, for example, argues that we must remain conscious of "the forces of power that bore down on enslaved women, who sometimes survived in ways not typically heroic, and who sometimes succumbed to the violence inflicted on them."[45]

Historians across the region have also debated whether the sexual and conjugal practices of working-class Caribbean peoples after slavery might be seen as a form of resistance to colonial structures. Johnson and Moore, for example, argue that freed Jamaicans' diverging family patterns illustrate their desire to be "the masters of their own lives."[46] Studies from English,

French, and Dutch Caribbean contexts have argued that lower-class women may actually prefer remaining unmarried to retain more independence,[47] and some have suggested that high fertility rates represent an assertion of Afro-Caribbean values.[48] However, other studies—often within the same contexts—argue that working-class women *do* aspire to marriage; their determination to build families outside of wedlock may have been "more a matter of necessity than choice."[49] There is also plenty of evidence of working-class women actively seeking out birth control to challenge the idea that unrestrained fertility is a universal cultural value.[50] The longevity of these debates may point to the difficulty of defining cultural principles and the complex personal imperatives that shape intimate lives, both of which are hard to tease out from limited colonial sources. More oral and life history studies are needed across the region, so we can see how people have reconciled these elements in practice. At the very least, as Barrow notes, the resilience of unique Caribbean kinship structures challenges the colonial assumption that the co-resident nuclear family is "natural, universal and essential."[51]

Scholars have also explored how women's sexual work can provide a path for economic security and upward mobility under both colonial and neo-colonial rule. Studies of twentieth-century archives surrounding the legislation of prostitution and contemporary anthropological research illustrate the diversity of the forms sex work can take, from a structured institution to a temporary, informal arrangement. In contrast to traditional narratives of victimhood, this research suggests that women have frequently entered into relationships of transactional sex consciously and with clear objectives in mind. As Charles notes, poor women in Haiti describe their bodies as "my piece of land … a resource, an asset, a form of capital that can reap profits if well invested."[52] But Sheller reminds us that this form of "agency" also comes at a price: sexual vulnerability and dependence on private relationships.[53] Indeed, while some sex workers are able to achieve levels of financial security or opportunities for migration by appealing to the colonial sexualized fantasies of Northern men, many others do not.[54] Transforming individual acts of sexual agency into a broader overturning of social structures, Kempadoo argues, will likely require the type of collective organization undertaken by the contemporary sex worker movement.[55]

In contrast to the visibility of sex work in the Caribbean, queer relationships and same-sex practices have largely been hidden from view, a "*secreto abierto*" (open secret) unacknowledged by those involved or the broader community. King argues that this is not quite the same as "hiding" or merely internalized homophobia; we might see it rather as a matter of discretion attributed to sexual practice more broadly.[56] Hamilton describes adherence to this silence as a "survival strategy;"[57] for Agard-Jones it is a form of "radical passivity."[58] In any case, it leads to serious gaps in the historical record.[59] Agard-Jones, however, illustrates how careful readings of travel narratives, literature, and popular memory can allow us to construct "an unstable, atomized archive of queer relation"[60] in the colonial Caribbean. Anthropological studies from the 1930s onward have also documented a variety of local terms describing same-sex practice across the region, including: "making zami" in Grenada, Carriacou, Dominica, Trinidad, and Barbados; "antiwoman" in St. Kitts; "malnom and antiwoman" on Dominica; "sodomite" and "man royal" in Jamaica; "kapuchera" or "kambrada" in the Dutch Antilles; "buller man" in Trinidad; and "ma divine" in the French-speaking Caribbean.[61] These popular categories point to a longer history of queer relationality and practice in the Caribbean that demands further research in order to adequately situate it within the social, political, and economic context of the twentieth century.

A fascinating counterpoint to the general silence surrounding same-sex desire in Caribbean communities is presented by Wekker's rich historical and anthropological analysis of the "mati work" in Suriname, a practice in which women have sexual relationships with both

men and women, either simultaneously or consecutively.[62] References to mati relationships date back to colonial archives and missionary records from at least the beginning of the twentieth century, and the relationships continue to be relatively widespread and generally accepted amongst the working classes. Wekker argues that the mati work draws on West African grammatical principles that allow for flexible incarnations of gender and a celebration of sex as a normal and healthy part of life. Indeed, in stark contrast to colonial and nationalist discourses of "respectability" and sexual restraint, mati women "unabashedly enjoy sex, are active sexual beings, take sex seriously, can disengage sex from love, and, strikingly, talk about sex openly, using distinct linguistic expressions of their own."[63]

As Wekker herself notes, it can be difficult to talk about this kind of overt sexual expression in a context so over-determined by longstanding colonial narratives linking black women's presumed hypersexuality to inferiority.[64] Indeed, part of the reticence around sexuality in nationalist movements and contemporary middle-class culture may reflect a fear that "any departure from a wholesome, straightforward sexuality would risk a return to the scene of colonial degradation."[65] But these official discourses have never fully managed to quell sexual expression anyway. Cultural studies have identified multiple spaces in which alternative norms of sexuality have survived, from erotic literature,[66] to popular plays and performances,[67] to Caribbean carnivals.[68] Cooper argues that the self-professed "slackness" of Jamaican dancehall culture could be seen as a "radical, underground confrontation"[69] with colonial and nationalist patriarchal ideology, creating a potentially liberating space in which women are able to play out eroticized roles and celebrate a black, full-bodied sensuality that flies in the face of Eurocentric standards. Puri makes a similar case in analysing the calypso song "*Lick down me nani*" by Indo-Trinidadian singer Drupatee Ramgoonai, whose double entendres barely cover an invocation to oral sex.[70]

Of course, this is not to say that all expressions of popular culture are inherently progressive or liberating. Cross-dressing Carnival characters at times do little more than mock poor black women and/or trans people,[71] and Mohammed reminds us of the long history of misogyny, homophobia, and celebration of violence against women in Caribbean music.[72] Even Cooper acknowledges that the line between celebration and exploitation of the black female body is "as thin as some of the fashionable garments sported by women in the dancehall."[73] In-depth anthropological fieldwork posing these questions to participants themselves provides a fruitful avenue to side-step either/or discussions on female sexual exploitation. Still, this literature reminds us that blatant sexuality does not *have* to be seen as pathological; it can also be empowering and pleasurable. Perhaps these spaces of the "vulgar popular,"[74] where sexuality is portrayed "not as a battle or even a question but as a fact,"[75] might also provide a path out of the narrow confines of colonial and neo-colonial discourses and toward sexual decolonization.

Indeed, as Gosine argues, it is not enough to deconstruct: we must also "construct and refashion."[76] Taking their cues from both scholarly and activist circles, Caribbean cultural critics have envisioned structures of sexuality that might provide for more breathing space.

As Alexander argues, "the work of decolonization consists as well in the decolonization of the body";[77] the goal is "erotic autonomy," liberation of the sexual from both colonial and nationalist intervention.[78] For King, we need a world of "women voicing, advocating for, and/or pursuing control of their own sexuality or erotic pleasure on their own terms."[79] But this sexual liberation need not mean a refusal of nationalism altogether or a capitulation to internationalist narratives that (as we have seen) frequently reinforce inequalities of their own. Gosine, for example, argues that the activist organization CAISO mobilizes Caribbean cultural markers to posit same-sex desire as essentially "Trinbagonian," rather than invoking a

globalized "sexual identity."[80] The desire is not for the dissolution of the nation but for a "*transformed* nation" advocating a "progressive homonationalism" inclusive and responsive to all.[81] As King argues, "what island bodies look like and which other bodies they desire have been quite varied for an extremely long time; what remains is for Caribbean laws and hierarchies to catch up."[82]

Conclusion

The interdisciplinary scholarship on the Caribbean illustrates the common dynamics of colonial sexual discourses across imperial projects, linguistic divides, and political regimes, as well as the remarkable longevity of colonial race–sex–class hierarchies. It also shows how subjugated peoples have responded in different ways to colonizing, nationalizing, and re-colonizing projects: carving out spaces to live and express their sexuality even when their rights to do so have not been recognized from above. There are several gaps in our understanding: studies of same-sex sexuality and sex work would benefit from reaching farther back in time; we might gain from more exploration of alternative nationalist/activist visions put forth by marginalized actors; and both historical debates and contemporary cultural theories could be enhanced with grounding in oral histories. But, overall, this is a rich literature that pushes us to think about sex and sexuality in all of its facets. Perhaps most exciting of all is the willingness to move beyond critique, to think about what a full decolonization, "imagined simultaneously as political, economic, psychic, discursive, *and* sexual,"[83] might entail.

The methodological techniques, theories, and creativity illustrated in this work have implications for wider scholarship on colonialism and sexuality. The careful reading of sources to explore enslaved lives provides a model for social history methodology in colonial contexts; the delicate rendering of agency–victimhood in studies of sex work might prove valuable to studies of other regions similarly locked in the neo-colonial sex tourism nexus; and the complexities of same-sex practices under heteropatriarchal regimes resonate with other countries living with the legacy of colonial anti-sodomy laws. But this conversation need not be confined to areas formerly colonized by European empires; those in former metropolitan societies might also benefit from the challenges presented by this literature. In her analysis of the transference of "mati work" to the Netherlands by Surinamese female migrants, for example, Wekker questions the assumption that the women will soon adopt the language and practices of "modern" Dutch lesbianism. She asks: why is it so inconceivable that Dutch women instead might adopt some of the (sexually liberating) behavioral repertoire of Surinamese women?[84] Perhaps, by taking the politics and practices of sex in the Caribbean seriously, we might all free ourselves from the constrictive sexual norms and teleological narratives of modernity inherited from our shared colonial past.

Notes

1 Morgan, *Laboring Women*; Turner, *Contested Bodies*.
2 Morgan, *Laboring Women*; Johnson and Moore, *Neither Led Nor Driven*.
3 Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives*; Jones, "Contesting the Boundaries."
4 Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives,* 74–79.
5 Matinez-Alier, *Marriage, Class and Colour;* Morgan, *Laboring Women*; Turner, *Contested Bodies*.
6 Johnson and Moore, *Neither Led Nor Driven*; Findley, *Imposing Decency*; Macpherson, *From Colony to Nation*; Wekker, *The Politics of Passion*.
7 De Barros, *Reproducing the British Caribbean*.

8 Briggs, *Reproducing Empire;* Bourbonnais, *Birth Control in the Decolonizing Caribbean*.
9 Barrow, *Family in the Caribbean*; Chamberlain, "Small Worlds."
10 Mohammed, *Gender Negotiations Among Indians in Trinidad*; Puri, *The Caribbean Postcolonial*; Niranjana, "Indian Nationalism and Female Sexuality."
11 De Barros, *Reproducing the Caribbean,* 44.
12 Barrow, *Family in the Caribbean,* 343.
13 Niranjana, "Indian Nationalism and Female Sexuality."
14 Puri, *The Caribbean Postcolonial,* 187.
15 See for example, Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives,* ch. 2.
16 Robinson, "Authorized Sex," 5.
17 Sheller, *Citizenship from Below.*
18 Briggs, *Reproducing Empire*; Bourbonnais, *Birth Control in the Decolonizing Caribbean;* Wekker, *The Politics of Passion*; Allen, "Contesting Respectability."
19 Macpherson, *From Colony to Nation*; Ford-Smith, "Unruly Virtues of the Spectacular."
20 Niranjana, "Indian Nationalism and Female Sexuality."
21 Findley, *Imposing Decency*; Kempadoo, *Sexing the Caribbean*; Alexander, "Erotic Autonomy"; Schields, "'This is the Soul of Aruba Speaking.'"
22 Kempadoo, *Sexing the Caribbean*; Schields, "'This is the Soul of Aruba Speaking.'"
23 Alexander, "Erotic Autonomy," 83.
24 Smith, "Introduction," in *Sex and the Citizen,* 4.
25 Bourbonnais, *Birth Control in the Decolonizing Caribbean*.
26 Kempadoo, *Sexing the Caribbean,* 19.
27 Alexander, "Erotic Autonomy," 66.
28 Ibid., 83.
29 Hamilton, *Sexual Revolutions in Cuba*; Allen, ¡*Venceremos?*
30 Hynson, "'Count, Capture, and Reeducate.'"
31 Guerra, "Gender policing, homosexuality and the new patriarchy."
32 Hamilton, *Sexual Revolutions in Cuba*; Allen, ¡*Venceremos?*
33 Hynson, "'Count, Capture and Reeducate.'"
34 Kempadoo, *Sexing the Caribbean,* 1.
35 Ibid.; Brennan, *What's Love Got to Do with It?*
36 Kempadoo, *Sexing the Caribbean*.
37 King, *Island Bodies*, 66.
38 Agard-Jones, "Le Jeu de Qui?"
39 King, *Island Bodies,* 83–85.
40 Quoted in Gosine, "CAISO, CAISO," 871.
41 Smith, "Introduction," 11.
42 Bush-Slimani, "Hard Labour."
43 Turner, *Contested Bodies,* 14.
44 Ibid., 63.
45 Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives,* 3.
46 Johnson and Moore, *Neither Led Nor Driven,* 136.
47 Ibid.; see also Wekker, *The Politics of* Passion; Charles, "Popular Imageries of Gender and Sexuality."
48 Heuring, "Health and the Politics of 'Improvement' in British Colonial Jamaica."
49 Altink, *Destined for a Life of Service*, 6.
50 Bourbonnais, *Birth Control in the Decolonizing Caribbean*.
51 Barrow, *Family in the Caribbean,* x.
52 Charles, "Popular Imageries of Gender and Sexuality," 170.
53 Sheller, *Citizenship from Below,* 153.
54 Brennan, "Tourism in Transnational Places," 633. For a similarly nuanced analysis of prostitution in the circum-Caribbean, see Putnam, *The Company They Kept*.
55 Kempadoo, *Sexing the Caribbean*.
56 King, *Island Bodies,* 64.
57 Hamilton, *Sexual Revolutions in Cuba,* 162.
58 Agard-Jones, "Le Jeu de Qui?"
59 LaFont, "Very Straight Sex."
60 Agard-Jones, "What the Sands Remember," 331.

61 Wekker, *The Politics of Passion,* 77–78, 214–219.
62 Wekker, *The Politics of Passion*.
63 Ibid., 173.
64 Ibid., 5.
65 Smith, "Introduction," 10.
66 Hamilton, *Sexual Revolutions in Cuba*; Tinsley, *Thiefing Sugar.*
67 Ford-Smith, "Unruly Virtues of the Spectacular."
68 King, *Island Bodies*; Puar, "Global Circuits."
69 Cooper, *Sound Clash*, 4.
70 Puri, *The Caribbean Postcolonial,* 196–205.
71 King, *Island Bodies,* 44–51.
72 Mohammed, "A Blueprint for Gender in Creole Trinidad."
73 Cooper, *Sound Clash,* 245.
74 Ford-Smith, "Unruly Virtues of the Spectacular," 33.
75 King, *Island Bodies,* 124.
76 Gosine, "CAISO, CAISO," 874.
77 Alexander, "Erotic Autonomy," 21.
78 Alexander, "Erotic Autonomy."
79 King, *Island Bodies,* 124.
80 Gosine, "CAISO, CAISO."
81 King, *Island Bodies,* 117.
82 Ibid., 17.
83 Alexander, "Erotic Autonomy," 100.
84 Wekker, *The Politics of Passion,* 239.

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