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Prostitution in Havana, Cuba, A Conflict Analysis of “The Phenomenon of Jineterismo in Havana, Cuba.” A Narrative Study

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A Conflict Analysis of “The Phenomenon of *Jineterismo* in Havana, Cuba.”
A Narrative Study

by

Nereida Roman

A Dissertation Presented to the
Halmos College of Arts and Sciences of Nova Southeastern University
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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**Nova Southeastern University
Halmos College of Arts and Sciences**

This dissertation was submitted by Nereida Roman under the direction of the chair of the dissertation committee listed below. It was submitted to the Halmos College of Arts and Sciences and approved in partial fulfillment for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Conflict Analysis and Resolution at Nova Southeastern University.

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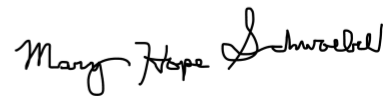


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Table of Contents

List of Tables	iv
List of Figures	v
Abstract	vi
Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study	1
Problem Statement	1
Background	3
Purpose of the Study	5
Guiding Research Questions	6
Research Design	6
Organization of the Study	7
Definition of Terms	10
Chapter 2: Literature Review: History of Women in Cuba	13
Colonial Background History	13
Status of Women	14
Neo-Colonialism & Batista Regime	15
Fidel Castro & Communism Era History	16
El Periodo Especial	17
Obama Re-opening & President Trump's Policies	18
Theoretical Framework	20
Social Conflicts and Structural Violence	20
Feminization of Poverty	22
Theories of Sex Workers and Trafficking	23

Sex Tourism	28
Human Needs Theory	31
Feminist Theory	35
Feminism in International Relations	37
Epistemological Stance and Social Constructivism.....	41
Chapter 3: Methodology	43
Narrative Inquiry.....	43
Research Sample.....	43
Data Collection	44
Data Analysis and Holistic Process	48
Limitations	53
Role of the Researcher, Assumptions, and Ethical Considerations	53
Chapter 4: Results	56
Jinetera Profiles.....	56
Themes and Subthemes.....	64
Narrative of Jintereas Stories	64
Jineteras Survived and Persevere in Hardship times	65
Empowerment is Perceived by Jineteras as a Form of Freedom	67
Continuing to Pursue Education while Working as Jineteras	79
Jineteras Believe They Are Not Respected or Protected	83
Some Jineteras Experienced Abandonment from Family Members and Others	91
Government Conflicts are Grounded on Lack of Assistance and Abuse.....	94

Being a Single Mother is One of the Reasons for Working in Jineterismo.....	107
HIV/AIDS Protection Relies Mostly on what is Available to Protect.....	112
Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations.....	116
Conclusion	126
References.....	133
Appendix A: Jineteras Interviews in Spanish	138
Appendix B: Jineteras Translated into Color-Coding Holistic Process.....	174
Appendix C: Map of the Interview Locations in Havana, Cuba.....	234
Appendix D: Interview Questions for Jineteras in English and Spanish.....	235

List of Tables

Table 1. A Coding Sample for Jineteras	51
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List of Figures

Figure 1: Maslow's Hierarchic of Needs.....	33
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Abstract

This narrative inquiry discovered the phenomenon of *jineteras* and *jineterismo* in Havana, Cuba. *Jinetera* (single) or *jineterismo* (group) refers to female prostitution in Cuba. Thus, the study examines the life experiences of *jineteras*, including the causes and influences. This dissertation provided an opportunity for women currently involved in *jineterismo* to voice their narratives in a natural and safe environment. The study involved seven *jineteras* who engaged in the research through informal interviews. This narrative inquiry protects individuals' social situations and circumstances. The researcher examined the interview data through a holistic – content, the life story of an individual, and the material presented by it (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, & Zilber, 1998, p.13). Further, social constructivism and feminism theories explain the phenomenon across narrative inquiries of *jineterismo* in Cuba. Conflict analysis played a significant role based on countless conflicts on the island, for example, sex tourism, structural violence, and social conflict. In addition to the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV/AIDS, human rights violations, human trafficking, and other social challenges such as poverty, abuse, economic conflicts, government exploitation, and citizens' punishment before committing a crime. This narrative provides an opportunity to narrate women's stories and, at the same time, create awareness. This dissertation is valuable for organizations, educators, and researchers interested in *jineterismo*.

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

“The Phenomenon of *Jineterismo* in Cuba” studied and researched female prostitution in Havana, Cuba. This narrative inquiry endeavor illustrated and discovered the phenomenon of *jineteras* and *jineterismo* in Havana, Cuba.

The term *jineterismo* started after the special period or “*El Periodo Especial*,” which materialized after the Cuban economy’s decline in the 1980s (Bunck, 1994). *Jineterismo* is a term used by the island’s citizens, as a jockey on top of a horse. Thus, in this case, *jineterismo* is a group of women working in the business of prostitution. *Jinetera* is a woman that defines female prostitution in Cuba. Many Cubans relate *jineterismo* to sex-tourism within the island. Conflict resolution discipline is relevant to *jineterismo* for its complexity in relation to sex-tourism, structural violence, and social conflict. Sex-tourism is one of the causes that affects society and *jineterismo* in Cuba. There is limited data related to *jineterismo*; neither quantitative nor qualitative studies are accessible to prostitution in Cuba.

Problem Statement

Jineteras remain discreet and reserved with their work and what they do. On the other hand, it seems that individuals’ philosophies vary regarding *jineteras*. This dissertation aims to enhance understanding of sex tourism, structural violence, feminization of poverty, and social conflict among *jineteras*’ living experiences. Thus, to prevent misperception as to why these women enter the business of *jineterismo*, the researcher investigated the real history of women in Cuba who work as *jineteras*.

This dissertation offers the opportunity for participants to voice their stories. The government allows *jineterismo* only when it benefits the financial situation on the island.

Simultaneously, they crack down on *jineterismo*, using the police force to intimidate and discourage future prostitution. The police accept monetary bribes from *jineteras* to do their duties, and at the same time, escape imprisonment.

The investigator discovered that *jineteras* established an agreement with the Cuban government to consent to do their work on certain occasions. The Cuban government tolerates *jineterismo* in specific circumstances to stimulate the economy. Thus, there is corruption within; for example, in some samples, *jineteras* negotiate compensations with the Cuban government to continue to work as a *jineteras*. Examining this study allowed a better understanding of sex tourism, structural violence, and social conflict. The conflicts involving *jineteras* are consistent with their dealings with sex-tourism. Children play a significant role in the study since some of the participants started when they were minors. This research aims to explore the lives of *jineteras*, including but not limited to their current challenges, cases of exploitation, socio-economic environment, structural violence, sex-tourism, social conflicts, health, conflicts, and sexually transmitted diseases, safety, and security.

Jineteras live and work in different geographical locations and endure diverse circumstances mostly related to socio-economic conditions. *Jineteras* have difficulties finding a home; Cuba's housing market does not provide shelter for its people. In some areas, residences are collapsing, and people are dying inside their homes. Thus, the government has full control of the citizen's properties. The government keeps these properties to later place them for sale to outsiders or investors traveling to the island (Cabezas, 2009).

To gain firsthand knowledge, the researcher conducted face to face interviews and provided an opportunity to hear the voice and the experiences of *jineteras*. The research questions' emphasis is on addressing the life stories of *jineteras* and their conflicts. Thus, the following research questions are used in the investigation: "What are the life stories of *jineteras*? What kinds of conflicts do *jineteras* experience? And how do they manage them? What are the perceived lived experiences and perceptions of *jineteras*? What is the leading cause for *jineteras* to contribute to the business of *jineterismo*?" These questions relate to the problem and are significant for the study. Creswell (2013) believes in trusting as much as possible in the participants' interpretations of the situation (pg. 25). Research questions facilitate the dissertation process bringing a better analysis of the internal and external conflicts of *jineteras*.

Multiple conflict disciplines and theories connect to conflicts within Cuba and their society. The field of conflict analysis and resolution offers a mixture of tools to analyze and resolve conflicts in third world countries. This dissertation found an initiative through conflict analysis resolution and narrative inquiry. Burton (1998) explains, "when essentials needs are met, conflicts are solved or evaded." In this case, the current changes in Cuba's cultural exchange were essential for a smoother process to finalize the research. This researcher supports community awareness, female empowerment, experiences collaboration, and conflict resolution. Thus, the investigator provides a synopsis background related to Cuban history.

Background

The dictionary of the Encyclopedia Britannica's findings (n.d.) provided the following information. Cuba is an island located 90 miles south of the State of Florida.

The Gulf of Mexico surrounds it on the northwest, and the Atlantic Ocean on the northeast. Cuba is the largest island in the West Indies. Most Cubans live in urban areas and work in Havana, Cuba, and they love music, singing, and dancing. The location of the island has been an influence on history.

The climate of Cuba is tropical and moderated by trade winds from hurricanes and tropical storms. Cuba makes good use of its land by growing crops for its people and selling them to other countries. For centuries, sugar cane plantations have been a significant source of income (Arboleya, 2008). Thus, sugar is the most important export of the country. The tropical climate is warm to hot all year long, which is favorable and fertile for coffee, fish, fruits, and tobacco produce. Cuba has a beautiful, natural landscape and beautiful beaches. Cubans are known for their cigars, but these are not enough to help the economy.

Cuba is a communist country. The conflicts in Cuba form part of many different conflicts, such as lack of proper negotiations and friendliness. The Cuban government continues to be a communist country since Fidel Castro came into power in 1959. Thus, poverty impacts its citizens. The government owns or controls most farms, businesses, and some Cuban properties. The communist government of the Soviet Union helped support Cuba for many years (Cabezas, 2009, p. 22). When the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, Cuba faced difficulties; Cuba's trade with other countries did not bring enough capital to meet its people (Cabezas, 2009). Thus, to save energy, the Cuban government also orders blackouts and blocks the electricity in specific areas. For example, in Regla, Havana, Cuba, the power shuts down after nine, and citizens do not have the ability, water, or food to feed their families.

President Obama facilitated the island with new contracts, but recently after the U.S government and President Trump stopped agreements with Cuba, things are more challenging for its citizens. It has been tough for the country to find oil; Venezuela trades oil with Cuba at a reduced price but is not enough. The government and the city do confront several conflicts within the island. Cuba needs assistance from outside countries to survive, significantly after Trump's changed Obama's laws and not allowing Americans to travel directly to the island. These changes influence tourism, finances, and directly affect the citizens of Cuba.

Purpose of the Study

This dissertation reflects the insights of seven women from various areas in Havana, Cuba, who work as *jineteras*. The study examined *jineteras'* lived experiences through research and collecting narratives inquiries. Thus, creating awareness through their voices living and working in Cuba in the field of *jineterismo*. Narrative analysis facilitated the study through individual interviews, as it provided an example of *jineteras'* daily life. Hence, prostitution falls within the family of the historical disenfranchisement of women. The study explored the extent of how *jineteras* negotiate their individuality without compromising their current conditions.

Therefore, women voice their tales in their own words, unrestricted from society's morals and culture. Chaitin (2004) state, we might be tempted to "jump into" respondents' stories, correct factual inaccuracies, commend the respondents' actions, or share our point of view, we need to refrain from doing so (p. 143). This researcher listened and paid attention to their voices, as well as their own individualized stories. The investigator adheres to examining the life of *jineteras* and how it reflects the social context through

historical research. Thus, this research studied individuals' social environments during the interview process.

Guiding Research Questions

The researcher listened to the internal conflicts faced by women who work in the business of *jineterismo*. Thus, the investigator designed the following research queries throughout the interview project to make it easier for the participants. To learn and identify *jineteras* lives. The following research questions guided the study:

1. What are the life stories of *jineteras*?
2. What kinds of conflicts do *jineteras* experience? And how do they manage them?
3. What are the perceived lived experiences and perceptions of *jineteras*?
4. What is the leading cause for *jineteras* to contribute to the field of *jineterismo*?

Research Design

The narrative inquiry permitted the researcher to collect, analyze, and interpret the participant's stories. The research process highlighted how *jineteras* unraveled their stories. Thus, by collecting data related to their life, as well as developing their experiences. Chaitin (2004) identifies three elements and assumptions central to the life story methodology, for example, "(1) Every person has a unique story to share and gives his/her meaning to the story. (2) Although the stories are unique by themselves, they are rooted in specific social and cultural settings. (3) Individuals do not tell random stories; everything they share in such narratives has meaning for their existence" (p.29). Therefore, it is essential to explore *jineteras* stories as a significant part of their life.

Thus, the study allowed them to express themselves with limited guidance from the researcher. “It is invaluable to explore people’s representation of their lives by allowing them to frame their stories and highlight those aspects of their lives meaningful to them without direction by the researcher” (McAdams, 2006, p. 104).

Jineteras communicated their life involvements with the investigator through narrative. Lieblich et al. (1998) argue the use of narrative methodology results in luxurious and exclusive data inaccessible from forms of data collection, such as experiments or observations. According to Lieblich et al. (1998), this study is an example of narrative inquiry, and as it exercises and analyzes narrative materials. Searching for information within *jineteras*’ narratives is an excellent starting point. Many of the women believe that they are “not understood and misjudged.”

Organization of the Study

Narrative inquiry plays a fundamental discovery of *jineteras* life stories. This researcher compares *jineteras* experiences and their identities based on their life stories. Thus, to better understand *jineteras* narratives, it is necessary to understand the circumstances and background they live and work and their environment. Therefore, several conflicts relate to the *jineterismo* surface in the findings, which provide readers with an unfamiliar face of prostitution in Cuba.

Chapter one starts with the introduction, problem statement, background, the purpose of the study, the guiding research questions and objectives, research design, organization of the study, and definition of terms. The narrative analysis provided the opportunity to research individuals through interviews. *Jineteras* communicated their personal stories, unrestricted from the morality of their society and culture. Thus,

research design inquiry is a method that allows the researcher to collect, analyze, and interpret the participant's stories. The last sections of the chapters relate to the significance of the study and the definition of terms.

It continues with the guiding research questions used in the investigation and collecting data related to their lives and experience development. Chaitin (2004) identifies three elements and assumptions significant to the methodology, for example, “(1) Every person has a unique story to share and gives his/her meaning to the story. (2) Although the stories are unique by themselves, they are rooted in specific social and cultural settings. (3) Individuals do not tell random stories; everything they share in such narratives has meaning for their lives”. Thus, these factors defined they affect each other in the life experiences of *jineteras*. There are certain limits about this research, such as *jineteras* willingness to tell their stories and their lived experiences; some fear governmental reprisals, reluctant to express their choices because of embarrassment or lack of trust.

Chapter two provides information on literature reviews connected to Cuban history, starting with colonial background history and its relation to the current prostitution in Cuba. It follows with the Neo-Colonialism & Batista Regime, Fidel Castro & Communism Era and *El Periodo Especial*, and the Obama re-opening & President Trump's women's policies. Chapter two continues explaining phenomena by adding structural violence and social conflict, the feminization of poverty, which increases prostitution and trafficking of women. For example, theories relating to sex tourism, feminism. Enloe theories, human needs theory, social workers theories, epistemological stance, and social constructivism. Theorist Enloe (1989) states that the so-called

“romance tourism” is also included sex tourism narrative as a type of sex tourism. Some theorist explained, sex tourism is part of prostitution and child prostitution, romance tourism. Feminism in prostitution sometimes relates to patriarchy. Thus, it reduces the diversity of dealings between men and women to a generalized replica of dominance-subordination, emphasizing human rights issues, rather than patriarchy and gender dominance within the tourist sector. Bailey and Ricketts (2003) explain, “heightened risk for gender vulnerabilities within ... the tourism sector “(p. 72). Feminist theorists argued that in certain situations, *jineterismo* could be a form of abuse towards women. Women in the prostitution field might experience violence and abuse by their clients in different styles throughout their daily lives (Dworkin, 1992, p. 3).

Jineteras go through many forms of abuse. Cabezas (2009) explains how the government penalizes *jineterismo* by holding open courts and publicly humiliating *jineteras* in front of other citizens (p.19). This chapter also explains the epistemological stance of social constructivism. Thus, the social constructivist theory describes how some individuals seek to understand the world in which they live.

Chapter three explains the narrative research and narrative inquiry in detail, following with interview questions, data collection, data analysis, in-depth thematic analysis, reading the holistic approach, limitations, and the researcher’s role, assumptions, and ethics. All these chapters describe the study of *jineterismo*.

Chapters four presents the participant’s results and narratives; succeeding with themes emerged throughout the data analysis. *Jinetera*’s stories explain how *jineteras* survive and persevere in hardship times, including themes related to survival, perseverance, and empowerment. This chapter also represents the continuing to

pursue education while working as *jineteras*, such as education, the use of technology, economic freedom, love, and companionship. Additional themes relate to shortages, abuse and rape, intercourse, self-worth, and abandonment. *Jineteras* believe they are not respected or protected and endure physical abuse. Them of prostitution can be economic freedom and an opportunity to make money. Other themes include empowerment, which is perceived by *jineteras* as a form of freedom to meet their needs.

Some *jineteras* experienced abandonment from family members and others. The chapter goes beyond the violence and explains the government conflict in Cuba, the themes of underpaid, government abuse, unemployed, and police abuse. Thus, another central theme is family, children, and single mothers related to HIV/AIDS and the disease. The final chapter provides a summary and a conclusion of the findings. Thus, throughout this dissertation, it was necessary to study *jineteras* background and context. Chapter five is the last chapter, which summarizes and discusses the dissertation and a conclusion.

Definition of Terms

For clarity and ease of understanding, this researcher defines several key terms relevant to this research.

- ***Jineteras*.** Women in Cuba who work in *jineterismo*/prostitution. Individually they are called *jinetera*; as a group, it is *jineterismo*, which represents prostitution. *Jinetera*, translated in English, means a jockey; the Cuban translation stands for women on top of a horse.
- ***El Periodo Especial*.** The special period or “*El Periodo Especial*,” when Cuba lacked the financial stability to support its citizens, materialized after the

decline of the Cuban economy in the 1980s (Bunck, 1994). The special period started after the Soviet Union's collapse, one of the most significant sponsors of the economy and its sugar production (De La Cova, 2007, p. 5).

- **Sex trafficking.** Sex trafficking is usually associated with poverty, illiteracy, and gender discrimination in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion. The person produced to perform such an action has not attained 18 years of age; or the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, using force, fraud, or coercion for subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery (USDS, 2010).
- ***Jineterismo*.** The term used by the island's citizens, which means a jockey on top of a horse. Thus, in this case, *jineterismo* is a group of women working in the business of prostitution. *Jinetera* is a woman that defines female prostitution in Cuba. (Bunck, 1994). It is an illegal or semi-legal economic activity related to tourism in Cuba, including prostitution and pimping, other forms of hustling, black-market and counterfeit goods, providing private taxi services, and serving as free tourist guides; signifies a woman on top of a horse. (Wikipedia, 2019).
- **CUC.** It is the current Cuban currency that replaced the pesos and U.S. dollars.
- **Sex-Tourism.** Sex-tourist is any international traveler from abroad over the age of 18years old who travel to other countries to have sex with people from overseas. (Dworkin, 1997).

- **Sex work.** Sex workers have become a commonly used terminology in theoretical writing and are considered by many to be a more diplomatic phrase than prostitution (Dworkin, 1997).
- **Communism.** “A political theory stemmed from Karl Marx, speaking for class war and leading to a society in which all property people work and get paid according to their capacities and needs” (Kramer, 2015, p. 40).

Chapter 2: Literature Review: History of Women in Cuba

Colonial Background History

This literature review considers the historical and current context of *jineteras* living and working in Havana, Cuba. This study aimed to gain more in-depth insight through narrative inquiries of prostitution in Cuba and internal conflicts. The study sought to learn the internal and external conflicts *jineteras* encounter daily. The literature review examines the history of prostitution and Cuba's history from colonialism to the present status. Thus, this investigation evaluates the literature and theories related to prostitution and *jineterismo* in Havana, Cuba.

The colonial era was a time for changes and challenges in Cuba. In the fifteenth century, the island's population occupied various Indian tribes, the Guanajatabayes, Siboneyes, and Taino (History, 2016, p. 5). These were peaceful tribes and had an organization as a primitive community. Thus, after the Indians, the Spaniards overpower the Cuban territory; the Spanish colonialism started in 1560, a strategic point for commercial distribution in the Caribbean and Central America (Hamilton, 2012, p. 26). The colonial society industrialized after Spain colonized the island; pastoral pursuits and agriculture served as the economy's foundation. Thus, for the first three centuries after the conquest, the island remained a neglected stopping point for the Spanish fleet, which visited the New World and returned to Spain with the mineral wealth of continental America (Hamilton, 2012, p. 29). The Indian population began to vanish little by little.

The Indian population vanished from Cuba because of diseases like STDs and others, which were plentiful among the Europeans who traveled to the island. Slavery was always the main problem within the island. The revolution against slavery grew, and

its organizers persecuted one of the organizers José María Heredia. The tobacco industry expanded in Havana's stores within those years. During the 1840s, residents expressed fear during the influx of the unruly masses of immigrants, ex-slaves, migrant workers, and prostitutes worked in honorable neighborhoods. Havana transformed from a colonial port to a modern metropolis. Colonial bureaucrats overpower the legislation, not welcoming social groups. The island transformed throughout colonialism and neo-colonialism, changing the history of women.

Status of Women

The Cuban women need proper recognition for their effort and for their remarkable ability to survive. Before 1959s, Cuba was predominately a male-dominated society (Hamilton, 2012, p. 110). Men were the financial givers for their families. Women were supposed to be caring for their children, obedient, and faithful; they stayed home doing housework and raising their children. The pre-revolution limited work opportunities, and the Cuban women held inferior positions. Bunck (1994) states that women in pre-revolutionary Cuba held subordinate positions in the labor force in 1943; for example, only 10 percent of women were part of the labor force (p.91).

It was not until the 1940s that women could choose to work in a respectable, professional setting, regardless of their socioeconomic status. At the beginning of the revolution, job security, lack of jobs, and instability were preeminent for women. Cuba presents a diversity of conflicts precisely in the areas of commercialization and international relations. "Havana served as the island's principal commercial port as a primary destination of unemployed rural workers, emancipated slaves, and international migrants" (Sippial, 2013, p. 3).

José Julián Martí Pérez, also known as Jose Martí, was one of the most prominent supporters of women's suffrage movements, among being a Cuban patriot, freedom fighter, and poet. He was a worldwide Cuban national hero, poet, and a leading figure in Latin American literature and a supporter of women's independence (Sippial, 2013, p. 11). Martí spent much of his life as a professor, often in exile; for example, Jose Marti believed in the idea of a free Cuba; Marti worked tirelessly toward this end. Although he never lived to see Cuba free, Jose Marti was considered a national hero. Throughout his writings and political activity, Marti was a representation of Cuba's independence against slavery. He referred to as the "Apostle of Cuban Independence" (Cabezas, 2009, p. 35). Cuba became an industrialized country; both men and women had many things to offer to the island's growth and development. Cuba was about to change its political and cultural environment after sex tourism materialized.

Neo-Colonialism & Batista Regime

During the neo-colonial era, industrial growth was substantial. Many countries enjoyed good relations with Cuba and supported its development. Europe financed most of the neo-colonial society in Cuba, prostitution increased, and tourism grew (Hamilton, 2012, p. 120). This era remained the foundation of tourism and manufacturing companies. Traditionally, Cuba has been the ideal destination for U.S. travelers who came to escape cold winters. Cuba increased reliance through a strong association with the United States. Thus, the United States turned into its economic protector, but the system could not provide or respond to its citizens (Cabezas, 2009, p. 44). In this era, women had low wages and long working shifts. It was not available for women to earn equality in a country ruled by men in some circumstances.

Significant changes happened during President Batista's dictatorship. Batista was a businessman whose demands were against two governments, representing rhetoric and high corruption levels. The Batista dictatorship humiliated and belittled women in the workplace. Bunck (1994) explained that Batista demanded violence against women who worked as prostitutes in the 1950s (p. 1). The cruelty of the dictator and abuse toward women was unspeakable. Batista forced women to join the revolution by force. Throughout the Batista and Fidel Castro regimes, women in Cuba endured rigid stereotypes, male chauvinism, lack of self-sufficiency, and inequality. For instance, in the Castro era, women had to survive in a society that was empty of laws to protect their status.

Fidel Castro & Communism Era History

In 1953, Fidel Castro struggled to get into power and ended the General Batista regime. He believed "the only way to overthrow Batista was by force" (De La Cova, 2007, p. 39). Castro toppled the Batista regime and forced Batista into exile with his family members, leaving Havana in 1959. Havana. Fidel Castro's government was the beginning of communism in Cuba, and for some, the revolution for women. Women engaged in leadership roles to protect the process; many joined the militias searching for employment prospects in different fields, such as education, medicine, and transportation (De La Cova, 2007, p. 40).

However, some males denied women roles in the workforce because of their lack of confidence in them. The female population continued to struggle to hold employment in different sectors. "In 1957, women filled more than 48 percent of jobs in the service sector" (Bunck, 1994, p. 91). Women worked as domestic servants, in the education field,

in agriculture, construction, and transport. The Cuban government introduced changes to improve the condition of the entire population, mostly women and children. Thus, even though the government generated changes to strengthen the country, prostitution continued in Cuba, mainly after Russia's collapse and the special period's economic crisis. Women were impacted throughout this period, as they struggle to survive and feed their families.

El Periodo Especial

Hardship in Cuba has been a long, drawn-out progression that affected the marketing of goods, such as sugar, tobacco, and citizens. Cubans had to look for ways to survive this hardship's era continuously; it lasted almost three decades. The special period started after the Soviet Union's collapse, one of the most significant sponsors of the economy and its sugar production (De La Cova, 2007, p. 5). Subsequent the breakdown of the Soviet Union, Cuba went into a deep economic recession.

Although *el periodo especial*, signified a moment to celebrate Cuban history, and it was a euphemism because of the challenging economy.

Communism and Fidel Castro regime isolated the island from the rest of the world. Castro decided that the Cuban population had to face challenges that he named "The Iron Will." He created political campaigns to underline the importance of supporting revolutionary ideals. Thus, Castro tried to justify the special period by giving speeches every Sunday afternoon. His actions did not satisfy people's hunger and necessities. The Cubans underwent much suffering during this decade. Thus, this investigator experienced the era when the country lacked everything: food, shelter, agriculture, transport, and energy. This period forced Fidel Castro to open new doors to

international tourism in the 1980s. Enloe (2014) explains, “international tourism has needed patriarchy to survive and flourish... men’s capacity to control women’s sense of their security and self-worth has been essential to the evolution of tourism politics” (pg.82).

Consequently, in the 1990s, during the special period in Cuba, for-profit sex was seemingly part of people’s lives in many diverse circumstances. “People went from poverty to misery, women all over the island met the daily struggle for survival head-on” (Cabezas, 2009, p. 78). Women had to challenge to survive and feed their families. Food was scarce; people struggled to find food and a sustainable place to live due to poor living conditions. Shortage in the diet caused a rare disease for most of the people on the island. “Disease and malnutrition were rampant...an epidemic, peripheral neuropathy, damaged parts of the nervous system that transmit information from the brain and the spinal cord in every part of the body, impaired some 40,000 people between 1991 and 1994” (Cabezas, 2009, p. 61).

Obama Re-opening & President Trump’s Policies

Throughout the special period, the Cuban economy intertwined with other socialist countries but only received rice and green beans, which became a limited source of one bag of rice and seeds per family. Thus, this was accessible to Cubans who had the special card or “*targeta especial*.” Currently, the *targeta especial* is no longer available for Cubans since this past October 2020. Tourism was allowed in Cuba with the main idea of improving the country’s economy and the well-being of its people, but poverty is still present (Cabezas, 2009). Sex-tourism expanded, and prostitution reemerged within the island, mainly after President Obama’s changes in 2015.

The United States changed the embargo laws in 2015 when Obama extended the olive branch to Cuba, opening new commercialized opportunities and new relationships with the Cuban people. Cuba was always a destination for tourist attractions due to geographic location, climate, culture, and natural beauty. In 2015, the modern blockade lifted produced conflicts among Cuban exiles and Cubans within the island instead of the embargo (Pérez-López, 2002, p. 15). Following the embargo lifting, any Cuban citizen that showed any pro-American sentiments was forced inside a car and driven into an unknown location or police station. Cubans are not allowed to express their ideas openly, and if they do, the Cuban government, with the police force, take them away and imprison them. The government of Cuba chastens its citizens for voicing their opinions.

Jineteras were actively working in the communist era, as they provided service for tourists. Some critics defined this service as “free enterprise capitalism” within the island of Cuba. Thus, critics viewed the embargo as a form of ending communism. In the real world, Cuba is a third world country that lacks political, collaborations, and proper negotiations with the United States and the world. Thus, amendments in the embargo have produced conflicts for the American foreign policy (Pymnts, 2017). Therefore, transformations have also created new opportunities for international business.

With the regulatory change in 2017 in the United States, President Trump’s relationship with Cuba is significantly different than Obama’s past administration. Consequently, the embargo has annulled specific industries, such as airlines, cruise lines, and other transport forms. Thus, free enterprise and communism continue, as well as prostitution, international tourism, and sex tourism. According to Davidson (1996), “There is no network of brothels, no organized system of bar prostitution or third-party

involvement in organizing prostitution.” Women in Cuba endure many different challenges throughout history, living in a society dominated by men, abuse, neglect, poverty, structural violence, and social conflicts.

Theoretical Framework

Social Conflicts and Structural Violence

The Cuban government disregards social conflicts by ignoring matters based on their political dominance. Coleman (2000) states that political dominance is the extent to which resources affect and manifest issues that define social conflict. Social conflict is mostly related to the opposition to the government’s inability to change its communist ideology. “Most social conflicts are based on the unequal distribution of scarce resources, such as class, status, and power” (Coser, 1957). Cuba’s economic improvement expansion’s slow pace demonstrates the government’s extreme caution in taking financial actions due to social or political costs. “The foundation of conflict occurs along with cognitive (perception), emotional (feeling), and behavioral (action) dimensions” (Mayer 2000). These elements of conflict apply to the social systems and *jineteras*’ stories.

Cuba’s politics represent conflict due to various aspects, including autonomy and anxiety related to freedom. Hearn (2008) states, “anxieties about excessive local freedom in Cuba are evident.” Political corruption in Cuba has a terrible effect on people’s lives as it aggravates poverty. Thus, it is likely that this hardship happens because the Cuban political leader’s nation’s wealth is inadequate. People in Cuba cannot make a formal complaint due to the lack of freedom of speech and limitations. The pioneering professor of peace and conflict research, Johan Galtung (1990) observes “structural violence” as a

limitation of human potential caused by economic and political structures. Cubans have unequal access to resources, education, health care, and unequal distribution of resources.

Also, conflicts associated with structural violence in some cases have to do with abuse and discrimination. Johan Galtung (1990) describes ‘structural violence’ as structural violations of human rights by examining how structures constrain agency to the extent that fundamental human needs are unattainable (p. 292). As per research and participants’ history, in Cuba, social problems, structural violence, and other forms of violence have to do with unattainable human needs, fundamental for subsistence on the island. Galtung (1990) first defines structural violence as the impairment of human life, which lowers the possibility for *jineteras* to meet their needs.

Structural violence in the life of *jineteras* erodes in the form of an ongoing burden of financial and health-related stressful life events. Existing studies cannot prove or disprove these statements about vulnerability and mental health and conflicts. Cuba’s government does not openly talk about abuse, mental health, and sex tourism traveling to the island.

Structural violence is related to human rights violations, possibly the most potent influence on the island. Paul Farmer (2005), a medical anthropologist, posits, “human rights can and should be declared universal, but the risk of having one’s rights violated is not universal” (p. 62). Thus, structural violence goes further to the inequality of human rights and the destructive forces of chronic social injustice in Havana, Cuba. As this research has shown, structural violence exists based on human rights violations, which manifest in Cuba’s economic and social inequalities.

It is essential to address the government's conflict in a broader context, especially with attention to structural violence as it impacts Cubans' wellbeing. Accordingly, Burton (2001) states that governments should help individuals meet their necessities to prevent social behaviors like drug abuse, gang violence, and domestic violence.

This research demonstrates that economic and social structures conspire to limit *jineteras* encounter to the extent that fundamental human needs and structural violence become a structural violation of human rights. One risks the erasure of history—chronic and insidious social processes that influence human rights violations—one of the significant challenges of *jineteras*. There is a range of other economic, social, and health problems in many regions, such as poverty, lack of education, and exploitation in high-risk unemployment. In other areas in Havana, Cuba, there is a risk of high pathogen burden, lack of clean water, and increased risk of a pandemic. For example, COVID 19, coronavirus, and keratitis adenovirus epidemic affect adult and children's vision.

Feminization of Poverty

Jineteras live in a country with shortages, lack of choice over their future, lack of income, abuse, and inequalities. Thus, the feminization of poverty increases prostitution and trafficking of women. Simultaneously, sophisticated trafficking networks have formed through feminization and poverty, with women who prostitute (Landesman, 2004). Prostitution and trafficking of women connect to *jineterismo* unemployment and political conflicts. Trafficking women is a major violation of women's human rights.

Poverty in Cuba makes people vulnerable by exploiting their dreams of a better life. The weakest and poorest women suffer from feminized poverty (Goldberg & Kremen, 1990).

It is a global issue in third world countries. As a result, it happens in weak economies, countries underdeveloped, when its citizens' needs are at the bottom of the hierarchy. Therefore, *jineteras* are depleted, selling themselves to exist. Thus, their opportunities are also at the bottom of the economic development hierarchy (Maslow, 1998). In this case, we can compare feminization to *jineteras*, such as income, scarcity, and incapacities. These women do not benefit from fundamental rights such as freedom, respect, and dignity. Consequently, the feminization of poverty is a phenomenon affecting, in this case, *jineteras* who live in poverty.

The Cuban government scarceness does not undertake serious efforts to change their amendments or policies. Women are more vulnerable to this dehumanizing crime. The factors are apparent; *jineteras* form part of poverty, underdevelopment, and unfairness. They live in a vicious cycle, which relates to poverty's feminization, a phenomenon in Cuba. Thus, it also integrates gender issues within Cuban society and international tourism. Enloe (1990) states, "tourism as a concept is gendered, tourists as people are gendered" (pg.39). Cuban citizens lack choices and opportunities, such as living a long, healthy, and creative life. They are not able to benefit from fundamental rights like freedom, respect, and dignity. Therefore, there is an urgent need to stop the oppression of women living in feminized poverty in Cuba. The citizens in Cuba live in ignorance and doing illicit business to survive. Consequently, feminized poverty, sex workers, and exploitation are an apparent conflict in Havana, Cuba.

Theories of Sex Workers and Trafficking

Sex work has become a commonly used terminology in theoretical writing and is considered by many to be a more diplomatic phrase than prostitution (Dworkin, 1997).

Since its beginning in the 1980s, the term sex work has shifted to an instead accepted expression substituting prostitution; some feminists who view prostitution as a form of ‘paid rape’ violence against women see the term sex work as unsuitable and wrong (Dworkin, 1997). Some scholars perceive the term sex work as inappropriate and inaccurate. If prostitution cannot be a choice for women, then sex work is an unacceptable term. There is constant conflict among those who promote sex work for disadvantaged women against those who consider prostitution an institution that is so fundamental, unjust, discriminatory, and violently tricky to fix (Farley, 2005).

Over the years, different organizations and groups explained through narratives the phenomenon of sex trafficking. Simultaneously, sophisticated trafficking networks have formed through poverty’s feminization, with women who prostitute (Landesman, 2004). It is a global issue in third world countries. The weakest and poorest women suffer from feminized poverty (Goldberg & Kremen, 1990). As a result, this happens in weak economies, countries underdeveloped, when its citizens’ needs are at the bottom of the hierarchy. Thus, their opportunities are also at the bottom of the economic development hierarchy (Maslow, 1998).

Maslow (1943) claims a ‘good’ society makes its members feel safe. In turn, safe members make a good society with low violence, abuse, and inequalities.

Still, there is no specific way or alternative to facilitate a resolution for the phenomenon. “Prostitution should be a chosen labor, involuntary prostitution, and exploitative working situations exist and should be conducted from an employment rights standpoint” (Ditmore, 2005). In this view, trafficking is defined by including deception and coercion and may not be specific or limited to sex work. Therefore, some theorists

and researchers on sex work relate to the harmful conflicts among women in prostitution, such as extortion or trafficking.

Abramovich (2005) uses the term ‘repetition compulsion’ to explain involvement in prostitution by persons with histories of childhood sexual abuse. For example, childhood sexual abuse can be prevalent in prostitution in the future. Thus, *jineteras* ‘take control’ of the situation and eradicate themselves from the victim’s position. Farley (1998) explains this is part of the cause and an effect of participation in prostitution; recurrence urges behaviors are the characteristic of pathologies such as borderline personality disorder and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Notably, this analysis lusters over the prostitute’s economic situation as a potential motivating factor for entering prostitution in Cuba.

The term “sex worker” is attributed to Carol Leigh (2004), long-time sex worker rights activist, sex worker, and artist. Leigh (2004) explains the term prostitute can legitimize the labor of sex workers. Thus, it is a range of legal and illegal behaviors that present researchers with critical ethical challenges in places where it is necessary to distinguish between those directly selling sex and those who are doing legalized forms of sex work. In this case, sex work represents challenges that are not always well understood by those working outside anthropology and disciplines closely related to it; some call it a political act. Prostitution within the literature review, in some cases, appears as coercion towards women and victimization. Consequently, prostitution can be dangerous and harmful; *jineteras* communicate their freedom of choice regarding their work and how it benefits them. Dr. Glasser (1998) explains freedom needs and how it is essential to have the correct balance between your needs and what you want (p.39-40).

Scholars (2004) outlines how some see sex workers as a form of human slavery, an example of the female condition under patriarchy, gender inequality, and a vivid example of violence against women. She points out how prostitutes view prostitution as healthy or experiences, arguing about the contradictions that suppress female sexual desire. Scoular (2004) states how “radical feminist perspectives envision prostitution as violence against women on all levels.” In a study, Dalla (2000) theorist, and researcher, say that most of her participants had experienced severe abuse while working, including being raped, beaten with objects, threatened with weapons, and abandoned in remote areas. As Dalla (2000) mentioned, there is no happy ending and no pretty woman outcome for prostitution women. According to feminist methods of sex work, arguments that deny agency are unacceptable because of the ethical assumptions that anyone who engages in prostitution, as a deviant form of sex/sexuality, must be forced or fooled—in other words, they must be victims (Rubin, 1993).

In recent years, sex work outbursts in Cuba, with new technologies, shifting social relations, and shifting community, have shaped the sex industry in many ways. Furthermore, *jineteras* have gained independence through the internet, and in some ways, sex workers are gaining more control over their work and clients. With new technologies and avenues of communication, we can also see the mixing of cultures. With changing social norms such as an increasing recognition of gay rights and the growing significance of sex as leisure, the social world remains in constant flux with new ideas, new sexual practices, sexual aids, and sexual relations emerging. Current economic times also bring social and political changes.

This study comes across the history of sexuality and male desire, control, and power. In other words, as per *jineteras* life story, sex tourism travels to the island to satisfy their sex desires. Sex work has been on the island for a long time since the first shipwrecks that traveled to Cuba during the colonial times. Sex tourism desires come from physical, power, and pleasure. This research is about the importance of sex work as an economical path for women in Cuba. Jeffreys (1997) suggests that the histories of sex work have been written by men, who have a stake in putting a spin on the issue because they are the primary consumers of sex work.

Several sex workers in this study have wage-earning, power, facilitated for their family statuses, gender, physical and psychological health. In a way, this has shaped their culture with its norms and regulations. *Jineteras* way of being at times has clashed with broader traditional Cuban culture concerning ways of being and thinking. At other times, these norms worldwide are more suitable for sex tourism. Cuba is well known for its communist and political situation, with a long history of abuse and corruption. Thus, the communist past creates a unique context of the marginalized population in the general Cuban ideology.

Some *jineteras* expressed dissatisfaction with their work line because of the degradation they experience and the lengths they must go through to hide their work from family members and neighbors. The need to detach was also apparent in their communications. They tried to separate themselves from being associated with other sex workers by explicitly stating that they are not from that type of work. Stigmatizing social perceptions about poverty, sex work, and a woman's role in society may also contribute to these attempts to distance themselves from other sex workers. This type of societal

repudiation is problematic since sexual labor has been present in different periods throughout history for various purposes in human society (Truong, 1990). In the past decade, feminist theory has endeavored to posit the term 'sex worker' identifies those engaged in various aspects of the industry as 'workers,' implying a likeness between sex work and other forms of labor – everything from manual labor to professional practice.

Sex Tourism

As stated previously, there is little consensus about sex tourism, what it incorporates, and whom it affects. There are variations between the island's regular residential areas and 'the tourist zone in Cuba.' Bryan (2001) explains, "there is a resentment of the infringement of tourist activities on daily lives" (p.11).

Jineteras complained about the radical distinctions on the treatment, attribute, and protocols between tourists and locals favoring tourists. In Havana, Cuba, the conflict continues because no one has taken their time to learn more about sex tourism and its associated conflicts. According to Best (1987), it is fundamental to understand the issues, the phenomenon, and how to address it. Foreign tourists and *jineteras* involved with sex tourism uplift the tourism economy while also increasing their gains from the industry. As Enloe observes, "The international politics of debt and the international pursuit of pleasure have become tightly knitted together" (1989). Race and ethnicity are noticeable throughout sex tourism in Cuba; because the general tourist industry allows everyone to travel to Havana.

Some *jineteras* believe that tourism is likely to treat them as a sex object. Male sex tourists visiting the island destinations have described their requests to pursue black and brown women, whom they perceive to be more sexual than white women (Phillips

1999). Thus, sex tourism in Cuba is not an industry for racism, as it has become necessary. In this case, race forms an essential opportunity, wealth, and money. Sexual activities within the tourism industry are different; *jineteras* create entertainment for sex travelers on the island. In Havana, Cuba, sex tourism seems to describe another side of *jineteras* interactions within the sex industry. Thus, some individuals believe sex tourism in Cuba is necessary rather than a social problem in Havana, Cuba. Burton (1998), humans will pursue the fulfillment of needs even despite themselves.

The island is known for corruption and highly sexualized as a tourist destination where men and women can find partners and have a good time doing it. Some participants explained that they are used to the complexity of living on the island. The idea of sex tourism for the government is that it is legal for sex tourism to travel to the island, but it is illegal to openly practice sex tourism. It is quite challenging to understand the Cuban policies; only through research, we can see the truth behind the government's dealings. Thus, this is the explanation based on the analysis; for example, Cuba allows travelers to the island, either sex tourism or regular tourism. The government does not discriminate against sex tourism; on the contrary, they want people to visit the island.

The government of Cuba does not wish to have prostitution activities openly; they want sex tourism to go through the cultural exchange of *jineteras* in a very subtle way. For example, it means you can visit the island as many times as you like; even as a sex tourist, the government penalizes the sex workers, not sex tourism. Thus, tourism brings financial stability to the country, and *jineteras* are just steppingstone for sex tourism to come to the island. This researcher believes it is a give-and-take. The government

promotes sex in Cuba as a form of advertising and later penalizes them for wrongful doings based on *jineteras* actions that the government supports.

In Havana, Cuba, sex tourism is socially acceptable, even though prostitution in Havana is illegal. Sex tourism on the island is considered a secret gathering. *Jineteras* do not see themselves as victims but as sex workers and somehow their country's financial growth. Thus, sex tourism seemed socially acceptable; some participants lack knowledge concerning how much harm is associated with something that can bring financial stability and entertainment.

Therefore, due to the scarcity of literature, media coverage, and overall awareness of sex tourism, it is difficult to establish how much sex tourism visits the island and how dangerous they are to *jineteras*. In other parts of the world, sex tourism literature focus on gender. Sex tourism forms part of the *jineteras* atmosphere and daily life. *Jineteras* focus on sex work aspects, buying and selling sexual activities. Thus, on certain occasions, the participants engage in the sale of their fantasy, developing relationships with sex tourism involving love and affection.

Love, relationship, and the need to belong are essential parts of the participant's individualistic needs. The idea behind sex tourism in Cuba is to benefit from marrying a foreigner traveling abroad and leave the island. Sex tourism in Cuba provides a deviation to the participants' current poverty. In some cases, the government classifies sex work as illegal in certain circumstances; it all depends on sex tourism necessities. Sex tourism on the island is protected; anyone who brings money to the country is harmless.

Various researchers have contributed to and opposed existing definitions of sex tourism—Ryan and Hall (2001) debate inconsistencies in the ways that sex tourism is

criticized in practice. Most famous for defining the method are the issues of gender and motivation. While some definitions of sex tourism, like prostitution, are gendered, research overwhelmingly demonstrates that both men and women are involved in sex tourism as providers and receivers of sexual services. The relationship with sex tourism varies; some are short-lived; others have far-reaching consequences.

Human Needs Theory

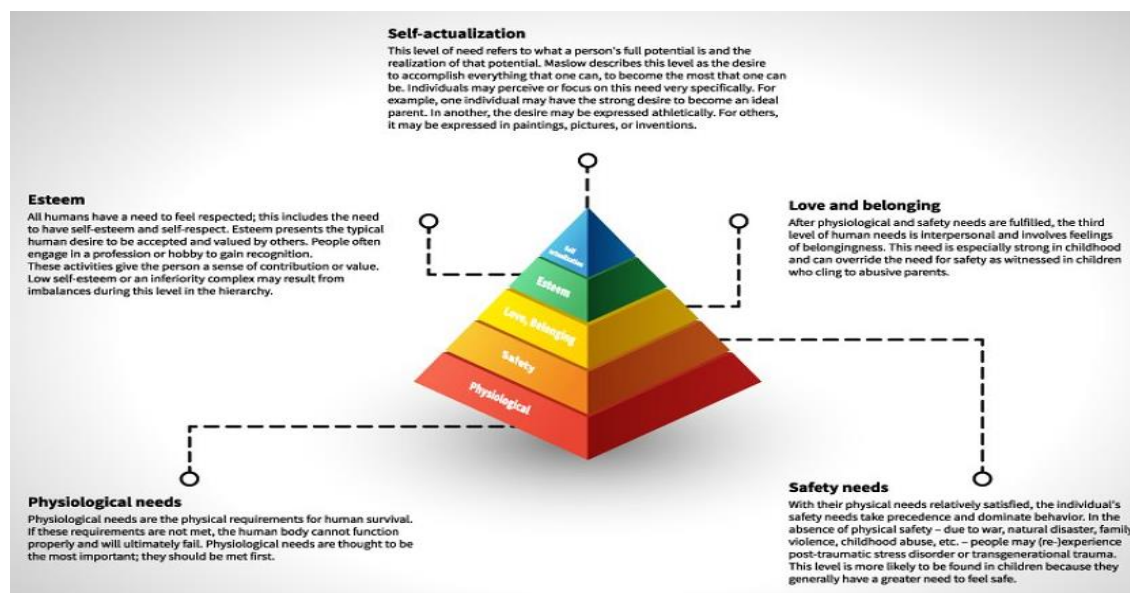
Human needs theory is a crucial theory that describes the necessities of *jineteras*. Maslow (1943) explains how these five basic needs are mutually physical, emotional, and less artificial. In relation to Maslow's (1943) theory, *jineteras* needs are physiological, safety, love, esteem, and the need for self-actualization. Physiological conditions acknowledge the body to physically roles. Safety needs to motivate people to find places and situations where they feel free of pressure to life and secure in their environment. Love needs to drive people to make relationships with others, of both romantic and platonic love. Esteem needs, in this case, when individuals have high expectations of themselves, in addition to having self-respect, self-esteem, and self-esteem based on their interactions. Finally, the need for self-actualization refers to the motivation to achieve self-fulfillment or the maximum potential in life.

Though Maslow (1943) was the first to describe human needs through his hierarchy of needs model, this research reviews other scientists elaborating on the theory. Humans are ultimately responsible for their basic needs, rather than individuals sacrificing their own needs to accommodate society. Burton (1998) describes the individual's necessities relating to conflict analysis resolution, deducing that conflicts are either solved or ignored. When conflicts occur, it is because essential needs are not fit or

satisfied. Individuals' requirements are met depending on each social setting because humans are social beings.

Maslow states necessities and the human motivational initiatives in his hierarchical pattern. This dissertation provides an opportunity to explore the hierarchical needs and participants' attempts to achieve some of those levels. Maslow (1954) explains the five essentials: physiological and safety needs, love needs, esteem needs, and self-actualization. The physiological condition is one of the most fundamental requirements for *jinetras* and Cuban's needs, which are the needs to satisfy hunger and survive.

Therefore, Cubans live in deplorable conditions, without food, shelter, or even water; physiological needs are fundamental in Cuba. Maslow (1954) explained physiological needs as the utmost necessary, usually of higher importance than other essentials, such as safety, love, or esteem. For example, Cuba is currently suffering from a lack of food and water due to the embargo and the COVID-19. Once the need for food and water arise, other requirements are either pushed aside or ignored. The next level of demand is safety. Maslow views an individual's effort for security and protection as a baby looks for safety. Thus, most of the time, adults pursue security and safety in their communities, with their families, having food in the fridge, having a safe environment, finding peace, and financial stability. Maslow (1954) explains that the need for love and belonging comes after the safety needs. Below is a quick explanation of Maslow's (1943) Hierarchy of needs.

Figure 1*Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs Model (1943)*

According to Maslow (1943), human needs are physiological, safety, love, esteem, and the need for self-actualization.

Jineteras can associate their physiological needs to their physical requirements for human survival. Survival is an idealistic phenomenon: a person will either live or die (Sherwood, 2009). Sherwood (2009), in his book “The Survivors Club The Secrets and Science that Could Save Your Life,” defines survival as “anyone who faces and overcomes misfortune, hardship, illness, or physical or emotional trauma can be called a survivor” (pg. 16). In some cases, *jinetras* are looking for love and belonging first, and at some point, they tend to ignore their safety and security by exposing themselves to difficult circumstances.

Thus, in this circumstance, the physiological needs are critical and the love and protection from greedy to find affection from sex tourism. Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs can fluctuate from physiological and love to safety, and possession is prevalent

when the first two kinds of conditions. The need for survival is much higher than any other conflict *jineteras* might be facing. Sherwood (2009), in his chapter “Fear no Evil,” he provides a sample of a concentration camp survivor who states, “you can make choices to live each day, squeeze the most from limited choices, and imagine the future (pg. 89). “Thus, the author explains, “survival is an attitude, is a way of thinking” (pg. 88). Sherwood (2009) explains in his own words what survival is, “survival means adapting to each new day and its unimaginable horrors” (pg. 97).

Esteem needs are described in two ways: self-esteem for oneself and esteem for others. Thus, it is true; individuals look for strength, mastery, and competency, which can fulfill the esteem needs themselves. Recognition from others and reputation, on the other hand, build up the esteem needs of others. The need for self-actualization can be considered one of the highest levels of need. When achieving all lower needs, people search for what they “can” do or “can” be. Self-actualization needs are choices, not necessities. Nonetheless, people reach this state once other conditions are satisfied. Besides, individual differences best (best what?) differentiate people at this stage (Maslow, 1954).

In some cases, sex tourism looks for leisure to escape routine and stressful environments and recreational opportunities. As a result, they interrelate; for example, some individuals want to get away from every day by finding different activities, making them more thrilling and exciting. People who experience less stimulation in their lives are more likely to prefer participating in more significant novelty and motivation on the ideal vacation, and vice versa. Traveling produces satisfaction by providing psychological rewards and assisting people in leaving their mundane environment. A trip may start

because tourists wish to get away from their environment and remain stimulated by that reason for the journey, or the purpose can change later. Besides, each trip can be initiated differently depending on what tourists have experienced beforehand (Iso–Ahola, 1982).

Feminist Theory

Feminist philosophies vary from nations, individual's culture, and background. Rubin (1993) explains that feminism relates to women's oppression and how it can further control sex workers, sexuality, and experiences. Feminist methods relate to *jineterismo* and gender in Cuba. In this case, the evolution of feminist theories and analysis comes from studying *jineteras* life, their conflicts, and their experiences. What makes feminist research exclusive in *jineterismo*? *Jineterismo* is an income-generated activity, like any other, which might be taken experiences or experienced by people. Feminist theories have two main concepts; for example, research can and should be free or objective; second, research should enhance the target population's lives to serve the study and the participants better (Harding, 1987). In other words, the exploration should facilitate *jineteras* in this study. This dissertation aims to identify the conflicts of prostitution in Cuba to understand them and the world better, therefore becoming more informed.

Some theories about prostitution associate women as victims and, sometimes the law perceives them as criminals. Wagenaar and Altink (2009) explain why sex workers are either victims and, at the same time, criminals; "they are victims on an individual level, while as a group they are considered a threat to society" (pg.165). As Wagenaar and Altink (2009) argue, feminist theorists of sex work argue for a logical openness regarding prostitution and sex work to be legitimized. Physical necessities are immediate

for participants. Communism, political, economic crises support their involvement in prostitution. Feminist evolution theories focus on the patriarchal structural power, which leaves little room for *jineteras* themselves. Dworkin (1976) views sex workers as a form for men to express violence and oppression toward women, clearly condemning the sex industry and *jineterismo*.

The feminist theory of sex work relates to women in Cuba who engage in prostitution. It provides opportunities for *jineteras* to support themselves financially, feed their families, find a partner, and survive. There is a side of prostitution in Cuba which deals with oppression, trauma, harm, physical abuse, and aggression. *Jineteras* suffer from physical, psychological, and health problems; most *jineteras* are more prone to mental health issues such as suicide, depression, substance abuse, and post-traumatic stress disorders. Cubans lack human rights, and some *jineteras* are victims of mistreatment. Farley (2005) claims a great deal of misinformation about prostitution and prostitutes in the media, academia, healthcare, and social service systems. *Jineterismo* forms part of *survival* and money. *Jineterismo* in this case is monetarily influencer, and the industry still perseveres, despite all the criticism, abuse, and oppression. Therefore, feminists' voices claim that prostitution is the highest form of cruelty and violence against women. Why women themselves make decisions to enter prostitution? In this case, feminist theories of prostitution examine why *jineteras* participate in prostitution.

Jineteras survival instinct is the key to find the fundamental factors that drive them to work as sex workers. Survival is an idealistic phenomenon: a person will either live or die (Sherwood, 2009). Sherwood (2009), in his book "The Survivors Club The Secrets and Science that Could Save Your Life" defines survival as "anyone who faces

and overcomes adversity, hardship, illness, or physical or emotional trauma can be called a survivor” (pg. 16). Sherwood (2009) explains in his own words what survival is, “survival means adapting to each new day and its unimaginable horrors (pg. 97). Living in poverty is one element of horror; human needs theory relates to *jineteras* lives in relationship to their needs. Glasser (2001) explains, “to fulfill one or more of the five needs built into our genetic structure we need: survival, love, and belonging, power, freedom, and fun.” Consequently, if we examine Cuba’s history, Cubans have “survive” since the beginning of the 1960s. Women all over the island met the daily struggle for survival, and a conflict originates from living in a communist country without the proper needs to survive.

Feminism in International Relations

The analysis and research simplify this dissertation, and as an investigator, it provides an open attitude toward theories. Thus, it delivers a fundamental analysis of the conflict; for example, patriarchy in some circumstances can manipulate relationships that affect women in both the communist and socialist systems. “Patriarchy is an authoritative male system that is both harsh and discriminatory” (Ferreira, 2004, p. 395). Feminism in prostitution is the opposite of patriarchy. Therefore, it reduces the multiplicity of dealings between men and women to a generalized replica of dominance-subordination. This dissertation investigates the roots of progressive feminism, emphasizing human rights issues rather than patriarchy and gender dominance. Feminist theorists argued that in certain situations, *jineterismo* could be a form of abuse towards women. Women in the prostitution field might experience violence and abuse by their clients in different styles throughout their daily lives (Dworkin, 1992, p. 3). *Jineteras* suffer from various types of

damage. Cabezas (2009) explains how the government penalizes *jineterismo* by holding open courts and publicly humiliating *jineteras* in front of other citizens (p.19). When *jineteras* are abused and violated by the sex-tourism; the result is a non-responsive attitude by the Cuban government (Cabezas, 2009, p. 19).

Radical Feminist Theorists argue that prostitution is the supreme form of violence against women (Dworkin, 1992). Scholars support an innovative approach for *jineteras*. We do not view “*jineterismo*” as a sex crime or morally deviant behavior; instead, it is a legitimate initiative to facilitate women to exist in a country with limited opportunities. This initiative enables *jineteras* to argue the right to non-judgmental treatment, equal opportunity, and respect; for example, to finish in case of any abuse from sex-travelers, the government, and the citizenry. Thus, prostitution in this situation can be either a realistic or unrealistic opportunity for survival. For instance, in the life of *jineteras*, it is unequal, severe, and discriminatory; for example, it can govern the social, political, economic, and cultural environments. “It is oppressive in social, political, economic, and cultural environments; it is discriminatory in its control of access to power, management of resources and benefits, and manipulation” (Ferreira, 2004, p. 395).

Jineteras travel to Havana from other places on the island because of the massive tourism in Havana, Cuba. Thus, *jineteras* who travel to Havana to labor as prostitutes often use their financial gain to feed their children or support their homes and facilitate their families. On the other hand, men who visit the island for sex have only one thing: prostitution. When investigating sex tourism, men and women who travel from different parts of the world sometimes sexualize their trip to obtain sexual relations in their time on

the island (Cabezas, 2009). The “voice” of *jineteras* through methodology research examines their life and the theory related to social constructivism.

The government in Cuba developed a method to benefit from their visit and learn from Cuba’s cultural exchange. The Cuban government does not employ the term sex-tourism to travelers who visit the island for sex. Instead, it is a cultural exchange. Thus, the government forbids donations; they accept gifts, which is all based on the individual’s perception and travel experience. Cultural exchange is prominent in Havana, Cuba, and this investigator provides crucial information on sex tourism.

The especial period changed the complexity of the economy. Tourism is a political gain for the island of Cuba, and at the same time, it signifies survival for *jineteras* and growth for the country. “Tourism entails a more politically potent kind of intimacy because a tourist is not expected to be very adventurous or daring, learn a foreign language, or adapt to any but the most superficial local customs” (Enloe, 2014, p. 55). Most tourists who travel to the island sometimes are unaware of the difficulties and financial hardship Cubans experience daily. People do not have food, clothes, or a home. In some areas, the infrastructure is falling apart in the middle of Havana, Cuba. “Travel, tourism, and sex tourism . . . are the most beneficial economic factors for the government in Cuba” (Cabezas, 2009, p. 105).

Cubans see very little of the government’s economic factors from hotel revenues, souvenirs, food, and sex tourism. “The development of tourism was accompanied by sex tourism, and thousands of prostitutes in Cuba” (Bunck, 1994, p. 88). Prostitution and sex tourism relate to the development of sex tourism growth within the island. Some travelers visit Cuba with the primary intention of sexual encounters and engage in a relationship

with *jinetas*. As per Enloe (1989), sex tourism literature includes research, specifically men, who take vacations to different countries to have sex with women. These men are considered sex tourists in most Caribbean cities are looking for sexual relations. Cuba is a “cultural exchange” rather than sex tourism. It is also important to note that the “cultural exchange” also includes children and anyone who lives in Cuba. “Sex tourism possible continue to shape the economic, political, and cultural relationships between countries...in particular, taking the working of sex tourism shines a light on how both masculinized sexual anxieties and efforts to those anxieties shape relationships between countries today” (Enloe, 1989, p. 75).

Sex tourism is also known as romantic tourism for pleasure and to find a romantic partner in the Caribbean. Enloe (1989) states that the so-called “romance tourism” is also included sex tourism narrative as a type of sex tourism. Intentionally or not, sex tourism is prostitution, child prostitution, romance tourism, and in Cuba, a “cultural exchange.” Sex tourism in Cuba can potentially be a business opportunity for those in the sex trade. “Sex tourism is the process of encouraging overwhelmingly male tourists from North America, Western Europe, the Middle East, Russia, and East and Southeast Asia to travel from one country to another to gain access to women’s sexual services” (Enloe, 1989, p. 74).

In sum, sex-tourism does exist in Cuba, and this dissertation offers an academic clarification on sex tourism or cultural exchange as a commercial opportunity for some. Thus, it also reflected a health hazard for the people and those who travel to Cuba. Conflict within sex tourism is that many sex tourism connections involve people already in committed relationships or sexual relationships beyond the scope of social normalcy.

These dynamics frame sex tourism as morally corrupt and socially deviant. Miles and Okamoto (2008) describe abnormal behaviors as those that have resulted from “social strain related to the adversarial relationship between the [sex providers] and members within their community” (p. 437).

Epistemological Stance and Social Constructivism

Social constructionism is a theory in sociology and communication that studies cooperative methods’ progress and the foundation of assumptions about reality. The social constructivist approach explains how individuals seek to understand the world in which they live and work, and the individual experiences based on their interaction with others (Creswell, 2007). In this case, social constructivism explains *the jineteras* method of survival. Thus, *jineteras*’ work provides an opportunity for women to support their families. Issues that may come up in this profession of *jineterismo* could be, for example, rape, assault, sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), robbery, unwanted pregnancy, paraphilia, and pedophilia.

Thus, social constructivism, in this case, considers *jineterismo* as a victimless crime. Creswell (2012) states that sometimes, an individual’s understanding of the situation transcribes into different circumstances, for example, “negotiated socially and historically” (p. 25). Thus, based on this theory, *jineteras* conform their ideas on their current situation; for example, to preserve and provide for themselves and their families, they continue to work in *jineterismo*.

This research employs the narrative methodology to understand *jineteras* points of view and perspectives; by connecting their experiences, which allows the investigator to explore the complexity of opinions. “Narrative researchers collect stories from

individuals about individuals lived and told experiences” (Creswell, 2007). *Jineteras*, in this process, are the individuals interviewed. The investigator is the instrument that formulates the questions and listens to their stories, which apply to the social constructivist theories. Communication is crucial to understand a phenomenon; the investigator remained neutral, interpreting, and learning from the participants’ responses by creating a clear understanding of the events studied. Social constructionism theory facilitates understanding how people make sense based on experience (Patton, 2002). In other words, the researcher employed flexible and subjective approaches to *jineteras* life experiences.

Social constructivism changed from Bandura’s (1989) initial idea of social cognitive learning. His self-efficacy concept explains the participants’ expression, for example, in this case, *jineteras* feelings on how they view themselves and the world? This method facilitated the experiences involving the participants by asking specific questions. How is your life as a *jineteras*? The narrative methodology framework makes possible the process and the findings to understand the life experiences of *jineteras*. The narrative inquiry methodology in this investigation supported social constructivism. Creswell (2013) stated, “in social constructivism, individuals seek to understand the world in which they live and work” (p. 24). Nevertheless, this phenomenon was quite complicated due to Cuba’s numerous conflicts, including the economy and social conflicts. Thus, the study of *jineterismo* in Havana, Cuba, fosters learning, and sex-tourism transformation.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter describes the narrative methodology used to conduct an in-depth examination of *jineteras*' life experiences in Havana, Cuba. Explaining the rationale for the selected method and research strategy is followed by a synopsis of the data collection methods and data analysis steps. This researcher sought to discover the stories of each participant. Thus, the interviews provided an opportunity to learn about these participants' lived experiences. Chaitin (2014) explained that one primary underlying assumption of the biographical mode of interviewing is that everyone has a unique story to tell and an exceptional understanding of that experience (p.4). Narrative inquiry provided the opportunity for participants to share those stories.

Narrative Inquiry

As noted above, we can better understand *jineteras*' life utilizing narrative research, which allows for gathering in-depth information on the subject of their storytelling. "Narrative stories tell of individual experiences, and they may shed light on the identities of individuals and how they see themselves" (Creswell, 2012, p. 71). Narrative methodologies can be applied to understand the experiences of *jineteras*, and it is an excellent source for the study of the conflicts experienced by these women. In sum, we see that life stories and personal narratives tell us a great deal about the individual and his/her understanding of social reality (Hiller & Chaitin, 2014, p. 141). Thus, narrative research was the right vehicle for this study.

Research Sample

The criteria for the study involved women who were currently working as *jineteras* in Havana, Cuba. Therefore, an approach to the recruitment process was to

ask participants if they currently work in the business of *jineterismo*. Creswell (2013) stated, “the number of participants in a narrative inquiry study may vary in size from 3 to 4 individuals and up to 10 to 15” (p.78). For this study, there were seven participants. The investigator asked permission to speak with each of the seven participants. Once they agreed, the researcher determined their eligibility by asking first, are you currently a *jinetera*? Do you work in *jineterismo*? Their reply was affirmative to both questions. All participants received a copy of the approval form signed by the IRB with the Nova Southeastern University logo and the researcher’s name on the consent form.

Consequently, the researcher interviewed in Spanish and translated the interview into English (Appendix A). All the participants agreed to move forward with the interview. The researcher explained the purpose of the study and the right to withdraw during the research. Thus, the women felt at ease and were comfortable with the explanation, and trusted the interview process.

To complete the data collection, the scholar followed the biographical narrative method. Life story interviews and examinations are the principal methods of achieving the data on *jineteras*. In general, the life-story interviews have four stages: (1) making contact; (2) getting acquainted; (3) the interview; (4) saying goodbye and keeping in touch.” (Rosenthal, 2007). The participants came from diverse demographic backgrounds, and their ages ranged from 21 to 79 years old.

Data Collection

Jineteras had the opportunity to select the setting and location for the interviews. Thus, seven *jineteras* agreed to choose the interviewed location; (Appendix C) provides a local map with details of the interview sites. The scholar interviewed *jineteras* at different

locations, such as bars, restaurants, businesses, “*El Malecon*,” streets, and inside hotels. The researcher made sure the participants felt comfortable and secure throughout the interviewing process.

The investigator conducted in-depth interviews and built trust with the participants by being open, listening, and truthful throughout the course. Thus, before the interview process, the researcher had prepared the questions in a notebook. The interview questions were flexible enough, allowing *jineteras* to share the full experience, thus promoting discovery (Creswell, 2010). Open-ended questions enabled the researcher to gather information connected to *jineteras*’ life, family, and education. The interview questions discover the details about their experiences through personal stories. Storytelling is a powerful form of communication in everyday life, as it provides a framework for understanding and challenging the nature of the world and ourselves (Murray, 2003). *Jineteras*’ narratives provided meaningful stories of their everyday life and experiences.

Throughout the interview process, the researcher remained silent without interrupting the *jineteras*’ narrative until the participant finished. The investigator understood some participants were not feeling comfortable towards the end; some *jineteras* were disturbed, distressed, and upset after the “abuse” question. Even though participants were willing to share her story, some felt overwhelmed throughout the interview. The investigator provided plenty of time for the participants to answer the questions, and at the same time, they had the choice to stop the interview process at any time. The participants thanked the researcher for doing the interviews, and some of them mentioned, “tell it all, we want people to know the reality of Cuba.” The investigator

made the process professional and showed empathy towards the *jineteras*. The research's behavior made a difference in the process. Participants agree to continue with the interview process, putting emotions aside, making them feel at ease. The investigator respected and protected the subjects by allowing them to take their time to answer the questions.

Some salient research questions were: Please explain your life story as a *jinetera*? As well as what is the leading cause for *jineteras* to contribute to the field of *jineterismo*? The researcher followed up with additional interview questions; for instance: "What is like being a *jinetera*? How is your life as a *jinetera*? How long? What happens to women who enter the field of *jineterismo* in Cuba? How do you view *jineterismo* in Cuba? Please explain the experiences or experiences path of being a *jinetera*? How did your life change as a *jinetera*? What does it look like?" The first set of questions dealt with *jineteras* life experiences and their life as a *jinetera*. Second sets of questions were more specific; for example, "please share any challenge or conflict within the last six or twelve months as a *jinetera*?" "How do you handle those conflicts and challenges?" "Please share any challenge or conflict within the last six or twelve months as a *jinetera*?" "How do you handle those conflicts and challenges?"

Thus, interview questions support *jineteras*' involvement in this investigation. These questions form part of the narrative study of *jineterismo*. Conflict analysis plays a significant role in the investigation based on the conflicts these women face living in Cuba. The following are some questions related to the research: What role *jineteras* play in a communist country? In Cuba, is it socially acceptable for *jineteras* to do their work? What part communism and the Cuban government play; do they allow what you do? Is

this problem a socio-economic conflict based on the living conditions? Have you experienced abuse as a *jinetera*? What kind? How do you find the clients? Where? How do you protect yourself from STDs and HIV? Open-ended questions allow us to gather as much detailed information concerning *jineteras*' personal stories.

Interviews continued with more inquiries, for example, "in your own words, please provide as much information on the decision to enter, continue, as a *jinetera* in Cuba?" Later, follow-up questions deliver amplification to discover *jineteras* living conditions. "An open-ended question period followed the main narration" (Murray, 2003). The interview process was neutral, private, and confidential. *Jineteras* had the right to their confidentiality and anonymity. Thus, there was no physical or emotional harm to *jineteras*; on the contrary, most of them asked for their stories to be transcribed and shared with the world. The investigation did not force or pressure *jineteras* to do the interviews. They wanted to be part of the research and narrate their life experiences.

When inquiring about the first set of questions, some of the participants felt a bit uncomfortable. To address any concerns, the researcher gave an ample explanation as to why this investigation was taking place. Before the interviews, the *jineteras* agreed to continue responding after twenty minutes have passed. Thus, the most critical strategy was for the participants to feel comfortable. They shared a brief overview of their story, a demographic summary, and answered the questions. In-depth interviews lasted for approximately one hour. Throughout the process, the participants answered all the questions and were willing to participate. The interview process ended when they became tired or requested a break. The investigator transcribed the interviews from Spanish to English (see Appendix A).

Data Analysis and Holistic Process

After conducting the narrative inquiry, the investigator translated the transcripts from Spanish to English, including all the questions, answers, and research notes. The research conducted in Havana, Cuba, was transcribed and analyzed in the United States. The biographical narrative analysis examines the story of *jineteras*' lives. "The focus is on how individuals or groups make sense of events and actions in their lives through examining the story, and the linguistic and structural properties" (Riessman, 1993). Each interview transcribed range between seventy and seventy-seven pages. The translation allowed an opportunity to check for accuracy; transcribing word for word allowed fewer chances of changes in interpretation (see Appendix A).

To learn from *jineteras*' experience, the researcher gathers as much information as possible from their language and expressions. Thus, the investigator transcribed notes, paragraphs, and words after each interview to ensure legitimacy. The initially included line-by-line and word-by-word coding process; to find meaning. All the interviews transcribed and printed, allowed the researcher to write notes, marking words, or paragraphs (Lindsay, 1999, pg. 82). Data analysis classifies and evolves through participation and actions. It was essential to become familiar with the body language of the participants.

The investigator adopted the five-step holistic-content analysis enumerated by Lieblich (1998) to analyze the interview data. This investigator read the transcript several times to understand the general focus or theme of each *jineteras*' story. Next, the researcher identified a specific theme and followed with other themes the narratives. For

example, an issue repeated or shared in detail throughout the description generated various themes from the central theme.

This research discovered essential themes and what was not said (Lieblich et al., 1998). In the fourth step, the investigator “marked” the topics in the transcript. This process entailed reading each one separately and repeatedly (p. 63). The final phase involved making conclusions, noting transitions between the themes, making a note of omissions, and how the story is “told” by the narrator (Lieblich et al., 1998). This chapter addresses the in-depth thematic analysis of their life-story, identifying significant themes by *jineteras* holistic perspective that emerged based on the shared story on their experiences. Lieblich (1998) states, “discovered that important themes or applications related to what was not said.” A holistic study simplifies ideas in the transcripts. Lieblich et al. (1998) suggest that the researchers (1) read the transcripts multiple times until a pattern emerges, (2) document the initial overall impression, (3) note down the themes of the text, (4) color code the themes and (5) keep a record of the ideas as they occur in the book (p.139). The investigator explained in detail the process, taking notes, and giving the participants a choice to participate in the interview process, always making it safe for *jineteras* to tell their stories in a free non-abrasive method.

The holistic content was well-chosen because, according to Charmaz, 2011, the narrative aims to explore and conceptualize *jineteras*’ experience as it is in its textual form (pg.9). The holistic method is fundamental for the analysis. The approach is essential to investigate why *jineteras* entered prostitution and why they continued. The holistic approach is suitable when the investigator seeks to understand the life of *jineteras* and its nature. Thus, the study analyses how *jineteras*’ living and working in

the field of *jineterismo* changed their life. Also, the holistic-content method produced originality within its development. The first part, for example, relates to the questions related to the life experiences of *jineteras*. The open-ended questions made it possible to collect participant information about their life.

The second part, the content component, includes the story's nature from the perspective (Lieblich et al., 1998). In this case, the narrator gave meaning to the report, following Lieblich's (1998) recommendations include illustrations that transport the narrator's stories, motives, and traits (Lieblich et al., 1998). Thus, the explanation of the data analysis procedures followed the holistic approach. The research also examined the limitations throughout the interview process. A coding sample (table 1) explains the initial coding for one of the *jineteras*.

The investigator prepared a list of questions to ask each participant. It was essential to listen and write notes throughout the research. First, this investigator analyzed the story of *jineteras* and its context. Second, it examined the transcripts, including thematic information concerning each *jineteras*' personal history. The transcript provides transparency and a cohesive linkage between the choices made by the *jineteras* and their current situation living in a communist country. The process for all the coding was the same. The line-by-line and word-for-word coding were noted down after each interview (see Table 1).

Table 1*A Coding Sample for Jineteras*

Interview Color Coded Themes	Initial Coding
<p><i>Jineteras</i> survived and persevere in hardship times: Yellow: Category: Color Coding (Survival, perseverance, and empowerment) The color-coded dark yellow highlights the first and second theme as survive as part of the experiences. Empowerment is perceived by <i>jineteras</i> as a form of freedom as perseverance. The theme was based on the word make money and freedom. With the same color coding in blue to show, freedom to make money.</p>	<p>The Analytical Process of Themes <i>Jineteras</i> survived and persevere in hardship times: Yellow: Category: Color Coding (Perceived Experiences, survival, perseverance and empowerment) The color-coded dark yellow highlights the first and second theme as survive as part of the experiences, yellow themes color coding were clustered with words such as: you won't survive; you can't survive without working or working in something that's about tourism. This is an opportunity to survive, to make money, in a country with nothing, I survive. Using my savings to survive or have less expenses than usual; but in this case a second theme was created Empowerment is perceived by <i>jineteras</i> as a form of freedom as perseverance, words in the narrative such as, were color red/yellow make money, working, I feel millionaire.</p>
<p>Experiences: Words in the narrative such as, not very good. I was <i>abused and raped at a very young age, when I was 14 years old. My stepfather drank a lot and every night he be drunk and rapped me.</i> He is very cruel and when he got tired of me, he started selling me; houses; little girls 10, 11, 12, 14 years old. I met many little girls who they raped and would do with them what she wanted. Old men repulsive, young people, all kinds of man rapists, abusers. So, my life as a <i>jinetera</i> is m***** (shit).</p> <p>handkerchief, so they do not have to hear the screams of the girls when they rape them. Then I found out that they give us chloroformed to make us weaker and do whatever they wanted. I felt very weak at night, vomited, and a lot of pain in the head</p>	<p>Experiences: Category: Color Coding (red) "Experiences" (subthemes poverty, shortage, rape and abuse, intercourse, self-worth, physical abuse, and abandonment): When asked what the experiences and experiences paths are of being a <i>jinetera</i>, these were some of the salient themes experiences.</p> <p>The themes colored in red represent the experiences <i>jinetera</i> #1 and the suffering throughout her work. Some of the salient experiences' words were in the narrative such as, do not have to hear the screams of the girls when they rape them. Then I found out that they give us chloroformed to make us weaker and do whatever they wanted. I felt very weak at night, vomited, and a lot of pain in the head for several months.</p>

<p>for several months. Treated like dogs.</p>	<p>I was walking all night not knowing where I was.</p> <p>And you can imagine all the things I had; I was very sick. Later, I got a divorce.</p>
<p>Conflict/Challenges Government Conflict: Subthemes: Underpaid, government abuse, unemployed, and police The following words provide info related to the theme of “government,” <i>within the story, such as:</i> They allow what I do, because if they catch me, I give them money. And that is it.</p>	<p>Conflict/Challenges Government Conflict: Subthemes: Underpaid, government abuse, unemployed, and police. The color-coded <u>purple</u> signifies conflict. Is good to go in-depth throughout the thematic analysis of a life story interviews. The details of the conflict narrative of the participants. These types of analysis help us recognize conflict dynamics including emotional experiences of conflict and individual conflict styles (Johnston, 2005). The following words provide info related to the theme of “conflict.”</p>
<p><u>Family Theme:</u> Category: Color Coding (brown) “Family” subtheme single mother, feed children, loss: Detail themes identifying labels by the narration. Words in the narrative such as <i>“family,’ ‘kid,’ ‘children,’ ‘stepfather,’ ‘mother,’ ‘father,’ grandmother and grandfather</i></p>	<p><u>Family Theme:</u> Category: Color Coding (brown) “Family” subtheme single mother, feed children, loss: Detail themes identifying labels by the narration were color-coded brown, because these words are part of the participant’s background, and represent the same thing, “family/members.” The labels formed through color coding were clustered to for ‘themes.’</p>
<p>STDs/AIDs and HIV was color coded gray. How do you protect yourself from STDs and HIV?</p>	<p>STDs/AIDs and HIV was color coded gray. How do you protect yourself from STDs and HIV?</p> <p>With what I can. But there are times when there is no time, or money, or condom, and you must do it with nothing.</p> <p>STDs/AIDs and HIV was color coded gray. How do you protect yourself from STDs and HIV?</p> <p>Jineteras answered HIV/AIDs: With what is available at the pharmacy. Making a line, always.</p>

Limitations

Some limitations relate to *jineteras*' fear to narrate their stories based on governmental reprisals, embarrassment, and lack of trust. In this case, the investigator created a safe and comfortable environment for them to participate. This investigator recognizes some of the limitations, recent changes in Cuba, and the "cultural exchange," accepting investigations on the island has nullified some restrictions. The Cuban government officially allows research and visitors to the island as a "cultural exchange."

Consequently, individuals, researchers, visitors, friends, and families who visit the island can do cultural exchanges with Cubans. The cultural exchange facilitates travel and tourism procedures for students, researchers, artists, athletes, or anyone who visits the island. Sponsorship opportunities are available through the course of mutual cultural interaction and learning from the culture. It is essential to examine the psychology and the mental health of some *jineteras* exposed to traumatic events, resulting in victimhood. *Jineteras* conflicts may vary depending on their life experiences and their individuality.

Thus, narrative inquiry provided an opportunity to get to know the participants openly, making the process more comfortable. Therefore, the research allowed an exploration of *jineteras*' lives, with the possibility to change their status quo by enabling them to communicate their experiences. Thus, by also respecting, listening, learning, and supporting *jineteras*.

Role of the Researcher, Assumptions, and Ethical Considerations

The research's primary purpose was to transfer knowledge and deliver validity, reliability, relevance, significance, and credibility. It was vital to remain neutral

throughout the investigation process, as it allowed the researcher to study the complexities of its participants and understand their conflicts clearly. This researcher was comfortable completing the investigation because of previous understanding and familiarity with the Cuban culture. It was essential to comprehend *jineteras*' challenges, conflicts, work, and history.

Through impartial interviews, objectives, and honesty, the researcher followed their voices to create a better assessment of their lives. Integrity and intuition are two crucial elements of narrative inquiry. Thus, narrative inquiry is a natural method that represents knowledge. In this case, for example, *jineteras* voiced their life experiences and explained their phenomenon. Moustakas (1994) supports the stages of the intuitive narrative inquiry process by liberating it from prejudgment, bias, and assumptions, conversely generating trustworthiness and neutrality, recognizing the world's natural habits, and is genuinely experienced (p. 41).

This researcher was devoted to learn and discover the study of *jineteras* and discard any assumption or bias related to the research. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) describe how the researcher, or the observer is placed in the world to learn (p.15). Through knowledge and participation, we can reach a more in-depth insight into *jineterismo*; dissertation research questions made easy the development through data collection. Data collection provides details related to the phenomenon of *jineterismo*.

Nova Southeastern University requirements for this dissertation abide by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) consent for the study. Some of the prerequisites for IRB, provide explicit information and a consent approval of the research. It is crucial to remain ethically bound and pay attention to our language when communicating with

participants and following the IRB's ethical mandates. This researcher shadowed the IRB rules and regulations to maintain *jineteras'* safety and wellbeing. The investigator succeeded in keeping privacy with gender, class, ethnicity, race, nationality, names remained confidential and private before and after the interviewing process.

Chapter 4: Results

This chapter includes historical information about the *jineteras*' background through the lenses of narrative research and a holistic approach. Thus, the participants communicate their experiences as *jineteras* and why they remained in the field. Many women agreed to enter *jineterismo* to survive and make money in a country with shortages of food, supplies, etc. *Jineteras* blame the Cuban government for infringing their human rights and lack of protection from sex tourism. One of the *jineteras* pointed out that "one must experience something to understand it fully." This investigator presents *jineteras*' life, experience, and the essence of meaning.

Jinetera Profiles

Jinetera # 1

Jinetera #1 was twenty-one years old and is the mother of her five-year-old son. She lives with her family in Havana. She is working at a craft shop, works as a *jinetera* at night, and at the same time, studies at the University of Havana, Medicine. It is hard for her to handle both; she explained that her life was not easy. For her to survive, she works in the mornings in something related to tourism to subsist. She expresses many of her feelings and emotions. The investigator noticed her body language; it showed sadness, and periodically, her eyes filled with water when she talks about her problems and the lack of food. *Jinetera #1* is concerned about her baby's health; she feels sadness throughout the interview progress. She feels anxious about the current changes that happened this August 2019 and President Trump suspending cruises coming to the island. She is dissatisfied with the conflicts in Havana, Cuba.

Jinetera # 2

Jinetera # 2 decided to meet at a small restaurant in Havana, on the 2nd floor. She was 51 years old and mentioned her birthday was in December 2019. *Jinetera #2* is a singer and a *jinetera* at night. She was kind and cordial as she stated, “you’re a good person Nery, write it all. I want people to know.” *Jinetera #2* explained that every day in Cuba seemed like running a marathon and that people can feel the daily abuse. She stated: “The more years, the more abuse, is a daily thing, abuse is everywhere; for example, a family member who passed gave me the house, but I have to pay \$1000 to stay with it, if I don’t, the government will take it away from me, and I don’t have money for that is very expensive.”

She expresses all her anger and resentment against the Cuban government by saying that living in Havana, Cuba, was a daily torment. “Here, they make life impossible, very difficult.” *Jinetera # 2* states: “I do not have work now. I am looking for a singer’s job. I am suffering. Looking for another group of music that will take me as a singer, the gentleman that I was talking to downstairs before was the one who is looking to hook me in a new music group, but I have to keep paying 30% to the bar and taxes to the government.”

Jinetera # 2 is looking for another music group to work as a singer, which pays more than Cuba’s average allowance. The participant was conversing with a gentleman in the restaurant downstairs, who she mentioned helped her find another music group. *Jinetera # 2* stated she had to pay 30% to the bar and another 20% taxes to the government: that’s why participant # 2 works as a *jinetera*. She wishes to be nothing else but Cuban; she is proud to be Cuban. At the same time, she recognizes that the Cuban

citizens are treated like dogs; she states, “you have to have pure resilience to survive and live in a communist country.”

Jinetera # 2 was disturbed, distressed, and upset after the “abuse” question. Her eyes wandered, and she would not look at the investigator in the eye for a couple of seconds. The researcher took notes; she was feeling uncomfortable towards the end. She enjoyed going throughout the investigation, but it was hard for her to control her anger, and it was a torment for her losing her home. *Jinetera #2*, at some point throughout the interview, it seemed like she wanted to scream. She was ready to leave; she could not take it anymore. The investigator understood she was not feeling comfortable towards the end. Even though participant # 2 was willing to share her story, she felt overwhelmed throughout the interview. The investigator respected and protected the subjects by allowing them to take their time to answer the questions. The researcher also provided an opportunity for the participants to stop the interview process at any time. Thus, they did answer all the interview questions.

Jinetera # 3

Jinetera #3 was dancing with a group of singers outside a restaurant in the street of Galiano, in Havana, Cuba. She agreed with the interview process. The investigator explained the interview process and the reason for the investigation. *Jinetera #3* wanted to make sure that this research was not part of the Cuban government. She was 48 years old at the time of the interview. Thus, she worked at the adjoining restaurant and mentioned she also worked as a *jinetera* inside the restaurant.

Jinetera # 3 agreed to meet at her workplace and be interviewed during her break, as she stated, “it is low season, we have time.” We sat at one of the tables. Before the

investigation started, she confirmed, “*jinetera* is just a name given, that is all, but that means nothing, we are hardworking fighters, and at my 48 years, I dance and sing at the restaurant, and I am the one in charge of taking the customers to the bathroom. I am the only one with the key. I do the job as a *jinetera* inside the bathroom with some clients. I have nothing to lose Nery, that is how it is, wrestling.” Her job was to take care of the customers and take them to the bathroom; she explains, “I stand here by the bar, and when there is someone who wants to go to the bathroom, I take them; I handle my job as a *jinetera* inside the bathroom. It is on the second floor. It is better when we have little clients, and when the bathroom is empty, I would take them there and do it a little favor.”

Jinetera #4

Jinetera #4 was 23 years old, and she states that her birthday is within two months. She confessed that her family does not know anything about what she is doing. The investigator walked with her to the boardwalk; it is a beautiful walk by the sea, along the Havana Atlantic Ocean. She lives with her mom and Grandma and goes to college in the mornings, and at night she works as a *jinetera*. She is willing to take part in the interview. She explains, “because it is low season, we lower the price a little and continue to look for customers online. I made many cucs in the summer; I worked this since the summer, from six to seven months. I did very well; that is why I continue.”

Jinetera # 4 find her clients online, on social networks, social media and other internet sites in Cuba. Thus, the sites are available only in specific areas where they have access to the wi-fi connection. *Jinetera # 4* detailed where she finds access to wi-fi connection in Cuba. She is an art student at the University of Havana. *Jinetera # 4* has a network of clients over the internet where she finds customers, such as Mejoramor.com

and WhatsApp; she explains that “when you already have the customer’s phones, you can communicate with them faster through WhatsApp.” Other places to search for customers or advertise online are as follows, Mobifriends and Quecontactos.

Jinetera #4 provided an extensive catalog of photos and emails of her clients and internet sites. Thus, her responsibility includes taking care of her grandmother, who has heart problems. Her mom also has health issues, as she stated they have no help from relatives outside of Cuba. *Jinetera # 4* sees *jineterismo* as an opportunity to help her family with medicines and provide heart pills for my Grandma, which she stated are costly. She keeps her work very quiet, “my mother does not know, nor does my grandmother, if they ever find out, they will have a fit and fall on the ground.” *Jinetera # 4* meets her clients at their hotel, mostly at night.

Jinetera # 5

Jinetera # 5 is forty years old. She explained she had to feed her two sons, and the father left them when he moved to the United States five years ago. “He left us alone here with nothing, I don’t know what happened, he looked for another woman, and he does not want to claim us; then the choices for me are minimal.” *Jinetera # 5* does not have an education, and her husband always provided for the family. “Once he left the island, he forgot about us altogether.” She received a final letter informing her that he loved them, but he could not return or claim them to move to Miami. Thus, she is looking for a way out for the last five years, hoping to marry an international tourist. “Many men and women come here looking for a partner, and they all want something special. Not everything is sex; some want a partner, someone to talk to, share the nights and days here in Havana.”

She clarifies some men travel to Cuba after a divorce or the woman left them. The sex-tourist she encounters are mostly for companionship: someone to talk to, to share, someone to enjoy their time. Thus, what her husband did affect her family. He abandoned her in Cuba with two children. She was furious and, at the same time, a little annoyed. *Jinetera # 5* felt overwhelmed with everything that she had to deal with her two children without any help. *Jinetera # 5* was truthful; her body language shows sadness based on the abandonment of her husband. She cried when she mentioned her ex-husband. She did not communicate her feelings towards the government. Instead, she stated, “terrible things are happening in Cuba.” Thus, she did not express emotions concerning the government, she was afraid, but she replied to all the inquiries.

Jinetera # 6

She is a young girl in her twenties; she is a single mom of a two-month-old girl. Her mother takes care of her baby now. She states, “I am a single mother because my husband does not accept that I worked as a *jinetera*.” *Jinetera # 6* explains that this is the only way to pay for her children’s milk and everything else. Thus, her current husband is not her daughter; she married him to give a father to her daughter; the father is a foreigner. He lives in Spain, she has sent several letters to him, but states, “he does not want to be responsible for his two-month-old baby, a beautiful girl, beautiful blue-eyed, blonde, just like her dad.” *Jinetera # 6* explains, “We work very hard so that this baby does not lack food, milk, food, that my mother also makes food and boils it for her, that is it.” She is having a hard time living in Havana after moving from Pinar del Río, where she left most of her family. She is living in a small house that has many issues, especially with electricity and water.

Jinetera # 6 and her mother are thinking of moving back to Pinar del Río, because she has more family. She gets emotional when she mentions the Spaniard that left her pregnant and left her stranded in Cuba with a small baby. However, the conversation continued, as she explained she married a Cuban, just because the girl needs a dad, and the boy was her boyfriend before and proposed to take care of her daughter. Still, she is not happy with the relationship because she wants to continue making money as a *jinetera*, and the husband disagrees. Thus, this is another reason she wants to leave Havana to live in Pinar del Río to recover her freedom. *Jinetera* # 6 wants to move back to Pinar del Río to have more flexibility and less pressure and struggle to live in Havana, with little family, and work as a *jinetera*.

***Jinetera* # 7**

The seventh *jinetera* was a recommendation from one of the employees who work at the hotel. She is 35 years old and works as a *jinetera*. She was relaxed because she could talk to me quietly inside the hotel. She agreed to participate in the investigation. *Jinetera* # 7 stated that her childhood was not carefree. She was apprehensive concerning the abuser. Thus, she explains how they raped her when she was fourteen years old. "My stepfather drank a lot, and every night he raped me."

The mother was never in the house because she was working, "she is a dancer, and she also works in a restaurant at night. So, my life as a *jinetera* is m***** (shit), and I keep doing it." *Jinetera* # 7 explains that she has no other choice but to work as a *jinetera* to take care of her two children, a boy, and a girl, which helps economically pay for everything her family needs. The stepfather sold her to a group of individuals in Havana that trafficked children in Cuba. *Jinetera* # 7 stated, "Take a suitcase, put your

clothes on and everything you want to put on it, that you will be away in another house.” Her mother nor her family never went looking for her. She was a minor, like many other children she mentioned, “trafficked in Havana.” *Jinetera* # 7 escaped trafficking and moved with her grandparents. She is a *jinetera* in Cuba who works with two pimps that find her work at various locations. *Jinetera* # 7 explained why she continues in *jineterismo*.

Jineteras narrative provided testimony on their everyday experiences living in Havana, Cuba. Some identify their experiences as “dogs, worse than other cultures, with no protection from the government, the tourism industry, or any outside sources.” *Jineteras* confronted many challenges living in poverty, starting with the shortage of medicine and supplies to feed themselves and their families.

Therefore, *jineteras*’ narratives produced experiences and experiences themes. Some of the participants interviewed had experiences correlations with sex tourism; some had experienced. Thus, none of the participants admitted to contracting HIV or any other disease; they felt vulnerable to it. Also, *jineteras* did not disclose having drugs or being intoxicated while working; only one *jinetera* mentioned she drank before going to bed with some of her clients.

The seven participants expressed their perceived experiences. The holistic analysis includes the investigator’s examination for each interview, comparing, contrasting, and finding likenesses within each participant’s story and their capability and importance.

Themes and Subthemes

Narrative of *Jineteras* Stories

The participants explained their livelihood, their living conditions, and why they were working as *jineteras*. It was significant for many of them to communicate their life stories; they wanted someone to listen to create awareness of their living conditions in Cuba. Most of the reasons for being a *jinetera* was the absence of food, supplies, properties, neglect, and insufficient government support.

Thus, their stories show complexity concerning what they do; necessity and hardship were the typical reasons for their entrance and continuance in *jineterismo*. More than three *jineteras* mentioned the word “survive” in a country that does not provide the necessary supplies to support its citizens. Seven individuals participated in the interview process and answered the questions concerning their life experiences working as *jineteras* and living in Havana, Cuba.

Jineteras' lives are complicated. It is essential to keep an open mind, good observation of detail throughout the interviewing process. Therefore, due to the country constant struggle of necessity, some of the participants survived working as *jineteras*—also, some experienced abuse, rape, abandonment, and economic conflicts. Some women were outspoken about their frustration toward the government and their continuous struggles to find food within the island.

It was not a surprise that *jineteras* showed strong emotions throughout the interview process. Some participants narrated their daily schedules; for example, some participants attended universities, use technology as a form of communication, and helped their families. Thus, some find love and companionship in their dealings

as *jineteras*. Their narrative provides an opportunity to study the connection between living in a communist country and working as a *jinetera*. These chapters offer an analysis of the findings, such as the connection, the contrast, and the participants' differences.

***Jineteras* Survived and Persevere in Hardship Times**

Survival and perseverance form part of the daily life of *jineteras*. In some cases, their only option is to work with tourism and sex-tourism. For example, *jinetera*#1 explains her personal opinions, actions, and her experience with tourism. Thus, *jinetera* #1 stated that her only way to survive was by working in the tourism arena. Tourism, in this case, sex-tourism, in some cases, facilitates *jineteras*' livelihood during hardship times. *Jinetera* # 1 explains how hard it is for her not to work in tourism since it satisfies some of her needs. *Jinetera* # 1 illustrates her life working and studying in Havana:

I work here in what I can. I am studying; you cannot survive without working or working in something that is related to tourism. (*Jinetera* # 1).

Therefore, we can relate to the theory of social constructionism to *jineterismo* as it illustrates satisfying human life and its needs. Thus, *jineteras* clearly understand the world they live in and their limited alternatives. Social constructivism connects to *jineterismo* based on the individual's approach to survival and satisfying the basic needs. *Jineteras* see their work as a natural means for support. *Jineterismo* helps them gain the essential requirement to purchase things, such as food, shelter, and clothing. In this case, *jinetera* #1 states that *jineterismo* is an opportunity:

This is an opportunity to survive, make money, in a country with nothing, that does not offer anything, not getting caught by the police or the other snitch. I

survive. Using my savings to survive or have fewer expenses than usual. Go hungry. (*Jinetera*#1).

Jinetera # 1 answered the questions regarding her involvement. Then she finished the sentence with the word “survival” because of her experiences. Three *jineteras* use the word “survival” when explaining their stories. Thus, according to their opinions and perceived experiences “survival,” forms a significant part of their lives. *Jineteras* believe the field of *jineterismo* is more profitable than any other possible option to live and survive within the island. Thus, it is essential to understand the idea of “survival” and recognize who is a “survivor.” In this case, *jineteras* consider themselves “survivors” because they are in continual subsistence living in poverty and living in Cuba. *Jinetera*, #2 communicated how she is part of the survival approach, as she stated:

“And others like me who are in the stage of survival/survive.” (*Jinetera*, #2)

They recognize their living conditions, and, in some cases, they replied, “we are used to this.” Some participants anticipate hardship, *jinetera* # 2 stated, “like me, who survive.” Thus, because of the complexity of their lives, *jineteras* can engage in practical problem-solving. Most of the *jineteras* interviewed knew how to face a challenge; for example, they first analyze the conflict, devise a plan, carry out their schedule, and achieve what they want and need. When things go wrong, they adapt and improvise, and when overwhelmed, they recover quickly. The participants perceived the same experience *jinetera* # 6 explains:

“This job is very difficult. But you survive.” (*Jinetera* # 6).

Jinetera #2 and # 6 express the reason for being involved in *jineterismo*. In their cases, it seems like an opportunity for subsistence. In the case of *jinetera* # 2, she clearly

states, “and others like me who are in the phase to survive.” These are some of the responses related to the first questions and part of the subtheme of *jineteras* survived and persevere in hardship times:

“You have to give your body to whoever to make money to survive, but Cubans are strong, and we always get ahead without weakness; we put up with it.”

(*Jinetera* # 2)

Jinetera # 7 also shares how she was able to endurance somehow by leaving the trafficking homes, as she mentions, “getting out of those houses, I survived.” *Jineteras* see power as a form to find freedom in what they do and what they can obtain while doing it.

Empowerment is Perceived by *Jineteras* as a Form of Freedom

Jineteras perceive empowerment to improve, earn money, food, and shelter. It is also identified by *jineteras* as a form of freedom to meet their needs and struggles. *Jinetera* # 3 perceived her involvement with sex-tourism as a form of empowerment to meet her needs, which outweighs her bad experiences:

“I am here, alive, I have a job and gain a little more than others.” (*jinetera* # 3)

Jinetera # 3 believes that *jineterismo* provides benefits, responsibility, and power. The theme empowerment relates to the ability to have more than the other citizens, and to be able to buy things, for example, clothes, food, medicine, and others, that are impossible to obtain in Cuba. *Jinetera* # 3 explains how women involved in *jineterismo* exchange their services to get something in return. She also describes how individuals might not understand *jineteras*’ lives because of the diversity of principles and opinions. As a result, they believe in having a different level of power and control more than others.

Therefore, *jinetera* #3 shares how empowering and how she survives to control the restroom's key and earn money doing "favors" to some clients; she explains:

Experiences, nothing, I am here, alive, I gain a little more than others doing favors to men and also sometimes we are all part of the survival mode that maybe people from outside do not understand because, you go to the market there's food, they have food everywhere, they have their homes, have their job, and they don't have to be in the way of survival like us. (*Jinetera* # 3).

Jineteras stories are a mixture of their life experiences and development. Some of their experiences are based on what is needed, and *jineteras* perceive it as a form of freedom. The most important part of the process was to listen to their stories. Their lives generated distinctive themes throughout the study's analysis. The first sub-theme, "*jineteras* survive and persevere in hardship times," emerged from experiences living in hardship, for example, were the absence of food, supplies, properties, neglect, and lack of support from the government. Thus, their stories show complexity about what they do. The themes relate to the survival and their perseverance living in hardship times. Necessity and hardship are the reasons for their entrance and continuance in *jineterismo*.

For *Jinetera* #1, 2, 3, and 6, the word "survival and empowerment" form part of the narrative findings. Several women involved in *jineterismo* associate survival as a form of empowerment, living in poverty, working with sex-tourism, generating income, to help pay for the necessary, as *jinetra* # 7 explains. She realized that remaining in *jineterismo* is what she needed to do, "I have no choice," she states:

Right now, I have no choice because I already have two children, a boy, and a girl, and it helps me make money to pay for everything I want and what they want. So, fuck it. (*Jinetera* # 7).

Most of the *jineteras* work as prostitutes out of necessity. Their sense of freedom begins when they believe they have control, hope, and empowerment to better their lives and their families' lives. *Jinetera* # 1 is a young woman in her twenties who has been able to support herself financially. She feels she is a "millionaire" because it is hard for her to earn money having a regular job. *Jinetera* #1 feels a sense of freedom working as *jinetera* and living in a communist country. She has faith; she is doing something to create change within her family and status. Thus, generating growth by working, studying, taking care of her child, and *jineterismo* at night gives her a sense of empowerment. "Doing something that creates experiences and change in her family." *Jinetera* # 1 is looking for an opportunity to find freedom and eventually leave the island, as she explains:

When there is tourism, I can earn between 40 and 70 cuc in a single night. I feel a millionaire because I don't earn that by working a "normal" job in Cuba like the others, and I'm gathering to get out of here; I'm not like the others who complain and don't do anything about it. (*Jinetera* # 1).

In contrast, *jinetera* #5 explains how her husband's abandonment, in a sense, gave her empowerment and control of her life. As she explains, for the first time, she achieved economic independence. Once *jinetera* # 5 entered prostitution, she supported herself and her children. She took control of the situation by finding a long-term relationship with a

Canadian tourist. Thus, even though she still communicates with her husband, she currently believes she has full control of her life.

I tell you that with the Canadian are long-term customer relationships is what I'm looking for; there are various conflicts, the conflict that there is no food, the conflict of housing, the conflict of medicine, diseases, the conflict for me is emotional because I fell in love with this Canadian and now well let's see what happens. Then there are various conflicts, the way I handle them for them is at 11 the food they give us is very little, as a nurse what I make is too little, I do have several friendships that make food because I live in Regla. (*Jinetera* # 5).

Jineteras' empowerment originates from not blaming themselves or feeling sorry for what they do but fighting for what they want and need. *Jineteras'* survival strategies generate freedom through empowerment, power, survival, and economic freedom. Consequently, *jineteras* found freedom by taking control of their lives, between needs and wants. On the other hand, they do not want to be abused or coerced by tourism.

The same conflict is currently happening to *jineteras*. *Jineteras* in 2020 survives to provide for their families. *Jineteras'* necessities and their need to earn money are more significant than any danger, shame, morality these women might face. *Jinetera* # 1 and # 2 mentioned the influence of sex-tourism as financial stability. To survive, Cubans themselves work closely with tourism; simultaneously, tourism provides a new avenue of opportunity to change their status quo and leave the island, *jinetera* # 2 states:

I want you to write everything I've told you, and tell everyone what I've told you so that people see the reality of Cuba, here to survive you have to either marry a

foreigner and leave Cuba, or sleep with a foreigner for money so that you can survive and eat and have a home. (*Jinetera* #2).

Therefore, part of their solution is to find an international partner who takes care of them and probably get them out of Cuba. Most of the *jineteras* clearly understand that prostitution can be harmful and detrimental, but it also balances their incomes. They persevere, believing this is what they want to do and what is best for them. Some consider that based on the circumstances, *jineterismo* is the only way out. Their choices are limited living in a communist country where the government provides minimal resources for its citizens, where poverty is imminent, and most of the houses are unrepaired are falling apart on top of children and families who have passed due to these issues.

Some have problems finding a water supply to have water to shower and food to feed their children. Thus, *jineteras*' coping strategies represent "survival, empowerment, and perseverance" from the constant limitations and barriers from the Cuban government, and the lack of cooperation to improve people's livelihood. The Cuban people are subject to poverty and severe punishments. *Jinetera* # 3 shares the same sentiment. She expresses her views and feelings concerning individuals who work in different fields, meaning there is no variation if you are a doctor, teacher, a professional; most Cubans are in the survival mode:

The food is very expensive; everything is expensive, then people throw themselves and fuck in the streets; that's why you see so many people up and down like a lion to look for anything, whatever business we can find on the streets. So, we are all on a survival. (*Jinetera* #3).

There is a discrepancy between Cubans salaries and their expenses. Thus, *jinetera* # 3 is indeed in survival mode, but *jinetas* in some way perceived it as an experience. Their salary is not enough compared to their expenses. Thus, as *jinetera* # 3 mentioned, the country does not supply substantial wages for its people. Therefore, *jinetas* # 1, 2, and 3, view their circumstances as a challenging process, and it is most probable that their need to survive is higher than any motive. Thus, this makes them sturdy, more durable, and powerful:

We're all on a survival plan, no matter who you are, if you're a doctor, a philosopher, a teacher, we are all pretty much the same, we make the same money, 20 or 30 cuc a month is not enough at all. (*Jinetera* # 3).

These four women are certain that they are “surviving” and recognize these forms part of empowerment since they can have more than the rest of the Cubans. *Jinetera* # 2 agrees she is in survival mode when she mentions, “and others like me who survive.” Thus, making it clear that even though their current situation is complicated, she sees herself and others not as objects or as victims but as survivors. All the participants provided a significant amount of data for this investigation. This researcher wrote down everything the participants communicated. This study confirms that some participants interviewed are resilient. *Jinetera* # 6 states:

“This job is very difficult. We are all indoctrinated to do the same thing, survive.” (*Jinetera* #6).

The participants realized their work is challenging, but they persevered in the field despite the adversities. *Jinetera* # 6 declares that the country has itself created the

problem. At the same time, they are used to the condition. Most Cubans' income is approximately 20 to 30 cuc a month; US dollars is around thirty dollars a month.

It is neither an office job nor; a professional career is a job to eat. That is the only experience. I do not do this job every day because I also work in a restaurant as a waitress, and I again try to get tips. I am studying in the mornings. (*Jinetera*, #6).

Jinetera # 1 believed that prostitution, to some degree, was favorable in that it fulfilled and sheltered her from hardship. In some cases, prostitution can be violent, abusive, physical, and emotional. Survival has been a strong influence amongst the participants interviewed living in a 60-year-long dictatorship; *jineteras* explain how their work allowed them to find an escape of their current economic and social conflicts within the island.

As a result, even though *jinetera* # 7 was abused and trafficked at a very early age. In her narrative, she explains how "getting out of those houses, I survived." Thus, all their stories relate to scarcity and the necessities of food, water, and shelter. The Cuban government neglected to provide for its citizens the basic needs. In Havana, Cuba, citizens are in survival and economic turmoil. *Jineteras* persevere against all the odds and can challenge negativity.

From an economic perplexity, *jineterismo* has a specific outcome on women who actively work as prostitutes. However, in general, the public, the citizens of Cuba, have suffered a long stagnation period. Thus, they believe the communist system is not heading in the right direction for its economic growth. *Jineteras* found in prostitution the financial freedom and a resolution to their immediate conflict of scarcity in Cuba. Thus, it is probable that *jineteras* are looking for economic liberation in a country where everyone

is for sale. Most of the *jineteras* recognize why they are in *jineterismo*. Most of the answers of *jineteras* who enter *jineterismo* relate to economic freedom and on a need, for example:

“Using my savings to survive or have fewer expenses than usual. I go hungry. It is an opportunity to make money in a country with nothing without being offered anything.” (*Jinetera* #1)

The need for financial freedom is a motivating force. Thus, *jineteras* #1 through *jinetera* #7 believe in economic freedom. Thus, *jinetera* #2 confirms evidence that she found economic freedom as a *jinetera* to move forward. The philosophical side of this conflict on the experiences consequences of working in *jineterismo*. *Jinetera* #2 part of her motive involved earning a substantial income to endure:

“You must give your body to whoever to make money to survive.” (*Jinetera* #2)

Jinetera #3 understands she is part of the subsistence, as she compares the needs in Cuba with other countries who have food everywhere:

I have nothing to lose; doing favors to men, and sometimes, women are all part of the survival that maybe people from outside do not understand. Because you go to the market, there's food, they have food everywhere, have their homes, have their job, and do not have to survive like us. Here you must sell yourself, that is the truth, my friend. (*Jinetera*, #3).

Jineteras' prime motivator is to pursuit economic freedom and acquires basic human needs. In this case, based on the research, physiological conditions are essential for *jineteras* and survive. Subsist means, for example, being able to have food, shelter, clothes, medicines, and other needs to simplify the needs and persist living in

poverty. Thus, human needs are mostly physiological and their needs for love and safety when they find an individual who will take care of them. *Jinetera* # 4 shares her story related to remaining a *jinetera* since the summer facilitated her financially, as she continues; she shares her view below:

“I made a lot of cuc’s (Cuban money) in the summer, and I worked doing this since the summer, from six to seven months I did very well that is why I continue.” (*Jinetera* #4)

Other *jineteras* as well were motivated by money. Similarly, *jineteras* # 5 is enjoying her long-term relationship with a Canadian who sends her money and gifts. These women have developed in poverty; they have little of everything. Thus, anything extra they see it as a suitable opportunity to make quick money through *jineterismo*. These women realize that they could live a somewhat enjoyable life:

At the moment, I am enjoying him and his money. He wants to rent a house in Varadero and be there with me for a week or two. We communicate via email, he wants me to send him letters and photos of me, and he also sent me photos and messages; of course, everything is through his work. He also sends me gifts and many times up to money between 20 or 50 cuc. (*Jinetera*, # 5).

In contrast to the other women, *jineteras* # 6 takes care of her baby and works part-time as a *jinetera*. She is an exception when she mentions:

“The truth is that when you have a child already, things kind of change. Now, I think more about my baby than money. With what I have now, it suits my expenses.” (*Jinetera* # 6).

Jinetera # 7 explains how financial rewards are overly attractive to decline. She charges more than the regular rate set by *jineteras*. She suffered terrible circumstances as a minor. Thus, *jinetera* # 7 recounts how she makes “a lot of money” when clients make an offer for her services. Therefore, like many *jineteras*, she has her family to support, and the economic freedom of prostitution allows her to be independent and pay for everything:

I am only with clients who have a lot of money, between 50 to 100 cuc or a little more. Sometimes I get to do 200 cuc when there are many customers. I already have two children, a boy, and a girl, which helps me make money to pay for everything I want and what they want. So, fuck it. (*Jinetera*, # 7).

In Havana, Cuba, technology has advanced in the past recent years. Some *jineteras* use technology to find more clients and to increase the list of friends. Technology plays a significant role in its citizens to make more money. Thus, Cubans in 2020 can communicate internationally through the internet. Also, they are more attuned to the daily news than with the Fidel Castro regime. Currently, the wi-fi is available in certain areas in Havana, Cuba. The internet is accessible, and you can see many individuals using the internet all over Havana. The phones are manageable, as well as old computers and laptops. *Jineteras* can find their clients through the internet, in various sites all over the island. Thus, *jineteras* # 4 shared a list of clients in different websites to promote themselves:

We have a network over the internet where we find customers, for example, Mejoramor.com WhatsApp – when you already have the customer’s phones, and you can communicate with them faster by WhatsApp. Other places to search for customers or advertise online are Mob friends, WhatsApp, Subcontractors, and

other places, but WhatsApp is the best for one on one response. Then other sites are for LGBT looking for a partner in Cuba. (*Jinetera*, # 4).

Thus, WhatsApp is mostly used in Havana, Cuba, to communicate with the outside world. There are other websites, *jinetera* # 4 presented throughout the interview process, such as Mejoramor.com, Mob friends, and Subcontractors. In those sites, you can see thousands of pictures of women and men all over the world. She stated “WhatsApp” was the best since it provides an immediate connection with clients online.

Jinetera # 4 presented her sites and how she scheduled appointments with clients. In some cases, these women are also looking for love and companionship in their lives. *Jinetera* #5, relationship with the customers, is not always about sex and intercourse. Instead, it consists of building relationships, companionship, and someone to provide economic stability. *Jinetera* # 5 client kept in contact with her even after leaving the island; she views *jineterismo* as a long-term relationship. She found the Canadian tourist and connected with him, and he is currently taking care of her.

He wires money for her and calls her via WhatsApp. Love and companionship are some of the requirements for some *jineteras*. In this case, *jineteras* # 5 has achieved some aspects of love and the hierarchy of need with her relationship. They are making plans to see each other next summer. Thus, from her perspective, *jinetera* # 5 narrative supports the following experiences’ characteristics:

What happens is what always happens, as I am telling you, some want sex. Still, I have had many that want a partner. Some stay in the hotels for two or three weeks, and I stay with them, which is *jineterismo*, for an extended period. They fall in love, which happened to me now with a Canadian, the gentleman who was here

for three weeks and left. A wise man, with a lot of money. He has his wife there in Canada, but we keep in touch, he promised to come back. (*Jinetera*, # 5).

Jinetera #5 is looking for a long-term relationship. She sees *jinetismo* as an opportunity to find a long-term relationship rather than short-term sex. The long-distance relationship makes her feel content over the husband's abandonment situation. In this case, *jinetera* # 5 found companionship, meaning that she has achieved a sense of love and connection.

She has gained independence and self-fulfillment by maintaining a relationship with other men after her husband's abandonment. In this case, self-actualization relates to self-fulfillment. Her involvement has provided a platform based on her needs. *Jineteras*, in some way, want to be loved, connect with other human beings, and even try to create a family with them. Consequently, for some *jinetas*, mostly the youngest, it is hard for them to find companionship because of their work nature. Their needs and the necessities to support their immediate families is more important than anything else.

Participants as a group have been able to move forward as a culture, despite the circumstances. *Jineteras* persevere, despite the adversity of financial hardships, abuse, and health issues. *Jineteras* find a resolution for the scarcity and limited resources. It is hard for them to find equality living in a communist country, which shortage of suppliers, lack of income, corruption, and abuse from sex-tourism traveling to the island. Thus, this researcher believes that *jinetas* can confront their obstacles because they remain persistent and resilient to struggle. Perseverance is to have a passion for a purpose regardless of the struggle or impediments we encounter.

The participants emerged from diverse demographic backgrounds, prompted by gender, marital status, and age of *jinetas* who live in Havana, Cuba. *Jineteras* age

ranges from 21 to 79 years old. Their levels of formal education can be any, from elementary to postgraduate. As a result, *jineteras* enter the field, usually for three significant reasons, family needs, economics, and emotional needs.

The first themes illustrate *jineteras*' education achievement, the survival and perseverance in hardship times, and how they perceived empowerment as a form of power to get what they need. *Jineteras*' narrative included several layers and various themes. Some endure at work and follow education meanwhile work as *jineteras*. Thus, participants face challenging circumstances related to economic growth. And finally, the theme that forms part of continuing to pursue education while working as *jineteras*.

Continuing to Pursue Education While Working as *Jineteras*

Jineteras, in some cases, engaged in education while working as *jineteras*. The seven participants in the study were precise when narrating their stories. Participants wanted to make a difference by helping their families. Thus, their families are a priority for the subjects, always making sure they are well-taken care. In some cases, participants positioned themselves in dangerous circumstances to provide a better life for their relatives and themselves.

For instance, *jineteras* # 4 had faced challenges balancing her personal experience as a *jinetera* without her mother or grandmother knowing about her sex-tourism outings. She attends the university, takes care of her family, and works as a *jinetera*. *Jinetera* # 4 understands the challenges she must endure. Still, in a way, she is content at attending school and studying something she enjoys, Art and Designs at the University of Havana; she explains:

I must work hard, and I do not have time for anything else. I go there after eating at home or after school. I am studying Arts and Design at the University of Havana. My mother does not know, nor does my grandmother, what I do after school. (*Jinetera* # 4)

In a way, she suppresses her feelings and conflicts by hiding them from her family rather than complain; she keeps moving forward. The participants are willing to do what is necessary to resolve the dispute at hand. However, internalizing emotions can, at the same time, bring emotional conflicts within. The internal struggle can be an extension of the overriding fight against feelings and emotions. *Jinetera* # 4 does not share her experiences with the family. Thus, she believes it can complicate their lives, as she states, “if they find out, they will have a fit and fall to the ground.” She has a strong wish to facilitate her grandmother with medicines, without her knowing about the process. She shares her story making emotional remarks:

I do not have time for anything else, which, to some extent, life can be overwhelming. (*Jinetera* # 4)

In comparison, *jinetera* # 4 and *jinetera* # 6 experience the same emotions related to feeling exhausted. *Jinetera* # 6 has no one to help her; she feels “exhausted” from working and studying. She does not have time for her personal life, only to be safe and stay alive:

“More work. Now I am, and I feel exhausted. I have to work more between the family, school, and this.” (*Jinetera* # 6).

In terms of her education, *jinetera* # 1 explained she is pursuing medical school to develop her career. She is moving in the direction of her goals; she has a better

perspective concerning her passions. Participants perceived school as an opportunity for growth, progress, and other prospects. Even though *jineteras* live in a communist country, they feel experiences about being able to have an education and grow. Thus, they recognized the country's disability and the need for subsisting working in the tourism field as a *jinetera*.

For instance, *jinetera* # 1 comments displayed her school schedule; she shares her commitment to work and finishing her education. Although she is working in *jineterismo*, she is also attending the University of Havana medical school. *Jinetera* # 1 recognizes her duties when she states:

"I work in what I can." Underneath, she shares her thoughts about education and work: I am studying at the University of Havana Medicine. It is not easy to work on what I learn. Here, you will not survive; you cannot survive without working or working in something that is about tourism. (*Jinetera* #1)

Like other *jineteras* who are also joining the school, includes *jineteras* # 4 and # 6, they both are registered students at the University of Havana, Cuba, for the most part, education forms part of their experiences:

While you go to school, the government pays for everything, in college, you must buy books and others, but the school here is free. I am studying language, and I also think I am going to change now to tourism. I am very interested in that field too. I work in a restaurant, and I study. (*Jinetera* # 6)

Consequently, attending school and continuing to pursue education while working relates to participants 1, 4, and 6. Thus, for several women in this study, finding someone to take care of them was important. *Jineteras* consider the most critical things in their lives:

money, gains, support, and security. Their perceived stories provided experiences and compelling characteristics of a typical *jinetera*.

The younger generation of *jineteras* attends school. *Jinetera #1* and *jinetera # 6* are single mothers. The children's fathers live in foreign countries, for instance, Spain and Germany. In this case, *jineteras # 4* studied Art and Designs at the University of Havana and mentioned that she communicates with her clients after school. Thus, her willingness to explore measures her capability for development and ambition. Therefore, their example shows how women want to learn and grow. *Jinetera # 6* mentioned that education is free; they do not have to pay to attend school.

Together *jineteras # 1, 4, and 6* follow their career goals; meanwhile, they keep working in *jineterismo*. The investigation illustrates how the younger generation of *jineteras* are doing extra, such as studying, having a family, working during the day, and working at night in *jineterismo*. The younger *jineteras* do not have an adult who provides for them, and the oldest *jineteras* enter the field, looking for better opportunities and a husband. Thus, *jineteras 2, 3, 5, and 7* did not mention anything about school. Unlike *jinetera # 1, 4, and 6* who believe in education, *jinetera # 5* never attended school:

“I never went to school, my husband always worked for us, but the moment he left the island, he forgot about us entirely.” (*Jinetera # 5*).

Jinetera # 5 was in her forties, and she has a family and a husband who abandoned her in Cuba. Thus, for *jinetera # 5*, going back to school is tough. She works hard to find a long-term relationship and economic freedom to care for her and her children.

***Jineteras* Believe They Are Not Respected or Protected**

Jineteras described their experiences as abusive and maltreatment. Sex-tourist could be vicious, and some classify *jineteras* as disposable and unworthy. Thus, sex-tourist narratives include brutality and injustice. *Jinetera* three and two indicated, “we are treated like dogs,” in previous chapters. Consequently, some believe they are not respected or protected and relate their experience as “inhumane.” In this chapter, we cover some conflicts and challenges.

The Cuban government appears as a ‘bad’ and unhealthy culture. In addition, *Jinetera* # 2 explains how many taxes are imposed and must be paid to the government, leaving a small amount of money for the Cuban citizens to subsist living in a communist country; she explains:

And the government also takes money away from my fees, taxes from the house I just got. So, they take from all sides, and I am left with very little about 30 and 40 cuc a month. (*Jinetera*, # 2).

Shortage in Cuba makes people vulnerable by exploiting their dreams of a better life. In this case, we can compare *jineteras* poverty in Cuba with a lack of income, scarcity, and incapacities. These women do not benefit from fundamental rights such as freedom, respect, and dignity. Poverty is a phenomenon affecting *jinetera* # 6 explains her struggles to find milk to feed her child:

The only problem is that sometimes there is no milk, and then that makes things a little more complicated, but then we are always on the lookout from one place to another, and we find the milk. (*Jinetera*, # 6).

The Cuban government scarceness does not undertake serious efforts to change its policies. Women are more vulnerable to this dehumanizing crime. The factors are apparent, *jineteras* living in Cuba experience poverty, underdevelopment, and unfairness. They live in a vicious cycle, which relates to poverty, a phenomenon in Cuba. Thus, it also integrates gender issues within Cuban society and international tourism. Cuban citizens lack choices and opportunities, such as the ability to live a healthier life. They are not able to benefit from fundamental rights like freedom, respect, and dignity. Therefore, there is an urgent need to stop the oppression of women living in poverty and exploitation are a tangible conflict in Havana, Cuba.

Jinetera # 1 provided her expertise and experience related to shortage and her son's development. Many *jineteras* grew up in poverty and shared the importance of supporting family and family members around them. *Jinetera # 1* states "that living in Cuba is torture" because of the shortage of food, milk and seeing her son cry. Cubans use one of the most common words, "*no es facil*," meaning "it is not easy." *Jineteras* have the courage, and they do have faith that their life will transform one day. *Jinetera # 1* explains how her experience in Cuba is not comfortable. *Jinetera #1* provides an example of her exploitation as a woman living in an underdeveloped country, suffering from deprivation and scarcity:

It is abuse and living here is torture. I have my baby, and I am with my family. I live with my family in Havana. It is tough to see your five-year-old son cry. No milk, no food for my baby. There are days that when he cries, I cry too when you see your five-year-old son crying non-stop because there is no food at all here; it is not easy. (*Jinetera, #1*)

Jinetera #1 has a small child, whom she needs to feed, but sometimes her five-year-old son cries because there is no food to eat. Her father-in-law raped her when she was a minor, leaving her; abandoned, pregnant, and a single mom. She shared that sometimes she cries with her son, stressing what he is going through. Thus, it is essential for her that her son is healthy and pleased. Consequently, *jineteras* sacrifice themselves and take the extra step to satisfy the needs of their families. She talks about her baby with love and sadness at the same time. Also, she has different feelings; for example, she feels sad, angry, and, at the same time, feels resentment about what is going on. It seems like she is going to cry but stops and continues with her story. When *jinetera* # 1 sees this opportunity to make “easy money” through prostitution, she wants to make a difference for her son and herself. Many *jineteras* go through hardships; besides their needs, they also suffer from physical abuse and sometimes rape.

Jineteras believe they are not respected or protected incorporates *jineteras*’ daily challenges, conflicts, and unhealthy experiences. In contrast, this chapter is different from the other themes since it relates to the participants’ abuse and physical abuse. Some of the conflicts associated with *jineteras* relate to abuse and rape. *Jineteras* believe they are not respected or protected and suffer physical abuse.

Some of the sample words were abuse, torture, no food, no milk, no food, sadness, hard, crying, non-stop, not easy, tourism, anything. Trump, worst, expose, body, life, disposal, crazy, dog, tourism, take, abuse, and body. Therefore, the following are themes related to the central theme of *Jineteras* are not respected or protected and suffer physical abuse.

Physical abuse is a theme that relates to prostitution in Cuba and is unrecognized, and women suffer the consequences, for example, physical abuse, domestic violence, revenge murders, and passive-aggressive behaviors. Consequently, Cuba is recognized by *jineteras* as an unhealthy country. The human needs theory illustrates the societal breakdown is due to frustrations, resentments, and a lack of power afforded minority groups produced from the tourism industry and perpetuated by sex tourism specifically. *Jinetera # 7* was also disturbed, distress, and upset after asking the abuse question:

My stepfather raped me thousands of times. I was just as a child, without me wanting it. A long journey of abuse, experiencing unimaginable things to the human being that cannot even imagine, the murky, how disgusting, how inhumane a person can be toward another. I was abused and raped at a very young age when I was 14 years old. My stepfather drank a lot, and every night he was drunk and raped me. (*Jinetera, # 7*).

Jinetera # 7 forms part of the themes of abuse and their perceived experiences. Thus, this research has explained previously; there is a significant involvement concerning the history and characteristics of *jineterismo*. *Jineteras* participating in prostitution exposed themselves to all levels and physical, emotional, and psychological violence and abuse. *Jinetera # 3*, in this case, experience physical and emotional abuse:

I was abused because of “dominance,” they often grabbed me by the hair, outraged me, touched my breasts, once one spit at me, an animal, and then I hit the floor and bleed through the nose of the slap that he gave me. I could not do anything; you cannot do anything; there is no protection for women. There is no protection in either my work or on the street, there are no rules or regulations in

this if we are alone, and all the citizens here there is very little help from the government. You save yourself how you can. (*Jinetera*, # 3).

Jinetera # 3 was abused physically and psychologically by the clients who visit the restaurant that she works. Thus, she works as a host who escorts clients to the bathroom. Once in the bathroom, she also offers her services as a *jinetera*. She reported a sex-tourist touching her breasts, grabbing her by the hair, spitting on her, and hitting her. *Jinetera* #3 experienced physical and psychological abuse by her clients. Consequently, due to their work nature, most of the *jineteras* lived through abuse either from childhood or as adults. It is clear how physical abuse and violence are usually part of their involvement with either sex-tourism.

Thus, *jinetera* # 1 and 7 suffered abuse as minors. Successively, clients abused *jinetera* # 4, and she states, “some gentleman under the influence of alcohol, smell, they are animals.” *Jinetera* # 2 also feels that she was treated like a “dog,” when she often states, “we are dogs, here.” *Jinetera* # 6 also explains how her Cuban boyfriend is aggressive and abusive, by saying, “he puts too many conditions, he is abusive, and tries to control me.” It is a conflict when women express how men inside and outside the island use force or other coercion forms to abuse them. Thus, some individuals want to have control over others for exploitation purposes.

Sex tourism exploitation includes being raped, being physically assaulted, and verbally abused. Consequently, due to this treatment, *jinetera* # 3 feels she is not protected. She specifically states, “there is no protection in either my work or on the streets, there are no rules or regulations in this we are all alone.” These women work in vulnerable positions, continuously exposed to mistreatment.

As a result, *jineteras* interviewed did not provide information concerning sex or the act of sex. Thus, they did not mention anything related to gratifying their sexual needs. *Jineteras* did not specify much about their sexual meetings. Most of the ones interviewed declared that their last thought on their mind was to satisfy themselves. It was a process to provide a service for clients for improvement. *Jineteras* view intercourse with tourists as a form of work, as *jineteras* # 6 explained, the battles and the experience are challenging; it is not an office job. Still, they do provide a service to the clients, and that allows them to have supper.

“This job is challenging. But you survive. It is neither an office job nor a professional job; it is a job to eat.” (*Jinetera* # 6).

For *jineteras*, their entrance into *jineterismo* relies on essentials; there is a need for financial compensation. Their resolution always depends on paying for food, a place to live, and protecting their families. There are no right or wrong choices; prostitution in Cuba comes out of hardship. Feminists’ voices claim that prostitution is the highest form of oppression and abuse against women.

“*Jineterismo* is violence in some ways; also, there are a couple of them who treat you like a dog, wrong.” (*Jinetera* #2).

Jinetera # 2 and many others believe in the idea of persisting, but she is aware that mistreatment forms part of the process. The participants consider that being a *jinetera* had to do with being resilient. *Jineteras* # 2 provides a service for monetary gains and to be able to subsist. In this case, *jinetera* # 2 is unhappy with her current, and she knows there are events the government keeps quiet about:

I must recognize that we are treated like dogs, worse than other cultures, worse than other people, we are dogs here. Here there are several layers and different levels of things covered by the people here covered by communism, and they hide many things that are not said that I know they keep quiet. (*Jinetera*, #2).

Many *jineteras* in this study were abused, raped, or experienced a traumatic event at some point in their lives. These experiences, in some ways, shape their essence and their self-worth. Thus, *jineteras*' narratives clearly explain how they felt throughout their abusive experiences. *Jinetera* # 7 grew up with a vicious rapist, who was her stepfather. To later be sold as a prostitute and trafficked in Havana, Cuba. Her mother neglected troubled participant # 7 as she provides detail on her experience as a trafficked minor:

Also, they drug you with a handkerchief in these places, so they do not have to hear the girls' screams when they rape them. Then I found out that they give us chloroformed to make us weaker and do whatever they wanted. I felt helpless at night, vomited, and a lot of pain in the head for several months. (*Jinetera*, # 7).

Thus, she tells her story without shame and maturity; she is currently working as a *jinetera*. She specializes in customers who pay more for her services. Her experiences have traumatized her. Psychologically she is in a better position than years ago; for example, she explains, she has two children, a boy, a girl, and currently is divorced but lives with her boyfriend. This researcher believes, *jineteras* # 7 are not content with her work, but at the same time, she is pleased with her current finances.

As recounted in previous chapters, *jineteras*' living conditions are multifaceted. Throughout the study, women express themselves with more clarity. The findings enlighten how *jineteras* endure stressful circumstances and the losses they had

experienced. Most of them remained in *jineterismo* to have a comfortable life for their families. Therefore, they view *jineterismo* as an opportunity for a better life.

Consequently, their conflicts are all unique, and some of them share the same needs. The younger *jineteras*, for example, *jinetera* # 6 lamented not being able to have a healthier life, she has lost her friends, and does not enjoy a romantic life anymore, she clearly explains:

“I do not go out with friends, nor do I have to have a partner.” (*Jinetera* # 6)

In contrast with *jinetera* # 6, she enjoys staying with her family and working on *jineterismo* part-time; *jinetera* # 4 is interested in finding clients every day and connecting online with them. *Jinetera* # 4 shared pictures of her clients, lists of men’s names she has met and treats *jineterismo* as a business transaction. Still, at the same time, she recognizes that some “smell bad, and are animals,” she explains:

I go to bed with ugly, old, horrible people who smell bad, older adults who do not bathe and are animals. Some of them have no compassion for what we do, no education; they just come here for one thing sex, do not look for more. Do not try to explain what they want, and we want money, we need the money. And paid us based on our experiences and what they want, there are many cheap thieves.

(*Jinetera*, # 4).

Jinetera # 4 think of the sex-tourism as a symbol, calling them names and blandness.

Many *jineteras* spoke of their meetings with sex-tourism sometimes as abuse, others as longtime relationships. *Jinetera* # 4 describes her clients as “animals,” overall her involvement with them. She explains her experience as sex, money, and thieves: Another middle-aged woman agreed with the importance of having an attitude. She shared how

her experiences with sex-tourist have been a horrible experience. *Jinetera* # 4 describes the men as “ugly, old, smell bad, and animals.”

Jineterismo, for her, has become her business. Most of the participants enjoy the ability to have the power for themselves and to provide for others. Therefore, they believe they are dependable, but at the same time, something gets missing in their way to happiness, their self-respect. *Jineteras* # 4 and # 6 have no personal life. For example, they both work in *jineterismo*. They are in their twenties, and as they explained, “lives are shattered.” *Jinetera* # 4 works in the field because she must help her grandmother, who has problems with her heart. She states:

I am 20 years old, and I must take care of my grandmother, who has problems with her heart. My mom also has a bad leg, and we have no help from relatives outside Cuba. When I leave university, I go straight to the house, eat any meal I find or buy cheap with the money I made last night with a client. (*Jinetera*, # 4).

Some *Jineteras* Experienced Abandonment from Family Members and Others

Their aim to find someone to take care of them as they feel they cannot provide for themselves. Thus, *jineteras* are straightforward when it comes to the reality of their circumstances. *Jinetera* # 1, 3, 5, 4, and 6 were, in some way, abandoned by either their husbands, boyfriends, sex-tourism, and others. *Jinetera* # 6 clarifies:

The father of my daughter is a foreigner. He lives in Spain, I sent him several letters, and he does not want to be responsible for his two-month-old baby, a beautiful girl, beautiful blue-eyed, blonde, and just like her dad. Then, I am here suffering until I can leave this paradise and find a better life in other places.
(*Jinetera* # 6)

Jinetera # 5 forms part of the theme of “Experienced Abandonment from Family Members.” At some point in their lives, *several jineteras* experienced abandonment from family members. *Jinetera* # 5 husband left her and their two children in Cuba, so she turned to *jineterismo*. Therefore, *jinetera* # 5 want to find someone who cared for her. She wanted someone as a partner who supports her financially and, at the same time, a companionship. All she had to do was keep in contact with the Canadian. In her mind, prostitution was a way for her to have a family, what she always wanted. Although there was sex between her and the Canadian, it was a long-term relationship:

I must feed my two sons. The father left us to move to the United States 5 years ago. He left us alone here with nothing, I do not know what happened, he looked for another woman, and he does not want to claim us; then the options for me are limited. (*Jinetera*, # 5).

Thus, due to her husband’s abandonment and the lack of resources, she decided to become a *jinetera*. Her abandonment experiences originate from her husband’s neglect and the lack of support from family members outside the country. She had no other option but to work as a *jinetera*; she never went to school, and the father of her baby left them:

“The father of the baby abandoned us.” (*Jinetera* # 1).

Jinetera #5 and #1 were abandoned by their ex-husbands who do not provide support. This situation pushed her to continue in *jineterismo*. Thus, she is not up for the one-night stands with men due to her age and values. She mentioned she was forty years old at the time of the interview, and due to her age, she is not up to meet different men. She intends to find a long-term relationship, someone steady, a companion. Other women, as well, are

inspired by money. *Jinetera* # 5 grew up in poverty and had shared that her family had little money for food, and at times as a child, she would go hungry, *jinetera* states:

But if the man lets me go, I will go back and keep looking for the one nightstand.

Now, I am contacting the hotels here, leaving my information, with my photos, if a man presents himself for an extended period relationship to see if he likes me.

And instead of having one, I have two, and then the experiences become experiences. Although I love him very much, the Canadian, he has his wife, and I must keep going and keep moving. (*Jinetera*, # 5).

Jinetera # 5 was a stayed home wife, “a one-man’s woman,” who takes care of her husband and two children. She does not have an education. *Jinetera* # 5 worked part-time as a nurse who gets paid twenty cuc a month, compared to the U.S. dollars is around seventeen dollars a month, and the cost of living is much higher. The participant explained that her expenses, including food, water, and shelter, are roughly between \$80 and 90 cuc a month or more. Thus, she does not make enough money as a nurse to feed her family and care for her children’s well-being. *Jinetera* # 1, 5, 3, and 7 felt abandoned in some ways. In this case, her husband’s abandonment created a significant gap in her life; the participant decided to prostitute herself to take care of her family. She explains her situation being a single mom and trying to survive:

I already 40 years old, and I am not for that one night and give it. Ay! Ah! I cannot stand that I do it out of necessity, or that is when the opportunity arises. I am open to the first one to come, and I get me out of Cuba with my children. Find someone to take care of me or sell my body until I can. I am a nurse, and I work helping

older people, but that nurse's job is temporary. It is only in the morning, and I do not pay anything 20 cuc a month is the maximum. (*Jinetera*, # 3).

Jinetera # 7 explained how her mother's abandonment affected her when her stepfather abused her and sold her for money:

My mother was never in the house because she was working, she is a dancer, and she also works in a restaurant at night. He will take care of me at night when I was a kid and took advantage of me. He is ruthless, and when he got tired of me, he sold me for my body. (*Jinetera*, # 7).

Consequently, she continued working in the prostitution field; she did not have the necessary tools to use outside *jineterismo*. The participant expressed that she is a *jinetera* when the opportunity presents itself. Besides, of her having become a single mom, she found in *jineterismo* love and belonging when she fell in love with the Canadian. *Jinetera* # 4 stated that she must find a partner who provides monetary gains, and at the same time, give her a sense of companionship. Some women spoke about abuse, which forms part of their involvement. Thus, some also perceived mistreatment by the sex-tourism, the government, and the constant economic conflicts on the island.

Government Conflicts are Grounded on Lack of Assistance and Abuse

Jineteras look for a better life for themselves and their families and wishing to escape various emotional burdens such as sexual abuse, a stressful home life, and neglect. *Jineteras* viewed prostitution as financial freedom to facilitate most of the country's difficulties and hardships and security for themselves and their families. Prostitution, in this case, represents empowerment, and a sense of mastery of success within their personal lives, for example, by being able to support their families. The social

infrastructure and the suspension of oil supplies from Venezuela and President Trump administration's tightening of U.S. sanctions have been key factors driving the current energy crisis. Their narratives go deeper into the history of economic problems; for example, the government's lack of assistance is one of them. *Jinetera* # 1 encounters a transformation on the island since the U.S. government and President Trump reversed Obama's laws by banning cruises to Cuba. The new restriction is back on limits related to investors and the amount of money Cuban American's send their relatives on the island. Thus, setting limitations on U.S. citizens traveling directly from the U.S and canceling all domestic flights to various provinces in Cuba. She also stated that ships were not coming, meaning not enough tourism. Therefore, Cuba produces little, and since it provides little, they barely accumulate enough. Thus, national investment is insufficient, and consequently, the levels of production and import lower. The Cuban salaries are also meager, as *jinetera* # 1 explains:

The government does not play with money; because you go straight to jail for years of dead-end, you die there. The Cuban government does not pay well, only 20 – 50 cuc per month. That is not even enough for fuck's sake. No clothes, no sleeping sheets, no pillows, it's hard." government doesn't play with money; because you go straight to jail for years of dead-end, you die there sometimes tries to fuck, it depends on whether they like you or not, but usually, if you're discreet, nothing happens to you. (*Jinetera*, # 1).

The economic problem is a conflict that has been associated with Fidel Castro since the 60s. *Jineteras'* answers made it easier to classify and understand the characteristics of the phenomena. For example, *jinetera* # 1 is aware of the current changes established by

President Trump. *Jinetera* #1 explained how detrimental the changes by President Trump had affected her personally, she explains:

With Trump, things got worse since August. Do not have the boats coming anymore, no oil, no electricity. And that has created many difficulties because there is no oil anymore, and I cannot go on without power in the house is hard; it is very hard. The boats are not coming anymore. And that has created many difficulties because there is no oil anymore, and I cannot go on without electricity in the house is hard; it is challenging. (*Jinetera*, # 1).

Her spirits exhibit powerless and uneasiness regarding these changes. It is challenging to move forward, not having the necessary resources coming to the island. Cuba is affected when other countries cut back on things; the most affected are the people who live day in and out in poverty. *Jinetera* # 3 explains how difficult it is to live in Havana, Cuba:

In Cuba, there are no jobs that pay you at all, so there is no work. And the Cubans cannot pay the bills or the house because with 20 or 30 a month, and it is impossible to pay anything. The house is very expensive, like 30 cuc a month, I do not pay 15 cuc, but I am alone. Some families pay 30 or 40 cuc of rent, which is not enough for them. The food is very expensive. (*Jinetera*, # 3).

Jinetera # 3 recognizes that most of her conflicts are due to the lack of employment, and even if you find work, Cubans are underpaid. The following sub-theme explains a couple of *jineteras*' stories about being underpaid. Consequently, *jinetera* #1 suggests that Cuba needs other countries with more power and resources to support it. On an individual level, she states their problem is severe, "very hard," and they do not need new conflicts to worsen. In this case, she is strongly affected by outside sources. Rather than giving up,

she finds a solution within prostitution. She sees obstacles as a challenge, including being able to take self-protective actions to maintain resources; she states:

Cuban salary is approximately thirty (cuc) a month, not enough based on the expenses. Their expenses are much higher; for example, a simple meal can cost between five and ten (cuc) per day, the rent can be as high as two hundred (cuc), and then the other additional expenses. Cubans are expending approximately two hundred to four hundred (cucs) or more a month. If we look at how much they get paid, which is only thirty (cuc), there is no sense of balance. (*Jinetera* # 3)

Jinetera # 1 enlightens how the government lacks proper rules and regulations for its citizens. The government has minimal opportunities for its country and its citizens. She states, “the government rules and dictates against Cuban citizens; there is no empathy or sympathy concerning individuals speaking or thinking freely about the current economic, social, and political status. If you are part of the opposition, they use the police force to catch these individuals by taking them into custody without warning.” It is a totalitarian rule and a constant threat for the citizens who are against the government.” Also, people suffer from a lack of freedom of speech, and some are political prisoners. All the *jinetera* interviewed had primary jobs. Some worked part-time jobs as well, except for *jinetera* # 2 and # 7, their primary source of income comes directly from her sexual relations with tourism. There is a considerable discrepancy between expenses and their wages. Their costs are higher than their salaries for any citizen employed in Cuba. One of the *jineteras* provided information about her singing skills and her passion for singing and dancing. *Jinetera* #2 stated that it was difficult for her to move forward, having more expenses than revenues. *Jinetera* # 2 explains:

I must give 30% of what I earn to the bar and their business. And the government also takes money away from my fees, taxes from the house I just got. So, they take from all sides, and I am left with very little about 30 and 40 cuc a month.

(*Jinetera*, # 2).

Jinetera #2 expressed freely about the physical and mental anguish the Cubans experience. She stated, “I must hold the bat hard, so I don’t get hit with the ball in my face.” The following relates to her answer on the experience for *jinetera* # 2:

I must hold the bat hard, so I do not get hit with the ball in my face. Being a *jineteras* is an abuse. You must give your body to whoever to make money to survive. I must pay the government 1000 cuc, Cuban money to keep the property. From the taxes to take out the property title and make it mine, if I do not do this, they will take everything, and I do not have that amount of money. It is always something in this country, some fucking thing. (*Jinetera*, # 2).

The Cuban government inflicts taxes on its citizens based on what they “believe” is right. There are no rules and regulations written on how much the Cuban residents must pay for taxes. “Communism is rigid, including the people within the government who created the rules; these rules have not changed since the 1960s.” One of the *jineteras* mentioned, “whatever works best for the government is the rule of law.” Thus, living in a communist country, according to *jineteras*, “is inconsistent and corrupt.” The following were some of the questions related to conflicts and the Cuban government. In the case of *Jinetera* #5, she states that abuse comes from the government:

It has not happened to me, but if I hear of cases of abuse that men hit some *jineteras*, they spit the police put in jail the woman, that we are the ones abusing them; that is it is client abuse and government abuse. (*Jinetera*, # 5).

There are many opponents to the communist regime; people struggle to voice their rights and liberty. *Jinetera* # 3 explains how political prisoners have it worse in Cuba. Thus, these individuals do not receive proper individualized treatment; they are placed in Cuban prisons for many years until they died:

I know political prisoners, those are the ones who are worse because of going against the government they put them in jail and from there is no God to take you out; let me explain, I have a cousin who right now he's in prison because he didn't pay the government taxes on a business he did and they put him in jail even after he delivered what he owed the government because they are like this. After all, there are no rules or laws that protect the Cuban on the island. That is how they mistreat us; it is terrible. (*Jinetera*, # 3).

Dealing with the Cuban government can transform into confrontations for its citizens at any given moment. *Jinetera* # 2 obtained the property but did not anticipate having to pay the government taxes. *Jinetera* # 2 she was not expecting the conflict related to the government charges. She cannot afford to pay the government because she is unemployed, and she does not make enough to cover her expenses. She performs her duties as a *jinetera* when she can find clients. She is striving to secure employment as a singer.

Many *jineteras* express the importance of having a second job either in the mornings or late at night. Thus, regular employment was not their only choice, and the

government stipend was not enough; these women also attend school, work, and take care of their families. They harvest the necessary revenue for them to take care of their families and their immediate needs. The following questions related to government acceptance, living in a communist country, and working as a *jinetra*. In Cuba, is it socially acceptable for riders to do their job? What role communism and the Cuban government play; do they allow what you do? *Jinetras # 2* states:

We are never accepted. You are fined and jailed for a day or a week if we pay 10% to 30% of *jinetras* salary, you get out in one day. The government treats us like dogs. It is a continuous war. I pay the government 1000 cuc, Cuban money to keep the property, and I do not have that amount of money. And the government also takes money away from my fees. The government treats us like dogs.

(*Jinetra#*, 2).

Jinetra two and three are both singers. *Jinetra # 3* is a singer, who is currently employed but earning very little, she lost her last singing job, and due to low season, she wrestles surviving. These two women are similar in that they share the same economic situation, *jinetras # 3* clarifies:

I dance and sing when I can, here in the restaurant. I am the one who takes the customers to the bathroom. I have nothing to lose, Nery, here it is, wrestling. I am used to it. (*Jinetra*, # 3).

Jinetras three and two work in the same industry, the restaurant and hospitality industry, and find their clients either during work or after work. They both alleged, "it depends on when the opportunity presents itself." *Jinetra # 4* has been going through the same trouble finding economic support, but it is not accessible due to low season, her story:

It is terrible to work as a *jinetas* we charge cheap money, between 30 and 40 cuc. Being a *jinetas* now does not pay only 20 or 10 cuc. Because we are in the low season, we lower the price a little and continue looking for customers online.

(*Jinetas*, # 4).

Jinetas # 4 worked at night and met her clients when the opportunity presented itself.

She explains the meetings typically occur later at night, either at the bar or restaurants where she encounters her clients. Several *jinetas* see clients and sex tourism as a way of earning income. *Jinetas* # 5 has a plan, she asserted:

“So, for the last five years, I am looking for a way out of the country through the embassy or with an international husband.” (*Jinetas* # 2).

She believes in her ability to find an international husband to get her out of Cuba. She has many possibilities and looks for customers available for long term relationships, hotels, bars, or any place promoting tourism. They welcomed the relationship with tourists as an opportunity to earning extra income. Meanwhile, they have daily contact with customers on the streets, bars, restaurants, and others, which provides a chance to find a client.

Meanwhile, *jinetas* never get a break from tight government laws. In the meantime, they must go out and work as *jinetas* to provide for themselves and their families.

When they do go out at night, they have a better chance of finding international customers on the island. Overall, *jinetas* are outspoken in opposition to those men who abused, hurt, and mistreated them.

“The food is costly; everything is expensive, then people throw themselves and fuck in the streets.” (*Jinetas* # 3).

Economic conflicts form part of the objective themes related to living in poverty. Cuba is expensive. *Jineterismo* is an escape to find financial freedom, as there is no opportunity for the people working on a nine to five work. In this case, the dissertation strives to understand the conflict living in poverty and *jineterismo*. Most of the things learned in this dissertation is that Cuba is a controversial country and that everything is contradictory. There is not an economic balance between an individual's salaries and their expenses. There is limited information related to the financial regulations of the Cuban government. Thus, through the stories of *jineteras*, we can see their struggle for subsiding within Cuba's weak economy.

Jinetera # 3 works at the restaurant, and her job is to take tourist and sex-tourism to the bathroom. *Jinetera* two and three can relate to individually due to their talents and careers. They both expressed feeling first with skepticism about holding work in Havana, Cuba, in what they enjoy doing, singing, and dancing. Thus, *jinetera* # 2 is fifty years old, and *jinetera* # 3 is forty-eight years old; and they both have been in *jineterismo* for a while. They both complain about giving too much to the government and keeping too little. There is a contradiction between their wages and their expenses, *jinetera* # 3 explains:

In Cuba, there are no jobs that pay you all, so there is no work. Cubans cannot pay the bills or the house because with 20 or 30 a month, it is impossible to pay anything is costly, like 30 cuc a month, I do not spend 15 cuc, but I am alone. Some families pay 30 or 40 cuc of rent, which is not enough for them at all. The food is costly, and everything is expensive, then people throw themselves and

fuck in the streets; that's why you see so many people up and down like a lion to look for anything, whatever businesspeople can find on the streets. (*Jinetera*, # 3).

The *jineteras* in his study reported that being united with their families helped them to feel healthier. The younger *jineteras* had more duties, going to school, having a family, and single mothers. These women walk a lot, but they never mentioned much about taking care of themselves. Many believe in spending time with their children and given them. It is one of the things they need, good therapy for their soul. In Cuba, the government is to punish its citizens before a crime is committed. A pre-crime hazard law aims to punish people before a crime. One of the *jinetera* # 6 shared:

It is a doctrine to live in this country, not just for the *jinetera*, for everyone. It is like Hitler and the Jews. This here is Marxism and Leninism. Fascism. We are all influenced to do the same thing, survive. I must take responsibility for my family. Cuba's government copied its law from German Nazism that allows prosecutors to punish only thinking of having a thought. While you go to school, the government pay for mostly everything, in college too, you have to buy the books and other things, but the school here is free, but what is that good for if when you graduate they don't pay anything for students, then you're working for free to the government. (*Jinetera* # 6)

In comparison, *Jinetera* # 1 considers the police force a "social danger" used on the island to punish citizens of a crime before it committed:

It is unfair. It is the most abusive law enforced by the Cuban people. If the government believes you are against them, they will persecute you, anything the government believes they implemented, even if it is a lie. That is how it is. If you

do your job without being seen by the police or with appointments over the phone, internet, emails, or the hotel, they cannot tell you anything. I cannot say a word anymore, but it is like that. You have to know how to hide from the police and learn how to do your job unnoticed.” The government is everywhere if they can get something out of you. They will, but if tourists are happy, they leave you alone to do your chores. (*Jinetera*, # 1).

Thus, *jineteras* are always on guard regarding the police force and the government regulations. In this case, *jineteras* # 3 knows how to negotiate with the police to be set free. *Jinetera* # 3 explains:

The police usually do not intervene in places like this created for the tourist; they leave us alone and respect the trade. (*Jinetera*, # 3).

Jinetera # 3 is not alone in her reaction to negotiating with the police in Cuba to be left alone. *Jinetera* # 7 also collaborates with the government by giving them an incentive, which, in her case, is money.

“They allow what I do because if they catch me, I give them money. And that is it.” (*Jinetera* # 7).

The country organizers are mostly the employees who work directly for the government, such as the police and individuals who work within travel and tourism, government officials, and some hotel employees. Thus, based on this research and *jineteras*’ stories, we can conclude that the Cuban culture tolerates many injustices, such as their inability to express freely, deficiency in salaries, citizens’ rights, abuse, and lack of food, shelter, and water. Lack of sanitary products and the list keeps growing as we get deeper into the country’s necessities. *Jinetera* # 4 expressed the importance of not getting caught by the

Cuban police. *Jinetera* # 4 never had any conflicts with the Cuban government. She knows how to keep her guard as she asserted:

They do not accept us, and they put lots of obstacles. And sometimes, we must hide, but there are no problems for now when I have not had any issues.

(*Jinetera* #4)

Jinetera # 5 did not provide information about her aspiration concerning the police and the government; she stated, “terrible things are happening in Cuba.” Still, she did not want to talk much about the government; she was afraid:

It is a doctrine to live in this country, not just for the *jinetera*, for everyone. It is like Hitler and the Jews. This here is Marxism and Leninism. Fascism. We are all influenced to do the same thing, survive. I must take responsibility for my family.

(*Jinetera*, # 6).

Economic conflicts strive for matters related to living in poverty. Consequently, due to the country’s necessities, they find financial freedom working as *jineteras*, rather than working on a steady job in Havana, Cuba. Through the stories of *jineteras*, we can see their struggle for subsiding within a phony economy. Thus, *jinetera* # 3 was still working at the restaurant, taking people to the bathroom. Both *jineteras* # 2 and # 3 expressed their feeling with skepticism about obtaining work in Havana, Cuba, in what they enjoy doing, which is singing and dancing. Thus, *jinetera* # 2 is fifty years old, and *jinetera* # 3 is forty-eight years old; and they both have been in the field of *jineterismo* for a while. They both complain about giving too much to the government and keeping too little. There is a contradiction between their wages and their expenses. In this case, *jinetera* # 3 explains:

In Cuba, there are no jobs that pay you, so there is no work. And the Cubans cannot pay the bills or the house because with 20 or 30 a month, it is impossible to pay anything is costly, like 30 cuc a month, I do not spend 15 cuc, but I am alone. Some families pay 30 or 40 cuc of rent, which is not enough for them. The food is costly, and everything is expensive, then people throw themselves and fuck in the streets; that's why you see so many people up and down like a lion to look for anything, whatever businesspeople can find on the streets. (*Jinetera* # 3)

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"They allow what I do because if they catch me, I give them money. And that's it." (*Jinetera* # 7).

In Cuba, the country's organizers are mostly the employees who work for the government. The Cuban police work directly for the government, and some citizens within the travel and tourism are also part of the government. Consequently, based on this research, we can conclude that Cuba's government tolerates many injustices, such as their inability to express themselves freely, deficiency in salaries, and lack of protection. The *jineteras* feel more vital; the younger *jineteras*, the more obligations, for example, going to school, having a family, and taking care of children as single mothers. When

asked about their hygiene and health, their answer was mostly, “when we have times, and when the products are available to buy, that’s how we take care of ourselves.” Many believe in spending time with their children and families and providing what they need.

Being a Single Mother is One of the Reasons for Working in *Jineterismo*

The family theme of being a single mother is one reason for working as a *jinetera*. It is a strong theme among *jineteras*; consequently, in this case, it includes single mothers for *jineteras* # 1, 5, and 6, which are working to provide food and shelter for their children. For all these seven women, the word “family” or “family members” relates to *jineterismo*. They believe *jineterismo* is an opportunity to support their families, which is superior to anything else. *Jinetera* # 5 and *Jinetera* # 6 shared their stories as single mothers.

Jinetera #5 was suffering from her husband’s abandonment, leaving her in Cuba with two children. She was furious and overwhelmed; because of everything that she had to deal with, for example, living in poverty, being a single mother for her two children without any help, and finding a new husband to take care of her. Perhaps the most critical conflict to *jinetera* # 5 is taking care of her children and providing for her family. There is a disconnect with men in general; *jineteras* are independent based on what they do and how they conduct their lives. Some people in Cuba cannot see beyond what is happening outside their countries. *Jineteras*, who are in direct contact with sex-tourism, can learn from the outside world. That is the case of *jinetera* # 5, whose husband abandoned her and turned out to be a single mother. She was able to take part in the sex-tourism of Cuba. *Jinetera* # 5 describes her story as a single mother living in Havana, Cuba, with two children:

Well, my life changed terribly when my husband left me, so I had to do the impossible, the impossible, and go outside and look for a man to be able to pay for everything in the house, the food of my children, my family, it was a severe change, from one day to the next. I hate it, and I give myself to my children and the family, to the aunt, any family member. He left us alone here with nothing, I do not know what happened, he looked for another woman, and he does not want to claim us; then the options for me are minimal. (*Jinetera* # 5)

Thus, *jinetera* # 6 reflects on what the contributing factor was for her entrance into prostitution. She believes that being a single mother is one reason she is in the field of *jineterismo*. The responsibility to feed and take care of her two-month-old baby is imperative for her, as she states in her answers:

I am from Pinar del Río. When my mother decided to move to Havana, that was when I met my daughter's father. I went out with him. I got pregnant, and now I have my two-month-old baby. But my whole family from my mother's side lives in Pinar del Río. My mother and I are here alone in Havana. I recently married my boyfriend because he wanted to take care of the baby. He is not the father of my daughter, he married me, but the father of my daughter is a foreigner. I live here now with my mother, but I am from Pinar del Río. (*Jinetera*, # 6)

Jinetera # 6 motive reflects a different level of urgency and responsibility for her two-month-old baby. *Jinetera* # 1, 5, and 6 are perhaps the most compelling because they were all single mothers who live with their children in Cuba. *Jinetera* # 1 is a single mom, very young, who entered *jineterismo* when she was 15 years old when she was raped by a German tourist. She started working in the business of *jineterismo* right after

her baby was born. In comparison with *jinetera* # 5, she was also a single mother; in her case, similarly, *jinetera* # 6 is also a single mother of her child from a union with a Spanish tourist. He left her when he found out she was pregnant and is unwilling to take responsibility for their two-month-old baby. *Jinetera* # 6 is a single mom, like *jinetera* 1 and 5, who are single moms. In this example, *jineteras* involved in *jineterismo* never mentioned drugs or alcohol abuse throughout the interview, except *jinetera* # 4. She states she consume alcohol to be with her clients, which she refers to as “the show.”

“I drink some wine or liquor so that I can do the show.” (*Jinetera* # 4).

In some cases, women who entered *jineterismo* as young girls were led by the adults in their lives, due to rape, trafficking, and neglect. There are various reasons why this happened to children in Cuba. This research did not investigate minors, only adults currently in the *jineterismo* field.

The encounters with *jineteras* # 4 and # 6 provide information on how women in *jineterismo* work and live as single moms. Their primary job as a mom is to pay for “food and the baby’s milk.” Having a baby changed everything. Rather than waiting for others to do for her, *jineteras* # 6, single mom, take the initiative to feed her family by being proactive and looking for clients as a *jinetera*:

“I am a single mother because my husband does not accept that I worked as a *jinetera*, but it is the only way to pay for my baby’s milk and everything else.” (*Jinetera* # 6).

Jinetera one and *jinetera* six both need to provide for their families, one for medicine, the other one to feed her child. *Jinetera* #4 familiarities in *jineterismo* began in the summer

of 2019; *jineterismo* was so profitable for her during the summer of 2019 that she stated, “I did very well that’s why I continue.”

Jinetera # 1 knowledge served as an example of how she persevered despite the loss she suffered at a young age of being raped. Rather than have the rape serve as an obstacle, her experience provided a way to move forward. Thus, *jineteras* (1 and 7) are strong women who have chosen work in *jineterismo* to support themselves and their children. *Jinetera* #1, part of her reason for being involved, was an opportunity to take care of her child after getting pregnant from the German, she was only fifteen:

Well, it was when I got pregnant because I did not use any protection. My parents never taught me anything about life, nothing, so my parents learned that the 6-foot raped me when I was 15 years old. I keep working here selling in the store, and then at night, I go out on the weekends and work as a *jinetera*; because with what I earn here, I can’t even afford a piece of bread. I have my baby, and I’m with my family. I live with my family in Havana. (*Jinetera*, # 1).

Jinetera # 1 keeps a balance between her family, work, school, and *jineterismo*. She has high expectations and desires to survive. Rather than abandon her family, she works harder to find means for them. *Jinetera* #1 is a single mother whose father’s left them and did not provide means for their children. *Jinetera* # 2 is also a single mother:

Because I am 51 years old, and I must keep singing and dancing to keep living. That is my life; a few years ago, I went to Greece with the group I worked on and sang that I was in before working with them. But I am out of a job. Then life got a little harder for any situation, even *jineterismo*. But I had to come back for my

mom; family is essential for Cubans, here sometimes family is more important than freedom. My mom's still sick, and I have to take care of her.

Conceivably *jinettera* #2 needs are to be with her mother. Thus, the opportunity to stay in Greece was not taking care of her mom. For some, there is a detachment between being a *jinettera* and their family of origin. It happens at some point in their lives or later in their adult relationships:

We do not have family outside to help us. I must work hard, and I do not have time for anything else. I must support my family, and if I did not, then the conflict would be more or worse because I have to take care of my Grandmother. I can help them with medicines, with heart pills for my Grandma, which are very expensive, super-expensive. (*Jinettera*, # 4).

Jinettera # 4 made a conscious decision to take care of her Grandmother, who has heart problems and needs medicine. It is not easy in Cuba, as she comments on how she struggles to support the family and find treatment. Even though she is studying, she sees *jinettera* as an opportunity to help her family by providing extra money to buy her Grandmother's pills. Thus, she can choose a wide variety of things to maintain herself and her family; she chooses *jinetismo* since it is the most profitable to solve conflicts right away. In contrast to *jinettera* # 4, *jinettera* # 7 was abused and neglected by her mother as a minor. She had to defend herself from her stepfather's abuse, to later end up in trafficking houses in Havana, Cuba.

My mother was never in the house because she was working, she is a dancer, and she also works in a restaurant at night. So, my life as a *jinettera* is m***** (shit), and I keep doing it. But right now, I have no choice, because I already have two

children, a boy, and a girl, and it helps me make money to pay for everything I want, and what they want. So, fuck it. (*Jinetera*, # 7).

She conducted herself well-grounded, her body language, her face, resembled her suffering. Based on her story, she had to experience the reality of trafficking of minors. She was raped at a very young age and sold for money by her step farther. She gets agitated mostly when she tells me the story of the trafficked houses. She did not explain in detail what they do to the kids precisely in those houses. Trafficking of women is a major violation of women's human rights. The researcher listened, without placing any pressure or digging into the subject much, not forcing anything, just asking the upcoming questions related to HIV/AIDS.

HIV/AIDS Protection Relies Mostly on what is Available to Protect Themselves

For self-protection, most of the *jineteras* rely mostly on their intuitive assessment of the sex-tourism and their ability to size up the risk factor. The main question was as follows: How do you protect yourself from STDs and HIV? Thus, some *jineteras* protect themselves; others do not. Thus, the open-ended guided questions related to women's drug use, HIV risks and protection, emotional health, and violence. In addition to the interviews, it was essential to spend some time learning about their culture.

Thus, some mentioned that "sex tourism is a contributing factor to the spread of HIV/AIDS and other diseases." The ones most infected with HIV and AIDS are those in the most economically and sexually productive cities. The main question related to this situation for *jineteras* was, "how do you protect yourself against HIV/AIDS?"

Jinetera # 4 answered by stating that she was not afraid and that she will purchase whatever is available for her protection:

With what I can. But there are times when there is no time, money, or condom, and you must do it with nothing. I am not afraid. (*Jinetera*, # 4).

Protection against diseases on the island is essential for some of the *jineteras*, but not for all of them. *Jineteras* # 2 and 3 answers were short and to the point regarding protecting themselves against HIV or other diseases. *Jinetera* # 1 mentioned that she protects herself from STDs and HIV how she can, her reply:

“As I can, buying things.” (*Jinetera* # 1).

Jinetera # 2 answered was like *jinetera* #1; they both protect themselves with whatever they can find in the pharmacy. Of course, they are aware of the long lines they encounter at the pharmacy. They do have to take time to make the long lines outside the pharmacy. The pharmacy will only allow four or five customers inside the store at the time. It is the only place for the Cuban people to buy soap, clean supplies, and other necessary items. It is a very active place for many people on the island to visit. And most probably the only place for them to find hygienic supplies. *Jinetera* # 2 explains:

“With what is available at the pharmacy. Making a line, always.” *Jinetera* # 2

Jineteras learned how to protect themselves, and at times they know how to distance themselves from the government and the Cuban police. *Jineteras* 5 creates believes that she is old enough to take care of herself. She protects herself from HIV/AIDS. She states she has two children to look forward to:

Well, my friend has already touched a point that I can tell you that there I do protect myself because I am 40 years old now, and soon I will be 41, and I have two children and although they do not know, if they asked me what I do at the moment is to tell them I have a boyfriend, they don't have to know. Because

nothing interests him because that is my life, and I am the one who is keeping them at the end of the day. (*Jinetera*, #5)

Well, returning the question, I go to the pharmacy here in order, I go to the Havana pharmacy. I take the time to buy vaginal medicine condoms any kind of protection; because I can tell you that there are enough diseases. Everywhere there are too many tourists, too many people, too many jineteras, and it is impossible. You must take care. (*Jinetera* # 5)

Jinetera # 6 was also aware of the danger of not protecting herself because her mother will guide her on what to do about herself and the future.

My mother is the one who is aware of all that, and I always protect myself. Way to sleep with one if nothing without protection always protects me. Because I think of my girl who needs me for many years and you need me growing needs healthy and robust to be able to help you grow up, so that's what gives me the wisdom always to protect myself. (*Jinetera* # 6)

Jinetera # 3 uses a condom for protection:

“With a condom.” (*Jinetera* # 3).

Using condoms was another method of self-defense as well as fulfilling sex intimacy with tourism. *Jinetera* # 7 reply was, “I do not know,” she does not know how she protected herself from infection diseases, STDs, or HIVs from sex-tourisms. The Cuban government is not taking measurements to prevent HIV/AIDS in Cuba. The number of total people diagnosed between 1986 to 2010 with HIV/AIDS was 14,038 (Survey on HIV/AIDS Prevention Indicators, 2009). *Jineterismo* in Cuba has no rights, sometimes they are victims of the system, and it is hard for them to create their own choices. The

choices are minimal; if they had an opportunity, some would reply yes, they would leave the country as a viable option presented itself.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusions, and Recommendations

This narrative inquiry examined *jineteras*' life in Cuba. Thus, the research inquiry conveyed the knowledge of *jineteras* and their living conditions. The following questions guided the study, what is like being a *jinetera*? What is your life as a *jinetera*? What happens to women who enter the business of *jineterismo* in Cuba? Please explain the experiences or involvements path of being a *jinetera*?" Thus, as participants expressed their life stories, they came to terms with the various ingredients of conflicts and identity. Once the participant finishes her story with the first set of questions, the researcher follows up with further interview questions.

The first set of questions dealt with *jineteras* life involvements and their life as a *jinetera*. The second set of inquiries related to their life challenges: How did your life change as a *jinetera*? What does it look like?" Please share any challenge or conflict within the last six or twelve months as a *jinetera*?" What role did *jineteras* play in a communist country? In Cuba, is it socially acceptable for *jineteras* to do their work? What role did communism and the Cuban government play? Do they allow what you do? Have you experienced abuse as a *jinetera*? What kind? How do you protect yourself from STDs and HIV? This chapter examines the most important discoveries of the investigation.

The narrative method allowed the researcher to collect, analyze, and interpret the participant's stories. This dissertation was therapeutic for many of them; they could tell their stories and simultaneously express their feelings. There is a lack of data and information about the treatment *jineteras* have received from the Cuban government and sex-tourism. Men's prostitution also exists in Cuba, called "*pingeros*," but they are not

part of this research. As this research discovered, some participants were minors when they started working in *jineterismo* but were adults when interviewed for this study. Thus, it is probable that children in Cuba form part of the prostitution cycle. This cycle of *jineterismo* in Cuba perceives that children involved in prostitution evolve into *jineteras* is one potential avenue for further research.

The strategy was to listen to what *jineteras* had to say about their life. Some of the women who engaged in the interview process expressed a desire for awareness to make others understand how difficult it is to live in Havana, Cuba. Accordingly, all the findings support the literature review connected with current events. This chapter reviews the narrative stories of the *jineteras* utilizing the holistic process, and it concludes with an analysis of the research and further recommendation.

This researcher succeeded in the in-depth investigation of *jineteras* in Havana, Cuba. The inquiry can associate *jineteras* as a group of survivors who have endured unspeakable brutalities and traumatic events. Thus, *jineteras* characteristics provide resilient features, such as adaptability, initiative, coping mechanisms, tenacity, support, and familiarity. As a result, *jineteras* have, in some ways, generated alliances among other citizens to simplify their mutual subsistence and resolve conflicts within themselves on the island. It is probable that in the future, *jineterismo* might be a viable way for women to become empower and become financially independent in Havana. In Cuba, it is a challenge to find food and a place to live; food is scarce; people struggled to find food and a sustainable place to live because of the poor living conditions provided by the communist country and government. Therefore, *jineteras*' lives are examples of conflict analysis and resolution based on their prolonged survival methods and their ability to

solve conflicts quickly. Many of the *jineteras* interviewed clearly stated that they understood their current living conditions and that it was necessary for them and their families to create change. Thus, *jineteras* can survive living in a country with social problems and working as prostitutes.

In contrast, they see the business of *jineterismo* as an opportunity of progressing. They take full responsibility for their work, and some wanted to be named “night workers” instead of *jineteras*. Participants enter prostitution for a better life for themselves and their families; peer pressure can be part of the entrance; they see their friends and other sex workers doing well and supporting their families in a never-ending hardship. *Jineterismo* also provides an escape from burdens, such as lack of food, shelter, and others. *Jineteras* viewed prostitution as a survival strategy against financial troubles, hardships, love, and a way out of Cuba. The sex workers did not mention anything about drugs, but this researcher observed in a bar some Cubans selling drugs to tourism.

Jineteras started feeling a sense of financial security when they have money and a feeling of empowerment and control to facilitate their families. *Jineteras* relied mostly on their intuitive assessment of customers and their ability to size up the risk reason from sex-tourism. They also believe in gut feelings about the danger they might be facing. For example, *jinetera* #1 admits working with tourists, and with sex-tourism, she survives. Survive, for example, in this case, forms part of their necessity. *Jinetera* #1 explains her personal opinions, actions, and how tourism provides a means of survival. In her case, tourism and sex-tourism forms part of what satisfies her basic needs.

Thus, *jineteras* believe the business of *jineterismo* is a more suitable option than any other alternative. Therefore, it is essential to understand the concept of “survival” and

organize a “survivor.” The following *jineteras* # 1, 2, 6, and 7 mentioned the word survival and related the word “survival” when explaining their narratives. Consequently, according to their views, “survival” refers to their perceived awareness. *Jineteras* believe the business of *jineterismo* is better than any other possible alternative.

Therefore, it is essential to understand the concept of “survival” and classify, who is a “survivor.” Thus, because of the complexity of their lives, *jineteras* can engage in practical problem-solving. In this case, *jineteras* consider themselves “survivors” because they are in continuous survival, about their daily struggles living in Cuba. *Jinetera* #2 articulates how she is part of the durability, as she mentioned, “and others like me, who survive.”

The Cuban crisis is inexorable, and *jineteras* can foresee hardship. Most of the *jineteras* interviewed knew how to solve some of those challenges. When things go wrong, they adapt and improvise, and if they get overwhelmed, they recover quickly. They are an example of resilience. It is evident that *jinetera* # 1, 2, 6, and 7 survive and persevere throughout their work. For example, these are some of their explanations of what survival meant for them; *jinetera* # 1 “is an opportunity to survive and make money.” These words are part of the participant’s knowledge.

Jinetera #1, the reason for being involved was to work, study, and find financial stability. As she explains, “you can’t survive without working in something that’s about tourism. It is an opportunity to survive.” Thus, *jinetera* # 1 explained, “to make money, in a country with nothing.” The *jineteras* express their knowledge with emotion. *Jinetera* # 2 finished the sentence with the word “survival” as know-how to do the job. *Jinetera* #

3 believe her skill and involvement outweigh some of the terrible conflicts they experience as *jineteras*. “I am here, alive, I have a job and gain a little more than others.”

Jinetera # 3 believes that *jineterismo* provides benefits, responsibility, and power. Empowerment relates to being able to buy things that for *jineteras* are impossible to obtain. This narrative provides the opportunity of interpreting the data based on the participant’s perspectives. *Jineteras* describe their involvement in the business as receiving “something” in return. *Jinetera* # 3 sustains that women in *jineterismo* sell themselves to get something back. Chapter four relates to *jineteras* understanding of how to survive working in the tourism field and with sex-tourism. Survive, for example, in this case, is a necessity. In some cases, tourism is viewed as an informality because it satisfies their needs. Social constructionism is a sociology theory that studies methods that describe satisfying human life elements and requirements.

As a result, *jineteras* necessities oversee any obstacle they might encounter during the process. It is essential to add that the seven interviewed did not get any financial help from outside families. In this study, *jineterismo* and social constructivism connect based on the individual’s survival approach and a legitimate way for women to support their families.

The complexity of *jineterismo* outlines the various characteristics of living in a communist country without government support for these women’s wellbeing. For example, their need for continued survival, struggle within the country, the conflict of living in poverty, abuse, rape, abandonment, and economic strife. However, these women also expressed their frustration on limitations and continuous struggles, such as sometimes making long lines outside the pharmacy to purchase sanitary products to

protect themselves against HIV or other infectious diseases, to later find a lack of supplies nonexistence. Thus, it was not a surprise that these women had many emotions throughout the interview process.

Therefore, besides their knowledge, participants also state some good proficiency, such as education, technology, economic freedom, love, and companionship. Meaning that these women also study, use technology as a form of communication, have financial independence, and find love and friendship in their dealings as *jineteras*. For example, from the standpoint of *jineteras*' perspectives, financial gain and helping their families are essential but are not the only benefit of being a *jinetera*. Some want love, attention, control, and be empowered. The younger generations of *jineteras* mentioned, they did not have time for themselves, school, family, and work. One of the oldest *jineteras* is looking for relationships, companionship, and love. Prostitution facilitated these women with economic freedom. *Jineteras* believe the communist system is not on the right track on the economic growth of the country.

Jineteras were able to find in *jineterismo* the financial freedom and a resolution to their immediate battle of scarcity in Cuba. Thus, it is probable that *jineteras* are view as an economic liberation in a country where everyone is for sale. Most of the *jineteras* understood why they are in the business of *jineterismo*. Their reply relates to one single factor, economic freedom, and necessity. Even though today's society working as prostitutes might be okay due to double standards, culture, and opinions, in this case, sex workers in Cuba have presented how these women work as prostitutes to support their families and can survive to live in poverty.

Consequently, it is necessary to continue to examine and research of *jineteras* to show the reason behind their work. Their decisions to work as *jineteras* are affected by their financial instability and their need to subsist. Even though sometimes their decisions come across with vulnerability.

Many *jineteras* encounter unhealthy situations when dealing with clients; some mentioned, “we are used to the challenges.” Among other things, they remained in the business of prostitution. For several reasons, they believe that rape, violence, and harmful behaviors are components of their work. Thus, some of them understand the risk associated with *jineterismo*; others explained their conflicts. Despite abuse and rape, various *jineteras* view it as a part of the process.

Their need to continue is more significant than any abuse they encountered. Prostitution in Cuba is a daily conflict for some of these women; they mentioned it forms part of their daily survival. Thus, they explain, “they give you something in return.” The conflict in this matter, for example, has to do with living in a communist country that exploits them; therefore, several called themselves “night workers.” Some of them do it as a choice. It is sometimes a “peer-pressure,” most probably because they do not have the same life support as first-world countries.

The feminization of poverty can be applied to explain the situation of women in Cuba. The term “feminization of poverty” originated in the United States in the late 1970s, discovered that the fastest-growing type of family structure was that of female-headed households. Thus, the feminization of poverty, in this case, is linked to *jineteras* living in poverty, low wages, and hardships. The feminization of poverty explains how women’s poverty is more profound based on rights and control.

They do protect themselves as much as they can. *Jineteras* can be victims of violence and abuse from sex-tourism, the government's aggression, and the Cuban police. In Cuba, one of the laws established by the government punishes its citizens before committing a crime. A pre-crime hazard law aims to punish people before a crime.

Thus, few disputes the need for a new government. The main question today is, how many are willing to change the government? Do Cubans want government intervention to solve their conflict? Thus, this includes the economic conflict of financing for a better society. The financial problem is a conflict that has been associated with Cuba since Fidel Castro came into power in the 1960s. *Jineteras* are easy targets for sex tourism who pay them little money for their services. Sex workers in Cuba cannot make a formal complaint about the abuse they have to endure. *Jineteras'* responses made the data collection and the data analysis easier in order to classify the specific characteristics of the phenomena; most *jineteras* rely on their intuitive assessment of the sex-tourism and their ability to size up the risk factor.

Jineteras agreed that "family" was one of the main reasons *jineteras* choose prostitution. Prostitution is a choice, but at the same time, it is a necessity. It allows them to support their families, which relates to their economic freedom and independence. Family is essential for all the participants interviewed. Some *jineteras* suffered childhood abuse and lost their childhood innocence and virginity at an early age. Almost all the *jineteras* voiced how vital safety and security and, most importantly, their connection to their children, families, loved ones, and friends.

Jineterismo changed women's lives, as it is encouraging them to reach financial stability. Thus, relationships are essential, *jineteras* made sense of the lived relations,

their families, and others in the interpersonal spaces they shared with them. Relationships with their families and taking good care of their children and parents played a vital and essential role in *jineteras'* characteristics. The entry to prostitution has to do with first their families, financial freedom, and an opportunity to leave the island to a better future. For some *jineteras*, helping their families give them a sense of belonging and empowerment.

One of the most critical themes in *jineteras'* narratives was the constant abuse they had to endure living in constant fear from the government. In some cases, *jineteras* get away from sanctions or incarcerations. A police officer or a government official may seize cash or other items as a payoff compromise to leave them alone. The negotiation can be part of a distribution of suspected trafficking, possession, or drug sales.

Thus, concerning abuse, *jineteras*, in general, have been victims of gruesome acts of rape and physical abuse. Besides, the feminization of poverty to Cuba's current conflicts with poverty, shortage of food, and others, such as abuse from the police and the government's lack of protection. *Jineteras* want to love and respect what they do, which in the end is provides a better life for their families.

Age makes a difference between *jineteras'* life, study, work, and what they need. The younger *jineteras* believe in going to school and getting an education; meanwhile, older *jineteras* are more interested in looking for a steady relationship or companion. Also, they want to have meaningful relationships with their families and with some tourists. Many of the *jineteras* seemed to be overworked and running on empty in their world. Thus, they need to give their bodies to men or women to satisfy their necessities and provide for their families.

The women narrated their stories freely and without hesitation; sometimes, emotions were part of the interview process, but the researcher overcame their feelings by giving them time to answer the questions and providing empathy. The participant reported tiredness and stress from having to work and study. Some of them hide their identity from family, friends, and children. *Jineteras*, in some instances, did not believe sex-tourism was destructive; however, it is a way to make money, survive, and feed their families. On the other side, they perceive some sex-tourism as aggressive and lacking hygiene, making the process a bit more complicated.

More studies are necessary for relation to the Cubans' lives and the ethnic inequalities, police brutality, economic disparities, government regulations, and abuse — the conflict with underpaid *jineteras'* salaries and taxes imposed by the government and other social problems. Thus, the investigator recommends additional research to identify connections between children in Cuba and human trafficking and AID/STD infection rates, gender-based violence, and minority populations' exploitation.

The information presented in this research generates awareness and conflict resolution by sharing the life of *jineteras*. The role that conflict resolution practitioners play is crucial in exploring the high level of violence, abuse, inequalities, and STD rates in Havana, Cuba. They can be essential through research to connect the various conflicts occurring in Cuba. In conclusion, *participants* consider *jineterismo* as an ability to support their families, which in the end oversees any conflict they might encounter— living in a corrupted country where everyone is trying to either sell something or themselves to survive.

Conclusion

In conclusion, seven individuals participated in the interview process and answered questions about their life experience as a *jinetera*. Thus, *jineteras* presented their information and their perceived experiences combined with the complexity of their narratives. *Jineteras* choose to fight to survive, living in a country with minimum resources to make progress and remain alive. One of the participants stated, "we are used to it."

Jineteras' empowerment and perseverance are probably an essential part of their survival instinct during difficult times dealing with government conflicts. Historically from the beginning of time, sex work has been part of the society in Cuba. *Jineteras* live in a country with shortages, lack of choice over their future, lack of income, abuse, and inequalities. Thus, the feminization of poverty increases prostitution and trafficking of women. Concurrently, urbane trafficking networks have formed through feminization and poverty, with women who prostitute (Landesman, 2004). Prostitution and trafficking of women connect to *jineterismo* being without a job and political conflicts.

Poverty in Cuba makes people vulnerable because of the continuous survival to find food, medicine, and shelter. The government exploit Cuban's citizens dreams of a better life. The weakest and poorest women suffer from feminized poverty (Goldberg & Kremen, 1990). Sex tourism is also known as romantic tourism in Cuba, who resigns from pleasure and is mostly a form of finding a romantic partner. Enloe (1989) states that the so-called "romance tourism" is also included sex tourism narrative as a type of sex tourism. Sex tourism in Cuba can potentially be a business opportunity for those in the sex trade. "Sex tourism is the process of encouraging overwhelmingly male tourists from

North America, Western Europe, the Middle East, Russia, and East and Southeast Asia to travel from one country to another to gain access to women's sexual services" (Enloe, 1989, p. 74). Trafficking and sex work in Cuba are a significant violation of women's human rights.

Sex work has become a commonly used terminology in hypothetical writing and is considered by several to be a more political phrase than prostitution (Dworkin, 1997). Since its commencement in the 1980s, the term sex work changed to an expression substituting prostitution; some feminists who view prostitution as a form of 'paid rape' violence against women see the term sex work as unsuitable and wrong (Dworkin, 1997). Sex work and sex tourism associates with *jineterismo* among the female population. The first two questions categorize *jineteras* survival strategies to persevere in hardship times. The use of empowerment is perceived by *jineteras* as a form of freedom to meet their needs. Some continue to pursue education while working as *jineteras*; prostitution can provide them with economic freedom and an opportunity to make money.

Thus, it delivers a fundamental analysis of the conflict; for example, patriarchy in some circumstances can control relationships that affect women in both the communist and socialist systems. "Patriarchy is an authoritative male system that is both harsh and discriminatory" (Ferreira, 2004, p. 395). Feminism in sex work is the opposite of patriarchy. Therefore, it lessens the collection of dealings between men and women to a generalized imitation of dominance-subordination. This dissertation investigates the roots of progressive feminism, emphasizing human rights issues rather than patriarchy and gender dominance. Feminist theorists argued that in certain situations, *jineterismo* could be a form of abuse towards women.

Also, some *jineteras* encounter abandonment from family members, and some are single mothers. Thus, themes examined in later chapters explain how *jineteras* believe they are not respected or protected within the government, as they must endure physical abuse. *Jineteras* necessities can relate to Maslow's (1943) theory are physiological, safety, love, esteem, and the need for self-actualization. Physiological conditions recognize the body to physically roles. Security needs to motivate people to find places and situations where they feel free of anxiety to life and secure in their environment. Love needs to drive people to make relationships with others, of both romantic and platonic love. Esteem needs, in this case, when individuals have high expectations of themselves, in addition to having self-respect, self-esteem, and self-esteem based on their interactions. Human needs theory is crucial for *jineteras* based on satisfying the required elements essential to survive. Maslow (1943) explains how these five basic needs are mutually physical, emotional, and less artificial.

In conclusion, the country is morally crooked, and Cuban citizens know it. One of the answers of *jineteras* was, "we are used to it." Corruption forms part of the government theme, and it trickles down to its citizens. Morally some citizens in Cuba do not believe they are doing anything wrong; on the contrary, they are in survival mode. Themes allow the readers to understand further the significant life moments of these individuals. It also helps clarify in more detail each participant's narration. The chapters provide an outline of experiences experience themes related to *jineterismo* in Cuba. It was necessary to examine *jineteras' life* stories concerning their experiences, the feminization of poverty, minor prostitution, and women's trafficking.

Coleman (2000) states that political domination is the magnitude to which resources affect and manifest issues that define social conflict. Social conflict is mostly related to the hostility of the government's inability to change its communist ideology. "Most social conflicts are based on the unequal distribution of scarce resources, such as class, status, and power" (Coser, 1957). Cuba's economic improvement expansion's slow pace demonstrates the government's extreme caution in taking financial actions due to social or political costs.

The government claim one thing but do another. Everything is a lie about the truth of what is happening inside the country—sex tourism forms part of that corruption in some ways by exploiting *jineteras*. As per some *jineteras*, prostitution is underpaid and manipulates their human rights in Havana, Cuba. The government is dishonest, and many tend to look the other way to be able to survive. Some citizens resolve conflicts, for example, through negotiations and the philosophy of compensating others for their services.

Women work in *jineterismo* to have a better life for themselves and their families. The government allows sex tourism because they need to build the travel industry as it helps the economy. It is the failed system of corruption and illicit negotiations, including tourism. The country is also not prepared to provide essential sanitary, medicine, and health products among all the things necessary for good hygiene and healthy living. *Jineteras* are also at risk of contracting HIV/AIDs. There is little respect for the life of others, including children and the oldest generation.

Social constructionism is a theory in sociology and communication that studies cooperative methods' progress and the foundation of assumptions about reality. The

social constructivist approach elucidates how individuals seek to comprehend the world in which they live and work, and the individual experiences based on their interaction with others (Creswell, 2007). For example, in this dissertation, social constructivism is valuable to explain the history of *jineteras* and their approach to survival. Conflicts related to their profession of *jineterismo* can be described, for example, rape, assault, sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), robbery, unwanted pregnancy, paraphilia, and pedophilia.

Thus, social constructivism, in this case, considers *jineterismo* as a victimless crime. Creswell (2012) states that sometimes, an individual's understanding of the situation transcribes into different circumstances, for example, "negotiated socially and historically" (p. 25). Thus, based on this theory, *jineteras* conform their ideas on their current situation; for example, to preserve and provide for themselves and their families, they continue to work in *jineterismo*.

Some Cubans are sensitive, and some have been affected psychologically due to living in a continuous abuse environment. Several Cubans tend to empathize more with their culture on the island others want to explore the world. *Jineteras*, over the years, have taken the responsibility of being the women and men of the house. Some are single mothers and work as *jineteras* to provide for their families. It was important to emphasize when communicating with these women and have an open mind to understand their narratives.

Jineteras illustrate the importance of having a positive mental attitude to survive. *Jineteras* endurance strategies entail strength, understanding, excellent communication skills, realism, and, most importantly, the willpower to live. Women who

enter prostitution in Cuba allow themselves to be enticed by financial gain, shedding any moral objections they might have about working in prostitution. The investigation process gathers a great deal of the literature about prostitution while offering valuable information and insights. The investigation focuses on gathering detailed data through a narrative and holistic method of the *jineteras'* involvements.

The investigator was eager to learn and study *jineteras* working in Havana, Cuba, by allowing them to voice their experiences. By understanding how it felt to be involved in *jineterismo* and what it looked like for them. It was essential to learn what it was like to live in Havana, to get out and see their daily conflicts. The investigation provided the opportunity to encounter what *jineteras'* felt, what they experienced, and what was meaningful for them — creating meaningful conversations throughout the interview process.

Although the research presented theories related to *jineterismo* and Cuba; the investigator was more interested in hearing and learning what *jineteras* had to say throughout their narratives. Thus, it was wonderful to learn directly from them about their lives, what it was like, and how it feels to be a *jinetera*. The researcher also wanted to know more about *jineteras'* family and daily life, bringing their reality to the world and making others aware of what it is like to live in a communist country. It was essential to take time and asked each participant about their hopes, dreams, and aspirations.

Thus, this researcher noticed on many occasions that it was tough for some *jineteras* to express their feelings; some did not feel comfortable with the interview. The interviewer created a good dialogue with these women by getting to know them, being ethical, supportive, and neutral, but overall, having compassion for their life. For

things to change in Cuba, a new generation must emerge, including a new government, new laws, less corruption, and modern living standards. The living standards will allow people to buy goods and find properties without hassles or conflicts.

Some recommendations from the research; for example, prostitution should be legalized and protected by the government. A new infrastructure that protects its citizens should be part of this change. The status quo can happen in Cuba should more international companies invest in the island, which can be a potential governmental change to a more democratic system. The young generation can produce the change necessary; they have more technology and information than has ever been available to any Cuban citizen. It is essential to continue further research on prostitution in Cuba and Central America, and Latin America, specifically abuse, neglect, and violence.

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Appendix A: Jineteras Interviews in Spanish

Jinetera # 1.

Tiene 21 años, tiene un niño de 5 años. Vive con su familia en la Habana. Yo la conocí en una tienda de artesanías cubanas.

Q1 Pregunta Numero una: ¿cómo te sientes siendo Jinetera?

Q2. “¿Qué les pasa a las mujeres cuando entran al campo de *jineterismo*? ¿Como ves el campo de *jineterismo* en Cuba?

Yo trabajo aquí en lo que se puede, estoy estudiando en la Universidad de la Habana medicina.

No es fácil trabajar en lo que yo hago aquí no se sobrevive, no se puede sobrevivir sin trabajan o trabajar en algo que sea con el turismo. Con lo que paso en agosto con Trump. Ser Jinetera en Cuba es lo peor porque expones tu cuerpo, tu vida a disposición de cualquier Loco. Sin humanidad. Sin censura a que se te acerquen y quieran tu cuerpo y hasta la vida.

Esto es una oportunidad para sobrevivir, hacer dinero, en un país sin nada, sin que no te ofrezca nada, sin que te cojan ni la policía o los demás chivatos.

¿Cómo manejas este desafío?

Usando mis ahorros para sobrevivir o hacer menos gastos de lo habitual. Pasar hambre.

Q3. "¿Qué es lo positivo o negativo de ser *jinetera*?"

Q. ¿Por favor menciona algunas de tus experiencias negativas?

Con lo de Trump la cosa se puso peor desde agosto.

Ya no tenemos los barcos viniendo. Y eso nos ha creado mucha dificultad porque ya no hay petróleo y no puedo seguir sin electricidad en la casa es duro, es muy duro.

Notas del investigador---

-Su lenguaje corporal me dice que ella está dispuesta a hablar y comunicar su historia, de una manera tranquila.

- Ella estaba sentada mientras hablaba conmigo. Tranquila.

Q. ¿Por favor menciona algunas de tus experiencias positivas como jinetera?

No hay nada positivo al respecto de vivir aquí, nada.

Sólo que tengo mi bebé y estoy con mi familia. Vivo con mi familia en la Habana. Pero esto aquí es un abuso y vivir aquí es una tortura.

No hay comida, no tengo leche, ni comida para mi Bebe. Hay días ideas en que el, llora y yo lloro también

con el de tristeza. Es muy duro ver a tu niño de cinco añitos llorar sin parar porque no hay comida nada de nada hay aquí; no es fácil.

- Notas del investigador: ---

Ella me expresa muchos sentimientos, y sus ojos se llenan de agua cuando me habla de los problemas que tienen con la falta de comida. Ella habla de su bebe con mucho amor y tristeza a la vez. También, ella tienes diferentes sentimientos, por ejemplo, se siente triste, enojada y a la vez siente rabia por lo que está pasando. Pareciera como si fuera llorar, pero no se detiene y no llora y sigue hablando conmigo tranquila.

Q4. "¿Cómo cambio tu vida como jinetera? ¿Cómo se ve?"

Cambio para peor, una mierda. Y qué te puedo contar que a lo mejor ya no has oído por ahí. A nosotras las jineteras nos maltratan, nos abusan, ese es el cambio. Fui de

“Guatemala a Guatepeor”, en este trabajo. Y a ninguna nos gusta que nos llamen así.

Somos trabajadoras nocturnas. Todo en mi vida fue cuando me violó el alemán a los 15

años. Me contó cosas bonitas me hizo regalos y luego me llevó al hotel y me hizo lo inimaginable no sólo una noche, el me violó más de tres veces. Y yo con el lio del dinero, y los regalos hizo de mí lo que le dio la gana, la reverenda gana. El niño es su hijo. No hay forma de justificar lo que me hizo ese animal, no hay manera de arreglarlo.

- Notas del investigador: ---

-En este punto después de decirme lo que pasó con el alemán. Ella está mucho más afectada por la violación; y se cubre a veces el rostro con sus manos. No podía soportarlo más y lloro.

Dejé de preguntar por unos minutos para dejarla respirar. Y luego continuar. Le di un papel de pañuelo que tenía del hotel.

Q5. "Por favor comparte cualquier desafío o conflicto en los últimos seis o doce meses como jinetera? "¿Cómo manejas esos conflictos y desafíos?"

Bueno de ahí me quedé embarazada porque no usé ninguna protección. A mí mis padres no me enseñaron nada de la vida, nada, entonces cuando mis padres se enteraron de que el energúmeno de 6 pies me violó a los 15 años trataron con una pila de hombres ir a buscarlo; pero ya él se había ido o se escondió no sé, aquí los hoteles tapan mucho a los turistas son intocables. Porque tienen dinero y con el gobierno sí que no juega con el dinero; porque vas directo a la cárcel por años sin salida, te mueres ahí.

Q5. ¿Cuáles son los desafíos? ¿Cómo manejas los desafíos o conflictos? Cont.

No se arreglan los conflictos. No hay comida, no hay agua potable, ni agua para bañarse, no hay electricidad, ni trabajo, a los que estudian como yo medicina el gobierno cubano no paga bien, sólo 20 – 50 cuc al mes. Eso no alcanza ni para un carajo. No hay ni ropa, ni sabanas para dormir, ni almohadas, es difícil.

Yo me mantengo trabajando aquí vendiendo en la tienda y luego por la noche salgo los fines de semana y trabajo en eso; porque con lo que gano aquí no me alcanza ni para un pedazo de pan. Cuando hay turismo puedo ganar entre 40 a 70 cuc en una sola noche. Me siento millonaria porque eso no lo gano yo ni a jodida trabajando en Cuba normal como los demás y yo estoy reuniendo para irme de aquí, yo no soy como los demás que se quejan y no hacen nada a cambio.

- Notas del investigador: ---

Después de decirme esto me muestra un mapa de sus sueños y a dónde quiere mudarse en el futuro. Ella fue amable. Pero siguió triste, enojada y con dolor durante toda la entrevista y luego más tarde cambio y fue un poco más empoderada y contundente.

Q6. ¿Qué papel juegan las jineteras en un país comunista?

Escondarse. Todo el tiempo.

Q7. En Cuba, ¿es socialmente aceptable que las jineteras hagan su trabajo? ¿Qué papel juega el comunismo y el gobierno cubano, permiten lo que haces?

No me aceptan, el gobierno trata a veces de joder, depende si les cae bien o no, pero usualmente si eres discreta no te pasa nada. Si haces tu trabajo sin que la policía te vea o con citas por teléfono, internet, emails, o por el hotel no te pueden decir nada. No te puedo decir más, pero así es. Es injusto. Es la ley más abusiva impuesta por el pueblo cubano. Si el gobierno cree que estás en contra de ellos, te perseguirán, cualquier cosa que el gobierno crea que hizo cumplir, incluso si es una mentira. Así son las cosas.

Hay que saber cómo esconderse de la policía y saber cómo hacer tu trabajo desapercibidamente

Q8. ¿Es este problema un conflicto socioeconómico basado en las condiciones de vida?

Claro que sí.

Q9. ¿Has experimentado abuso como jinetera? ¿De qué tipo?

Si hay abuso, si lo hay, yo no lo he experimentado en estos momentos gracias a Dios.

Sólo cuando me violó el cabrón alemán. Por eso sólo me acuesto con hispanos o españoles, pero sí, sí hay abusos. Escucho a otras muchachas que les pegan y las maltratan. Las otras no hay mucho que puedan hacer porque no estamos protegidos por nadie aquí no hay reglas, ni regulación. Aquí no hay nada. Te matan y no te pagan, y nadie se entera.

Hubo un caso de una muchacha jinetera, que yo sé porque yo la conocí. Se acostó con un animal de Haití y el hombre la mató. Y jamás se supo de ella hasta que encontraron después el cuerpo en La Habana. Pero ya el cuerpo estaba descompuesto y la pudieron identificar por los dientes. Pero nadie contó nada, y nada pasó. La mataron y ya. Aquí no ponen esas noticias, nunca. A ella le faltaban dientes, por qué la golpearon tan duro, me contaron. Así son mi amiga que uno no sabe lo que se va a encontrar es muy difícil no tenemos ayuda de absolutamente nadie.

Esto es a la bartola, no hacen investigación si es turismo que hagan lo que le dé la gana.

Q10. ¿Cómo encuentras a los clientes, es fácil?

No, it is not easy. No es fácil; ahora estamos entrando en recesión antes con los cruceros se podía encontrar 1-3 clientes en una noche. Eso paró, y ahora es más difícil encontrar clientes todo en un día.

- Notas del investigador: --- Ella estaba relajada.

Q11. ¿Cómo se protege de las enfermedades de transmisión sexual como el STDs y el HIV?

Como puedo, comprando cosas.

Jinetera # 2

Sentadas las dos en un pequeño restaurant en el centro de la Habana. Ella me contó que tenía 51 años que su cumpleaños era en diciembre que era cantante y *jinetera* por la noche. Me dijo, “eres buena persona Nery, escríbelo todo, quiero que todos sepan.”

Q1. “¿Cómo te sientes siendo *Jinetera*?”

Q2. “¿Qué les pasa a las mujeres cuando entran al campo de *jineterismo*? ¿Como ves el campo de *jineterismo* en Cuba?

La vida como jineteras es una m***** (mierda) todos nosotros somos tratados como perros somos perros todos. Aquí somos perros. Perros.

Yo no deseo ser nada más o nacer en ningún otro lugar, pero en la Habana, me gusta ser cubana estoy orgullosa de ser cubana, pero a la vez tengo que reconocer que somos tratados como perros peor que otras culturas otras gentes peor perras aquí hay varias capas y diferentes niveles cosas que se tapan que la gente aquí tapa el comunismo, tapa muchas cosas que no se dicen que yo sé que se callan. Qué hay niveles y hay gente aquí que vive muy bien. Por supuesto no somos nosotros gente que trabaja para el gobierno cubano.

Y otras como yo que estamos en plan de sobrevivir. Sobrevivir.

Que estamos todas jodidas eso es lo que pasa. Nos usan, a nosotras nos abusan, no tenemos libertad para nada, por nadie la gente no le importa lo que pasamos nosotras; no hay ningún tipo de protección hacia nosotras las mujeres aquí, y el pueblo sufre. Y no hay ninguna posibilidad de avance no existe es un aguante puro.

Q3. "¿Qué es lo positivo o negativo de ser *jinetera*?"

Yo vivo con eso. Imagínate tú aguantando duró el bate para que no me dé la pelota en la cara

¿Cuéntenos algo positivo que te ha pasado?

Lo único positivo que me ha pasado hasta ahora en estos meses es que me pude quedar con la casa de un familiar que falleció. Y entonces por lo menos tengo un lugar para vivir, pero siempre hay un, “pero,” claro tengo que pagarle al gobierno 1000 cuc, dinero cubano para quedarme con la propiedad. De los impuestos para poder sacar el título de la propiedad y hacerla mía si no hago esto me quitan todo y yo no tengo ese dinero.

Siempre es algo en este país alguna jodienda.

Positivo:

Pero el cubano es fuerte y siempre salimos adelante sin cobardía, aguantamos.

- Notas del investigador: ---

Ella sigue mirando abajo, estamos en un segundo piso de un restaurante. Ella no deja de bajar la cabeza y me mira. Pero no por mucho tiempo. Baja la cabeza y se queda esperando a la próxima pregunta. Yo le doy tiempo a que respire.

Q4. "¿Cómo cambio tu vida como *jinetera*? ¿Cómo se ve?"

Muy mal, en el momento no tengo trabajo.

Q5. "Por favor comparte cualquier desafío o conflicto en los últimos seis o doce meses como *jinetera*? "¿Cómo manejas esos conflictos y desafíos?"

Ahora para lo que yo hago. No es fácil para cantar tengo que darle 30% de lo que gano al negocio del Bar. Y el gobierno también me quita dinero de las tasas. Entonces, me quitan

de todos los lados y me quedo con muy poquito aproximadamente 30 y 40 cuc al mes. Lo mejor son las propinas. Cuando te dan algo.

Entonces hay que jinetear, por las noches sólo cuando hay clientes para trabajar, jineteo.

Primero canto o bailó y si pega un cliente entonces hay que jinetear.

Se canta en el bar y luego cuando hay muchos clientes siempre se te pega algo entonces te pagan un trago bailas con ellos cantas otra vez terminas de cantar y te invitan a otro trago y luego después a la cama me tocan los viejitos muchas veces, pero otras son jóvenes y cuando llegó al hotel algunos sólo quieren compañía me registran en el hotel y me quedó la noche hacer lo que tengo que hacer, mi trabajo.

- Notas del investigador: ---

Ella sigue mirando abajo, no me mira a los ojos, solo cuando contesta la pregunta. Se siente triste, lo veo en sus ojos y a la vez enojada porque sierra la boca con furia. Ella no deja de bajar la cabeza y me mira. Pero no por mucho tiempo. Baja la cabeza y se queda esperando a la próxima pregunta. Yo le doy tiempo a que respire.

Q6. ¿Qué papel juegan las *jineteras* en un país comunista?

Yo soy cantante y como te dije antes jinetera por la noche. Ahora no tengo trabajo en lo que me gusta que es cantar; jineteras por la noche y por la madrugada cuando se presenta la oportunidad.

Porque yo tengo 51 años, y tengo que seguir cantando y bailando para seguir viviendo.

Esa es mi vida hace unos años fui a Grecia con el grupo en el que yo trabajaba y cantaba que estaba yo antes trabajando con ellos. Pero me quede sin empleo. Entonces la vida se puso un poco más dura para cualquier trabajo, hasta jinetear.

Pero tuve que regresar por mi mamá, la familia es muy importante para nosotros los cubanos aquí a veces es más importante la familia que la libertad. Mi mamá ella todavía está enferma y tengo que cuidarla.

Sobrevivir.

Q7. En Cuba, ¿es socialmente aceptable que las jineteras hagan su trabajo? ¿Qué papel juega el comunismo y el gobierno cubano, permiten lo que haces?

No, nunca somos aceptadas. Nos ponen una multa y a la cárcel por un día o una semana si le pagamos de un 10% a un 30% de salario de jineteras nos sacan al día. El gobierno nos trata como perros.

Q8. ¿Es el jineterismo un conflicto socioeconómico basado en las condiciones de vida?

Si. Ya puedes ver que jodido estamos.

- Notas del investigador: ---

Ella me da una sonrisa.

Q9. ¿Has experimentado abuso como jinetera? ¿De qué tipo?

Todos los días es un aguante diario y se siente el abuso diario. Cuantos más años más abuso es una cosa diaria el abuso es diario por todos lados; por ejemplo, la casa nueva que tengo que pagar \$1000 para quedarme con ella si no me la quitan y yo no tengo dinero para eso es muy caro. Es un tormento diario. Aquí te hacen la vida imposible muy difícil no tengo trabajo ahora estoy buscando trabajo de cantante, estoy sufriendo.

Buscando otro conjunto que me coja para cantar el señor que yo estaba hablando cuando estaba abajo antes era el que me está buscando un nuevo grupo de música, pero tengo que seguir pagando un 30% el bar y los impuestos al gobierno.

Ser jineteras es un abuso también hay cada uno que te trata como perro, mal y tienes que entregar tu cuerpo a quien sea para ganar dinero, para sobrevivir. Estamos acostumbrados.

Q10. ¿Cómo encuentras a los clientes?

En el bar.

Q11. ¿Cómo se protege de las enfermedades de transmisión sexual como el STDs y el HIV?

Con lo que esté disponible en la farmacia. Haciendo cola siempre.

- Notas del investigador: ---

The last thing he said before she left was:

Se te ve que eres buena persona Nery y quiero que escribas todo lo que te he dicho tú apunta y todo lo que yo te he dicho para que todo el mundo sepa la realidad de Cuba aquí para poder sobrevivir hay que o casarse con un extranjero y salir de Cuba así o acostarse con un extranjero por dinero para poder sobrevivir y comer y tener una vivienda y lo peligroso de salir de Cuba con un extranjero es que ten cuidado no te maten en el otro lado del Río. Gracias.

Jinetera # 3

Conocí a Jinetera # 3 mientras bailaba con un grupo de cantantes afuera en uno de los restaurantes en La Habana. Me dijo que tenía 48 años cuando le pregunté. Me dijo que trabajaba en el restaurante contiguo, ella señaló con la mano al restaurante. Le dije que estaba entrevistando a jineteras para mi doctorado en NSU. Le pregunté si conocía a alguna mujer jinetera y dónde podía encontrarlas. Ella dijo que ella era una, acordamos

reunirnos en su restaurante mientras estaba en su descanso, podemos sentarnos en cualquier lugar, mencionó. Eso fue lo que hicimos.

Q1. “¿Cómo te sientes siendo *Jinetera*?”

Q2. “¿Qué les pasa a las mujeres cuando entran al campo de *jineterismo*? ¿Como ves el campo de *jineterismo* en Cuba?”

Imagínate tú mujer qué pregunta, jinetera es sólo un nombre que nos han dado, que nos dieron a todas pero que no significa nada, nosotras somos trabajadoras luchadoras, yo a mis 48 años bailó canto cuando puedo aquí en el restaurante. Yo soy la que lleva a los clientes al baño. No tengo nada que perder Nery, aquí es así, lucha libre.

Q. ¿Cuál es tu trabajo?

Mi tarea es llevar a los clientes del restaurante a el baño. Así de simple. Yo me paro aquí en la parte donde está el bar y cuando hay alguien que quiera ir al baño me llaman a mí. Yo también puedo manejar mi trabajo como *jinetera* en el baño el baño. Está en el segundo piso.

Q. ¿Explícate por favor?

Esto es lo que sucede cuando teníamos muchos clientes algunos yo les caía muy bien y cuando el baño estaba vacío yo los llevaba allí y le hacía un favorcito.

A cualquiera de ellos hombre o mujer.

Q. ¿Puedes dar más detalles?

¡Ay miya! Por ejemplo, un hombre que llegó al baño sube conmigo las escaleras se baja los pantalones me da entre 20 o 40 cuc o \$50 dólares, dependiendo luego yo lo hacía sentir feliz con condón o sin condón luego se limpia. Abro la puerta porque yo soy la

única que tiene llave para cerrar la puerta por dentro y por fuera luego los dos salíamos de lo más contentos. A todos los clientes le gustaba el paseo al baño, yo se lo recomendaba a muchos. Y así es cómo hago *jineterismo* está un poco lento ahora pero así es.

Muchos clientes regresaban, muchos, ahora la cosa está más floja imagínate es temporada baja y nos quitaron los cruceros

--- Notas de investigación:

-Ella sube y baja la cabeza y las pestañas como si ya no hay tanta propina, ella me contó su trabajo con mucha discreción, pero no tiene vergüenza, ese es su trabajo. Ya todos saben lo que ella hace, por eso el restaurante la tiene ahí. Ella trae clientes fijos ya que ese es parte de su trabajo, también me contó que a veces tiene que darle algo al restaurante de su propina por dejarla ahí. Ella estaba en un pequeño descanso cuando hablé con ella. Tuve que esperar a que ella se sentara conmigo hablar. Mientras hablamos ella seguía chequeando porque estaba vacío el restaurante, pero dos muchachas habían dejado 25 centavos en la mesa y ella me dice, “espérate un momentico, y le dice al camarero esos 25 centavos son míos, ni se te ocurra cogerlo.” Ella se puso como una fiera, y muy agresiva con el camarero, el cual cogió los 25 centavos y se lo dio a ella y nosotros continuamos hablando.

Q2. “¿Qué les pasa a las mujeres cuando entran al campo de *jineterismo*? ¿Como ves el campo de *jineterismo* en Cuba?

Q3. "¿Qué es lo positivo o negativo de ser *jinetera*?"

Lo que pasa que Nery es lo siguiente aquí como sabes hay mucha necesidad. En Cuba no existe un trabajo que te pague todo o sea que no existe trabajo. Y los cubanos no

podamos pagar las cuentas ni de la casa porque con 20 o 30 al mes es imposible pagar nada la vivienda está muy cara, como 30 cuc al mes, a mí no yo pago 15 cuc, pero yo soy sola. Hay familias que pagan 30 o 40 cuc de renta y no les alcanza para nada. La comida está muy cara, todo está caro, entonces la gente se tira a la calle; por eso tú ves tanta gente de la calle para arriba y para abajo como un león a buscar lo que sea, lo que sea busca la gente en la calle. Entonces todos estamos en un plan de supervivencia, no importa quién es, si es un médico, doctor, filósofo, maestro, todos somos más o menos lo mismo, ganamos el mismo dinero, 20 o 30 cuc al mes no alcanza para nada.

Q 3Negativo

La gente no es tonta todos sabemos que la situación es muy difícil pero no se puede hacer mucho porque el gobierno si te pones contra él te cae arriba con lo peor y nadie quiere ir a la cárcel Porque ahí sí están jodidos.

Yo conozco presos políticos, esos son los que están peor porque por culpa de ir en contra del gobierno los meten en la cárcel y de ahí no hay Dios que lo saque; te explico, yo tengo un primo que ahora mismo Está en la cárcel porque él no pagó los impuestos al gobierno de un negocio que hizo y lo metieron en la cárcel aún después que pague lo que debía al gobierno porque son así porque no hay reglas ni leyes que nos protejan al cubano en la isla. Así nos tratan, mal, es terrible.

--- Notas de investigación:

Ya en este punto, jinetera # 3 ya no estaba tan contenta, se puso más seria. Al principio si, hablo conmigo sonriendo y vacilando. Pero a medida que yo le hacía preguntas, se ponía un poco más seria. Pero siguió contestando.

Q4 positivo

Q8. ¿Es este problema un conflicto socioeconómico basado en las condiciones de vida?

Positivo algo, nada que estoy aquí, viva, sobreviviendo y ganando un poco más que los demás haciendo favores a hombres y también a veces mujeres es todo parte de la sobrevivencia que ustedes a lo mejor afuera no entienden porque ustedes van al mercado compran la comida, tienen comida por todos lados, tiene su vivienda, tiene su trabajo, y no tienen que estar en el modo de sobrevivencia como nosotros. ¿Tú me entiendes? Aquí hay que venderse, esa es la verdad, mi amiga, no te puedo mentir, a ti no te miento. ¿Tú me entiendes?

Q. ¿Tu piensas que los hombres o las personas viajan aquí sólo por el sexo?

No, hay muchos que viajan con sus parejas y porque les gusta el clima, la comida, etcétera. No todo es el sexo, no todas somos jineteras, pero la mayoría de los hombre y mujeres que viajan a la isla es para buscar sexo barato.

Q4. "¿Cómo cambio tu vida como *jinetera*? ¿Cómo se ve?"

Ganó un poco más que el resto que sólo trabaja por 30 o 20 cuc al mes.

Q5. "Por favor comparte cualquier desafío o conflicto en los últimos seis o doce meses como *jinetera*? "¿Cómo manejas esos conflictos y desafíos?"

Mi vida cambió como *jineteras* ganó más, trabajo un poco menos que, por ejemplo, los jóvenes que se van con ellas a los hoteles, yo lo hago desde aquí el restaurante. Si a veces es incómodo lo que hago porque tienes cada tipo feo, y sucio, pero yo cierro los ojos y p'álante ellos muchas veces me pagan antes de entrar en el baño y luego me dan más como propina. Y puedo hacer en una noche entre 20 a 30 cuc cuando está bajo lento la cosa; y de 30 a 50 cuando hay muchos clientes.

Q6. ¿Qué papel juegan las *jineteras* en un país comunista?

Cuando no levanto le doy propina a los músicos y a veces le doy propina a los que trabajan conmigo para que se callen y me dejen hacer mi trabajo en paz hay mucho chivateo aquí. (me guiña el ojo). Le doy uno o dos pesos y pal carajo me dejan tranquila porque ellos no saben cuánto yo cobro y es mi boca no la de ellos yo soy la que trabajo. Ese es uno de los problemas más grandes aquí la gente habla mucho y no saben ser discretos en esto hay que ser muy discretos.

--- Notas de investigación:

Ella es muy sincera cuando habla, me explica en detalle sin problemas. Esta tranquila y la entrevista está marchando bien.

Q7. En Cuba, ¿es socialmente aceptable que las jineteras hagan su trabajo? ¿Qué papel juega el comunismo y el gobierno cubano, permiten lo que haces?

Te ponen una multa la policía si te cogen en eso sí, pero es muy difícil que nadie me coja, porque yo lo hago dentro del baño y ya. Aparte, esto es un comercio, y la policía usualmente no interviene en lugares así para el turista, ellos nos dejan tranquilos y respetan el comercio, porque es lo que trae dinero al país. Yo cierro la puerta a menos que un chivato le diga a los policías, pero entonces sería difícil porque todos lo que están en restaurantes tendrían que echarme pa'lante y para que, cual es el motivo. No hay necesidad, y no hay manera de probar nada.

Q9. ¿Has experimentado abuso como jinetera? ¿De qué tipo?

Sí cómo no si abuso porque alguno quiere “el dominio,” ellos muchas veces me agarraban por el pelo, me ultrajaron, me tocan los pechos; una vez uno me escupió, un animal y luego me golpeó sangre por la nariz del bofetón que me dio, caí en el piso. No pude hacer nada, no se puede hacer nada, no hay protección hacia las mujeres

Jineteras o cualquiera. No hay protección ni en mi trabajo, ni en la calle, no hay reglas ni regulaciones en esto si estamos solas, y todos los ciudadanos aquí hay un muy poca ayuda del gobierno esto es sálvese quien pueda.

--- Notas de investigación:

Después que me contó esto y me dijo sálvese quien pueda le di las gracias y siguió su trabajo a buscar propina y a llevar la gente al baño. Ella está ansiosa de seguir haciendo su tarea.

Jinetera # 4

Ella tiene aproximadamente 23 años me dijo que casi ya cumplidos en dos meses es su cumpleaños. Ahora tiene 23 años cumplidos. La familia no sabe nada de lo que ella está haciendo, a ella la entreviste en el malecón, es una avenida donde la gente camina, es un hermoso paseo por el mar, a lo largo de La Habana. Ella me conto que vive con su mamá y la abuela y va a la universidad por las mañanas por la noche trabaja como jinetera. Está dispuesta a participar en la entrevista.

Q1. “¿Cómo te sientes siendo *Jinetera*?” “¿Como es tu vida como jinetera?” “¿Cuánto tiempo?”

Está malísimo ser o trabajar de jineteras nosotras cobramos barato entre 30 y 40 cuc. Ser *jineteras* ahora no paga sólo 20 ó 10 cuc. Porque estamos en temporada baja entonces bajamos un poco el precio y seguimos buscando clientes en línea. Hice muchos cuc en el verano, de seis a

Q. ¿Como en línea explícate?

Q10. ¿Cómo encuentras a los clientes? ¿Dónde?

Yo, el encuentro online, en las redes sociales, por el internet aquí en Cuba tenemos wi-fi en ciertos lugares de la isla y allí voy después de comer en la casa o después de la escuela estoy estudiando arte y diseño en la Universidad de La Habana.

Tenemos una red por el internet donde encontramos clientes, por ejemplo:

Mejoramor.com

Wasap – cuando ya tienes los teléfonos del cliente te puedes comunicar con ellos más rápido por wasap.

Otros lugares para buscar clientes o anunciarte online son:

Mobifriends

Wasap

Quecontactos

Y otros lugares, pero wasap es el mejor.

Luego hay otros lugares que son para los homosexuales que buscan pareja en Cuba.

Q2. “¿Qué les pasa a las mujeres cuando entran al campo de *jineterismo*? ¿Como ves el campo de *jineterismo* en Cuba?

Que trabajamos muy duro, más duro que la población cubana.

“ok, nos vemos luego.”

--- Notas de investigación:

Mientras hablamos ella recibe una llamada de un cliente por teléfono. La persona le dice algo; a eso ella respondió, “ok, nos vemos luego.” No hay emoción en este momento de nuestra conversación. Básicamente está respondiendo a las preguntas de una manera sutil. Jineteras # 4 me ensena su amplio catálogo de fotos y de emails de sus clientes en sitios en el internet lo comparte conmigo rápidamente.

Mi trabajo es de loca, eso sí llegó al hotel de noche y ahí ya hago lo que me pidan, lo que dos personas hacen en la cama, el sexo, el señor estaba un poco tomado, me fui rápido después de la primera sesión yo tomo un poco de vino o licor para poder hacer la función. Tengo 20 años y mi deber es mantener a mi abuela que está malita del corazón.

--- Notas de investigación:

Ella se pone a llorar cuando me habla de su abuela enferma.

Mi mamá también tiene una pierna mala y no tenemos ayuda de familiares en el exterior.

Entonces yo cuando salgo de la universidad voy directo a la casa, como cualquier comida que encuentro o compro barata con el dinero que hice anoche como un cliente.

Q. ¿Cuánto hiciste anoche?

20cuc.

Qué es equivalente a el salario en Cuba en un mes.

Q3. "¿Qué es lo positivo o negativo de ser *jinetera*?"

Q. Positivo:

Mi madre no sabe, ni la abuela, lo que hago después de la escuela, si se llegan a enterar les da un patatús y se caen al suelo. Pero lo único positivo que veo en esto es que puedo ayudarlas a ellas con las medicinas, con pastillas para el corazón para la abuela, que son muy caras, súper caras.

Un amigo me dice que yo soy una máquina una centrífuga para busca dinero.

Pero por lo menos ayudó a la abuela y así me siento mejor hay recompensa. Ella sin las medicinas no puedes vivir y nosotros no tenemos familia fuera que nos ayuden entonces hay que trabajar duro no tengo tiempo de nada.

Q. Negativo:

Tienes que acostarte con gente fea, vieja, horrible que huele mal, gente muy vieja, hombres que no se bañan, o son muy animales, sin compasión sin ninguna educación que vienen aquí a sólo una cosa el sexo no, busques más. No trates de buscar una explicación eso es lo que quieren y nosotras queremos dinero, necesitamos el dinero. También a veces nos pagan dependiendo la experiencia y lo que ellos quieran, hay muchos rateros baratos.

Q4. "¿Cómo cambio tu vida como *jinetera*? ¿Cómo se ve?"

Más trabajo. Ahora estoy y me siento más agotada, tengo que trabajar más, entre la escuela, la familia y esto, ya no salgo con los amigos, ya ni tengo pareja.

--- Notas de investigación:

-Ella estaba relajada. Estaba dispuesta a contarme sus historias. Cuanto más habló con ella, más me cuenta, en algunos momentos se siente comfortable y en otros no. Después de la pregunta 4 ella baja la cabeza y se sienta en el muro del malecón. Yo me siento con ella. Ella enciende un cigarro y empieza a fumar.

Q5. "Por favor comparte cualquier desafío o conflicto en los últimos seis o doce meses como *jinetera*? "¿Cómo manejas esos conflictos y desafíos?"

No simplemente trabajo más. Tengo que mantener a mi familia, si no lo hiciera, entonces el conflicto sería más o peor porque tengo que cuidar a la abuela. ¿Y de dónde sacó el dinero sino es haciendo esto? Aquí no pagan los trabajos para mi edad o normales que paguen nada.

Q6. ¿Qué papel juegan las *jineteras* en un país comunista?

El papel de locas, con cojones.

Q7. En Cuba, ¿es socialmente aceptable que las *jineteras* hagan su trabajo? ¿Qué papel juega el comunismo y el gobierno cubano, permiten lo que haces?

No nos aceptan nos pone muchas trabas. Y a veces hay que esconderse, pero por ahora no hay problemas al momento yo no he tenido problemas.

Q9. ¿Has experimentado abuso como *jinetera*? ¿De qué tipo?

No.

--- Notas de investigación:

Ella se levanta del muro y vota el cigarrillo, yo me levanto también. Ella respondió todas las preguntas sin problemas; tuvo fuertes emociones cuando hablo de su abuela y su mamá. Se sintió asqueada hablando de alguno de los hombres y me dijo que son muy sucios.

Q11. ¿Cómo se proteges tú y de las enfermedades de transmisión sexual como el STDs y el HIV? ¿No tienes miedo?

Con lo que se puede. Pero hay veces que no hay tiempo ni dinero, ni condón y hay que hacerlo sin nada. No tengo miedo.

Jinetera # 5

La conocí en un restaurante, ella está sentada con otra chica. Nos sentamos en otra mesa del local. Yo le explique que esto era una investigación para mi doctorado en NSU. Ella acepto a hablar conmigo y hacer la entrevista. Ella tiene 40 años.

Q1. “¿Cómo te sientes siendo *Jinetera*?” “¿Como es tu vida como jinetera?” “¿Cuánto tiempo?”

Tengo que dar de comer a mis dos hijos varones el padre se fue para Estados Unidos hace 5 años nos dejó solos aquí sin nada, no sé qué pasó, él se buscó otra mujer y no nos quieres reclamar; entonces las opciones para mí son muy limitadas. No fui a la escuela, mi esposo siempre trabajo para nosotros, pero al momento que se fue de la isla se olvidó de nosotros por completo. Sólo recibí una carta final diciéndome que nos quería mucho y qué nos volveríamos a ver, pero que no podía regresar las cosas son difíciles en Miami. Me dijo, “las apariencias nunca son lo que parecen,” que nadie lo ayudaba que los cubanos en Miami cambiaron y nada era como Cuba.

Me dijo, “aquí en Miami sálvese quien pueda los cubanos no me ayudan.” Luego me siguió llamando y me dijeron que se volvió a enamorar y tiene dos hembras. Imagínate qué hijo de p*** me salió el cabrón. Entonces por los últimos cinco años estoy buscando salida del país por medio de la embajada o con un marido internacional. Aquí llegan muchos hombres y mujeres buscando pareja, muchos. Todos quieren algo especial. No todo es el sexo, algunos quieren una compañera alguien con quien hablar, compartir las noches y los días aquí en Cuba. No todo es sexo, muchos están deprimidos porque se divorciaron o la mujer los dejó y lleguen aquí a la Habana a buscar o buscando compañía. Alguien con quien hablar, compartir, alguien con quien disfrutar su tiempo. que nadie lo ayudaba que los cubanos en Miami cambiaron y nada era como Cuba.

--- Notas de investigación:

Ella estaba afectada por lo que le hizo el marido, al abandonarla en Cuba con dos hijos. Ella estaba furiosa y a la vez un poco enloquecida. Abrumada con todo lo que le cayó encima.

Q2. "¿Qué les pasa a las mujeres cuando entran al campo de *jineterismo*? ¿Como ves el campo de *jineterismo* en Cuba?"

Lo que pasa es lo que pasa siempre, como te estoy contando algunos quieren sexo, pero yo he tenido muchos que lo que quieren es una compañera. Algunos se quedan en los hoteles por dos o tres semanas y yo me quedo con ellos es *jineterismo* por tiempo largo. Depende lo que esté buscando, una compañera, alguien con quien hablar, compartir el amor. Se enamoran, así me pasó ahora con un señor canadiense que estuvo aquí por tres semanas y ya se fue. Un hombre muy sabio, con mucho dinero. Él tiene a su mujer allá en Canadá, pero bueno seguimos así en contacto, el prometió regresar.

--- Notas de investigación:

Ella me está contando su historia y cuando habla del señor canadiense sus ojos se llenan de agua, como si fuera a llorar. Entonces yo le doy unos minutos para que ella se sienta mejor y enseguida sigue hablando.

Q3. "¿Qué es lo positivo o negativo de ser *jinetera*?"

Entonces, a mí me gusta mucho el, pero hay que esperar a ver qué pasa. Puede ser que me enamoré, pero con los hombres nunca se sabe y menos con los extranjeros. El me escribe y eso me hace feliz. Antes de irse me dijo que regresaría en el verano 2020. Pero esta vez quiere ir a la playa, quiere rentar una casa en Varadero y estar ahí conmigo una o dos

semanas. Nos comunicamos por correo él quiere que yo le envíe cartas y fotos más y él me envía también fotos y cartas, claro todo es por medio de su trabajo. También me envía regalos y muchas veces hasta dinero, entre 20 o 50 cuc. El señor me ha salido bueno en lo que cabe, yo que soy una boba y me enamoro. Lo bueno es que él me paga mientras él está aquí o me da por estar con él una semana entre 150 a 200 cuc que no está nada mal porque a mí me gusta mucho él. Entonces yo disfruto y a la vez cobro por eso.

--- Notas de investigación:

Ella me gina el ojo, como diciéndome que la relación le va bien con el señor. Y al parecer es una relación de varios meses.

Q3. "¿Qué es lo positivo o negativo de ser *jinetera*?"

Negativo

Bueno si tú me preguntas a mí cuál es lo negativo de todo esto te diría que lo extraño, terriblemente, desde que se fue este verano, nos hablamos mucho por correo, por WhatsApp, también le mandó muchas fotos, pero lo peor de todo es que no lo veo y tengo que seguir trabajando como jinetera para ayudar a mi familia a mis dos hijos yo trato de ver si puedo encontrar a otro hombre como él, que sea de relación así larga, y que me guste el hombre.

Porque ya yo miya, a mi edad 40 años ya yo no estoy para eso de una noche y dale. ¡Ay! no soporto eso lo hago por necesidad o sea cuando se presenta la oportunidad porque yo soy enfermera y trabajo en regla ayudando a los viejitos y aquí en la Habana también pero ese trabajo mío de enfermera es temporal o sea es solamente por la mañana y no me paga nada 20 cuc es lo máximo. Pero mientras él me envíe dinero 20, 30, 40 cuc, estoy

bien. Tranquila. Pero si el señor me suelta, entonces vuelvo otra vez a seguir buscando uno por noche. Ahora estoy contactando a los hoteles aquí dejando mi información, con mis fotos por si se presenta un hombre que sea así de larga estancia a ver si le caigo bien. Y en vez de tener uno tengo dos y entonces lo negativo se vuelve positivo. Aunque yo lo quiero mucho al canadiense él tiene su mujer y hay que seguir adelante sobreviviendo.

Q4. "¿Cómo cambio tu vida como *jinetera*? ¿Cómo se ve?"

Bueno mi vida cambió terriblemente cuando mi esposo me dejó entonces tuve que hacer lo imposible lo imposible y salir a la calle y buscar hombre para poder pagar todo en la casa la comida de mis hijos mi familia fue un cambio de día a la noche muy duro porque yo siempre fue mujer de la casa de mi marido de un hombre solo y ahora los 45 años medidas abierto para el primero que venga y me saqué de Cuba con mis hijos o qué me mantenga y venderme vender mi cuerpo hasta que se pueda por el momento estoy disfrutando de él y su dinero Aquí se pasa mucho trabajo y hay que echar pa'lante. Cómo se pueda mi amiga, ya los tiempos no son lo mismo y ya no tengo 20 años es hora de buscar tranquilidad con alguien que me mantenga a mí y a mis hijos le estoy rezando a todos los santos que este hombre sí, que se quede ya, que él padre de los niños fue un canalla.

--- Notas de investigación:

Su cuerpo corporal me dice mucho, que a ella le dolió mucho que su esposo la abandonará ella lloró cuando hablaba de su exesposo el cual se casó en Miami y lavando a ella y sus dos hijos. Ella no me quiso hablar mucho del gobierno simplemente me dijo que eras cosas están muy mal en Cuba, pero no quiso hablar mucho de él jineterismo y el gobierno puede ser que no le convenga o simplemente tenga miedo, pero en todo lo

demás contestado todas las preguntas perfecto. Muchas de las preguntas las contesto al principio.

Q6. ¿Qué papel juegan las *jineteras* en un país comunista?

Q7. En Cuba, ¿es socialmente aceptable que las *jineteras* hagan su trabajo? ¿Qué papel juega el comunismo y el gobierno cubano, permiten lo que haces?

Aquí no se puede creer en nadie cualquiera te echa pa'lante.

Entonces mejor no hablo de eso perdona.

Q5. "Por favor comparte cualquier desafío o conflicto en los últimos seis o doce meses como *jinetera*? "¿Cómo manejas esos conflictos y desafíos?"

Hay diversos conflictos está el conflicto que no hay comida, está al conflicto de la vivienda, está conflicto de las medicinas, las enfermedades, está conflicto para mí es emocional, porque yo me enamoré de este canadiense y ahora bueno vamos a ver qué pasa entonces hay diversos conflictos; yo de la manera como los trabajo es 11 busco la comida que nos dan es muy poquita como enfermera no gano entonces tengo varias amistades que hacen comida porque yo vivo en regla. Y entonces me venden comida cuando llegó a la casa después de trabajo no trabajó en habana como a eso de las 12:00 voy como la comida y la llevé a la casa, la caliento, se lo doy a mis hijos y a la familia, a la tía, cualquiera de la familia que venga, primo, lo que sea; el segundo conflicto de la vivienda y yo tengo casa en regla gracias a Dios no me la han quitado por el momento y los otros conflictos de las enfermedades eso ya aquí mi medicina no tengo ayuda de afuera Entonces se dificulta un poco y cada vez que avisan que hay medicina uno corre

compra extra en la farmacia Pero bueno es un es un continuo podría decir sufrimiento continuo una preocupación continua así es más fácil para explicarte

Q8. ¿Es este problema un conflicto socioeconómico basado en las condiciones de vida?

Bueno como te expliqué anteriormente es una oportunidad para poder echar pa lante con tu familia y hacer un poco dinero extra y sobrevivir ayudando a los familiares.

Q11. ¿Cómo se protege de las enfermedades de transmisión sexual como el STDs y el HIV?

Bueno mi amiga ya es tocado un punto que eso sí te puedo decir que ahí sí que yo sí me protejo porque yo tengo 40 años ya ahorita cumpla 41 y tengo dos hijos y aunque Ellos no saben lo que yo hago por el momento si me pregunta le digo a un amigo que tengo un novio a ellos no tienen Por qué interesarle nada porque ese es mi vida y yo al final de cuentas soy la que los esté manteniendo Pero bueno volviendo la pregunta yo voy a la farmacia de aquí en regla voy a la farmacia de La Habana hago la cola me tomo el tiempo de hacer la cola para comprar condones medicina vaginales protección cualquier tipo de protección porque eso sí te puedo decir que hay bastante enfermedades por todos lados son demasiados turistas demasiada gente demasiada jineteras y es imposible. Hay que cuidarse.

Q9. ¿Has experimentado abuso como *jinetera*? ¿De qué tipo?

No me ha pasado a mí, pero si oído de casos de abuso que les pegan escupen la policía pone en la cárcel o sea es abuso de cliente y abuso de policía de gobierno, pero eso es lo único que te puedo decir a mí como te digo que con el canadiense las más son relaciones clientes de largo plazo es lo que yo busco

Jinetera # 6

Ella es una muchacha joven en los 20 años ella quería ser entrevistadas la invité al hotel para que se sentara conmigo y hagamos sobre su vida como jinetera

Q1. “¿Cómo te sientes siendo *Jinetera*?” “? ¿Como es tu vida como jinetera?” “¿Cuánto tiempo?”

Yo tengo 20 años y trabajó como jinetera tengo una niña de dos meses, que mi mamá me cuida en estos momentos soy madre soltera, porque mi esposo no acepta que yo trabajé como jinetera, pero es la única manera para poder pagar la leche de mi bebé y todo lo demás. De todas maneras, él no es el padre de mi hija, se casó conmigo, pero el padre de mi hija es un extranjero. Que vive en España yo le mandado varias cartas, y no se quiere hacer responsable de su bebé de dos meses que es una niña preciosa, bella, de ojos azules, y rubia como el papá. Entonces, aquí sufriendo hasta que pueda salir de paraíso y buscar una vida mejor en otros lugares.

--Notas de investigación:

Al parecer el padre del babe no se quiere hacer cargo de la responsabilidad.

Q2. “¿Qué les pasa a las mujeres cuando entran al campo de *jineterismo*? ¿Como ves el campo de *jineterismo* en Cuba?”

Yo no vivo aquí en la Habana, yo vivo aquí ahora con mi mamá, pero yo soy de Pinar del Río. Cuando mi madre decidió mudarse a la Habana, fue que conocí al padre de mi hija y salí con él me embaracé y ahora tengo mi bebé de dos meses. Pero toda mi familia aparte de mi mamá está en Pinar del Río. Estamos mi mama y yo solitas aquí. Me casé con mi novio recientemente, porque se quiso hacer cargo del bebé, pero me pone unas

condiciones de que no puedo jinetea y tengo que hacerlo no queda otra. Tengo que darle de comer a mi bebe, y buscar leche para ella.

--Notas de investigación:

Ella me explica lo difícil que es mantener a su bebe de dos meses y conseguir comida.

Q3. "¿Qué es lo positivo o negativo de ser jinetera?"

Positivo

Este trabajo es muy difícil. Pero se sobrevive. De cualquier manera, no es un trabajo de oficina, ni un trabajo profesional, es un trabajo para comer. Eso es lo único positivo.

Negativo

Yo no hago ese trabajo todos los días, porque también trabajo en un restaurante como camarera y trato así también de conseguir propinas. Estoy estudiando las mañanas.

¿Qué estudias? Estoy estudiando lenguaje y también creo que voy a cambiar ahora para hacer periodismo me interesa mucho ese campo también me gusta estar al frente de las cámaras entonces esto de ser jinetera en realidad es algo que yo hago muy poco como te dije trabajo en restaurante y estudio. Lo más importante si hay algún cliente que se presentó entonces pues coordinamos y hacemos algo, pero para mí no es un trabajo fijo porque hay muchas enfermedades, mucha gente loca, y yo la verdad que ya cuando uno tiene un hijo yo cambié y pienso más en mi bebé que en tener dinero con lo que tengo por el momento me alcanza. Mi mamá me ayuda mucho porque ella es psicóloga y trabaja aquí en la universidad de la Habana en psicología.

--Notas de investigación:

Primero me explica que tiene que trabajar como jinetera, y después me dice que no lo hace muy a menudo, que solo cuando se presenta la oportunidad.

Q4. "¿Cómo cambio tu vida como jinetera? ¿Cómo se ve?"

Mi vida como jinetera no ha cambiado mucho porque como te dije yo no lo hago todo el tiempo lo que sí cambió fue que no pensé nunca quedarme embarazada eso fue algo inesperado y si lo pensé mucho antes de tener mi baby pero también mi mamá me apoyó mucho y me contó que eso le había pasado a ella con mi padre; y me dijo que yo fui un milagro. La vida y los bebés son un milagro. Y entonces decidí tener mi bebé pasar lo que pasará y gracias a Dios la niña es muy saludable de 2 meses y mamá la está cuidando y yo la llevé también a la a la guardería y cuando llegó de la escuela la cuidó y luego nos turnamos aquí, mucha gente me ayuda con mi bebé mi amiga, los vecinos, mi mama, en esa parte gracias a Dios no tengo problema sólo a veces que no hay leche y entonces ahí se dificulta un poco la cosa pero bueno se trataba de buscar siempre de un lado a otro y se encuentra la leche.

Q5. "Por favor comparte cualquier desafío o conflicto en los últimos seis o doce meses como jinetera? "¿Cómo manejas esos conflictos y desafíos?"

Entre mi mamá y yo trabajamos muy duro para que a ese bebé no le falte comida su leche su compota, que mi mamá también le hace comida en la casa hervida o sea es muy importante para mí que mi bebé esté saludable Entonces cuando eso no pasa cuando no tenemos los recursos y la le echen el agua en la casa a veces se nos va al agua completa y viene el señor con el camión y la manguera y empieza a echar agua en la casa ya eso nos ha pasado este mes 3 veces y entonces si no tienes agua para bañarte o para bañar a tu bebé eso es muy es un problema esta casa aquí en la Habana están bastante vieja está bastante destrozada entonces aquí lo de la vivienda es muy difícil conseguir otro lugar dónde mudarse en Pinar del Río tenemos una casa más grande eso mi mamá está

pensando que si no podemos cambiar de alojamiento dentro de un mes o dos ya para el año que viene nos mudamos para Pinar del Río de nuevo y así tenemos estamos con la familia y más fácil la cuestión. Entonces ahora básicamente lo que estamos es sobrevivido. Cómo podemos, cuidamos al bebé mientras que yo trabajo estudio y luego ya si no se da lo de la casa que es muy difícil aquí en la Habana qué el gobierno no ayuda, entonces es preferible mudarnos para estar en un poquito más comfortable por el bebé en Pinar del Río.

--Notas de investigación:

- cuando le hago esta pregunta ella sonríe me mira respira y me explicas más o menos la situación que ya está pasando

Emociones: cuando ella habla de su bebé cuando ella menciona su bebé es para ella lo más importante en ese momento no importa el trabajo no importa el dinero. Ella adora a su pequeña y quiere lo mejor para ella. Se pone muy emocional y triste pensando que no tiene leche, ni leche en polvo, ni nada de leche para darle al bebé entonces ella y su mamá están pensando mudarse a Pinar del Río, porque por lo menos haya tiene más familia y las puede ayudar un poquito mejor porque ahora están sola en la Habana. Cuando hablamos del español que la dejó embarazada y se fue y no le contesta, ella se pone muy emocional se pone triste, porque él era una esperanza.

Pero continúa la conversación, me contó que se había casado porque la niña necesita un papá y el muchacho que era su novio antes se ofreció pero al parecer ella no está muy contenta con la relación porque ella quiere seguir siendo jineteras y el marido no quiere entonces por lo que ella me dice y la manera como ella se expresa y su cuerpo me está

diciendo que ella también se quiere ir de la Habana para salir de ese problema del marido y dejarlo todo atrás.

Q8. ¿Es este problema un conflicto socioeconómico basado en las condiciones de vida?

Q. Si te mudas podrás encontrar empleo y podrá seguir estudiando?

Sí yo pienso que sí por qué no también puedo seguir estudiando allá a lo mejor estudiar un poco más en inglés y estudiar más lenguaje entre otras cosas y la verdad que mudarme de vuelta a Pinar del Río sería un poco más flexible para mí que la presión que tengo ahora aquí viviendo la Habana sin agua y se y ahora no hay electricidad desde Agosto la necesidad también se va y el calor ha sido este verano, sin aire acondicionado y sin ventilador lo único peor que tiene Pinar del Río. Es que ahora mismo desde agosto después que firmaron Estados Unidos una ley contra los barcos ya no hay gas ni petróleo. Estamos jodidos. Entonces los barcos que nos llevan allí, pues ya no salen todos los días o sales retrasado y se dificulta un poquito entrar y salir de ahí de Pinar del Río eso es lo único que me preocupa, pero yo espero que pronto volvamos a tener petróleo pues para poder ir hasta Pinar de Río.

Q6. ¿Qué papel juegan las *jineteras* en un país comunista?

Es una doctrina vivir en este país, no solo para las jineteras, para todo el mundo. Esto es pero que Hitler y los judíos. Esto aquí es Marxismo y Leninismo. Fascismo. Estamos todos adoctrinados a hacer lo mismo, sobrevivir. Yo tengo que tomar responsabilidad por mi familia.

Mientras vas a la escuela, te pagan todo, en la universidad también, tienes que comprar los libros y otras cosas, pero la escuela aquí es gratis, pero de que te sirve si cuando te gradúas no pagan nada por lo que estudiantes, entonces estas trabajando de gratis al

gobierno. Lo mismo pasa con la medicina, no hay, hay que comprarla por el mercado negro. Y para que queremos el servicio de médicos gratis, ¿si no hay medicinas para curarnos?

Q7. En Cuba, ¿es socialmente aceptable que las jineteras hagan su trabajo? ¿Qué papel juega el comunismo y el gobierno cubano, permiten lo que haces?

Me estabas diciendo algo de gobierno. ¿explícate un poquito más como el gobierno apoya estas mujeres?

En este momento no pude a nadie sálvese quien pueda, pero yo creo que nos han dejado un poco más tranquila y un el restaurante trabajo tranquila hago mi propina y no me tengo que preocupar que alguien está vigilando cuando salgo con algún cliente después tampoco soy pretenciosa ni me visto así extravagante sea normal pero sí hay que tener cuidado con ese con ese aspecto del cual no quisiera mencionar

Q8. ¿Es este problema un conflicto socioeconómico basado en las condiciones de vida?

Si se está pasando por un problema socioeconómico, obviamente, sí aquí pagan muy poco y sólo vivimos gracias a las propinas de los extranjeros O sea que el turismo aquí es muy importante para nosotros

Q9 Cómo ves el campo de jinetera?

Como una manera de sobrevivencia. En un país tan escaso En una isla que no producimos nada nada más que el trabajo y el azúcar vivimos de los que vienen de afuera.

Jinetera # 7

La séptima *jinetera* la conocí fuera del hotel por recomendación de uno de los empleados que trabaja en el hotel que me la presentó alrededor de las 9 de la noche. Tiene 35 años y trabaja como *jinetera* se relajó porque podía hablar conmigo tranquilamente dentro.

Hablamos, ella accedió a participar en la investigación. Algunos sabían lo que estaba haciendo de antemano, que estaba haciendo una investigación.

P. 1 ¿Cómo te sientes siendo *jinetera*?" "¿Cómo es tu vida como *jinetera*?"

Gracias por tenerme aquí. Sólo quería explicar que mi infancia no fue muy buena. Fui abusada y violado a una edad muy temprana cuando tenía 14 años. Mi padrastro bebía mucho, y cada noche estaba borracho y me golpeó. Mi madre nunca estuvo en la casa porque estaba trabajando, es bailarina, y también trabaja en un restaurante por la noche. Me cuidará por la noche cuando era niña y se aprovechó de mí. Es muy cruel, y cuando se cansó de mí, me vendió por mi cuerpo.

Esas casas son específicamente para mujeres jóvenes como yo, niñas de 10, 11, 12, 14 años. Conocí a muchas niñas a las que violaron e hicieron con ellas lo que ella quería. Hombres mayores repulsivos, jóvenes, todo tipo de violadores hombres, abusadores. Por lo tanto, mi vida como *jinetera* es m ***** (mierda), y lo sigo haciendo. Pero en este momento, no tengo elección, porque ya tengo dos hijos, un niño y una niña, y me ayuda a ganar dinero para pagar todo lo que quiero, y lo que ellos quieren. Así que, al carajo.

---Notas de investigación:

Cuando habla, es firme. Bebe agua y continúa con las preguntas. Se sentía cómoda hablando dentro del hotel porque yo seguía preguntándole. Dijo que le gusto. Su forma de comportarse me dice que ha pasado por cosas difíciles en la vida. Difícil. Me cuenta su historia como le pasó a otra persona, no a ella. Ella no llora; ella no tiene la intención de llorar, ella es firme en sus movimientos, y sus palabras. Escucho y pregunto.

Q2. "¿Qué pasa con las mujeres cuando entran en el campo de *jineterismo*? ¿Cómo ve el campo del *jineterismo* en Cuba?"

Cómo te dije que es un m***** (mierda) es una manera de ganar dinero.

Q3. "¿Cuál es el positivo o negativo de ser *jinete ara*?"

Q4. "¿Cómo cambio tu vida como *jinetera*? ¿Cómo se ve?"

Positivo - Ella respondió a esa pregunta

Saliendo de esas casas, sobreviví. Tengo a mis abuelos también que viven aquí cerca de La Habana. Además, en estos lugares, que drogar con un pañuelo para que no tener que escuchar los gritos de las niñas cuando las violan. Luego descubrí que nos dan cloroformado para hacernos más débiles y hacer lo que quisieran. Me sentí débil por la noche, vomité y mucho dolor en la cabeza durante varios meses.

Era una buena persona, no como mi madre. Que descanse en paz. Mi abuela después, que, lo primero que hizo fue llevarte al médico. Estaba deshidratada. Estaba muy enferma. Más tarde, me enamoré y me casé. Más tarde, me divorcié y conocí a mi novio actual y a otro hombre que también me ama mucho.

Sólo estoy con clientes que tienen mucho dinero, entre 50 a 100 cuc o un poco más a veces puedo hacer 200 cuc cuando hay un montón de clientes. Y eso es lo que hace, no me da mucho tiempo libre. Estoy tranquilo en la casa con los niños.

---Notas de investigación:

Estalló en un pequeño llanto cuando me habla de su abuela. Fue un momento dulce para ella ver a sus parientes de nuevo y salir de donde estaba. Le di tiempo para recuperarse.

Mientras tanto, bebe agua.

Q5. "¿Por favor, comparta cualquier desafío o conflicto en los últimos seis o doce meses como *jinetera*?" ¿Cómo maneja estos conflictos y desafíos?"

Negativo

Mi padrastro un día después de que me violó miles de veces dijo: "Toma una maleta, ponte la ropa y todo lo que quieras ponerte en ella, que estarás en otra casa".

Mi mamá nunca realmente se preocupó mucho por mí y nunca fue a buscarme. Entonces, fui violada por diferentes hombres.

P. ¿Cómo funciona el negocio en esos hogares?

Todo está basado en dinero. Esas son casas de prostitutas, y es un negocio bastante fuerte aquí en Cuba. Esto sucede de La Habana a Cienfuegos, y Matanzas. He aprendido que hay todo tipo de casas de prostitución, con niños, adolescentes y mujeres. Así que, esto me disgusta siento que me trataron como a un perro como un animal de la selva y estas son cosas que no olvidas, aunque y/o trato de no pensar en ello, los recuerdos nunca se borran, mujer.

---Notas de investigación:

-Cuando me estaba contando la historia su expresión cambió por completo.

Especialmente cuando me habló de su padrastro y el continuo abuso por ella, que su padrastro violó a los 14 años. Se conducía como una mujer madura con su cuerpo, su cara, todo me dijo que había pasado por mucho y que había sufrido mucho. Basándose en su historia, y su lenguaje corporal me dice que tuvo que experimentar mucha negatividad en su vida. Se agita sobre todo cuando me cuenta la historia de esas casas. No explicó en detalle lo que les hacen a los niños exactamente en esas casas. Sólo escuché, sin presión, o cavando mucho en el tema, sin forzar nada, sólo haciendo las preguntas y dejar que me conteste cómo se siente.

Q7. En Cuba, ¿es socialmente aceptable que *Jineteras* haga su trabajo? ¿Qué papel juegan el comunismo y el gobierno cubano, permiten lo que usted hace?

Q6. ¿Qué papel juegan los *jineteros* en un país comunista?

Permiten lo que hago, porque si me atrapan, les doy dinero. Y eso es todo.

Q8. ¿Se trata de un conflicto socioeconómico basado en las condiciones de vida?

Sí, está todo jodido.

Q9. ¿Has sufrido abusos como jinetera?

Como un niño, sin que yo lo quiera. Ahora estoy atendido por los dos hermosos hombres que tengo en mi vida.

Q10. ¿Cómo encuentras clientes?

Ese no es mi problema, tengo que conseguirlos para mí.

Q11. ¿Cómo se protege de enfermedades de transmisión sexual como las Enfermedades por AID y el VIH?

No sé.

Q12. ¿Crees que el turismo sólo viaja a Cuba por sexo?

Sí, creo que sí. Casi todos, a menos que viajen en pareja, y así y así hay parejas que quieren tener sexo con otras personas.

---Notas de investigación:

La investigación fue más suave con ella y le hizo sus preguntas más suaves. Ella estaba cansada; que no podía hacerlo más; me agradeció y se fue.

Appendix B: *Jineteras* Translated in English and Color-Coding Holistic Process

Jinetera # 1.

She is 21 years old; she has a 5-year-old son. She lives with her family in Havana. I met her when I walked into a Cuban craft shop.

Q1. "What is like being a *jinetera*? What is your life as a *jinetera*?"

Q2. "What happens to women who enter the business of *jineterismo* in Cuba? How do you view *jineterismo*?"

I work here in what I can. I'm studying at the University of Havana Medicine. Is not easy, to work on what I study, here, you won't survive; you can't survive without working or working in something that's about tourism. With what happened in August and Trump, being a *Jinetera* in Cuba is the worst, because you expose your body, your life is at the disposal of any Loco, crazy. Without, humanity. Uncensored, you are exposed to be approached by tourism, and they can take your body and even life.

This is an opportunity to survive, to make money, in a country with nothing, without being offered anything; without being caught by the police or the other snitch. I survive. Using my savings to survive or have less expenses than usual. Go hungry.

Q3. a "What are the experiences or experiences path of being a *jinetera*?"

Q. b. Please mention some of your experiences

With Trump, things got worse since August.

We don't have the boats coming anymore. And that has created a lot of difficulties because there is no oil anymore and I can't go on without electricity in the house is hard; it's very hard.

- Researcher Notes: ---

"Her body language tells me that she is willing to speak and quietly communicate her story.

- She was sitting while talking to me. Taking it easy.

Q. Please mention some of your experiences as a *jinetera*?

There's nothing experiences about living here, nothing. Only my baby, and I am with my family, school and day work. It is abuse here and living here is torture.

I have my baby, and I'm with my family. I live with my family in Havana. But this here is abuse and living here is torture.

No food, no milk, no food for my baby. There are days that when he, he cries, I cry too with sadness. It's very hard to see your five-year-old son crying non-stop because there's no food at all here; it's not easy.

- Researcher Notes: ---

She expresses many of her feelings to me, and her eyes filled with water when she talks to me about her problems and the lack of food. She talks about her baby with a lot of love and sadness at the same time. Also, she has different feelings; for example, she feels sad, angry and at the same time, feels anger about what is going on. It seems like she is going to cry, but stops, and she doesn't cry and keep talking to me quietly.

Q4. "How did your life change as a *jinetera*? What does it look like?"

Change for the worse, shit. And what can I tell you that maybe you haven't heard. We *jineteras* are abused, abuse, that's the change. I went from "Guatemala to Guatepeor," meaning "from bad to worse," in this job. And none of us like to be called that. We're night workers. Everything in my life unraveled when I was raped by the German when I

was 15. He told me nice things, he gave me gifts, and then he took me to the hotel and did to me the unimaginable, not just one night, he raped me more than three times. And I was thinking of money, and the gifts, and what the other girls were getting. He did with me whatever he wanted, whatever the hell he wanted. The child is his son.

There's no way to justify what that animal did to me, there's no way fixing it.

- Researcher Notes: ---

-At this point, after telling me what happened to the German. She is much more affected by the rape, and she sometimes covers her face with her hands, until she couldn't take it anymore and cries. I stopped asking questions for a few minutes to let her breathe. And then move on. I gave her a handkerchief I had from the hotel.

Q5. "Please share any challenge or conflict within the last six or twelve months as a *jinetera*?" "How do you handle those conflicts and challenges?"

Well, it was when I got pregnant because I didn't use any protection. My parents never taught me anything about life, nothing, so when my parents learned that the 6-foot raped me when I was 15 years old, they tried with a bunch of other men to go and get him; but he was already gone or he hide, I don't know, here the hotels cover up for tourists, they are untouchable. Because they bring money and the government doesn't play with money; because you go straight to jail for years of dead-end, you die there.

Q5. What are the challenges? How do you handle challenges or conflicts?

Conflicts can't be fixed. There is no food, no drinking water, no water to bathe, no electricity, no work, those who study like me medicine the Cuban government does not pay well, only 20 – 50 cuc per month. That's not even enough for fuck's sake. No clothes, no sleeping sheets, no pillows, it's hard. It is unfair. It is the most abusive law enforced by the Cuban people. If the government believes you are against them, they will persecute you, anything the government believes they enforced, even if it is a lie. That's how it is.

I keep working here selling in the store, and then at night, I go out on the weekends and work as a *jinetera*; because with what I earn here, I can't even afford a piece of bread. When there is tourism, I can gain between 40 and 70 cuc in a single night. I feel millionaire because I don't earn that by working "normal" in Cuba like the others and I'm gathering to get out of here, I'm not like the others who complain and don't do anything about it.

- Researcher Notes: ---

-After telling me this, she showed me a map of your dreams and where she wants to move in the future. She was kind. But she remained sad, angry, and in pain throughout the interview and then later changed and was a little more empowered and blunter.

Q6. What role do *jineteras* play in a communist country?

Hide. All the time.

Q7. In Cuba, is it socially acceptable for *jineteras* to do their work? What role do communism and the Cuban government play; do they allow what you do?

They don't accept me. The government sometimes tries to fuck, it depends on whether they like you or not, but usually, if you're discreet, nothing happens to you. If you do your job without being seen by the police or with appointments over the phone, internet, emails, or by the hotel, they can't tell you anything. I can't tell you anymore, but it is like that.

You have to know how to hide from the police and know how to do your job unnoticed.

Q8. Is this problem a socio-economic conflict based on living conditions?

Of course.

Q9. Have you experience abuse as a jinetera? What kind?

If there is abuse, yes there is, I have not experienced it at this time, thank God. Only when the German bastard raped me. That's why I only sleep with Hispanics or Spaniards, but yes, there are abuses. I listen to the other girls' stories who are beaten and mistreated. The others there's not much they can do much because we are not protected; by anyone here, there are no rules, no regulation. Here there is nothing. They kill you, and they don't pay you, and nobody knows.

There was a case of a jinetera girl, which I know, because I knew her. She slept with an animal from Haiti, and the man killed her. We never heard from her until the body was found in Havana. But the body was already decomposed, and they were able to identify her by her teeth. But no one said anything, and nothing happened. She was killed, and that's it. They don't put that type of news here, ever. She lacked some teeth because she was beaten so hard, they told me. That's how they are, my friend, and you don't know

what you will find is very difficult, we have no help from absolutely no one. This is whatever; they don't do an investigation if it's tourism; they can do whatever they want.

Q10. How do you find the clients?

No, it is not easy. It's not easy; now we're going into recession before with the cruises you could find 1-3 customers in one night. That stopped, and now it's harder to find customers all in one day.

- Researcher's Notes: She was relaxed.

How do you handle this challenge?

Using my savings to survive or have less expenses than usual. Go hungry.

Q11. How do you protect yourself from STDs and HIV?

As I can, buying things.

Themes:

1: The Analytical Process of Themes

Step 6: Looking for Metaphors: Highlighted in Blue:

Metaphors facilitated capture the participant life experience. It converts the entire life-narrative into transitory telling descriptions. For instance, in jineteras story "he was crazy like a fox." "Guatemala to Guatepeor," meaning "from bad to worse, "It is always important to remain professional without proposing offensive metaphors.

1: The Analytical Process of Themes

Jineteras survived and persevere in hardship times: Yellow: Category: Color Coding (Perceived Experiences, survival, perseverance and empowerment) The color-coded dark yellow highlights the first and second theme as survive as part of the experiences, yellow themes color coding were clustered with words such as: you won't survive; you can't survive without working or working in something that's about tourism. This is an opportunity to survive, to make money, in a country with nothing, I survive. Using my savings to survive or have less expenses than usual; but in this case a second theme was created Empowerment is perceived by *jineteras* as a form of freedom as perseverance, words in the narrative such as, were color red/yellow make money, working, I feel millionaire. These words are part of the participant's experience, they represent, "perceived experience of survival and empowerment and freedom," empowerment comes from doing what they want with their bodies, have a better economic opportunity to stuff; purchasing power and a better economic opportunity. To buy and provide for themselves and their families.

This theme relates to the narrative inquiry related to the word 'make money and freedom'. With the same color coding in blue to show, freedom to make money, words such as: money, selling in the store, I can gain between 40 and 70 cuc in a single night. I feel millionaire because I don't earn that by working "normal" in Cuba like the others and I'm gathering to get out of here. They see prostitution as an opportunity to financially sustain themselves, and to maybe in the future leave the island.

Theme: Continuing to Pursue Education while Working as Jineteras: Category: Color Coding: Green: (Experiences, education, economic freedom, technology, love and companionship) green was given to characterize narrative such as, “work, study(ing) opportunity.” These words are part of the participant’s experience attending school labels formed through color coding were clustered to for ‘themes.’

Theme: Women: Experiences: Category: Color Coding (red) theme related to feminization of poverty, shortage, nothing, no food, no milk, no food, cries, cry, sadness, hard, crying, non-stop, not easy, tourism abuse, lack, anything. there is no food at all here; it is not easy. feminization to jineteras in Cuba. For example, based on the lack of income, scarcity, and incapacities. Feminization of poverty refers to a trend of increasing inequality in living standards and widening gap in poverty.

Experiences: Category: Color Coding green Jineteras believe they are not Respected or Protected. The themes colored in green represent the experiences jinetera #1 and the suffering throughout her work. Some of the salient words were in the narrative such as, abuse, torture, Trump, worst, expose, body, life, disposal, crazy. Without, humanity, approached, take, body, life, rape, and abuse, unimaginable beaten and mistreated, kill you, intercourse, self-worth, physical abuse. These words are part of the participant’s experience, they represent the same thing, “experiences,” labels formed through color coding were clustered to for ‘themes.’ Additional words include: the worst, your body, your life is at the disposal of any loco, crazy. Without, humanity. Exposed, take your body, and even your life, nothing, anymore, difficulties, hard.

Experiences: Category: Color Coding gray, Some Jineteras Experienced Abandonment from Family Members, and others. The themes colored in gray represent the experiences jinetera #1 and the suffering throughout her work. Some of the salient words were in the narrative such as abandonment, abandoned and alone. “baby, abandoned us.” By their sex-tourism partners, or lovers.

Theme: Government Conflicts are Grounded on Lack of Assistance and Abuse

The color-coded purple signifies conflict. The following words provide info related to the theme of “conflict,” such as caught, police, snitch, jail, dead-end, not protected, die, no rules, no regulation. Underpaid, government abuse, unemployed, and police. Here there is nothing. the government does not play; go straight to jail; does not pay well, only 20 – 50 cuc per month; straight to jail for years of dead-end, you die there. The government sometimes tries to fuck, without being seen by the police.

Family Theme: Category: Color Coding(brown) Being a Single Mother is One of the Reasons for Working in Jineterismo. Some of the salient words coded in brown were: feed children, loss: Detail themes identifying labels by the narration. Words in the narrative such as ‘family’, ‘baby,’ ‘son,’ ‘members,’ ‘mother,’ single, my baby. five-year-old son crying. ‘father,’ were color-coded brown, because these words are part of the participant’s background, and represent the same thing, “family/members.” The labels formed through color coding were clustered to for ‘themes.’

STDs/AIDs and HIV theme was color coded orange HIV/AIDS Protection Relies Mostly on what is Available to Protected. The question related to the STD was how you protect

yourself from STDs and HIV and color-coded orange clustered to for 'themes.' Jineteras answered HIV/AIDs: As I can, buying things.

Jinetera # 2 in English:

Sitting both in a small restaurant in the center of Havana, 2nd floor. She told me she was 51 that her birthday was in December. She stated she was a singer and a *jinetera* at night. She said, "you're a good person Nery, write it all, I want people to know."

Q1. "What is like being a *jinetera*? What is your life as a *jinetera*?"

Q2. "What happens to women who enter the business of *jineterismo* in Cuba? How do you view *jineterismo*?"

Life as jinetera is m***** (shit). All of us are treated like dogs, so we are all dogs. We're dogs here. Dogs.

I do not wish to be anything else or be born anywhere else, but in Havana, I like to be Cuban I am proud to be Cuban, but at the same time I have to recognize that we are treated as dogs, worse than other cultures, worse than other people, we are dogs here. Here there are several layers and different levels of things that are covered by the people here covered by the communism, they hide many things that are not said that I know they keep quiet. There are various levels, and there are people here who live very well. Of course, we're not those people, they are the people who work for the Cuban government. And others like me who are in the phase to survive. Survive.

That we're all fucked up, that's what happens. They use us, we are abused, we have no freedom at all, people don't care what we go through; there is no protection towards us women here, and the people suffer. And there is no chance of advancement here, is pure resilience. We are used to this.

- Researcher's Notes: ---

Body Language: Her reaction, she keeps looking to the side as if she is very uncomfortable with what she's telling me. She opens and closes her eyes, as if she is deeply disturbed. I stood there listening, without moving, just listening. She looks down, since we are seated on a 2nd floor of the restaurant.

Q3. "What are the experiences or experiences path of being a *jinetera*?"

I live with that. Imagine, I must hold the bat hard, so I don't get hit with the ball in my face

Tell us something experiences that happened to you?

The only experiences thing that has happened to me so far in these months is that I was able to keep the house of a family member who passed away. And then at least I have a place to live, but there's always a, "but" of course I must pay the government 1000 cuc, Cuban money to keep the property. From the taxes to be able to take out the title of the property and make it mine, if I don't do this, they will take everything, and I don't have that amount of money.

It's always something in this country, some fucking thing.

But the Cubans are strong, and we always get ahead without weakness, we put up with it.

- Researcher Notes: ---

She's still looking down, we're on the second floor of a restaurant. She keeps putting her head down and looks at me. But not for long. Put your head down and she waits for the next question. I give her time to breathe.

Q4. "How did your life change as a *jinetra*? What does it look like?"

Too bad, I don't have a job at the moment.

Q5. "Please share any challenge or conflict within the last six or twelve months as a *jinetra*?" "How do you handle those conflicts and challenges?"

Now for what I do. I must give 30% of what I earn to the Bar and their business. And the government also takes money away from my fees, taxes from the house I just got. So, they take from all sides and I'm left with very little about 30 and 40 cuc a month. The best thing are the tips. When they give you something?

Then you have to become *jinetra* at night, only when there are clients to work, as a *jinetra*. First, I sing or danced, and if I find a client, then I have to *jinetear*.

It's sing at the bar and then when there's a lot of customers you always get something, then you get paid for a drink, I dance with them, I sing again, I finish singing and they usually invite you to another drink, and then to bed. I get touched many times, but others

are young; and when I arrived at the hotel some just want my company. They checked me at their hotel, and I stayed the night to do what I must do, my job.

- Researcher Notes: ---

She keeps looking down, doesn't look me in the eye, only when she answers the question. She feels sad, I see it in her eyes, and you see her angry because she saw her mouth with fury. She keeps putting her head down and looks at me. But not for long. Put your head down and stay waiting for the next question. I give you time to breathe.

Q6. What role do *jineteras* play in a communist country?

I'm a singer, and as I told you before, and *jinetera* at night. Right now, I don't have a job on what I like to do with is singing. Simply, right now, I just work at night as a *jinetera*. *Jinetera* at night, and in the early morning, when the opportunity presents itself.

Because I am 51 years old, and I have to keep singing and dancing to keep living. That's my life; a few years ago, I went to Greece with the group I worked on and sang that I was in before working with them. But I'm out of a job. Then life got a little harder for any job, even *jineterismo*.

But I had to come back for my mom, family is very important for Cubans, here sometimes family is more important than freedom. My mom' still sick and I have to take care of her.

Survive.

Q7. In Cuba, is it socially acceptable for jineteras to do their job? What role does communism and the Cuban government play, allow what you do?

No, we're never accepted. You are fined and jailed for a day or a week if we pay them 10% to 30% jineteras' salary you get out in one day. The government treats us like dogs.

Q8. Is this problem a socio-economic conflict based on the living conditions?

Yes. You can see what the fuck we are.

- Researcher Notes: ---

She gives me a smile.

Q9. Have you experience abuse as a jinetera? What kind?

Every day is a daily endurance, and you feel the daily abuse. The more years the more abuse, is a daily thing, the abuse is daily everywhere; for example, the new house I have to pay \$1000 to stay with it, if I don't, they will take it away from me and I don't have money for that is very expensive. It's a daily torment. Here they make life impossible, very difficult; I do not have work now I am looking for singer job, I am suffering.

Looking for another group of music that will take me as a singer; the gentleman that I was talking when I was downstairs before was the one who is looking for me a new music group, but I have to keep paying 30% to the bar and taxes to the government.

Being a *jinetera* is an abuse also, there are a couple of them who treat you like dog, bad and you have to give your body to whoever to make money, to survive. We are used to it.

- Researcher Notes: ---

She was very disturbed, distress, and upset after asking the abuse question. I can tell she was feeling uncomfortable towards the end. She liked me as an investigator and as a person, but it was hard for her to control her anger and torment of losing her home and all the other things. I can tell she wanted to scream. She was ready to leave; she couldn't take it anymore. I asked the last two questions quickly. I understood. She was feeling uncomfortable at the end. Not everyone is the same; I respected and protected the women I interviewed by telling them that they can at anytime leave and stop the interview process. I also allow time for them to answer the questions. I was neutral, but at the same time I empathize with the participants which made the process easier.

Q10. How do you find the clients?

In the bar.

Q11. How do you protect yourself from STDs and HIV?

With what is available at the pharmacy. Making a line, always.

- Researcher Notes: ---

The last thing she said before she left was:

“You're a good person Nery. I want you to write everything I've told you, and tell everyone what I've told you so that people see the reality of Cuba, here in order to survive you have to either marry a foreigner and leave Cuba, or sleep with a foreigner for money, so that you can survive and eat and have a home. Life here is dangerous. The

thing about leaving Cuba with a foreigner is that you must be careful get killed on the other side of the river.”

Themes:

1: The Analytical Process of Themes

Step 6: Looking for Metaphors: Highlighted in Blue: get killed on the other side of the river.” I live with that. Imagine, I must hold the bat hard, so I do not get hit with the ball in my face.

Jineteras survived and persevere in hardship times: Yellow: Category: Color Coding (Perceived Experiences, survival, perseverance and empowerment) The color-coded dark yellow highlights the first and second theme as survive as part of the experiences, yellow themes color coding were clustered with words such as: we are used to this. But the Cubans are strong, and we always get ahead; without weakness, put up. Survive. In order to survive; marry a foreigner; leave Cuba, or sleep; foreigner for money; so that you can survive and eat and have a home. survive.

Empowerment is perceived by jineteras as a form of freedom as perseverance, words in the narrative such as, were color red/yellow make money, working, I feel millionaire. These words are part of the participant’s experience, they represent, “perceived experience of survival and empowerment and freedom,” empowerment comes from doing what they want with their bodies, have a better economic opportunity to stuff;

purchasing power and a better economic opportunity. To buy and provide for themselves and their families.

The theme was generated based on the word make money and freedom. With the same color coding in blue to show, freedom to make money, words such as: Words such as, opportunity, make money, work, singer. The only experiences thing keeps; house of a family member who passed away. I have a place to live, customers. I can gain between 40 and 70 cuc in a single night. wish to be anything else or be born anywhere else, but in Havana, I like to be Cuban I am proud to be Cuban; to keep singing and dancing to keep living. I went 'to Greece with the group I worked on and sang.' These words and sentences relate to the participant's experience, they represent experiences.

Experiences: Category: Color Coding (red) "Experiences" (subthemes feminization of poverty, shortage, rape and abuse, intercourse, self-worth, physical abuse, and abandonment): The themes colored in red represent the experiences *jinetera* and the suffering throughout her work. Some of the salient experiences words were in the narrative such as, poverty, nothing, abuse, torture, sadness, hard, crying, *Category: Color Coding (red) "Experiences"*: Words in the narrative such as, nothing, abuse, Being a *jineteras* is an abuse also, there are a couple of them who treat you like dog, bad and you have to give your body to whoever to make money, we are abused, we have no freedom It's always something in this country, some fucking thing. out of a job. Then life got a little harder for any job.

Theme: Continuing to Pursue Education while Working as *Jineteras*: Category: Color Coding: Green: (Experiences, education, economic freedom, technology, love and

companionship) green was given to characterize narrative such as, “work, study(ing) opportunity.” These words are part of the participant’s experience attending school labels formed through color coding were clustered to for ‘themes.’

Conflict/Challenges Government Conflict: Subthemes: Underpaid, government abuse, unemployed, and police. The color-coded purple signifies conflict. Is good to go in-depth throughout the thematic analysis of a life story interviews. I also examined jineteras story details of the conflict narrative of the participants. The following words provide info related to the theme of “conflict,” such as caught, police, jail, dead-end, government takes money away from my fees. Here there is nothing. People, who work, Cuban government. pay the government 1000 cuc, Cuban money to keep the property. From the taxes to be able to take out the and I do not have that amount of money. title of the property and make it mine, they will take everything, the government treats us like dogs. I have to keep paying 30% to the bar and taxes to the government.

Family Theme: Category: Color Coding(brown) “Family” sub-theme single mother, feed children, loss: Detail themes identifying labels by the narration. Words in the narrative such as ‘family’, ‘mother,’ ‘I have to take care mom,’ ‘family member who passed away,’ were color-coded brown, because these words are part of the participant’s background, and represent the same thing, “family/members.” The labels formed through color coding were clustered to for ‘themes and themes. Some additional phrases and words: but I had to come back for my mom, family is very important for Cubans, here

sometimes family is more important than freedom. My mom' still sick and I have to take care of her.

STDs/AIDs and HIV was color coded gray. How do you protect yourself from STDs and HIV?

Jineteras answered HIV/AIDs: With what is available at the pharmacy. Making a line, always.

Jinetera # 3 English Translation:

I met *jinetera* #3 while dancing with a group of singers outside at one of the restaurants in Havana. He told me she was 48 years old when I asked her. She told me she worked at the adjoining restaurant; she pointed with her hand to the restaurant. I told her I was interviewing *jineteras* for my PhD at NSU. I showed her my ID, because she wanted to make sure, and I showed her all my research papers as well. I asked her if she knew any female *jineteras* and where I could find them? She said she was one, we agreed to meet at her restaurant while she was on her break, we can sit anywhere, she mentioned. That's what we did.

Q1. "What is like being a *jinetera*? What is your life as a *jinetera*?"

Q2. "What happens to women who enter the business of *jineterismo* in Cuba? How do you view *jineterismo*?"

Imagine, woman, what a question, *jinetera* is just a name that we were given, that's all, but that means nothing, we are hardworking fighters, and at my 48 years, I dance and sing when I can; here in the restaurant. I'm the one who takes the customers to the bathroom. I have nothing to lose Nery, here it is, wrestling. I am used to it.

Q. How is your job?

My task is to take the restaurant's customers to the bathroom. It's that simple. I stand here at the part where the bar is and when there is someone who wants to go to the bathroom, they call me. I can also handle my job as a *jinetera* in the bathroom. It's on the second floor.

Q. Explain please?

This is what happens when we had a lot of clients some, I liked them and when the bathroom was empty, I would take it there and do it a little favor.

To any of them male or female.

Q. Can you give more details?

Oh, my lady! For example, a man who came to the bathroom goes up with me the stairs, gets down his pants and he gives between 20 or 40 cuc or \$50 dollars, depending if I made them feel happy with condom or no condom. I open the door because I'm the only one who has a key to close the door inside and out then we both go out happy, nothing happens, is internal. All the customers liked the bathroom toilet, it is recommended it to many. And so, it's how I do *jineterismo* is a little slow now but that's how it is.

Many customers return, many, now the thing is slower. Imagine, is low season, and they took away the cruises.

--- Research Notes:

- Her head goes up and down, always moving her lashes as if there are no tips, she told me her work with great discretion, but no shame, that is her job. She has returned businesses, clients and because that's part of her job, she also told me that sometimes she gives something to the restaurant from her tips for being there. She was on a little break when I talked to her. I had to wait for her to sit with me to talk. We are talking, and she keeps checking the tables at the restaurant, the restaurant was empty, but two girls had left 25 cents on the table, and she says, "wait a moment," and she tells the waiter that, "those 25 cents are mine, don't even think about taking it." She got like a fierce and very aggressive towards the waiter, who took the 25 cents and gave it to her, and we kept talking.

Q2. "What happens to women when they enter the business of *horseback jineteras*? How do you see the business of *jineterismo* in Cuba?"

Q3. "What are the experiences or experiences of being a *jinetera*?"

The thing is that Nery here as you know there's a lot of need. In Cuba there are no jobs that pays you all, so there is no work. And the Cubans cannot pay the bills or the house because with 20 or 30 a month it is impossible to pay anything the house is very expensive, like 30 cuc a month, I do not pay 15 cuc, but I am alone. There are families who pay 30 or 40 cuc of rent and it is not enough for them at all. The food is very expensive, everything is expensive, then people throw themselves and fuck in the streets; that's why you see so many people up and down like a lion to look for anything, whatever business we can find on the streets. So, we're all on a survival plan, no matter who you are, if you're a doctor, philosopher, teacher, we are all pretty much the same, we make the same.

Q 3Experiences

People are not foolish we all know that the situation is very difficult but there's not much we can do, because the government if you stand against it you falls to a worst situation and nobody wants to go to jail, because there they are fucked.

I know political prisoners, those are the ones who are worse because of going against the government they put them in jail and from there is no God to take you out; let me explain, I have a cousin who right now he's in jail because he didn't pay the government taxes on a business he did and they put him in jail even after he paid what he owed the government, because they are like this because there are no rules or laws that protect the Cuban on the island. That's how they treat us, badly, it's terrible.

Experiences Q4

Q8. Is this problem a socio-economic conflict based on living conditions?

Experiences, nothing that I am here, alive, I have a job and gain a little more than others doing favors to men and also sometimes women is all part of the survival mode that maybe people from outside do not understand because, you go to the market there's food, they have food everywhere, they have their homes, have their job, and they don't have to be in the way of survival like us. Here you must sell yourself, that's the truth, my friend, I can't lie to you, I'm not lying to you. Do you understand me?

--- Research Notes:

I didn't answer her question, I acknowledge her, she looked at me straight in the eyes, very serious. At this point, *jinetera* # 3 was no longer friendly; when I met her, she was dancing and smiling with the group of singers, now she was serious. She got a bit upset and agitated toward the end of the interview, I asked her questions, she got a little more

serious. But she kept answering. I gave her a bit of break, I looked the other way, because she was too agitated. Then, she smiled, asking me how much longer, and we continued.

Q. Do you think men or people travel here just for sex?

No, there are many who travel with their partners and because they like the weather, the food, etc. Noor all is sex, we are not all *jineteras*, but most men and women traveling alone to the island is to find cheap sex.

Q4. "How did your life change as a *jinetera*? What does it look like?"

I make a little more than the rest, that only works for 30 or 20 cuc a month.

Q5. "Please share any challenge or conflict in the last six or twelve months as a *jinetera*?"

How do you manage these conflicts and challenges?"

My life changed as *jineteras* I earn more, I work a little less than, for example, young people who go with the client to their hotels, I do it from here, the restaurant. Sometimes it's awkward what I do because you have every ugly, dirty guy, but I close my eyes and move forward, they often pay me before I go into the bathroom and then give me more like a tip. And I can do in one night between 20 to 30 cuc when the thing is slow down; and from 30 to 50 when there are many customers.

Q6. What role do *jineteras* play in a communist country?

I tip the musicians, and sometimes I tip those who work with me to shut them up and let me do my job in peace there's a lot of snitches here. (she winks at me). I give them one or two cuc, and to keep them quiet, to leave me alone, because they don't know how much I charge in there and it's my mouth not theirs I'm the one who works.

That's one of the biggest problems here people talk a lot, and they don't know how to be discreet in this hay to be very discrete.

--- Research Notes:

She is very sincere when she speaks, she explains me in detail without any problem. She's calm and the interview is going well.

Q7. In Cuba, is it socially acceptable for jineteras to do their job? What role does communism and the Cuban government play, allow what you do?

You get a fine by the police if they catch you, yes, but it's very difficult for anyone to catch me, because I'm going doing it inside the bathroom. Besides, this is a trade, and the police usually do not intervene in places like this created for the tourist, they leave us alone and respect the trade, because that is what brings money to the country. I close the door unless a snitch tells the cops, but then it would be difficult because everyone in restaurants would have to kick me out and for that, what's the reason. There's no need, and there's no way to prove anything.

Q9. Have you experienced abuse as a jinetera?

Yes, abuse because someone wants "dominance," they often grabbed me by the hair, outraged me, touched my breasts; once one spit at me, an animal and then I hit the floor, and bleed through the nose of the slap that he gave me. I couldn't do anything, you can't do anything, there's no protection for women.

Jineteras or anyone. There is no protection in either my work, nor on the street, there are no rules or regulations in this if we are alone, and all the citizens here there is a very little help from the government this is save yourself who you can.

--- Research Notes:

After she told me this, she thanked me and I thanked her, and she continued her work to get a tip and take the people to the bathroom. She was getting anxious to keep doing her job. I asked the last two questions quickly and stayed there writing. She came by my table to bring me something to drink, with a smile, another group of musicians started to play, and she started to dance again, then I left.

Q10. How do you find the clients?

At the restaurant (she already answers this question at the beginning).

Q11. How do you protect yourself from STDs and HIV?

With a condom or no condom.

Themes:

1: The Analytical Process of Themes

Jineteras survived and persevere in hardship times: Yellow: Category: Color Coding (Perceived Experiences, survival, perseverance and empowerment) The color-coded dark yellow highlights the first and second theme as survive as part of the experiences, yellow themes color coding were clustered with words such as: hardworking fighters, I dance and sing; when I can here in the restaurant. I'm the one who takes the customers to the bathroom. I have nothing, to lose, survive, mode. I am used to it; all on a survival plan, no matter who you are, if you're a doctor, philosopher, teacher, we are all pretty much the same.

These words are part of the participant's experience, they represent, "perceived experience of survival and empowerment and freedom," empowerment comes from doing what they want with their bodies, have a better economic opportunity to stuff; purchasing power and a better economic opportunity. To buy and provide for themselves and their families.

It was generated based on the word make money and freedom. With the same color coding in blue to show, freedom to make money, words such as: Words such as, opportunity, make money, work, dance, nothing I am here, alive, I have a job; gain a little more than others doing favors to men and also sometimes women. is all part of the survival mode; way of survival like us; place to live, customers. I can gain between 40 and 70 cuc in a single night. These words and sentences relate to the participant's experience, they represent experiences.

Experiences: Category: Color Coding (red) theme related to poverty, some of the salient experience's words were in the narrative such as, ugly, dirty, no jobs, terrible, underpaid. Cubans cannot pay the bills; 20 or 30 a month it is impossible to pay; house is very expensive; not enough for them at all. The food is very expensive, everything is expensive, foolish, very difficult. *Theme* Category: Color Coding green *Jineteras* believe they are not Respected or Protected.: people throw themselves and fuck in the streets; that's why you see so many people up and down; abuse, "dominance," grabbed me by the hair, outraged me, touched, breasts; spit, animal; hit the floor, and bleed, nose of the slap me. I couldn't, do, anything, you can't do anything, no protection for women; no

protection in either my work, nor on the street, there are no rules or regulation. We are alone.

Theme: Government Conflicts are Grounded on Lack of Assistance and Abuse

The color-coded purple signifies conflict. The following words provide info related to the theme of “conflict,” such as the following words provide info related to the theme of “conflict,” such as caught, “government” within the story, such as: the government if you stand against it you falls to a worst situation and nobody wants to go to jail, because there they are fucked. fine by the police if they catch you, political prisoners, worse, going against the government, jail, didn't pay the government taxes; after he paid what he owed the government, are no rules or laws; that protect the Cuban on the island; badly, it's terrible. very little help from the government this is save yourself who you can. police usually do not intervene in places like this created for the tourist, they leave us alone and respect the trade.

STDs/AIDs and HIV was color coded gray. How do you protect yourself from STDs and HIV?

Jineteras answered HIV/AIDs: With a condom or no condom.

Jinetera # 4. Translated in English:

She is about 23 years old, and she told me that her birthday would be within two months. She's 23 years old now. She confessed her family doesn't know anything about what she is doing. She was asked to be interviewed on the boardwalk, it is a beautiful walk by the sea, along the Havana Atlantic Ocean. She told me that she's with her mom and grandma

and goes to college in the mornings, and at night she works as a *jinetera*. She's willing to participate in the interview.

Q1. "What is like being a *jinetera*? What is your life as a *jinetera*? How long?"

It's bad to be or work as a *jineteras* we charge cheap money, between 30 and 40 cuc.

Being a *jinetera* now, doesn't pay only 20 or 10 cuc. Because we are in low season, then we lower the price a little and continue looking for customers online. I made a lot of cucs in the summer, I worked doing this since the summer, from six to seven months I did very well that's why I continue.

Q. How online please explain?

Q10. How do you find customers? Where?

I find them online, on social networks, on the internet here in Cuba we have wi-fi in certain places on the island and I go there after eating at home or after school. I am studying Arts and Designs at the University of Havana.

We have a network over the internet where we find customers, for example:

Mejoramor.com

WhatsApp – when you already have the customer's phones you can communicate with them faster by WhatsApp.

Other places to search for customers or advertise online are:

Mobifriends

WhatsApp

Quecontactos

And other places, but WhatsApp is the best.

Then there are other sites that are for homosexuals looking for a partner in Cuba.

Q2. "What happens to women who enter the business of *jineterismo* in Cuba? How do you view *jineterismo* in Cuba?"

We work very hard, harder than the Cuban population.

"Ok, I'll see you later."

--- Research Notes:

As we speak, she receives a phone call. The person tells her something; to that she replied, "OK, see you later. "There is no emotion at this point in our conversation. She's basically answering the questions in a subtle way. Jinetera #4 shows me her wide catalog of photos and emails of her clients on the internet sites quickly.

My job is crazy, I go their hotel room at night and there I do whatever they ask from me, what two people do in bed, sex, the gentleman as if he was under the influence of alcohol, drunk, I left as fast as I could, after the first session. I drink some wine or liquor so I can do the show.

--- Research Notes:

She starts crying when she tells me about her ill grandmother.

I'm 23 years old and it's my work to take care of my grandmother who has problems with her heart. My mom also has a bad leg, and we have no help from relatives outside Cuba. So, when I leave the university I go straight to the house, I eat any meal I find or buy cheap with the money I made last night with a client.

Q. How much did you do last night?

20 cuc. That is equivalent to a month of salary in Cuba.

Q3. "What are the experiences or experiences path of being a *jinetera*?"

Q. Experiences:

My mother doesn't know, nor does my grandmother, what I do afterschool, if they ever find out, they will have a fit and fall to the ground. But the only experiences thing I see in all this is that I can help them with medicines, with heart pills for my Grandma, which are very expensive, super-expensive.

A friend tells me that I am a centrifuge machine making money.

But at least I can help the Grandma, so I feel better, because at the end that's the reward.

She can't live without her meds and we don't have family outside to help us. I must work hard, and I don't have time for anything else.

What are you doing? Experiences:

Q 12. Do you believe tourism only travels to Cuba for sex?

I have to go to bed with ugly, old, horrible people who smell bad, old people who don't bathe or are animals. Some of them have no compassion for what we do, no education, they just come here for one thing sex, don't look for more. Don't try to find an explanation that's what they want, and we want money, we need the money. Sometimes they paid us based on our experiences and what they want, there are many cheap thieves.

--- Notas de investigación:

-She was relaxed. She was willing to tell me her stories. The more he talked to her, the more he tells me, at times he feels comfortable and in others he doesn't. After question 4 she lowers her head and sits on the boardwalk wall. I sit with her. She lights a cigarette and starts smoking.

Q4. "How did your life change as a *jinetra*? What does it look like?"

More work. Now I am and I feel more exhausted/ overwhelm. I have to work more, between the family, school and this. I no longer go out with friends, nor do I have to have a partner.

--- Research Notes:

-She was relaxed. She was willing to tell me her stories. The more he talked to her, the more she tells me, at sometimes he feels comfortable and in others he doesn't. After question 4 she lowers her head and sits on the walls of the Malecon. I sit with her. She lights a cigarette and starts smoking.

Q5. "Please share any challenge or conflict within the last six or twelve months as a *jinetra*?" "How do you handle those conflicts and challenges?"

No, I simply work more. I must support my family, if I didn't, then the conflict would be more or worse, because I have to take care of Grandmother. And where do I get the money if is not doing this? Here the jobs don't pay for people my age, and normal jobs are not paying anything.

Q6. What role do *jineteras* play in a communist country?

A crazy role, with balls.

Q7. In Cuba, is it socially acceptable for *jineteras* to do their work? What role do communism and the Cuban government play; do they allow what you do?

They don't accept us, they put lots of obstacles. And sometimes we have to hide, but for now there are no problems at the moment I haven't had any problems.

Q9. Have you experienced abuse as a *jinetera*?

No.

--- Research Notes:

She gets up from the wall and throws the cigarette, I get up too. She answered all the questions without any problems; she had strong emotions when she talked about her grandmother and her mom. She felt disgusting talking about some of the men and told me they are very dirty.

Q11. How do you protect yourself from STDs and HIV?

With what I can. But there are times when there is no time, or money, or condom, and you have to do it with nothing. I'm not afraid.

--- Notas de investigación:

-She was relaxed. She was willing to tell me her stories. The more he talked to her, the more he tells me, at times he feels comfortable and in others he doesn't. After question 4

she lowers her head and sits on the boardwalk wall. I sit with her. She lights a cigarette and starts smoking.

The Analytical Process of Themes

Step 6: Looking for Metaphors

Metaphors facilitated capture the participant life experience. It converts the entire life-narrative into transitory telling descriptions. For instance, in jineteras' story A friend tells me that I am a centrifuge machine making money. A crazy role, with balls. She knows how to make a lot of money, like a money laundry equipment. Her job is hard, she knows she has to endure to do it. The following themes and subthemes were created based on the perceive life experiences of *jinetera* # 4.

Themes:

Experiences: *Jineteras* survived and persevere in hardship times: Yellow: Category:

Color Coding (Perceived Experiences, survival, perseverance and empowerment)

Empowerment is perceived by jineteras as a form of freedom as perseverance, words in the narrative such as, were color red/yellow make money, working, I feel millionaire.

These words are part of the participant's experience, they represent, "perceived experience of survival and empowerment and freedom," empowerment comes from doing what they want with their bodies, have a better economic opportunity to stuff; purchasing power and a better economic opportunity. To buy and provide for themselves and their families. It was generated based on the word make money and freedom. With the same color coding in blue to show, freedom to make money, words such as:

opportunity, make money, work, study, working, customers medicines, with heart pills for my Grandma.

Theme: Continuing to Pursue Education while Working as Jineteras: Category: Color

Coding: Green: (Experiences, education, economic freedom, technology, love and companionship) green was given to characterize narrative such as, I am studying Arts and Designs at the University of Havana. between 30 and 40 cuc. doing this since the summer, I did very well that's why I continue; I find them online, on social networks, by the internet; wi-fi; Mejoramor.com; WhatsApp – Mobifriends; Quecontactos. Help, my family with medicine. Support, grandmother. I'm not afraid, heart pills. These words are part of the participant's experience, they represent the same thing, "positivity," labels formed through color coding were clustered to for 'themes.'

Experiences: Category: Color Coding (red) theme related to poverty, shortage, rape and abuse, intercourse, self-worth, physical abuse, and abandonment. When asked what the experiences and experiences paths are of being a *jinetra*, these were some of the salient themes experiences.

The themes colored in red represent the experiences *jinetra* #1 and the suffering throughout her work. Experiences: Category: Color Coding green Jineteras believe they are not Respected or Protected. Some of the salient experience's words were in the narrative such as, *nothing*, I have to go to bed with ugly, old, horrible people, smell bad, old people, don't bathe or are animals. No compassion, no education, one thing sex, many cheap thieves. My job is crazy, whatever, sex, alcohol, drunk; expensive, super-

expensive; can't live without her meds More work; exhausted; work more, between the family, school; no friends, nor do I have to have a partner.

Theme: Government Conflicts are Grounded on Lack of Assistance and Abuse

The color-coded purple signifies conflict. The following words provide info related to the theme of "conflict," such as Underpaid, government abuse, unemployed, and police. The color-coded purple signifies conflict. Is good to go in-depth throughout the thematic analysis of a life story interviews. I also examined jineteras story details of the conflict narrative of the participants.

These types of analysis help us recognize conflict dynamics including emotional experiences of conflict and individual conflict styles (Johnston, 2005). The following words provide info related to the theme of "conflict," such as government tries to fuck, without being seen by the police.' *Themes and words related to the government," within the story, such as: They don't accept us, they put lots of obstacles. And sometimes we have to hide, but for now there are no problems at the moment I haven't had any problems.*

Family Theme: Category: Color Coding(brown) "Family" subtheme single mother, feed children, loss: Detail themes identifying labels by the narration. Words in the narrative such as

'we don't have family outside; support; my family, Grandmother, mother, were color-coded brown, because these words are part of the participant's background, and represent the same thing, "family/members." The labels formed through color coding were clustered to for 'themes and themes.'

STDs/AIDs and HIV was color coded gray. How do you protect yourself from STDs and HIV?

With what I can. But there are times when there is no time, or money, or condom, and you have to do it with nothing.

Jinetera # 5 Translated to English:

I met her at a restaurant, she's sitting with another women. We sat at another table in the same place. I explained that this was an investigation for my Ph.D. at NSU. She agreed to talk to me and do the interview. Without a problem. She was 40 years old.

Q1. "What is like being a jinetera? What is your life as a jinetera? How long?"

I have to feed my two sons; the father left us to move to the United States 5 years ago. He left us alone here with nothing, I don't know what happened, he looked for another woman, and he doesn't want to claim us; then the options for me are very limited. I never went to school, my husband always worked for us, but the moment he left the island, he forgot about us completely. I only received a final letter telling us that he loved us, that we would see each other again, but that he couldn't return; things are difficult in Miami. He told me, "appearances are never what they seemed like."

That no one helped him, that the Cubans in Miami changed, and nothing was like Cuba. He told me, "here in Miami is about save yourself if you can, the Cubans do not help me." Then he kept calling me, and they told me he fell in love again and has two daughters. Imagine what son of a bitch the bastard came out to be. So, for the last five years, I am looking for a way out of the country through the embassy or with an

international husband. Many men and women come here looking for a partner, and they all want something special. Not everything is sex some want a partner, someone to talk to, share the nights and days here in Cuba. Many are depressed because they got divorced or the woman left them and then they arrived here in Havana to look for or looking for a company. Someone to talk, to share, someone to enjoy their time.

---Research Notes:

She was affected by what her husband did to her, leaving her in Cuba with two children. She was furious and, at the same time, a little mad. She was overwhelmed with everything that she had to deal with and her two children without any help.

Q2. “What happens to women who enter the business of jineterismo in Cuba? How do you view jineterismo in Cuba?”

What happens is what always happens, as I am telling you some want sex, but I have had many that want a partner. Some stay in the hotels for two or three weeks, and I stay with them, is *jineterimo* for a long period.

It depends on what they are looking for, a partner, someone to talk to, share the love. They fall in love, which is what happened to me now with a Canadian gentleman who was here for three weeks and he already left. A very wise man, with a lot of money. He has his wife there in Canada, but well, we keep in touch, he promised to come back.

--- Research Notes:

She is telling me her story and when she talks about the Canadian, her eyes water, like if she is going to cry. Then, I give her a few minutes to make her feel better, and then she keeps talking. Many of the questions, she answered at the beginning.

Q3. “What are the experiences or experiences path of being a jinetera?”

So, I really like him, but I have to wait to see what happens. I might fall in love, but with men you never know, and less with foreigners. He writes to me and that makes me happy. Before leaving he told me he would return in the summer 2020. But this time he wants to go to the beach. He wants to rent a house in Varadero and be there with me for a week or two. We communicate by mail he wants me to send him letters and photos of me and he also sends me photos and letters, of course everything is through his work. He also sends me gifts and many times up to money between 20 or 50 cc.

The man has been good, well, as far as I am concerned, I am a fool and felt in love. The good thing is that he pays me while he is here or gives me to be with him for a week between 150 and 200 cuc that is not bad, because I like him a lot. Then, I enjoy and at the same time charge for it.

--- Research Notes:

She winks at me as a form of letting me know that she is doing well with the man, and apparently their relationship is a long term.

Q3. “What are the experiences or experiences path of being a jinetera?”

Experiences

Well if you ask me, what is the experiences of all this I would say that I miss him terribly since he left this summer we talked a lot by WhatsApp, by mail, he also sent him many photos but the worst of all is that I do not see him and I have to continue working as a jinetera to help my family and my two children. I am trying to see if I can find another man like him for a long relationship, and that I like. Because I already 40 years old and I'm not for that one night and give it. Ay! I cannot stand that I do it out of necessity or that is when the opportunity arises because I am a nurse and I work helping the old people and here in Havana too but that nurse's job is temporary, that is, it's only in the morning and I don't pay anything 20 cuc a month is the maximum. If he keeps sending me money 20, 30, 40 cuc, I will be fine. Easy. But if the man lets me go, then I'll go back again to keep looking for the one nightstand. Now, I'm contacting the hotels here leaving my information, with my photos in case a man presents himself for a long period relationship to see if he likes me. And instead of having one, I have two, and then the experiences become experiences. Although I love him very much, the Canadian, he has his wife, and I must keep going and keep moving.

Q4. "How did your life change as a jinetera? What does it look like?"

Well my life changed terribly when my husband left me, so I had to do the impossible, the impossible, and go outside and look for a man to be able to pay for everything in the house, the food of my children, my family, it was a very hard change, from day to night. Because, I was always the woman of the house, my husband's wife, a one-man woman; and now at 40 years old I am open for the first one to come and I get me out of Cuba with my children. Find someone to take care of me or sell my body until I can. At the moment

I am enjoying him and his money. In Cuba people go through hardship, and we must move forward. However, you can my friend, now times are not the same and I am no longer 20 years old, it is time to find peace of mind with someone who maintains me and my children. I am praying to all the saints that this man does stay, because the father of the children was a scoundrel.

--- Research Notes:

-Emotions: She is very truthful, her body language tells me a lot, that she got hurt a lot by the situation with her husband leaving her. She cried when she talked about her ex-husband who married in Miami and abandoned her and her two children. She did not want to talk to me much about the government, she simply told me that there were very bad things in Cuba, but she did not want to talk much about her jineterismo and the government, she was afraid, but in everything else answered all the questions.

Q6. What role do jineteras play in a communist country?

Q7. In Cuba, is it socially acceptable for jineteras to do their work? What role do communism and the Cuban government play; do they allow what you do?

Here you cannot believe anyone; anyone can throw you under the bus.

So, I better not talk about that, sorry Nery.

Q5. "Please share any challenge or conflict within the last six or twelve months as a jinetera?" "How do you handle those conflicts and challenges?"

There are various conflicts, the conflict that there is no food, the conflict of housing, the conflict of medicine, diseases, the conflict for me is emotional, because I fell in love with this Canadian and now well let's see what happens. Then there are various conflicts, the way I handle them for them is at 11 the food they give us is very little, as a nurse what I make is too little, I do have several friendships that make food because I live in Regla. And then they sell me food when I get home after work, I don't work in Havana; so, like at 12:00 I get the food and take it to the house. I heat it up and I give it to my children and the family, to the aunt, any of the family that comes cousin, whatever, the second conflict is the housing and I have a house thanks God they have not taken it from me at the moment. The other conflicts of the diseases and the lack of medicine. I have no help from outside. Then it gets a little difficult and every time they tell us that there is medicine you run to purchase extra in the pharmacy. It is a continuous, I could say a continuous suffering, a continuous worrying, that's how easy it is to explain.

Q11. How do you protect yourself from STDs and HIV?

Well, my friend is already touched a point that I can tell you that there I do protect myself because I am 40 years old now, and soon I will be 41 and I have two children and although they do not know, if they asked me what I do at the moment is to tell them I have a boyfriend, they don't have to know. Because that is my life, and I am the one who is keeping them at the end of the day. Well, returning the question, I go to the pharmacy here in order, I go to the Havana pharmacy I make the line, I take my time to make the line, to buy vaginal medicine, condoms, protection, any kind of protection, because I can tell you that there are enough diseases everywhere there are too many tourists too many people too many jineteras and it is impossible. You must take care.

Q9. Have you experience abuse as a jinetera? What kind?

It has not happened to me, but if I hear of cases of abuse that men hit some jineteras, they spit the police put in jail the woman, that we are the ones abusing them; that is it is client abuse and government police abuse but that is the only thing I can tell you; as I tell you that with the Canadian are long-term customer relationships is what I'm looking for.

Themes:

1: The Analytical Process of Themes

Experiences; Category: Color Coding: Green: (Experiences, education, economic freedom, technology, love and companionship) green was given to characterize narrative such as, opportunity he would return in the summer 2020. But this time he wants to go to the beach. He wants to rent a house in Varadero and be there with me for a week or two. We communicate by mail; he wants me to send him letters; photos of me; and he also sends me photos and letters; sends me gifts; money between 20 or 50 cuc. I am a nurse; work; helping the old people. These words are part of the participant's experience, they represent the same thing, "experiences," labels formed through color coding were clustered to for 'themes.'

These words are part of the participant's experience, they represent the same thing, "positivity," labels formed through color coding were clustered to for 'themes.' When asked what the experiences and experiences paths are of being a jinetera, these were some of the salient theme's experiences.

Experiences: Category: Color Coding (red) “Experiences” (subthemes feminization of poverty, shortage, rape and abuse, intercourse, self-worth, physical abuse, and abandonment): The themes colored in red represent the experiences jinetera #1 and the suffering throughout her work. Some of the salient experiences words were in the narrative such as, Category: Color Coding (red) “Experiences”: Words in the narrative such as, I have to feed my two sons, the father left, husband, abandoned; United States 5 years ago. He left us alone; with nothing; another woman; and he doesn’t want to claim us; then the options for me are very limited. I never; went to school, he forgot about us completely. Because I already 40 years old and I'm not for that one night and give it; out of necessity or job is temporary, I don't pay anything 20 cuc a month is the maximum. No family outside; no help. work hard, maintain; enough diseases everywhere there are too many tourists too, impossible.

Conflict/Challenges Government Conflict: Subthemes: Underpaid, government abuse, unemployed, and police. The color-coded purple signifies conflict. Is good to go in-depth throughout the thematic analysis of a life story interviews. I also examined jineteras story details of the conflict narrative of the participants. These types of analysis help us recognize conflict dynamics including emotional experiences of conflict and individual conflict styles (Johnston, 2005), The following words provide info related to the theme of “conflict,” within the story, such as: abusing; client, abuse, and government police abuse. She did not want to talk to me much about the government, she simply told me that there were very bad things in Cuba, but she did not want to talk much about her jineterismo and the government, she was afraid, but in everything else answered all the questions, she stated, “ I better not talk about that, sorry Nery.”

Family Theme: Category: Color Coding(brown) “Family” subtheme single mother, feed children, loss: Detail themes identifying labels by the narration. Words in the narrative such as husband left me, my children, my family, aunt, any of the family, cousin, family and my two children ‘father,’ were color-coded yellow, because these words are part of the participant’s background, and represent the same thing, “family/members.” The labels formed through color coding were clustered to for ‘themes.’

STDs/AIDs and HIV was color coded gray. How do you protect yourself from STDs and HIV?

There are enough diseases everywhere there are too many tourists too many people too many jineteras and it is impossible. You must take care. 40 years old ;41, I have two children; boyfriend; is my life, pharmacy; make the line, buy vaginal medicine, condoms, protection, any kind of protection, you must take care.

Jinetera # 6 Translated to English:

She is a young girl in her 20s. She wanted to be interviewed. I invited her to the hotel to sit with me and let's talk about her life as a *jinetera*.

Q1. “What is like being a *jinetera*? What is your life as a *jinetera*? How long?

I am 20 years old, and I work as a *jinetera*. I have a two-month-old girl that my mother takes care of her at the moment. I am a single mother because my husband does not accept that I worked as a *jinetera*; but it is the only way to pay for my baby's milk and everything else. Anyways, he is not the father of my daughter, he married me, but the

father of my daughter is a foreigner. He lives in Spain, I sent him several letters, and he does not want to be responsible for his two-month-old baby, who is a beautiful girl, beautiful blue-eyed, blonde and just like her dad. Then, I am here suffering until I can leave this paradise and find a better life in other places.

Research notes:

She is disturbed, being a single mother, and not having the father for her daughter to take care of the little one. She is 20yrs old; she sits with me; she is eating. Meanwhile, I ask her questions.

Q2. “What happens to women who enter the business of *jineterismo* in Cuba? How do you view *jineterismo* in Cuba?”

I do not live here in Havana. Well, I live here now with my mother, but I am from Pinar del Río. When my mother decided to move to Havana, that was when I met my daughter's father. I went out with him I got pregnant and now I have my two-month-old baby. But my whole family from my mother's side lives in Pinar del Río. My mother and I are here alone in Havana. I recently married my boyfriend, because he wanted to take care of the baby, but he puts too many conditions, he is abusive, and tries to control that I can't be a *jinetera*, but I must, there is no other way. I must feed my baby and find milk for her. Save money.

Q3. “What are the experiences or experiences path of being a *jinetera*?”

Experiences

This job is very difficult. But you survive. It is neither an office job, nor a professional job, is a job to eat. That's the only experiences.

I don't do this job every day, because I also work in a restaurant as a waitress, and I also try to get tips. I'm studying in the mornings.

What do you study? I'm studying language, and I also think I'm going to change now to do journalism. I'm very interested in that field too. I like to be in front of the cameras, so this being a *jinetra* is something that I do very little. I work in a restaurant, and I study.

The most important, if there is a client who showed up at the restaurant, then we coordinate and do something, but for me, it is not a fixed job, because there are many diseases, a lot of crazy people, and the truth is that when you have a child already, things kind of change. Now I think more about my baby, than the money. With what I have at the moment, it satisfies my expenses; my mom helps me a lot because she is a psychologist and works here at the University of Havana.

Q4. "How did your life change as a *jinetra*? What does it look like?"

My life has not changed much, because I do not do it all the time. What did change was that I never thought I would get pregnant, that was something unexpected and I did think about it before I had my baby, but also my mother supported me; and she told me that the same thing happened to her when she had me, unexpected. She told me that I was a miracle of life and babies are miracles. And then I decided to have my baby, no matter what will happen and thank God she is a very healthy 2 month old girl and my mom is taking care of her and I also put her in the nursery and when I arrived from school I take care of her and then we take turns. Here many people help me with my baby, my friend, neighbors, my mother, in that part I thank God. I have no problem. The only problem is

that sometimes there is no milk and then that makes thing a little more difficult, but then we are always on the lookout from one place to another and we find the milk.

Q5. “Please share any challenge or conflict within the last six or twelve months as a *jinetera*?” “How do you handle those conflicts and challenges?” experiences

Between my mother and I, we work very hard so that this baby does not lack food, its milk, her food, that my mother also makes food and boils it for her, that is. It is very important for me that my baby is healthy. Then when that does not happen when we do not have the resources and they pour the water in the house sometimes it goes to the full water and the man comes with the truck and the hose and begins to pour water into the house and that has happened to us this month 3 times and then if you do not have water to bathe or to bathe your baby that is very a problem this house here in Havana is quite old is quite destroyed then here the thing about the house is very difficult to get another place to move in Pinar del Río we have a bigger house that my mom is thinking that if we cannot change accommodation within a month or two already next year we move to Pinar del Río again and so we have we are with the family and the matter easier Then now basically what we are is surviving seeing how we can take care of the baby while I work study and then already if there is not the house that is very difficult here in Havana what government does not help then it is preferable to move to be in a little more comfortable for the baby.

Research Notes:

- When I ask this question, she smiles, she looks at me, breathes, and she explains the situation that is happening. Normal.

- Emotions: when she mentions her baby, it is the most important thing at that moment, nothing else matters. The work, the money, is not as crucial as her baby. She loves her little girl, and she wants the best for her; she becomes very emotional and sad, thinking she has no milk or milk powder or any milk to give to her baby. Jinetera and her mother are thinking of moving back to Pinar del Río; because at least there she has more family that can help them a little better, because now they are alone in Havana. When she mentions the Spaniard that left her pregnant and left and does not answer her, she gets very emotional and sad. But the conversation continued, she told me she got married because the girl needs a dad and the boy was her boyfriend before, and he offered to take care of her daughter. Still, she is not very happy with the relationship because she wants to continue making money as a *jinetera*, and the husband does not want that. Then, because of what she tells me and the way she expresses herself, and her body language is telling me that she also wants to leave Havana to live in Pinar del Río.

Q. If you move, can you find a job, and can you continue studying?

Yes, I think so, why not, I can continue studying there, maybe study a little more English and study more language among other things. The truth is that moving back to Pinar del Río would be a little more flexible for me than the pressure I have now here living in Havana; without water and with thirst; and now there is no electricity since august. The electricity was shut down, and the heat has been unbearable this summer, without air conditioning and without a fan. The worst thing about Pinar del Río is that if something serious happens we get stuck, and how do we get out if we need a ferry and there is no oil? Right now, since august the United States signed a law against ships and because of

that there is no longer gas and petroleum. We are screw. The ferries that take us to Pinar del Rio are no longer working every day, or are behind schedule, because of the problem with petroleum. It is a little difficult to get in and out of Pinar del Río right now. That is the only thing that worries me, but I hope that soon we can have oil, and have more ships going to Pinar del Rio.

Q6. What role do *jineteras* play in a communist country?

It is a doctrine to live in this country, not just for the *jinetera*, for everyone. It is similar to Hitler and the Jews. This here is Marxism and Leninism. Fascism. We're all indoctrinated to do the same thing, survive. I must take responsibility for my family. The government of Cuba copied its laws from German Nazism that allows prosecutors to punish only thinking of having a thought.

While you go to school, the government pay for mostly everything, in college too, you have to buy the books and other things, but the school here is free, but what is that good for, if when you graduate they don't pay anything for students, then you're working for free to the government. The same goes for medicine, there isn't, you have to buy it on the black market. And why do we want the free medical service, if there are no medicines to cure us?

Q7. In Cuba, is it socially acceptable for *jineteras* to do their work? What role do communism and the Cuban government play; do they allow what you do?

At this time, I could not save anyone who can but I think they have left us a little quieter and a quiet work restaurant I make my tip and I do not have to worry that someone is watching when I go out with a client afterwards I am neither pretentious nor I dress like

this extravagant is normal but you have to be careful with that with which I don't want to mention

Q8. Is this problem a socio-economic conflict based on the living conditions?

For what we are going through it is a socio-economic problem, obviously, yes, here they pay very little and we only live thanks to the tips of foreigners. So, tourism here is very important for us.

Q How do you see the *jinetera* field?

As a way of survival. In a country so scarce. On an island that we produce nothing but work and sugar we live from those who come from abroad.

Q9. Have you experience abuse as a *jinetera*? What kind?

Of course, of course *there is abuse*, I personally have not experience anything like that, because to be honest, I know how to choose the client. Well, I prefer that some young Mexicans. Mexicans, Americans, because here they come from all places, even Chinese; but I know more or less how to *choose them, the ones that do not have an aggressive face*, that they are not very big and physically strong man; just in case. I don't have too much experience doing this, I do not have much experience about "abuse."

I also don't think if it happens to me, I won't let it happen. I am smart. I'm not letting them abuse me. The abuse they did to me was the Spanish guy who got me pregnant and then he left, and he doesn't want to take responsibility for his baby. I hope one day he recapacitate and he knows where I live, and he returns.

Because men don't grow up, they are small children. We are the ones who have to do everything. Everything.

Q10. How do you find the clients? Where?

Almost always in the restaurant that worked on when I talk to them, we agree on something and then we go out after work.

Q11. How do you protect yourself from STDs and HIV?

My mother is the one who is aware of all that and I always protect myself. way to sleep with one if nothing without protection always protect me Because I think of my girl who needs me for many years and you need me young needs healthy and strong to be able to help you grow up So that's what gives me the wisdom to always protect myself.

The Analytical Process of Themes

Perceived Experiences

Jineteras survived and persevere in hardship times: Yellow: Category: Color Coding (Perceived Experiences, survival, perseverance and empowerment) The color-coded dark yellow highlights the first and second theme as survive as part of the experiences, yellow themes color coding were clustered with words such as: (Experiences, education, economic freedom, technology, love and companionship): Words in the narrative such as: work in a restaurant as a waitress, and I also try to get tips. Theme: Continuing to Pursue Education while Working as *Jineteras*: Category: Color Coding: Green: I'm studying in the mornings.

Empowerment is perceived by *jineteras* as a form of freedom as perseverance, words in the narrative such as, were color red/yellow make money, working, buying, oportunity. These words are part of the participant's experience, they represent, "perceived experience of survival and empowerment and freedom," empowerment comes from doing what they want with their bodies, have a better economic opportunity to stuff;

purchasing power and a better economic opportunity. To buy and provide for themselves and their families. Prostitution is seemed as an opportunity *make, money, work. Study, working, customers.* These words are part of the participant's experience, they represent the same thing, "*experiences,*" labels formed through color coding were clustered to for 'themes.'

Category: Color Coding (brown) "Family": Detail themes identifying labels by the narration. Words in the narrative such as '*mother, met my daughter's father; pregnant and now I have my two-month-old baby. But my whole family from my mother's side lives in Pinar del Río. My mother. I recently married my boyfriend, because he wanted to take care of the baby,*' were color-coded brown, because these words are part of the participant's background, and represent the same thing, Experiences: Category: Color Coding gray, Some Jineteras Experienced Abandonment from Family Members, and others. "*family/members.*" *The labels formed through color coding were clustered to for 'themes.'*

Experiences: Category: Color Coding (red) theme related to poverty Words in the narrative such as, *nothing, no food, no milk, no food, cries, cry, sadness, hard, crying, non-stop, not easy, tourism, anything* many conditions, Experiences: Category: Color Coding green *Jineteras* believe they are not Respected or Protected. The is abusive and tries to control. Then when that does not happen when we do not have the resources and they pour the water in the house sometimes it goes to the full water ;truck and the hose; to pour water; house; happened to us this month 3 times; do not have water to bathe or to

bathe your baby; problem this house here in Havana is quite old is quite destroyed, very difficult. Surviving

These words are part of the participant's experience, they represent the same thing, "*experiences*," labels formed through color coding were clustered to for 'themes.'

Theme: Government Conflicts are Grounded on Lack of Assistance and Abuse

The color-coded purple signifies conflict. The following words provide info related to the theme of "conflict," such as: *here in Havana what government does not help then it is preferable to move to be in a little more comfortable for the baby; the government pay for mostly everything, in college too, you have to buy the books and other things, but the school here is free, but what is that good for, if when you graduate they don't pay anything for students, then you're working for free to the government.* The same goes for medicine, there isn't, you have to buy it on the black market. And why do we want the free medical service, if there are no medicines to cure us? not save anyone; left us a little quieter; a quiet work restaurant; I make my tip ;I do not have to worry that someone is watching when I go out with a client.

STDs/AIDs and HIV were color-coded gray. How do you protect yourself from STDs and HIV?

Jineteras answered HIV/AIDs

I always protect myself.

Nothing without protection always protect me always protect myself.

Jinetera # 7 Translated to English:

The seventh *jinetera* I met her outside the hotel by recommendation of one of the employees who works at the hotel who introduced her to me around 9 o'clock at night. She's 35 years old and a *jinetera* she was relaxed because she could talk to me quietly inside. We talked, she agreed to participate in the investigation. Some of them knew what I was doing beforehand, that I was doing an investigation.

Q. 1 How do you feel being a *Jinetera*?" "What's your life like as a *jinetera*?"

Thank you for having me here. I just wanted to explain that my childhood was not very good. I was abused and raped at a very young age when I was 14 years old. My stepfather drank a lot, and every night he be drunk and rapped me. My mother was never in the house because she was working, she is a dancer, and she also works in a restaurant at night. He will take care of me at night when I was a kid and took advantage of me. He is very cruel, and when he got tired of me, he sold me for my body.

Those houses are specifically for young women like me, little girls 10, 11, 12, 14 years old. I met many little girls whom they raped and would do with them what she wanted.

Older men repulsive, young people, all kinds of man rapists, abusers. So, my life as a *jinetera* is m***** (shit), and I keep doing it. But right now, I have no choice, because I already have two children, a boy, and a girl, and it helps me make money to pay for everything I want, and what they want. So, fuck it.

---Research Notes:

When she speaks, she's firm. She drinks water and continues with the questions. She felt comfortable talking inside the hotel because I kept asking her. She said she likes me. Her way of behaving tells me she's been through some tough things in life. Difficult. She tells me her story as it happened to someone else, not to her. She doesn't cry; she doesn't intend to cry, she's firm in her movements, and her words. I listen and ask.

Q2. "What happens to women when they enter the business of horseback *jineteras*? How do you see the business of *jineterismo* in Cuba?

How I told you is a m***** (shit) is a way to make money.

Q3. "What are the experiences or experiences of being a *jinetera*?"

Q4. "How do I change your life as a *jinetera*? What does it look like?"

Experiences - She answered that question

Getting out of those houses, I survived. I have my grandparents also who live here near Havana. Also, in these places, they drug you with a handkerchief, so they don't have to hear the screams of the girls when they rape them. Then I found out that they give us chloroformed to make us weaker and do whatever they wanted. I felt weak at night, vomited, and a lot of pain in the head for several months.

She was a good person, not like my mother. May she rest in peace. My grandmother after, that, the first thing she did was take you to the doctor. I was dehydrated. I was very sick. Later on, I fell in love and married. Later, I got a divorce and met my current boyfriend and another man who loves me very much as well.

I'm only with clients who have a lot of money, between 50 to 100 cuc or a little more sometimes I get to do 200 cuc when there are a lot of customers. And that's what do, it doesn't give me too much free time. I'm tranquil in the house with the kids.

---Research Notes:

She burst into a little cry when she tells me about her grandmother. It was a sweet moment for her to see her relatives again and get out of where she was. I gave her time to recuperate. Meanwhile, she drinks water.

Q5. "Please share any challenge or conflict in the last six or twelve months as a *jinetera*?"
How do you manage these conflicts and challenges?"

Experiences

My stepfather a day after he raped me thousands of times he said, "Take a suitcase, put your clothes on and everything you want to put on it, that you will be away in another house."

My mom never really cared much about me and never went looking for me. Then, I was raped by different men.

Q. How does the business work in those homes?

It's all money based. Those are prostitutes' houses, and it's a pretty strong business here in Cuba. This happens from Havana to Cienfuegos, and Matanzas. I have learned that there are all kinds of prostitution houses, with children, teenagers, and women. So, this disgusts me I feel that I was treated like a dog like a jungle animal and these are things that you don't forget, though and/or I try not to think about it, memories are never erased, woman.

---Research Notes:

-When she was telling me the story her expression changed completely. Especially when she told me about her stepfather and the continuous abuse for her, that her stepfather raped at 14 years old. She conducted herself as a mature woman with her body, her face, everything told me that she's been through a lot and that she had suffered a lot. Based on her story, and her body language she tells me she had to experience a lot negativity in her life. She gets agitated mostly when she tells me the story of those houses. She didn't explain in detail what they do to the kids exactly in those houses. I just listened, without pressure, or digging into the subject much, without forcing anything, just asking the questions and let her answer me how she feels.

Q7. In Cuba, is it socially acceptable for *jineteras* to do their job? What role does communism and the Cuban government play, allow what you do?

Q6. What role do *jineteras* play in a communist country?

They allow what I do, because if they catch me, I give them money. And that's it.

Q8. Is there a socio-economic conflict based on living conditions?

Yes, it's all fucked up.

Q9. Have you experienced abuse as a *jinetera*?

Just as a child, without me wanting it. Now I'm taken care of by the two beautiful men I have in my life.

Q10. How do you find customers?

That's not my problem, I have to get them for me.

Q11. How is it protected from sexually transmitted diseases such as STDs and HIV?

I do not know.

Q12. Do you think tourism only travels to Cuba by sex?

Yes, I think so. Almost everyone, unless they travel as a couple, and so and so there are couples who want to have sex with other people.

---Research Notes:

The research was milder with her and asked her softer questions. She was tired; she couldn't do it anymore; she thanked me and left.

The Analytical Process of Themes

Jineteras survived and persevere in hardship times: Yellow: Category: Color Coding

(Perceived Experiences, survival, perseverance, and empowerment) Experiences:

Category: Color Coding green Jineteras believe they are not Respected or Protected. The themes colored in green represent the experiences jinetera #1 and the suffering throughout her work. Some of the salient words were in the narrative such as, *survive, get out of the house. Abuse stopped, the rapped stopped.*

was able to have my two sons with the grace God and the grandparents who cared for me and they protected; 20 years of age I fell in love and married.

Experiences: Category: Color Coding (red) “Experiences” (subthemes feminization of poverty, shortage, rape and abuse, intercourse, self-worth, physical abuse, and abandonment): When asked what the experiences and experiences paths are of being a jinetera, these were some of the salient themes experiences.

Experiences: Category: Color Coding (red) theme related to poverty. Poverty, and nothing. Experiences: Category: Color Coding green Jineteras believe they are not Respected or Protected. The themes colored in green represent the experiences and the suffering throughout her work. Some of the salient words were in the narrative such as, *I was abused and raped at a very young age, when I was 14 years old. My stepfather drank a lot and every night he be drunk and rapped me. He is very cruel and when he got tired of me, he started selling me; houses; little girls 10, 11, 12, 14 years old. I met many little girls who they raped and would do with them what she wanted. Old men repulsive, young people, all kinds of man rapists, abusers. So, my life as a jinetera is m***** (shit).*

handkerchief, so they don't have to hear the screams of the girls when they rape them.

Then I found out that they give us chloroformed to make us weaker and do whatever they wanted. I felt very weak at night, vomited, and a lot of pain in the head for several months. Treated like dogs.

don't have to hear the screams of the girls when they rape them. Then I found out that they give us chloroformed to make us weaker and do whatever they wanted. I felt very weak at night, vomited, and a lot of pain in the head for several months.

I was walking all night not knowing where I was.

And you can imagine all the things I had; I was very sick. Later, I got a divorce.

Theme: Government Conflicts are Grounded on Lack of Assistance and Abuse

The color-coded purple signifies conflict. The following words provide info related to the theme of “conflict,” such as: they allow what I do, because if they catch me, I give them money. And that's it.

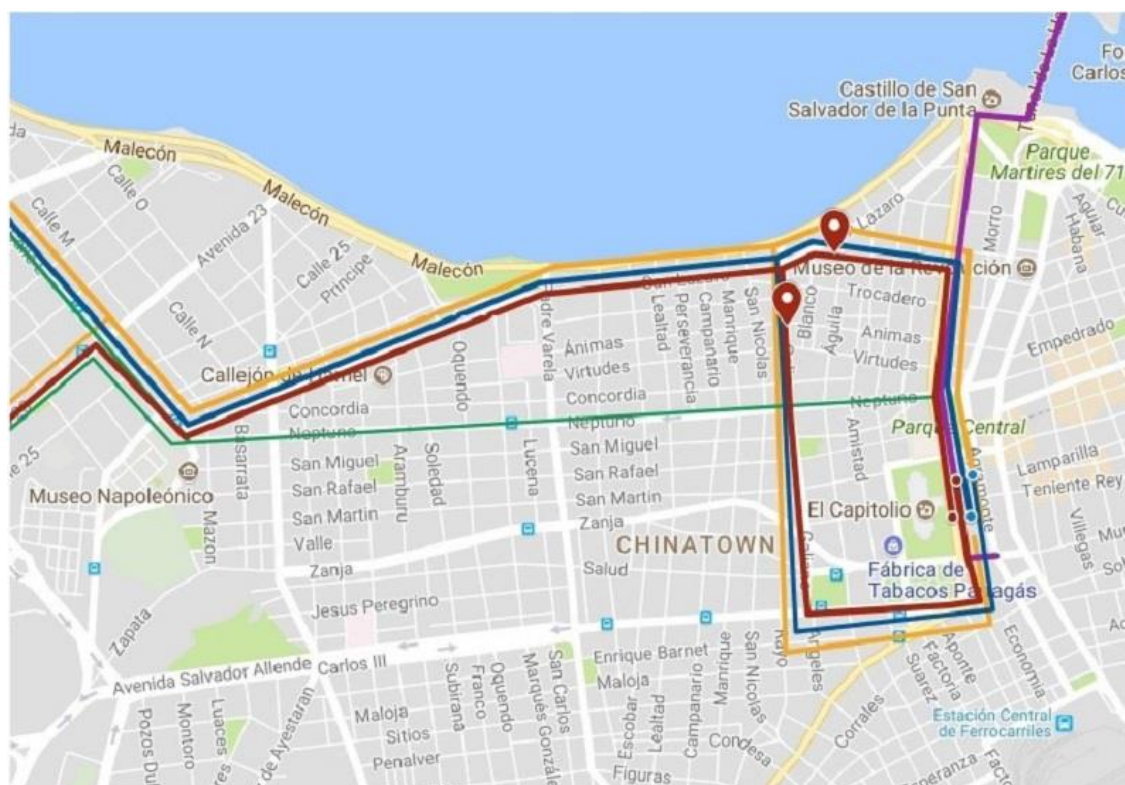
Family Theme: Category: Color Coding (brown) “Family” subtheme single mother, feed children, loss: Detail themes identifying labels by the narration. Words in the narrative such as

“family’, ‘kid,’ ‘children,’ ‘stepfather,’ ‘mother,’ ‘father,’ grandmother and grandfather were color-coded, because these words are part of the participant’s background, and represent the same thing, “family/members.” The labels formed through color coding were clustered to for ‘themes.’

STDs/AIDs and HIV was color coded gray. How do you protect yourself from STDs and HIV? I do not know.

Appendix C: Map of the Interview Locations in Havana, Cuba.

Map of the Interview Locations in Havana, Cuba



Appendix D: Interview Questions for *Jineteras* in English and Spanish

Q1. “What is like being a *jinetera*? What is your life as a *jinetera*? How long?

Q2. “What happens to women who enter the business of *jineterismo* in Cuba? How do you view *jineterismo* in Cuba?”

Q3. “What are the experiences or experiences path of being a *jinetera*?”

Q4. “How did your life change as a *jinetera*? What does it look like?”

Q5. “Please share any challenge or conflict within the last six or twelve months as a *jinetera*?” “How do you handle those conflicts and challenges?”

Q6. What role do *jineteras* play in a communist country?

Q7. In Cuba, is it socially acceptable for *jineteras* to do their work? What role do communism and the Cuban government play; do they allow what you do?

Q8. Is this problem a socio-economic conflict based on the living conditions?

Q9. Have you experience abuse as a *jinetera*? What kind?

Q10. How do you find the clients? Where?

Q11. How do you protect yourself from STDs and HIV?

Q 12. Do you believe tourism only travels to Cuba for sex?

Spanish Questions:

Q1. “¿Cómo te sientes siendo *Jinetera*?” “¿¿ Como es tu vida como jinetera?” “¿Cuánto tiempo?”

Q2. “¿Qué les pasa a las mujeres cuando entran al campo de *jineterismo*? ¿Como ves el campo de *jineterismo* en Cuba?

Q3. "¿Qué es lo positivo o negativo de ser *jinetera*?"

Q4. "¿Cómo cambio tu vida como *jinetera*? ¿Cómo se ve?"

Q5. "Por favor comparte cualquier desafío o conflicto en los últimos seis o doce meses como jinetera? "¿Cómo manejas esos conflictos y desafíos?"

Q6. ¿Qué papel juegan las *jineteras* en un país comunista?

Q7. En Cuba, ¿es socialmente aceptable que las *jineteras* hagan su trabajo? ¿Qué papel juega el comunismo y el gobierno cubano, permiten lo que haces?

Q8. ¿Es este problema un conflicto socioeconómico basado en las condiciones de vida?

Q9. ¿Has experimentado abuso como *jinetera*? ¿De qué tipo?

Q10. ¿Cómo encuentras a los clientes? ¿Dónde?

Q11. ¿Cómo se protege de las enfermedades de transmisión sexual como el STDs y el HIV?

Q12. ¿Crees que el turismo sólo viaja a Cuba por sexo?