



Tourism and the commercial sexual exploitation of children

In Jamaica and the Dominican Republic



Save the Children works for:

- A world which respects and values each child
- A world which listens to children and learns
- A world where all children have hope and opportunity

Save the Children fights for children's rights.

We deliver immediate and lasting improvements to children's lives worldwide.

This report is written by Julia O'Connell Davidson, School of Sociology and Social Policy at The University of Nottingham, and Jacqueline Sanchez Taylor, Department of Sociology at The University of Warwick.

ISBN 91-89366-92-1

Code no: 2001-2698

© 2001 Save the Children Sweden

Authors: Julia O'Connell Davidson & Jacqueline Sanchez Taylor

Project leader: Ola Florin

Production management: Ola Höiden

Graphic Design: Petra Handin, Kapsyl Reklam

Printed by: Partnerprint AB

Save the Children Sweden

107 88 Stockholm

Phone: +46 8 698 90 20

Fax: +46 8 698 90 25

Internet: www.rb.se/bookshop

E-mail: info@rb.se

Contents

| | |
|--|----|
| Introduction | 5 |
| Methodological note | 6 |
| 1. Tourism and the sex trade in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic | 7 |
| 2. CSEC and the informal tourism economy | 10 |
| 3. Expatriate involvement in sex tourism and child prostitution | 14 |
| 4. Women as exploiters | 18 |
| 5. Measures to combat CSEC | 19 |
| References | 23 |
| Appendix 1. Interview Sample | 26 |
| Appendix 2. Definition of Key Terms | 30 |

Introduction

Recent research has drawn attention to the linkages between international debt, price fluctuations in global commodity markets, structural adjustment measures, economic development policy and the expansion of the commercial sex trade in developing countries (for example, Truong, 1990, Chant and McIwaine, 1995, Bishop and Robinson, 1998, Kempadoo, 1999). So, for example, since the 1970s, world financial institutions have encouraged indebted nations to respond to economic crises by developing tourism and/or 'non-traditional' export industries such as gold, diamonds and timber. One side effect of such development policies is the creation of highly concentrated, effective demand for prostitution: affluent tourists seeking 'entertainment' and/or predominantly male, migrant workers in isolated mining and logging regions with cash to spend on 'recreation'. Meanwhile, structural adjustment measures have expanded the prostitution labour market by undermining traditional subsistence economies, cheapening labour and redirecting subsidies away from social spending and basic commodities towards debt servicing. This has created a 'surplus' labouring population as well as driving down wages of those in work, and for many of those affected, the sex trade now offers the only or the best opportunities for earnings.

Jamaica and the Dominican Republic are cases in point. Each country carries a heavy burden of external debt. Their economies have been badly affected by the collapse of global markets for their main export commodities, and since the late 1970s, both countries' governments have entered into a succession of International Monetary Fund Agreements and World Bank structural adjustment loans. The policy packages tied to these loans have had a devastating impact on the poor, and adjustment processes have also involved massive currency depreciation and a concomitant drop in the price of labour. This has made the countries attractive to foreign investors in tourism and in export manufacturing, but it also means that wages in both countries are amongst the lowest in the Caribbean region (Anderson and Witter, 1994, NACLA, 1997, Holland, 1993). Many Dominicans and Jamaicans, especially women and youth, now need alternative sources of income to supplement or substitute for extremely low waged employment. Structural adjustment has thus been associated with the growth of the informal economic sector in both countries (LeFranc, 1994, Safa, 1997). Prostitution is amongst the activities that take place in this informal sector, and children as well as adults are involved in the sex trade.

This report is concerned with the commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic. It presents the findings of research that took place between 1998 and 2000 that draws attention to the range of actors who violate the rights of children in the sex trade, and the diversity of their motivations for so doing.

Methodological note

The report is based on research on sexual exploitation in the informal tourism economy in the Caribbean. The project was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council of Great Britain, and took place over a two-year period. It entailed five fieldwork trips, two to the Dominican Republic and three to Jamaica, as well as documentary and Internet research in Britain. The project design incorporated multiple methods and data sources, a research strategy intended not only to produce the richest possible ethnographic understanding of tourist-related sexual exploitation, but also to allow the validity of data to be checked through triangulation. During field trips, ethnographic techniques were employed to explore the experience of expatriates and local/migrant adults and children involved with the tourism economy, and extensive interview work with a non-random sample of those involved in sex tourism was carried out. Expatriates' and local people's perceptions and experience of sex tourism were triangulated against data from interviews with a range of other social actors (including male and female tourists, police superintendents, lawyers, government and tourist authority officials, representatives of relevant NGOs), and vice versa. (See Appendix 1 for details of the interview sample.) Field notes were kept throughout, and interviews written up as soon as they were completed.

A survey on the sexual behaviour of 235 female tourists was also conducted, as was documentary research which entailed gathering available statistics from official and unofficial sources on tourist development, patterns of foreign investment in tourism, the size and composition of the expatriate community; investigating the legal framework regulating prostitution and third party involvement in it; searches of local newspapers; gathering relevant historical background data, including that pertaining to issues of race. Data from Internet sites that promote sex tourism and/or that are used by tourists to discuss their sexual experiences abroad was also gathered. Research on sex tourism is associated with numerous definitional problems. The way in which key terms were used in this research are noted in Appendix 2.

The research reported here took place between 1998 and 2000. Subsequent visits to the Dominican Republic, as well as Internet research, suggest that the situation regarding tourist-related prostitution in the Dominican Republic has changed quite dramatically, partly as a consequence of shifting patterns of tourism to the country, and partly because of intense police clampdowns on female prostitution in tourist areas. The report concludes with some comments on these changes.

1. Tourism and the sex trade in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic

It is important to begin by noting three points about the relationship between tourism and the sex trade in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic. First, each country has a female sex trade that pre-dates and exists independently of tourism, and that caters to demand from local men, seamen, and foreign businessmen. Second, sex tourism represents only one segment of the tourism market in both countries, and involves only a minority of local/migrant persons, expatriates and tourists (Forsythe et al, 1998). However, it is nonetheless the case that in both countries, prostitution and other forms of tourist-local sexual-economic exchange are amongst the wide range of activities that take place in the informal tourism economy, and tourist development has added cruise ship passengers and tourists to the roll-call of sex workers' clients. Third, the scale and structure of the two countries' sex industries differ, and these differences are significant for the phenomenon of male sex tourism. The population of the Dominican Republic is much larger than that of Jamaica (8.5 and 2.5 million respectively), and a large population of Haitian migrants also live in the Dominican Republic. As a result, a far greater number of females work in prostitution in the Dominican Republic than in Jamaica, and consequently male tourists' opportunities for prostitute-use are greater in the former than in the latter country.

'Indoor' prostitution (in brothels and clubs) is more common and more highly organised in the Dominican Republic than in Jamaica. In the latter half of the 1980s, the Dominican Republic began to attract male heterosexual sex tourists, and 'outdoor', street and beach based forms of prostitution began to expand. Through the 1990s, prostitution and other forms of sexual-economic exchanges between tourist men and local/migrant women and girls became increasingly prominent features of the informal tourism economy in particular tourist resort towns. Female prostitutes' working practices developed to accommodate tourist demand for loosely specified, open ended transactions, as well as more explicitly commercial cash-for-sex exchanges, and boundaries between prostitution and non-contractual sexual relationships involving local/migrant women seeking to use marriage as a migration strategy became increasingly blurred. The expansion and diversification of 'outdoor' prostitution also encouraged male sex tourists to migrate to live in their 'sexual paradise'. This created a vicious circle in relation to male sex tourism, as 'sexpatriates' became involved in promoting sex tourism.

In Jamaica, the sex trade is rather more rudimentary in terms of its social organisation. Third party involvement either takes the form of small scale pimping and procuring, or managing what are known as 'exotic dance clubs'. These clubs employ dancers, who are generally allowed, rather than expected, to top up their earnings through prostitution. The clubs mostly serve demand from local men,

and are usually small-scale affairs. In the larger establishments, perhaps as many as ten or twelve dancers may be employed, but some clubs are nothing more than roadside shacks employing only one or two women/girls. Entry costs into club owning are very low, and exotic dance clubs thus open, close down, and re-open at a great rate. There is also some movement back and forth between sex work and third party organisation of prostitution. So, for example, an enterprising woman who has been working as a prostitute/dancer may decide to turn her hand to club ownership, and if the venture proves financially unrewarding, she may return to prostitution.

In Jamaica, it is local men, foreign businessmen, seamen and cruise ship passengers, rather than long-stay tourists, who provide the bulk of demand for prostitution, even in tourist areas. These client groups typically want brief and narrowly focused transactions. Though long-stay male tourists can relatively easily access the services of a prostitute if they so choose, they do not find themselves constantly approached by apparently sexually 'willing' local females, nor are they able to lose sight of the commercial nature of those encounters they do enter into. Jamaican sex workers do not normally kiss, cuddle or sleep with clients unless paid extra to do so, for example, or enter into more diffuse relationships with tourist men. Our interview research suggests that a 'virtuous' circle exists in relation to male sex tourism in Jamaica, whereby in the absence of strong demand from sex tourists, female prostitutes have no economic incentive to change their *modus operandi*, which in turn militates against large numbers of male sex tourists visiting Jamaica. This finding was corroborated by our searches of Internet sites used to promote sex tourism. Unlike the Dominican Republic, Jamaica often does not feature at all on such sites, and where it does, there is a huge disparity in terms of both the number and content of items pertaining to male tourists' sexual experiences in the two countries.

Different patterns of demand for sex tourism in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic appear to partly reflect popular North American and European ideas about 'racial' and cultural differences between the Hispanic and English-speaking Caribbean. White racist European/North American discourse links race to gender and sexuality, and constructs the black Jamaican, in particular, as violent, aggressive and sexually potent. Jamaican men are popularly imagined as 'hyper masculine' beings, and Jamaican women as lacking 'feminine' attributes. The same discourses construct Dominicans as a 'hybrid' rather than a black population, and attribute 'feminine' characteristics to both males and females (men are thought to be bi-sexual and so effeminate, women to be passive and sexually receptive). Combined with (mis)understandings of local discourses on race and sexuality (see Franco, 1989, Batista, 1990, Fennema and Loewenthal, 1997, Pichardo, 1997, Sobó, 1993), these ideas were significant for the sexual behaviour of white male tourist and expatriate interviewees in both countries. Racist stereotypes about Jamaicans made white male tourists fearful of visiting establishments that cater to local men's demand for prostitution, as well as making them feel out of control in relation to Jamaican prostitute women. This helps to explain why Jamaica is a less popular site for North American and European male sex tourists. The low level of male sex tourism to Jamaica links with an absence of expatriate involvement in tourist-related prostitution.

Both countries are also affected by the phenomenon of female sex tourism (Sanchez Taylor, 2001a and b). Again, racist beliefs and stereotypes are significant for this demand. Data from the survey of 235 single or unaccompanied tourist women shows that around a third of respondents in each country had entered into one or more sexual relationships with local/migrant males in the course of their holiday. These relationships were not subjectively understood by respondents as a form of prostitution, and interviews revealed that this was partly because female tourists and expatriates understood local males' sexual interest in (often much older) tourist women through reference to racist stereotypes about black and Hispanic men being sexually voracious and indiscriminate. However, about 60 % of those respondents who had entered into sexual relationships with local males acknowledged that they had either given cash or gifts to their local sexual partners. Local/migrant male interviewees stated that economic benefits from tourist 'girlfriends' are often secured through subterfuge, and/or in the form of a cash gift or even monthly remittances after the woman has returned home. In the Dominican Republic, male sex workers also cater to demand from male clients (Jamaican society is so profoundly and violently homophobic that whilst some men and boys do engage in same-sex sex work, the market is small and carefully concealed).

It is notoriously difficult to determine the precise numbers of children affected by CSEC in any country and reliable numerical claims cannot be advanced on the basis of the qualitative methods employed in our research. However, our research and other studies can be used to support the following claims about CSEC:

- Children's sexual exploitation in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic takes a number of different forms, and in both countries it is strongly associated with poverty and related forms of social exclusion (Silvestre et al, 1994, Alma de Ruiz, 1995, Williams, 1999);
- Though they make up only a small percentage of those working in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic's sex trade at any given time, adolescent girls and boys aged between 13 and 18 are nonetheless present in the mainstream sex trade in both countries;
- Because male sex tourism takes place on a larger scale in the Dominican Republic than in Jamaica, greater numbers of adolescents are affected by tourist-related prostitution in the former than the latter country;
- European and North American tourists with a focused sexual interest in very young children (i.e., aged thirteen or under) are more likely to visit the Dominican Republic than Jamaica.

2. *CSEC and the informal tourism economy*

In both Jamaica and the Dominican Republic, tourist development has been pursued so vigorously that tourism is now the most important contributor to GDP, far outstripping foreign exchange generated by exports (Howard, 1999, Mullings, 1999). Any 'trickle down' from earnings from tourism have yet to be seen by the poorest segments of the population, however. Large numbers of Dominicans and Jamaicans live in poverty (44 percent and 28 percent respectively, Howard, 1999, EIU, 1998). It is estimated that some 35 per cent of Dominicans are without access to potable water and living in housing that is not connected to electricity. Health care is limited and there is no social security system in place to support those who cannot find employment. In Jamaica, housing also represents a serious problem and many people live on 'captured land', a system whereby squatters occupy unused land, build wooden houses and grow subsistence crops. These houses usually lack basic amenities such as running water and electricity. Access to education is limited and literacy rates are as low as 15–20 per cent in some parts of the island. Although there is a basic system of social security, many people, including a large number of women and casual workers, are excluded from it.

The two countries' rural populations face particular hardships, for the agricultural sector is in serious recession. There is high unemployment in rural areas and very strong pressures (especially on women and youth) to migrate to urban centres and to tourist areas in search of work. The problem for such migrants is that while tourist development has undoubtedly created jobs, tourism is a low wage and highly gendered industry. Unskilled locals and migrants from rural areas and from neighbouring countries cannot necessarily find work in the formal tourism economy, and when they do, it does not necessarily pay well enough to support them and their dependants. Many therefore turn to the informal tourism economy, which offers earning opportunities to those who are excluded from formal employment in tourism by virtue of their age, immigration status or lack of education or training, as well as those who are negatively affected by employers' gender or race discriminatory recruitment practices. Activities in the informal sector include unregistered taxi driving; ambulant vending (for instance, selling souvenirs, fruit, cigarettes); selling of personal services (such as guide, massage, manicure, hair-braiding, shoe-shine); domestic work in private apartments; prostitution and/or other forms of sexual-economic exchange, procuring and pimping.

The economic conditions outlined above mean that household strategies for economic survival often include deploying children's income-generating capacities, and there are also children who have to support themselves independently. Children are therefore increasingly present in the informal tourism economy (see Black, 1995). However, while the informal sector offers a life-line to those

who cannot earn their subsistence in the formal economy, it does not provide equality of opportunity to all alike. Just as an individual's chances within the formal tourism economy in each country are shaped by gender and race discriminatory social practices, so are opportunities in the informal economy strongly linked to gender, age, and racial or national identity. Children are thus found undertaking the least economically rewarding activities, such as bottle collecting, and fruit and sweet selling. Child labour is also highly gendered. Those working in non-sexual outdoor activities are predominantly male, while girl children's involvement in the informal economy in both countries is more likely to take the form of domestic work in private households, and/or assisting adult relatives in home-based enterprises such as souvenir production, baking, laundry, and so on. In the Dominican Republic, girl children in domestic work and boy children in occupations such as shoe-shine and beach/street vending are vulnerable to sexual abuse, both by locals and tourists.

More generally we can say that more plentiful and more lucrative economic opportunities are open to males (whether adult or child), than to their female counterparts. This partly reflects the fact that women and girls are disadvantaged by legal measures to control the informal economy. Both Jamaica and the Dominican Republic have recently enacted legislation against 'tourist hustling', and introduced licensing systems for ambulant vendors and tourist guides. These have consolidated existing inequalities in the informal sector. In the Dominican Republic, they have increased Haitian workers' vulnerability to harassment and deportation, and in both Jamaica and the Dominican Republic, they have buttressed gender divisions in the informal economy by reinforcing the beach – a prime location for informal tourist-related economic activity – as a largely male terrain. The new legislation means that only those who have a vendor's license or whose presence is linked to their formal employment have 'legitimate' access to the beach, and these trades/jobs are male dominated (e.g., lifeguard, water sports promoter, boat hand). Access to the beach means access to tourists, and so to 'hustle' – for example, by selling drugs, informal tour guide services, and/or by entering into sexual-economic exchanges, whereby the hustler secures cash, gifts, meals, drinks and/or other benefits from his sexual relationships with tourists (De Moya and Garcia, 1999, Dotel, 2000).

Sexual-economic exchanges between local/migrant males and tourist women are not legally or socially constructed as 'prostitution' and are therefore not subject to police control, even when they involve sexual exchanges between tourist women and boys under the age of 18. The situation for local/migrant women and girls is very different. The absence of alternative and equally rewarding forms of earning in either the formal or informal economy is one of the key factors precipitating their entry into the sex trade, and those who work in outdoor prostitution are extremely vulnerable to police harassment. Though Dominican law formally tolerates prostitution to a much greater degree than Jamaican law, law enforcement practice is remarkably similar in each country. It is heavily focused upon female prostitutes who solicit in the streets and other public spaces, rather than on the abuse and exploitation of female prostitutes by third parties. This kind of policing makes solicitation by independent prostitutes into

a more high-risk activity, and so encourages dependence on procurers, pimps and other third parties. This dependence is strengthened by the fact that measures to control informal economic activity restrict women and girls' access to the beach and other tourist areas, again making it difficult for them to solicit independently. In placing these constraints on female sex workers, the legal regulation of the informal economy and of the sex trade simultaneously creates openings for men to supplement their income by acting as intermediaries between female prostitutes and tourist clients. 'Hustling' can thus include procuring prostitutes for tourists, as well as the activities already mentioned.

In both countries, taxi drivers were found to play an important role in facilitating tourist-related child prostitution, and we interviewed men who reported supplementing their income from taxi/motoconcho driving by procuring girls as young as twelve and thirteen years old for tourist men. The case of 'David', a 32-year-old Jamaican provides some insight into such men's motivations, world-view and *modus operandi*.

David was from a very poor family, but he was an only child and his parents had saved and sacrificed to put him through school. He was thus more educationally privileged than other local men we interviewed, having been to college to train as an accountant. He was unable to find a job in accountancy however, and had worked as a taxi driver since finishing college. His earnings from taxi driving are erratic, since he does not receive a basic wage from his employer, but only 20% of each fare, plus tips. Business is entirely dependent on the tourist trade, and during low season, or when tourism is slow, he does not make enough money to live on. He has two children, neither of whom lives with him, and he is unable to contribute financially to their support. Until recently, David lived in a wooden shack on captured land, without water, electricity or sewerage, but he could not stand to live in this way and now rents a room in a proper house with all amenities. This means that his monthly living costs now routinely exceed his earnings, and he told us that he only survives because he has sexual relationships with tourist women (met in the course of his taxi-driving work) who make him gifts of shoes and shirts, and sometimes small sums of money. Indeed, he observed that sexual relationships with tourist women hold out the only realistic hope for a decent and secure life for men like himself. One American woman recently spent US\$ 23,000 on a brand new taxi bus for her Jamaican boyfriend, thereby releasing him from dependence on an exploitative employer and enabling him to run his own business. Sexual relationships with tourist women are like a lottery – some men 'hit the jackpot' and meet a woman who falls in love with them and sets them up for life, and this encourages others to keep playing the lottery.

Unsurprisingly, David felt enormously bitter about his situation. He felt humiliated by the fact that he was unable to give economic assistance to his aging parents who had supported him emotionally and financially through college or to support his two children financially; humiliated by the fact that in spite of his education and training, he was forced to work as a taxi driver; and humiliated by the fact that he – a black man in post-independence Jamaica – was dependent on the largesse of American and British white women to subsist.

It is also unsurprising to find that David is willing to supplement his income from taxi-driving by procuring prostitutes for tourists when asked to do so. He explained that male tourists do not like going to the exotic dance clubs used by local men, and so will often ask taxi drivers to find them prostitutes, and bring them to their hotel rooms. Taxi drivers then go to the places where sex workers solicit and look for a woman or girl who wants to do business (in some cases taxi drivers have a regular arrangement with particular women/girls, or actively pimp them). The client pays the taxi driver the fare for fetching the prostitute and for collecting and returning her home afterwards, and also provide him with a tip for his services of between US\$20 and 30. Sometimes, the sex workers also give the taxi driver a cut of their earnings. David stated that on average, he is asked to procure in this way about three times per week, and more often during tourism's high season. The money he makes from his involvement in the sex trade often outstrips his regular earnings from taxi driving.

Tourists are very explicit about their requirements, according to David. Some female tourists ask him to procure men or boys for them, but most commonly it is male tourists who request such services. They generally express a preference for dark-skinned girls under the age of twenty. He has also been asked to procure girls as young as twelve or thirteen, and since the women and girls he knows who work in prostitution range in age from twelve to thirty-five, he is able to fulfil such requests. He does so despite his awareness of the fact that younger girls are especially vulnerable to violence from clients. He observed to us that 'the young ones are inexperienced', and that on three occasions when he collected thirteen and fourteen-year-old girls from tourist clients, they reported having been beaten up and/or anally or vaginally raped so violently that he had had to take them to the medical centre for treatment.

David rationalises his own involvement in the sex trade in the following way. He reasons that both he and the woman or child concerned are driven by economic needs. The prostitute women he knows need to make a living, and since it is difficult for them to solicit custom from tourists (who pay more than local clients), his relationship to them is a symbiotic one. Both derive a benefit from the arrangement. The same goes for children, since they too are involved in prostitution for economic reasons and use it as a way to pay for their schooling, clothes and other needs. If he refused to take girls of thirteen to tourist clients, the girls themselves would be angry with him and ask him why he was discriminating against them. He has not and would not encourage any child or woman to take up prostitution, but if she is already working as a prostitute, he does not see himself as responsible for preventing her from so doing. Moreover, if he refused to find children business it would not prevent them from working in prostitution, since they could easily either find other taxi-drivers who were willing to take them to tourist clients, or solicit local clients independently. He is not in a position to financially support his own children, still less to offer all the teenage girls who work in prostitution an alternative means of survival. Nobody cares for him, his parents or his children, and he cannot afford to care for others.

3. *Expatriate involvement in sex tourism and child prostitution*

Though expatriate prostitute-users were interviewed in Jamaica, and two expatriate owned bars were found to be occasionally used by prostitutes for purposes of solicitation, we found no evidence of expatriates actively promoting male sex tourism or organising child sexual exploitation in Jamaica. In the Dominican Republic, by contrast, we found examples of the following forms of expatriate involvement in tourist-related prostitution:

- Prostitute use, including paying children for sex
- Encouraging local women and children to solicit from expatriate owned or run hotels, bars, restaurants and discos
- Procuring prostitutes, including child prostitutes, for tourist clients
- Recruitment of women and children into, and organisation of, prostitution;
- Promotion of sex tourism by advertising the sexual availability of Dominican females on Internet sites and in guidebooks

Amongst the expatriate communities in the main sites of sex tourism in the Dominican Republic (Boca Chica, Sosua, Puerta Plata and Las Terrenas) are small coteries of expatriate men of different nationalities (American, Canadian, German, Italian and French, and to a lesser extent, British, Dutch and Spanish) who have played an important role in establishing these towns as centres for male sex tourism. Such men bond with each other on the basis of shared attitudes towards gender, race, sexuality and prostitute-use, and form a subculture that centres around the sexual exploitation of local females. They thus have social, psychological and often economic interests in promoting sex tourism.

Data on expatriate involvement in organising child prostitution came from three main sources: interviews with government officials and with local NGOs; information posted on Internet sites for sex tourists; and interview and observational work with sex tourists and expatriates. Data from each of these sources suggest that tourists' commercial sexual exploitation of children takes place in the context of, and is indivisible from, tourist-related prostitution more generally. Our investigations of one American based Internet travel club for sex tourists, 'Travel and the Single Male' (TSM) were particularly important in this respect. TSM is an American-based organisation run by and for sex tourists and boasts some 5,000 members. It publishes a guidebook and sells club membership for US\$50 per annum. Members receive a quarterly newsletter, discounts in some hotels and brothels, and most importantly, are provided access to the TSM Internet site. This provides information on travel and prostitution in various countries around the world, access to soft-core pornographic photographs of female sex workers from those countries, two message boards and a chat room

for members to swap 'sexperiences', views, 'news' and handy travel tips. The worldview of TSM members typifies that of Western heterosexual men who habitually practice sex tourism to poor and developing countries (O'Connell Davidson, 1995, 1998, 2001, O'Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor, 1999, Seabrook, 1997). The following extract from a posting on TSM's message board captures such men's attitudes towards gender, race and sexuality:

Boca is a place of men's dreams and women's nightmares. It finds the heart of desire within all of us. Boca ... is a place where sexual fantasies become commonplace. A place where you can go into your room with a pack of multi-colored girls and no one will blink twice. A place where an older man can convince himself that the young girl rotating on his lap cares for him and understands his needs more than the women from his homeland. It's a place where men come for lust and sometimes end up confusing it for love. It's where a man can be a star in his own adult videos. It's a place where a young pretty girl once offered me sex for a [plate of] lasagne. It's a place where every woman you see whether whore or maid or waitress, young or old, can be bought for a few hundred pesos. It's a place where you can have a girl, her sisters and her cousins (TSM, posted 19.3.98).

In Boca Chica, we interviewed several sex tourists who were TSM members and two expatriates whose bars, and photographs of their female bar staff, feature in the information provided on the Dominican Republic on TSM's website, and other expatriates whose names also feature in the 'chat' between members posted on the website. An interview with a group of expatriates and sex tourists linked to TSM (one of whom was a New Jersey police officer) was revealing about such men's propensity to engage in CSEC. They had just told us about a friend of theirs, an American retiree from Boston who lives in Santo Domingo and 'has a thing for virgins'. One expatriate described him as a paedophile, and remarked that many American paedophiles come to the Dominican Republic. 'This one we put up with', he said, 'but the rest of them we don't want nothing to do with'. The conversation continued as follows:

Julia O'Connell Davidson (JOD): Why do you put up with him?

Expatriate 1: He's a character...

Expatriate 2: He's not a paedophile. You're talking 8, 9, 10 years old. That's a paedophile... He's not a paedophile... you can't say that about him

Expatriate 1: Well, what's a guy that fucks an 11-year-old girl?

Expatriate 2: He doesn't. He doesn't... No

Expatriate 1: Oh? I've seen the pictures

Expatriate 2: Paedophiles will go right down to 2, 3 years old

JOD: You get people like that coming down here?

Expatriate 1: Yeah

Expatriate 2 [to sex tourist friend]: You're a policeman, what's a paedophile?

US police officer: I don't know... Like 5, 6, 7

Expatriate 1: An eleven year old?

US police officer: I don't know

Expatriate 2: No, no, he's not a paedophile, you shouldn't call him a paedophile, you can get folks in trouble talking about them that way.

Further interview research with a range of informants led us to believe that the abuser with 'a thing for virgins' secured access to children through an American expatriate and his Dominican wife who together run a brothel in Boca Chica catering to demand from tourist men. Further evidence of a link between TSM and child sexual exploitation comes from postings on the message board about a man who, Ministry of Tourism officials informed us, had been deported in 1997. During a police clampdown on CSEC that year, 'Mr D', a French Canadian, was found to be organising the prostitution of minors from his hotel in Boca Chica. A posting from TSM's message board describes Mr D's hotel prior to its closure and his deportation:

Many of the male guests and others from outside the hotel hang out [in the hotel bar] drinking. This as you can guess also draws the attention of the chicas and a number of them hang about as well. D. does not in anyway discourage this as he has correctly concluded that having the girls there also keep the guys there longer and keeps the drinks flowing ... A girl ... was knocking on my door literally 2 minutes after my checking in, asking if I wanted a blow job ... I enjoyed my stay completely. The girls start wandering in around 1pm ... A few girls were also staying at the hotel ... They are often available for entertainment as you might expect (posted 4.9.97).

More generally, interviews with North American and European male expatriates and tourists who engage in prostitute-use revealed that few of them consider girls aged between fifteen and eighteen to be 'children', and so feel no inhibitions about paying to have sex with them. Some even believe it is morally acceptable to have sex with girls aged between twelve and fifteen, providing the child works in prostitution and/or has already been sexually abused by another adult. The sex tourists and 'sexpatriates' we interviewed in the Dominican Republic expressed very similar constellations of attitudes towards gender, race and sexuality. They were profoundly homophobic, and committed to biologically essentialist models of race and gender which inferiorize women and people of colour. Those who sexually abuse children justified their actions through reference to racist assumptions about non-white children's 'natural' sexual precocity and/or the cultural acceptability of child sexual abuse. These men understood their own acts of sexual exploitation as integral to the management of self and others as gendered, racialised and sexual beings, and there was a strong relationship between their sexual practices and their self-identity as white men. The economic activity of expatriates who organise and promote tourist-related prostitution was gene-

rally directed towards maintaining a life-style and affirming a sense of self, rather than clearly guided by the profit motive.

In terms of individual life-careers and psycho biographies, we found that 'sex-patriates' were usually divorcees, and that most had practiced sex tourism to the Dominican Republic and/or other countries prior to migrating. Ambivalence toward/preoccupation with issues of law and authority was often a recurrent theme in the life-histories they narrated. Most of our interviewees had either served in the armed forces or were former police officers or had chosen self-employment because they wished 'to be their own boss', and/or had migrated to evade paying tax or to escape prosecution for criminal offences; most described difficult relationships with their father and other authority figures. Several further described extremely brutal and brutalising experiences of gender socialisation in childhood, within which they variously were subject to physical violence and/or emotional rejection or humiliation for failing to behave in a sufficiently 'manly' fashion.

4. *Women as exploiters*

We interviewed sixty-one men and seven teenage boys who enter into sexual-economic exchanges with tourist women in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic. None were solely dependent upon such exchanges for their economic survival, rather income derived from relationships with tourist women supplemented their income from formal employment and/or other informal income-generating activities. However, most had a low level of schooling, came from extremely poor backgrounds, and lived in shanty areas on the outskirts of tourist resorts, often without water or electricity. Tourist women's gifts of food, clothing and cash were important to their subsistence, and even for those who were better educated and/or who earned enough to survive by other means, sexual relationships with tourist women represented a means to enjoy a better standard of living, as well as a potential vehicle for migration.

Though almost all the men and boys we interviewed admitted to inconsistent condom-use with their tourist sexual partners, so that their involvement in the sex trade posed serious risks to their health, in neither country did we find evidence to suggest that adolescent boys suffer physical or sexual violence at the hands of tourist or expatriate women in the way that their female counterparts sometimes suffer at the hands of male clients. Nor are men and boys who enter into sexual-economic exchanges with women legally constructed or socially stigmatised as 'prostitutes'. Furthermore, in marked contrast to the adolescent girls we interviewed who worked in prostitution, adolescent boys did not subjectively perceive their relationships with tourist women as sexually exploitative. They were more likely to draw on popular beliefs about gender and sexuality to interpret their encounters with tourists as positive and desirable sexual experiences.

Janice Haaken (1999:25) has made the more general observation that 'males are less likely to identify themselves as victims of sexual abuse because the position of victim is so feminised in the culture'. She also notes that the cultural vocabulary of victimization is a 'far more pervasive theme in female than in male development', and that males are far more likely to describe in positive terms forms of sexual contact that would be considered 'abusive' if experienced by a women. The reluctance of our male interviewees (teenagers and adults) to view themselves as sexually exploited by women who provide them with money and/or other benefits in exchange for sex thus mirrors a more widespread tendency to assume that 'victims' must be female and 'abusers/exploiters' must be male. Although we should not lose sight of the fact that the vast majority of acts of sexual violence and exploitation are perpetrated by men against women and girls, it is nonetheless important to recognise that the dominant and gender-essentializing models of 'victims' and 'exploiters' allows little room to describe or explore cases in which women sexually abuse or exploit men and boys.

5. Measures to combat CSEC

The Declaration and Agenda for Action of the World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children, convened in Stockholm in 1996, called for measures to promote more effective laws and law enforcement, including extraterritorial criminal laws. To the extent that European and North American governments have responded to these calls, however, they have done so on the assumption that their nationals are most likely to offend in South East Asia, and have pursued mutual assistance treaties with Thailand and the Philippines, in particular (Muntarbhorn, 1998). The findings of this research are of direct policy relevance in this regard.

We found that European, American and Canadian men are implicated in the sexual exploitation of children in the Dominican Republic and to a lesser extent in Jamaica, as users of child prostitutes, and that they are also involved in promoting and organising child prostitution in the Dominican Republic. Cooperation between law enforcement agencies in the Dominican Republic and those in Europe and North America is seemingly non-existent (a fact which European and North American child sex exploiters are well aware of), and this situation calls for an urgent response. Civil servants at the Ministry for Tourism in the Dominican Republic also drew our attention to two 1997 cases in which expatriates (one Italian, one Canadian) had been deported for sexual offences against children. In neither case was there any communication between the Dominican authorities and those in the offender's country of origin, and there was therefore no possibility of extraterritorial law being used against them in their home country. Our field and Internet research found that one of these men (Mr D) actually returned to the Dominican Republic less than a year after his deportation, and this further highlights the inadequacy of deportation as a response to such crimes.

UNICEF has recommended a number of measures to address the problem of tourist-related CSEC including:

- The stationing of police liaison officers of the abusers' countries of origin in countries targeted by sex exploiters;
- The facilitation of personal contacts between law enforcers of sending and receiving countries;
- And the conclusion of mutual assistance treaties between sending and receiving countries. (Muntarbhorn, 1998)

The relative ease with which we, two female sociologists, gathered information on expatriate involvement in procuring and sexually abusing children suggests that such measures could make an important contribution in terms of protecting Dominican children and securing convictions of child sex offenders.

So far as measures to address the involvement of local/migrant men and women as third party beneficiaries of CSEC are concerned, we would argue that

efforts to address the environment behind that involvement are as important as measures to strengthen law enforcement. The moral indifference of men like David is often rooted in a despairing fatalism about the economic and political situation in which they find themselves, and this is even more often the case for female sex workers who supplement their earnings from prostitution through procuring other women and children for tourist clients. To simply call for the imprisonment of all such individuals hardly seems a humane or realistic response to the problem.

The long-term goal of national policy makers in both Jamaica and the Dominican Republic is to create sustainable and meaningful alternative economic opportunities for women and youth, and clearly this is a laudable ambition. Given the two countries' current economic situation, and the deeply entrenched patterns of gender and race inequality in their societies, it is also an ambition that is unlikely to be realised in the near future. In the meantime, the primary policy response that has been adopted in each country is to attempt to suppress visible forms of CSEC by clamping down on female prostitution in tourist areas. What impact has this had on the problem?

Both Jamaica and the Dominican Republic have extremely poor records with regard to respecting the human and civil rights of female sex workers (Campbell et al, 1999, Cabezas, 1999). Although both countries are formally committed to protecting, rather than criminalizing, victims of CSEC, the experience of teenage girls who work in the sex trade at the hands of the police and judiciary is often identical to that of adult women in prostitution. In both countries, women and girls who are assumed to be working in prostitution are arbitrarily stopped and detained by the police. In neither country does 'arrest' always lead to formal charges being made, and in both countries female prostitutes report being subject to extortion and sexual abuse by corrupt police officers. The police are therefore amongst those who violate the rights of children – as well as women – in prostitution. This underlines the urgent need to call upon states to train and encourage their law enforcers to respect the human and civil rights of all those working in prostitution, and reward them for so doing.

During the two years of the research project reported here (i.e., between 1998 and 2000), it appeared to us that the Dominican police intensified the repression of outdoor prostitution in tourist areas, and officials at the Ministry of Tourism told us that the aim of these police clampdowns was to stamp out tourist-related CSEC. However, the clampdowns also involved serious abuses of female prostitutes' and local women's human rights. Dominican and Haitian women and teenage girls in tourist areas (at least those who were poor or working class) were increasingly subject to police harassment. The police based their assumptions about whether or not a woman/girl was a sex worker on her manner of dress, demeanour and/or whether or not she happened to be carrying condoms on her person. Local women told us that one of the only ways in which it might be possible for a woman to convince a police officer that she was not a prostitute was to show him a marriage certificate. In other words, a woman who could not demonstrate herself to be the property of one man was assumed to be publicly available, and risked temporarily being denied her liberty. The scale

of these rights' violations can perhaps be illustrated by the fact that in a single tourist resort on a single night in 1998, 170 women and girls were rounded up by the police during a raid. Once remanded in police custody, there were no beds to sleep on, and the women/girls had no entitlement to food until such time as they were convicted and imprisoned. After being held in these conditions for between one and four days, they were taken to court where they were required to pay a fine in order to be released.

As noted above, this kind of policing makes independent soliciting more risky, and so tends to encourage women/girls to enter into relationships with third party employers and/or pimps. Over the two years of our research, the presence of pimps in tourist areas visibly increased, and female Haitian sex workers in particular came to depend more heavily on male pimps to secure clients for them, and to bail them out of custody when 'arrested'. Other female sex workers responded to growing police harassment by seeking to migrate to prostitute elsewhere within the Caribbean, or to Europe or North America. Often, this too entailed entering into relationships with third parties, this time in the form of agents, or traffickers, who can arrange their passage to other islands or countries (COIN, 1992, 1999a and b). The repression of female prostitution in tourist areas certainly has gradually depleted the numbers of women and children in outdoor prostitution, and this has had an impact on the demand-side of sex tourism. By the time of our last fieldtrip in January 2000, the resorts that had once thronged with North American, German, Italian, Spanish and other European men and Dominican and Haitian women and girls were shadows of their former selves. Only a 'hard-core' of expatriates and regular sex tourists remained. Now, eighteen months later, the Internet sites used by sex tourists to exchange information about the world sex trade are full of postings complaining that the Dominican Republic is 'dead', a 'waste of time', and so on.

Satisfying as this may be to tourist officials and others who worried that reports about 'child sex tourism' might damage attempts to market the Dominican Republic as a couples and family tourist destination, the Dominican experience can hardly be described as a success story in the struggle against CSEC. First of all, the human and civil rights of women and children were violated in the process of curbing sex tourism while the vast majority of their abusers and exploiters walked free. Second, and because they have largely walked free, the hard core of expatriates and their visiting friends are not necessarily affected by clampdowns on tourist-related prostitution. They have the contacts necessary to continue to sexually exploit local women and children. Third, because male sex workers are not a focus of social control, the measures taken in the Dominican Republic do nothing to address the sexual exploitation of boy children by female or male tourists.

Fourth, the economic and social conditions that precipitate women and girls' entry into prostitution have not been transformed, nor have the conditions that generate demand from local men and other non-tourist client groups, nor have the police targeted other sectors of the sex industry. It is therefore highly probable that many of the teenagers and women who have been driven out of outdoor forms of prostitution in tourist areas are now working in indoor forms of prostitution

– the brothels that cater to demand from local men, seafarers, and migrant workers, and the clubs that serve demand from businessmen. This highlights the need for effective outreach programmes for female and male adults and youth in prostitution. In this regard, supporting and developing existing (resource-starved) community-based programmes should be a priority (see Longo, 1998, Kempadoo, 1998, Brussa, 1998), for such programmes provide the greatest hope of reaching and offering some protection to children who enter into sexual-economic exchanges in order to survive.

Finally, it is important to recognise that vigorous police clampdowns on tourist-related prostitution in any given country do not and cannot impact on the global-level of demand for sex tourism. Organisations like TSM do not wither, nor does the mentality of those who practice sex tourism change as a result of shifts in law enforcement practice in any given destination. As one country ‘dies’, sex tourists discover the life-blood of its neighbour. Thus, many of the men who travelled to Thailand to sexually exploit women and children in the 1980s and early 1990s, switched their attentions to Vietnam in the mid-to-late 1990s, and are now discovering the delights of Cambodia. Likewise, those who enjoyed the Dominican Republic in the 1990s are now discussing the pleasures to be had in Costa Rica, Brazil or Colombia, or even with migrant sex workers in European holiday destinations.

So far as questions about sex tourism are concerned, it is vital that we begin to take on board the fact that CSEC is not simply an international problem because those who exploit children cross national borders in order to do so. It is also an international problem because the factors that precipitate children’s entry into prostitution and increase their vulnerability within it, and the factors that underpin much third party involvement in CSEC, are global, as well as national and local. Governments in the developing world are not in a position to simply reverse these global factors. They cannot, for example, cancel their own international debt and so cannot afford to jeopardise industries that earn foreign exchange, even if those industries are dominated by multinational corporations and carry huge environmental and social costs. Nor indeed are they in a position to mount effective challenges to the discourses in Europe and North America about race, sexuality, gender, prostitution, and travel that help to construct the demand for sex tourism, including ‘child sex tourism’.

Governments of the affluent world *are* implicated in these problems, and are in a much stronger position to begin to address them. Imagining CSEC as divisible from the commercial sex trade more generally, and approaching it as first and foremost a criminal justice issue, lets them off this hook.

Acknowledgement

The support of the Economic and Social Research Council of Great Britain is gratefully acknowledged (Award No: R000237625).

References

- Alma de Ruiz, Z., 1995: *Abuso Intrafamiliar en Adolescentes*. Santo Domingo: UNICEF.
- Anderson, P. and Witter, M., 1994: 'Crisis, adjustment and social change: a case study of Jamaica', in E. Le Franc (Ed) *Consequences of Structural Adjustment: A review of the Jamaican experience*. Kingston: Canoe Press.
- Batista, C., 1990: *Mujer y Esclavitud en Santo Domingo*. Santo Domingo: CEDEE.
- Black, M., 1995: *In the Twilight Zone: Child workers in the hotel, tourism and catering industry*. Geneva: ILO.
- Bishop, R. and Robinson, L., 1998: *Night Market: Sexual Cultures and the Thai Economic Miracle*. London: Routledge.
- Brussa, L., 1998: 'The TAMPEP project in Western Europe', in K. Kempadoo and J. Doezema (Eds) *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance and Redefinition*. London: Routledge.
- Cabezas, A., 1999: 'Women's work is never done: Sex tourism in Sosúa, the Dominican Republic', in K. Kempadoo (ed) *Sun, Sex and Gold: Tourism and sex work in the Caribbean*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Campbell, S., Perkins, A. and Mohammed, P., 1999: "'Come to Jamaica and feel all right": Tourism and the sex trade' in K. Kempadoo (ed) *Sun, Sex and Gold: Tourism and sex work in the Caribbean*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Chant, S. and McIlwaine, C., 1995: *Women of a Lesser Cost: Female labour, foreign exchange and Philippine development*. London: Pluto.
- Clift, S. and Carter, S., (Eds.) 1999: *Tourism and Sex: Culture, Commerce and Coercion*. London: Pinter.
- COIN, 1992: *Viaje al Exterior: Ilusiones y Mentiras (Exportacion de Sexo Organizado)*. Santo Domingo: COIN
- COIN, 1999a: *Nosotras Tambein Tenemos Derechos*. Santo Domingo, COIN
- COIN, 1999b: *Los Viajes de Maritza*. Santo Domingo: COIN

De Moya, A and Garcia, R., 1999: 'Three Decades of Male Sex Work in Santo Domingo', in P. Aggleton (Ed) *Men Who Sell Sex: International Perspectives on Male Prostitution and HIV/AIDS*. London: UCL Press.

Dotel, T., 2000: 'Sanky Pankies: Sexo Comprado en la Playa', *UNO*, Vol 3: No 26, pp 49–55.

EIU, 1998: *Country Profile: Jamaica*. London: Economic Intelligence Unit.

Fennema, M. and Loewenthal, T., 1987: *Construccion de Raza y Nacion en Republica Dominicana*. Santo Domingo: Editora Universitaia-UASD, Vol DLXXIV.

Forsythe, S., Hasbun, J. and de Lister, M., 1998: 'Protecting paradise: tourism and AIDS in the Dominican Republic', *Health and Policy Planning*, 13 (3), pp 277–286.

Franco, F., 1989: *Los Negros, Los Mulatos y La Nacion Dominicana*. Santo Domingo: Nacional.

Haaken, J., 1999: 'Heretical texts: The Courage to Heal and the incest survivor movement', in S. Lamb (ed) *New Versions of Victims*. New York: New York University Press.

Holland, J., 1993: 'Global process, local change: adjustment in urban Jamaica', *Caribbean Geography*, Vol 4, No 2, pp 89–101.

Howard, D., 1999: *The Dominican Republic*. London: Latin America Bureau.

Kempadoo, K., 1998: 'COIN and MODEMU in the Dominican Republic' in K. Kempadoo and J. Doezema (Eds) *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance and Redefinition*. London: Routledge.

LeFranc, E. (Ed.), 1994: *Consequences of Structural Adjustment: A review of the Jamaican experience*. Kingston: Canoe Press.

Longo, P., 1998: 'The Pegacao Program: Information, prevention and empowerment of young male sex workers in Rio de Janeiro', in K. Kempadoo and J. Doezema (Eds) *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance and Redefinition*. London: Routledge.

Mullings, B., 1999: 'Globalisation, tourism and the international sex trade', in K. Kempadoo (ed) *Sun, Sex and Gold: Tourism and sex work in the Caribbean*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield.

Muntarbhorn, V., 1998: *Extraterritorial Criminal Laws against Child Sexual Exploitation*. Geneva: UNICEF.

NACLA, 1997: Report on the Americas, *NACLA*, 30, 5.

O'Connell Davidson, J. and Sanchez Taylor, J., 1999: 'Fantasy islands: Exploring the demand for sex tourism' in K. Kempadoo (ed) *Sun, Sex and Gold: Tourism and sex work in the Caribbean*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield.

O'Connell Davidson, J., 2001: 'The sex tourist, the expatriate, his ex-wife and her 'Other': The politics of loss, difference and desire'. *Sexualities*. Vol. 4, No.1, pp. 5–24.

O'Connell Davidson, J., 1998: *Prostitution, Power and Freedom*. Cambridge: Polity.

O'Connell Davidson, J., 1995: 'British sex tourists in Thailand', in M. Maynard and J. Purvis (eds) (*Hetero*)*Sexual Politics*. London: Taylor & Francis.

Pichardo, F., 1997: *Sobre Racismo y AntiHaitianismo (y Otros Ensayos)*. Santo Domingo: Vidal.

Safa, H., 1997: 'Where the big fish eat the little fish: Women's work in the Free Trade Zones', Report on the Americas, *NACLA*, 30, 5, pp 31–6.

Sanchez Taylor, J., 2001: 'Dollars are a girl's best friend? Female tourists' sexual behaviour in the Caribbean', *Sociology*, Vol. 35, No. 3, pp 749–764.

Sanchez Taylor, J., 2001: A Fine Romance? Tourist women and local men's sexual-economic exchanges in the Caribbean. PhD Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Leicester.

Seabrook, J., 1996: *Travels in the Skin Trade: Tourism and the Sex Industry*. London: Pluto Press.

Silvestre, E., Rijo, J. and Bogaert, H., 1994: La Neo-prostitucion Infantil en Republica Dominicana. Santa Domingo: UNICEF.

Sobo, E., 1993: *One Blood: The Jamaican Body*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Truong, T., 1990: *Sex, Money and Morality: Prostitution and Tourism in South-east Asia*. London: Zed Books.

Williams, S., 1999: Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Jamaica. Unpublished Report, Caribbean Child Development Centre, School of Continuing Studies, University of the West Indies, Mona, Kingston.

Witter, M. and Kirton, C., 1990: The Informal Economy in Jamaica: Some empirical exercises. Working Paper No. 36, Institute of Social and Economic research, University of the West Indies, Mona, Kingston.

APPENDIX I

Interview Sample

Table 1: Local/Migrant Adult Women

| Form of involvement with sex tourism | JAMAICA | DOMINICAN REPUBLIC | TOTAL |
|--|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------|
| Tourist-related prostitution/sexual-economic exchange | 5 Jamaican 4 Dominican | 20 Dominican 6 Haitian | 35 |
| Procuring prostitutes | 2 Jamaican | 3 Dominican | 5 |
| Informal sector workers with no involvement in sex tourism | 4 Jamaican | 4 Dominican 4 Haitian | 12 |
| TOTAL | 15 | 37 | 52 |

Table 2: Local/Migrant Adult Men

| Form of involvement with sex tourism | JAMAICA | DOMINICAN REPUBLIC | TOTAL |
|--|-----------------------------|---------------------------|------------|
| Tourist-related prostitution/sexual-economic exchange | 43 Jamaican 1 Panamanian | 11 Dominican 6 Haitian | 61 |
| Procuring prostitutes | 14 Jamaican | 6 Dominican | 20 |
| Informal sector workers with no involvement in sex tourism | 13 Jamaican 1 Cuban | 4 Dominican 4 Haitian | 22 |
| TOTAL | 72 | 31 | 103 |

Table 3: Local Children (> 18)

| Form of involvement with sex tourism | JAMAICA | DOMINICAN REPUBLIC | TOTAL |
|--|--------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| Tourist-related prostitution/sexual-economic exchange | 6 female 4 male | 8 female 3 male | 21 |
| Informal sector workers with no involvement in sex tourism | 2 female 2 male | 2 female 8 male | 14 |
| TOTAL | 14 | 21 | 35 |

Table 4: Expatriate Men

| Form of involvement with sex tourism | JAMAICA | DOMINICAN REPUBLIC | TOTAL |
|--|------------------------------------|---|--------------|
| Prostitute-user | 4 American 3 British | 5 American 1 German 4 British 3 Canadian 2 Italian | 24 |
| Promoting, facilitating and/or organising tourist-related prostitution | 2 American | 6 American 3 Canadian 3 Italian 1 Spanish 1 British 2 French | 16 |
| No involvement in sex tourism | 3 British 3 American 1 Swiss | 1 American 1 French 2 British | 11 |
| TOTAL | 16 | 35 | 51 |

Table 4: Expatriate Women

| Form of involvement with sex tourism | JAMAICA | DOMINICAN REPUBLIC | TOTAL |
|--|---|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| Earning from procuring and from own prostitution | 1 American | 0 | 1 |
| Facilitating tourist-related prostitution and/or promoting sex tourism | 1 British | 1 American | 2 |
| Entering into sexual-economic exchanges with local men | 2 American | 1 American 1 German | 4 |
| Married to/co-habiting with local men met during holiday | 3 American 1 Canadian 2 British | 4 German 2 Canadian 3 American | 15 |
| No involvement in sex tourism | 1 Canadian 1 American 1 German 1 British | 1 American 1 British 1 Canadian | 7 |
| TOTAL | 14 | 15 | 29 |

Table 5: Tourists

| Form of involvement with sex tourism | JAMAICA | DOMINICAN REPUBLIC | TOTAL |
|--|--|--|-----------|
| Male sex tourists | 5 American 4 British 2 Canadian | 12 American 5 British 7 Canadian 4 German 1 Dane 1 Belgian 1 Argentine | 42 |
| Female sex tourists | 10 American 4 British 2 Canadian 3 German | 2 American 2 British 3 Canadian 1 Australian | 27 |
| Male tourists with no involvement in sex tourism | 5 American 1 British 1 Canadian 1 Swede | 0 | 8 |
| Female tourists with no involvement in sex tourism | 4 American 1 British 1 Swede | 2 German 1 British | 9 |
| TOTAL | 44 | 42 | 86 |

Interviews were also conducted with representatives of the following organisations/agencies:

Dominican Republic

Intergracion Juvenile, Puerto Plata
 Save the Children, Santo Domingo
 Ministry of Tourism, Santo Domingo
 Centro Juridico Cristianano, Puerto Plata
 CODICO SIDA, Santo Domingo and Sosua
 Caminante, Boca Chica
 Instituto de Sexualidad Humana, UASD, Santo Domingo
 COIN (Centro de Orientacion e investigacion Integral), Santo Domingo
 Movimiento de Mujeres Unidas, Santo Domingo
 Ceposh (Centro de Promocion y Solidaridad Humana), Puerto Plata
 Asociacion de Trabajadores de Familiares, Santo Domingo

Jamaica:

Social Development Agency, Savanna la Mar
Ministry of Health, Savanna la Mar
Police Department, Negril and Ocho Rios
Jamaican AIDS Support, Montego Bay and Ocho Rios
British High Commission, Kingston
Tourism Office, Ocho Rios
Chamber of Commerce, Negril
Medical Clinic, Negril
Westmoreland Development Agency, Bluefields
Jamaica Tourist Board, London

APPENDIX 2:

Definitions of Key Terms

For purposes of clarity, we note below the way in which the terms ‘sex tourism’, ‘informal economy’ and ‘childhood’ were employed in this research. However, readers should be aware that it is impossible to provide politically and theoretically neutral definitions of these terms, and these definitions would not necessarily be accepted by all academics specialising in each field.

‘Sex tourism’ – The research was concerned with sex tourism as a phenomenon involving sex between tourists and local persons, not sex between tourists. The focus was further upon sexual relationships between partners who are unequal in terms of economic, social and political power (i.e., relationships between tourists who are affluent and educationally, socially and politically privileged relative to their local sexual partners). We would not therefore class tourists in relationships with middle class or elite locals who are of the same generation and enjoy similar life-chances as ‘sex tourists’. Though sexual relationships between locals/migrants and tourists who are unequal in terms of economic, social and political power can be organised as straightforward market transactions, sex tourism and tourist-related prostitution was taken to refer to a wider range of sexual-economic exchanges than those conventionally implied by the term ‘prostitution’. Thus we considered the phenomenon by which local women, men and children enter into quasi-romantic relationships with tourists in order to secure a range of benefits (including gifts, meals, clothing, opportunities to migrate to affluent countries, as well as cash) as much a part of sex tourism as the phenomenon of street or beach prostitution in tourist areas.

‘Informal economy’ – we follow Witter and Kirton (1990: 2), who state that ‘economic activity’ refers to the production, sale, or consumption of goods and services and that ‘An activity is said to be informal if it violates some law, official regulation, or generally accepted standards and/or codes of business behaviour’. The informal economy thus includes activities such as beach vending, or the sale of information, in which public property rights are appropriated by the informal producer for private production, as well as illegal activities.

‘Childhood’ – we follow the United Nations definition of a child as a person under the age of 18.