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Sun, Sand, Surf & Sexual Exploitation of Children

A Comprehensive Approach to Sustainably Tackle the Sexual Exploitation of Children in the Caribbean

Submitted by

Jana Tiffany Weber

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Supervisor: Dr. Randal Shepard

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Student number: s2077922

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List of Abbreviations

AI	Amnesty International
CCT	Conditional Cash Transfer
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CST	Child Sex Tourism
ECPAT	End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism
ILO	International Labour Office
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IR	International Relations
IUOTO	International Union of Official Travel Organizations
NFE	Non-Formal Education
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
SEC	Sexual Exploitation of Children
STD	Sexually Transmittable Disease
TVPA	Trafficking Victims Protection Act
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
U.S.	United States
WTO	World Tourism Oranization

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1. Introduction

Tourism constitutes a rapidly growing and influential global force, providing economic development in infrastructure and job markets, as well as affecting the destination's social norms and culture (ECPAT International, 2016: 23). While its GDP contribution to the Caribbean in 2014 was US$51.9 billion (14.6%) it is expected to reach US$73.6 billion (15.4%) by 2025 (WTTC, 2015: 3). Despite tourism's alleged prosperity, however, the contrary is often witnessed. High dependency on one economy, paired with the preeminent presence of international companies and debt, leaves most locals at the margins of their economy, thus increasing vulnerability, inequality, and migration (Terrero, 2014: 4).

As the Caribbean is sold through the eroticised image of "paradise" and the four S' "Sun, Sand, Surf and Sex" (Ryan & Hall, 2001: iv), sex tourism is widely encountered and encouraged (Mowforth, et al., 2008). A development of special, albeit only recently international, concern within this dynamic is the increase in the sexual exploitation of children (SEC), child sex tourism (CST), and trafficking, as a multi-billion-dollar-industry annually exploiting more than 2 million minors worldwide (Kosuri & Jeglic, 2017: 207; Miller-Perrin & Wurtele, 2017: 123). Environmental coercion through factors such as poverty and education lead desperate children and families into the commodification of their bodies. Western tourists, in turn, experience the cultural "other" and employ their relative power through capital and status, often ignorant to the dark side of the "paradise" they are presented with by the tourism industry (O'Connell Davidson & Sanchez Taylor, 2005). The situation in the Caribbean is nevertheless more complex than this victim-perpetrator dichotomy might suggest and is embedded within a network of historic, social, and economic factors that condition each other in a vicious race to the bottom of gendered and racial hierarchies that are deeply entrenched in today's society. Although the first World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in 1996 led to international recognition of the issue and promises of regional action, to date the situation has not improved a lot, with laws being passed but not enforced in an environment of corruption and social acceptance of gender-based violence and discrimination (UN Special Rapporteur, 2015: v).

Since the 1980s, research and specific case studies have been conducted on issues ranging from gender inequalities to SEC and CST. Each valuable for their own focuses and contribution to research, a truly comprehensive approach to SEC and CST in the Caribbean is still missing, as it encompasses a myriad of factors. The result is, that policy recommendations found in case studies, NGO-, and government reports commonly recommend largely superficial policy changes, while even more nuanced recommendations often miss out on a conditioning factor. This leads to merely short-term solutions in a region that needs sustainable change. Through similar historic and economic developments, the Caribbean constitutes a valuable and coherent site of analysis (Cabezas, 2009: 4). The goal of this work

is therefore, to offer a comprehensive approach to SEC and CST, in order to put forward some sustainable recommendations to tackle root causes and not only symptoms of these issues.

The structure of the present thesis will develop as follows: The second chapter will on the one hand define some terms that are going to be adopted throughout this work, as their use varies throughout academia. On the other hand, it will explore past and current research on the impact of colonialism on current societal structures, the marketing of the Caribbean as paradise, sex tourism and the role of CST as well as trafficking herein. The third chapter will briefly address the methods employed to realize this thesis and the constraints that apply. The analysis part is divided into three sub-sections. Firstly, the impact of colonialism and economic restructuring in the creation of gendered and racial hierarchies as well as the role of neo-colonialism will be discussed. Thereafter, the root causes of SEC and CST will be explored through societal factors that enhance the vulnerability of children, such as poverty and erosion of family structures. Lastly, the analysis section will explore how the demand side is created through the production of the "paradise" image and industry, its clients, and the psychological, physical and societal impact of CST. The fifth chapter will summarise the challenges found in the comprehensive analysis and develop some sustainable recommendations to counter them. The concluding chapter will summarise the general findings of the here presented thesis and provide recommendations for further research.

1.1 Research Question

- *Can a more comprehensive approach to the sexual exploitation of children & child sex tourism in the Caribbean contribute to a shift towards more effective and sustainable policy recommendations?*

2. Literature Review

2.1 Definitions

Due to the complexity of the topic, past and current research often lacks agreed definitions of terms that are widely used. Therefore, before exploring this research, it makes sense to define a few key words that will play a significant role in this work.

2.1.1 Tourists

The term "tourist" was first coined in 1963 by the IUOTO, as "temporary visitors staying at least twenty four hours in the country visited and the purpose of whose journey can be classified under one of the following headings: (i) Leisure (recreation, holiday, health, study, religion, sport); (ii) Business, family, mission, meeting" (IUOTO, 1963). This definition was later enhanced by Valene Smith (1989) with the factors of tourists' disposable income and local promotion of their behaviour (Smith, 1989: 1), which help explaining the power imbalances that will be elaborated on later in this work.

In general, five types of tourism can be distinguished: cultural, ethnic, environmental, historical, and recreational (which includes sex tourism) (Puccia, 2009: 19). Although communities strive for the diversification of the sector, recreational tourism continues to be the prime form found in the Caribbean, through the marketing of "paradise". Current scholarly approaches also include non-traditional understanding of "tourists", such as domestic travellers (ECPAT International, 2016: 21) and those visiting for business, learning or to visit family, as they all participate in the tourist industry's ecosystem (Nixon, 2015: 8).

2.1.2 (Child) Sex Tourism

Sex tourism is at least partially motivated by the consumption of sexual relations, although its motivation and commercial nature remains highly contested among scholars, who recognize the possibility of situational engagement in sex tourism as opposed to its intention (Chris & Hall, 2001: x; Oppermann, 1999). Sex tourism is typically characterised by journeys from the Global North to the developing Global South (Bloor, et al., 2000). Although those targeted "sexscapes" involve power imbalances between the tourists and providers of sexual relations (Brennan, 2004: 16), it is important to note, that sex tourism can be observed along a spectrum. This ranges from commercial transactions and more ambiguous relationships, such as "romance tourism" or marriage (Oppermann, 1999; Gezinski, et al., 2016: 786).

CST expands the above mentioned definiton by specifically including children and reads as the "sexual exploitation of children by people who travel from one location to another and there engage in sexual acts with minors" (ECPAT International, 2006).

2.1.3 Sexual Exploitation of Children

Definitions of sexual exploitation of children vary greatly, with most people linking SEC to paedophilia, while some societies may define childhood as ending before the age of 18. As the UN and most international treaties acknowledge 18 as marking the end of childhood (Rafferty, 2013: 9; Lanning, 2010: 15), this definition will be employed throughout this work. Nevertheless, the adoption of an adult-child distinction in sexual exploitation will be re-evaluated alongside this work, as environmental coercion into prostitution and its consequences in the Caribbean could be found similar for both groups.

Whereas the term "commercial sexual exploitation of children" is used by leading NGOs, it implies remuneration and leaves out the social reality of sexual exploitation. Rather, the term "sexual exploitation of children" (SEC) will be adopted, as it moves beyond the constellation of victim, offender, and the sexual act, including factors like victimization, child prostitution and sex tourism (2010: 15). This definition's strength lies within its broadness, as it may include intrafamilial victims and offenders, hence offering the possibility to introduce the child's environmental coercion, such as poverty and gendered hierarchies.

2.1.4 Trafficking in Persons

Most scholars endorse the definition of trafficking found in the "Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children" (UN, 2000), also known as the Palermo Protocol, which is the first instrument to define human trafficking explicitly. Although not yet ratified globally, all Caribbean states are to date signatories. The protocol distiguishes between the trafficking of children and adults, as children are not able to consent under international law. Child trafficking is thus defined as "the act of recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation, regardless of the use of illicit means, either within or outside a country" (Rafferty, 2013: 559). To better depict the situation in the Caribbean, local exploitation without migration, as recommended by the TVPA (U.S. Department of State, 2012) will also be included.

2.2 From Colonialism to Tourism

Through the image of paradise, the Caribbean has become one of the world's most popular travel destinations (Duval, 2004: 3). The connection between slavery and tourism has been discussed through its legacy in socio-political, cultural and economic terms (Fanon, 1963; Patullo, 1996; Naipaul, 2002),

as well as its impact on processes of sexualization and racialization of women, and to some lesser extent men (McClintock, 1995; Stoler, 2002). The latter are characterised by feminist scholars that point to the circulation of affect, power, money and sex during colonialism (Nelson, 2000 ; Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003 ; Ballantyne & Antoinette, 2005; Zelizer, 2005) and the ways in which this "exotization" of commoditized Caribbean bodies fuelled imperial superiority then, as well as society and complicated relationships between tourists and locals today (Savigliano, 1995).

The reproduction of dependence of former Caribbean colonies in the current tourist industry has been studied by Sheller (2012) who acknowledges the absence of alternative economic and political structures to diverge from the "paradise" product that is sold and consumed through tourism. Racial and gendered power structures among locals and between them and tourists (Patullo, 1996; Strachan, 2002) position tourism as neo-colonialism, which is the set of political, economic and social power relations that keep the Global South dependent on the Global North (Fanon, 1963; Enloe, 1989). Coined by Strachan (2002) as the "curse of independence", Caribbean states and their tourism industry still rely heavily on foreign investment, leaving them marginalized at the control over their own development, movement and resources (Farrell, 1983; Duval, 2004: 10). Modern mass tourism in the Caribbean is widely associated with all-inclusive holiday packages and cruise tourism (Conway, 2002; Jayawardena, 2002) and was facilitated by growing available leisure time, in the form of holidays across developed countries (Shaw & Williams, 2002), as well as the introduction of airplanes as easy and affordable mode of transportation in the mid-twentieth century (Bell, 1993). Also, the 1950s witnessed growing migration flows leading to the establishment of Caribbean diasporas that, in turn, are an important source of today's tourism (Duval, 2002). Even today, a strong association between, race, political domination, sex, and travel prevails in this industry, that is heavily eroticised (Hyam, 1990; Enloe, 1994; Gill, 2003; Nagel, 2003).

Research on tourists' motivations for traveling and their behaviour at the destination (Cohen, 1979; Yiannakis & Gibson, 1992; Puccia, 2009) have found a general association of sex and travel as well as risky and casual behaviour, especially in regions that are predominantly portrayed by the three "S": sun, sex, and sand (Oppermann, 1998; Clift & Carter, 1999; Ryan & Hall, 2001; O'Connell Davidson, 2004: 32). Such "sexual Disneylands" (2004: 38), like Southeast Asia and the Caribbean, are a result of a variety of factors: the interplay of international debt, global commodity markets, policy, legal frameworks, economic development, social environments and prostitution (Chant & McIlwaine, 1995; Alexander, 1997; Kempadoo, 1999).

Although tourism promoted regional development of economy and infrastructure (Kreag, 2001: 11; Mekinc & Music, 2015: 65), the commodification of bodies and production of cultural performances, especially for mass tourism in the context of culture or heritage tourism, has been heavily criticized as not only perpetuating the image of paradise, but also eroding local culture and identity (Jayawardena,

2000: xiv; Nixon, 2015: 21f.). Apart from cultural and economic effects of tourism on the region, biophysical effects such as environmental damage have been of growing concern in academic literature (Weaver, 1995; Wilkinson, 1989), increasingly exploring alternative modes of sustainable tourism (Hutchings, 1996; Duval, 2004: 13).

2.3 Gender Relations and Prostitution in the Caribbean

From the late 1980's until the early 2000's research focused mostly on gendered power structures and the life of women and prostitutes in the developing world. Incorporating power into the analysis of gender and analysing how both interact on the micro- (everyday life) as well as macro-level (social institutions) reveals their interconnectedness (Radtke & Stam, 1994: 13). A variety of studies have been conducted internationally (Nash & Fernandez-Kelly, 1983; Momsen & Townsend, 1987b; Steady, 1990; Mohanty, et al., 1991; Beneria & Feldman, 1992; Marchand & Parpart, 1995) and across the Caribbean (Hart, 1989; Senior, 1991; Momsen, 1993; Safa, 1995), but also country-specific within the region (Beckles, 1989a; Lewis, 2001; Gray, 2001; Watson, 1990). Most of these works focus on the female burden of bread-winning and racial hierarchies that women encounter in the labour market. More specific research concerns the unequal access to education for girls (Leo-Rhynie, et al., 1997), and their disadvantaged status in the global economy (Freeman, 2000; Jayasinghe, 2001), which is even worsened within patriarchal states (Alexander, 1997; Barriteau, 2001).

Women's sexuality (Mohammed, 2000; Kempadoo, 1999) and the uprising against their subordinated role within Caribbean society (Davies & Savory Fido, 1990; Barnes, 1999; Edmondson, 1999) as well as the underlying legal systems that enable this situation (Robinson, 2000) are other major research fields. Works on prostitution have moved beyond the assumption of the "world's oldest profession" (Cabezas, 2004: 18) to seing it as embedded within particular power relations and cultural contexts (O'Connell Davidson, 1998; Gilfoyle, 1999). Feminist movements and scholars have also turned to rebranding prostitution as empowering labor (Cabezas, 2004: 18, Kempadoo & Doezema, 1998: 4), thus focusing on prostitution as an instrument to eradicate stigma, moralize discourses, acquire agency, protection and decent working conditions (Ibid.; Nagle, 1997; Bell, 1994). This framing of prostitution is nevertheless heavily contested, as it disregards drivers (e.g. poverty) that coerce people into selling their bodies and hence continues contributing to gendered hierarchies (Satz, 1995; Barry, 1995; Lacsamana, 2004). It has to be noted, that due to prevailing homophobia in the region and the image of male domination and honour, this agency is not found as prominently for male homosexual prostitutes. As they mostly conceal their actions and constitute a niche market, male prostitution in the Caribbean is an acknowledged yet understudied topic (Agustín, 2007).

2.4 Sex Tourism & Paradise

Similar to tourism studies, sex tourism research focuses on global and racial inequalities as translating into power structures between guests and hosts, with a focus on the global South (Ryan & Hall, 2001; Sanchez Taylor, 2006; Kempadoo, 2001; 2005; Rivers-Moore, 2012), and is most extensively studied in Cuba (O'Connell Davidson, 1996; Fusco, 1998; Cabezas, 2004), Costa Rica (Rivers-Moore, 2012), the Dominican Republic (Brennan, 2004), Jamaica (Pruitt & LaFont, 1995; Sanchez Taylor, 2000; Herold, et al., 2001), and Thailand (Enloe, 1989; Bishop & Robinson, 1998).

The gendered impact of economic restructuring and tourism has been studied at large (Levy & Lerch, 1991; Kinnaird & Hall, 1994; Wilkinson & Wiwick, 1995; Purcell, 1997), with the sex industry representing the impact of globalization on women's lives (Kempadoo, 1999). Sex tourism itself was first identified as distinct industry in Southeast Asia (Matsui, 1989; Mies, 1989; Enloe, 1989), with prostitution originating in US military practices and later expanding into sex tourism for the sake of gaining foreign exchange (Truong, 1990; Jeffreys, 2009: 130). The intertwined relationship of prostitution, sex, and tourism in developing countries has consequently found its way into anthropology, tourism and IR research studies (Fanon, 1963; Turner & Ash, 1976; Crick, 1989; Hall, 1996; Jeffreys, 1999; O'Connell Davidson, 2000; Carter & Clift, 2000; Garrick, 2005). Herein, its scope varies from casual "romantic" encounters, to the search for commercial intercourse (Urry, 1990; O'Connell Davidson, 1996; Patullo, 1996; Pettman, 1997; Oppermann, 1998). Although Southeast Asia has been initially at the heart of sex tourism research, the Caribbean is increasingly studied through the outsourcing of women's societal subordination in care-work and prostitution, as tourism is to-date the most important source of income for the regional economy (Jeffreys, 2009: 130).

The typical sex tourist is imagined as Western male seeking sexual encounters with exotic young women and girls (Cohen, 1982; Seabrook, 1997; Jeffreys, 2003). Due to the illicit nature of the industry, it is hard to quantify the rate of sex tourists among regular tourists, although some scholars argue for an estimate of about 10% (Michel, 2013; Mathieu, 2015; Teiceira Castilho, et al., 2018), excluding those that spontaneously engage into such actions. What drives those tourists is the well-marketed image and (sexual) fantasy of Caribbean "paradise" (Sheller, 2012; Nixon, 2015: 18), which will be explored in the following chapters. The commodification of difference and the distance to home, promote unethical behaviour, grounded in theories of gender, race and nationality (Nixon, 2015: 16; Sanchez Taylor, 2000) and sexual relationships between tourists and locals in the Caribbean feature in a variety of works (Pruitt & LaFont, 1995; O'Connell Davidson, 1996; de Albuquerque, 1998; Kempadoo, 1999). In this context, female sex tourism, also often referred to as "romance tourism" is less researched upon, as it is assumed to be of less exploitative character (Meisch, 1995; Jeffreys, 1997; Nagle, 1997; Bruckert & Hannem, 2013).

2.5 CST, CSE & Trafficking

Within sex tourism, scholars refer to child sex tourism as the “dark side of tourism” or “grey tourism”, mostly to be found in poor and developing countries (Mekinc & Music, 2015: 66). Although quantification is precarious, sexual exploitation and forced labour supposedly make up more than half of child exploitation cases worldwide (Seager, 2009: 72). Among the most popular and studied CST destinations are Cambodia (Foggo, 2002), Goa (O'Connell Davidson & Sánchez Taylor, 1996a), Sri Lanka (Beddoe, 1998), Thailand (Montgomery, 2001) and the Philippines (Lee-Wright, 1990). With CST receiving a rather short outcry in the Caribbean region by the end 1990s, research has been predominantly conducted in Cuba, Colombia, Guyana and the Dominican Republic (Silvestre, et al., 1994; O'Connell Davidson & Sanchez Taylor, 1996b; O'Connell Davidson & Sanchez Taylor, 1996c; Danns, 1998; Song, 2003).

With a large part of those entering prostitution in the Caribbean being minors, CST is treated largely as a separate topic within sex tourism and the tourism industry (Jeffreys, 2009: 144). Among the most successful NGOs, ECPAT has now moved on from Southeast Asia to advocate against CST in other regions of the world, such as the Caribbean (Hall, 1998; Seabrook, 2000). Globalization is of the major drivers behind the recent increase in CST, with scholars pointing to affordable travel modes (Seabrook, 2000: 15) and digital exploitation possibilities through online-forums and child pornography (Mekinc & Music, 2015: 68; Dombrowski, et al., 2007). Root causes are predominantly found in poverty as environmental coercion and the crumbling of family structures, whereas the demand by tourists is mostly based on racialized fantasies of paradise (Kempadoo, 1999: 18; Herman, 1992), which will figure later in the analysis section. What should be noted at this point is that the increase in stricter policies in Western countries, paired with affordable travel opportunities has had a significant impact on sexual offenders travelling abroad (George & Panko, 2011: 136). Focussing mainly on Western sex tourists, the importance of locals sexually abusing and exploiting children all year round is less well researched, although it does account in some areas for more than 50% of clients (Lafontaine, et al., 2011; ECPAT International, 2014).

The widespread use and acceptance of violence against women and children is one of the more important structural issues encountered in the Caribbean. Due to few witnessed societal changes, it remained a predominant research field since the 1980’s to date (Jones & Trotman Jemmott, 2016: 837; Finkelhor, 1994). Childhood sexual abuse specifically is found to be often linked to other forms of maltreatment, therefore increasing vulnerability and impacting the child’s further life cycle (Widom, et al., 2008). Other areas of interest within CST research concern legal systems and extraterritorial punishment (Seabrook, 2000; Tepelus, 2007), the importance of business travellers in enhancing

demand, as well as virgin-seeking within the CST industry (Global Study on SEC in Travel and Tourism, 2016).

The increasing demand in the sex industry is met especially by trafficking of women and children, with its steady increase making it one of the most pressing international human rights violations to date (Bassiouni, et al., 2010: 417; Miller-Perrin & Wurtele, 2017). Trafficking is estimated to globally generate at least nine billion dollars' worth of annual revenues, fuelled by poverty and hopelessness (Coonan & Thompson, 2005; Payne & Dimanche, 1996). Since sex tourism was only recognised within tourism studies in the 1970's, trafficking has only been addressed in the specific context of CST and CSE in the past two decades (Ryan & Hall, 2001). With SEC and child trafficking reaching new heights every year, scholars prove that not only the demand is steadily increasing, but that the introduction of legislature and policies in the affected countries has not been effective so far (Brown & Barrett, 2002; Jones & Trotman Jemmott, 2016).

Further research considers trafficking in terms of demand and supply market perspectives (Aronowitz & Koning, 2014), in order to create a more classifiable understanding of SEC, and discuss issues behind legal definitions and the development of trafficking in persons alongside international organizations and protocols (Bassiouni, 2010). Special interest is also found in the doubling of regular tourism industry supply chains, intermediaries, and fraudulent recruitment practices (Matsui, 1999), as facilitators for trafficking and exploitation to meet the global demand for cheap labour (Department of State, 2015: 13; Tepelus, 2007).

3. Methodology

The literature review has shown that, whereas in Southeast Asia NGOs have been eager to set an end to CST, few improvements have been observed throughout the Caribbean in the last decades. Therefore, comprehensive research on SEC and CST, as well as sustainable policy recommendations are becoming more important to end this protracted situation. Major statistical gaps, and the lack of comprehensive research on the very complex topic of SEC in local, regional and tourist contexts, is at the heart of this issue. Focussing only on certain aspects of the interplay between history, society, and international influence, most current recommendations eventually overlook certain peculiarities and, at best, alleviate symptoms in the short term thus not changing the structure of the issue substantially. Furthermore, researchers, NGOs, and governments are presented with a myriad of specific research and case studies, lacking a comprehensive and rather essential compilation that would help characterising the issue in the region and highlighting points of action.

3.1 Qualitative analysis: Empiric vs. Interpretive

Within social research, understood as the entirety of methods especially employed within social and political sciences (Häder, 2015: 12), content analysis is considered one of the most prominent methods. It consists of two major schools: qualitative and quantitative, or empiric and interpretive (Behnke, et al., 2010: 42). The resulting dichotomy represents a methodological divide, but just as research concepts adapt to their object, approaches may be situated along the empirical-interpretive continuum (Lamont, 2015: 17). While empiricism represents naturalist and epirically grounded research, mostly relying on theories and statistics, interpretivism relies on constructivism and reflexivity, analyzing norms, ideas and beliefs in which politics and policies are grounded (Ibid.: 18; Gläser & Laudel, 2010: 26).

For the purpose of this work, an interpretive approach will be adopted. This is in part due to the dynamics of history, society, and international involvement that characterise SEC/CST, and need to be reflected upon individually and in the way they condition each other. An issue in current research is the contextualization of victimization and abuse in Western contexts (Jones & Trotman Jemmott, 2016: 837f.), fueling the need for a better understanding of the implication of regional norms and ideas to formulate sustainable solutions in the Caribbean. Amongst others, the "paradise" that sex tourists encounter and the incentives for a regular tourist to engage in commercial sexual activities with minors also need to be seen in the larger contexts of colonial history, power imbalances, and modern marketing methods. It is this kind of understanding that an interpretive approach provides.

Another issue, hindering an empiric approach, is the lack of viable data linked to SEC/CST in the Caribbean. Estimating the number of children that fall prey to trafficking, sexual and/or commercial exploitation is difficult, if not impossible (Goodey, 2008; Logan, et al., 2009). Different criteria and definitions of trafficking, sexual and commercial exploitation, paired with social acceptance of sexual violence in many countries, hinders developments herein drastically (Bassiouni, et al., 2010: 432). Furthermore, victims do not always have access to social/legal services and are often reluctant to cooperate, as they fear their traffickers or distrust the legal system (Miller-Perrin & Wurtele, 2017: 127). Although the inadequacy of statistics is widely acknowledged, the need to quantify the issue leads to the spread of flawed data and "guesstimates" (Ibid.: 127f.). Also, international studies often tend to amend the data gap by merging Latin America, Central America and the Caribbean into one analysis unit, therefore disregarding the regions' social, historical, and economic differences and flawing generalised conclusions.

3.2 Methodological Approach

As stated above, the main approach of this work will be an interpretive content analysis. This is not to say that the efforts of governments and NGOs to collect data should be disregarded. In fact, the present analysis will provide some cautious data to underline qualitative findings. This is to provide the reader with a rough estimate of their impact, whilst dark figures and shortcomings should still be considered.

For the purpose of the upcoming analysis, comprehensive as well as specific works on the following topics have been selected: (sex) tourism, sexual exploitation of children, Caribbean society, and the history of colonialism in the Caribbean. Most of these books date back to the late 1990's and early 2000's, when CST became a prominent topic within tourism research, and are still heavily cited in current works. In addition, a variety of case studies conducted in one or more Caribbean countries have been explored to gain country-specific insight. Although most information is available on the cases of the Dominican Republic, Haiti and Jamaica, which may be due to their size and particular concern regarding natural disasters or violence rates, most Caribbean countries have been covered by particular studies in this work. Lastly, a variety of nongovernmental surveys and government data have been added to underline the findings with at least some empirical evidence. To this end, it has proven more useful to incorporate data that is not directly linked to SEC but root causes, such as corruption, access to water or malnutrition. This data is more viable and delivers therefore a more accurate picture of the wider phenomenon. As the goal of this work is to formulate sustainable policy recommendations, on the basis of this comprehensive analysis, existing recommendations have been compiled from the afore mentioned data and will be included, critically evaluated, and enhanced in the final section of this work.

Articles and books have been accessed through the Leiden University library, their online catalogue and consequent access to research portals. In addition, further articles and books have been found through key word online research and reference checking in assembled works. NGO and governmental surveys have been first gathered in a bigger number and screened. These include reports issued by by bigger NGOs like AI, Save the Children, UN & UNICEF, as well as smaller university funded studies on law, abuse or psychology. In a second step, those studies that were found generalising too much, relying mostly on Latin American data or varying greatly in their outcome from more credible case studies have been discarded for their low viability.

Qualitative analysis relies on a categorical system, or code dictionary (Heindl, 2015: 311). In preparation for the following analysis, the found content was therefore assigned to the following categories:

- The impact of colonialism and slave trade on today's tourist industry
- Root causes of SEC/CST
- The creation of "paradise" for the sex tourist
- The psychological/physical consequences for the children
- Policy recommendations

These specific units of analysis were chosen, as they represent different parts of the issue: its historical influence, current drivers, facilitators and perpetuation, as well as consequences that eventually lead to the evaluation of current challenges and recommendations. Alongside the analysis, several sub-levels have been added inductively (Mayring, 2010: 67-85), or merged. Each analysis section will therefore be divided into smaller evident sections.

4.1 From Colonialism to Neo-Colonialism

4.1.1 Commodification of Bodies: Race and Gender During Colonialism

In order to understand gender and race based inequalities in today's Caribbean society, this work has to take a step back in history and have a look at the footprints that European colonizers left centuries ago and that remain highly visible in today's society. Especially in the Caribbean, exploitation and sexual conquest of the exotic became manifest through trafficking in women, slave breeding and the use of prostitutes/concubines, therefore making it commonplace within economic and political structures (Cabezas, 2004: 987; Kempadoo, 1999). With its origins in the 1590's Caribbean slavery developed under European colonial powers during the seventeenth century, with the goal of exploiting the upsurge in mining and agriculture (Beckles, 2003: 143). Studies on slavery in the Caribbean suggest that sex work played an integral role in colonialist behaviour (Moitt, 1996; Morrissey, 1989; Bush, 1990), with prostitution symbolizing control and power over black women by European colonizers. It encompassed not only the right to extract labor from the darker skinned slaves, but also the legal right to sexual access over their property (Beckles, 1989b; Kempadoo, 1999: 5), hence objectifying slave women and leaving them unprotected before the law (2003: 144). This "right" to sexual abuse and rape was amply used by slave owners and even simple white men that could generally afford it. This commodification of bodies and racial hegemony thus became institutional to Caribbean societies (Henriques, 1965: 195).

The interplay of race, sex and power in colonial projects is best understood in the notion of exoticism, which shows at the same time romanticization, exploitation and oppression of the racial, cultural or ethnic "other" (Said, 1979; Kabbani, 1988; Yagenoglu, 1998). Exoticism has its origins in orientalism, the way in which Europe viewed "the East" throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century: its legitimation of European domination, conquest, and escapist fantasies of sexual joy and violence (Kempadoo, 2003: 161). In these exotic regions, outside of sexually repressive Europe, sex "was neither penalized, nor pathologized nor exclusively procreative" (Rousseau & Porter, 1990: 118). Exoticism did therefore not only legitimise Western rule, but concealed itself as not racist by the illusion of attraction and admiration, while at the same time promoting rape, enslavement and genocide (2003: 163). Herein, Europeans established a scale of skin colour, in which lighter skin was valued highest and which African descendants had to internalize in order to survive (van Wijk, 2006: 65). In the absence of formal recognition, slave women's children followed their mother's condition, and became either part of the free coloured class or the slave population. Therefore, while white men used reproduction with black women as a social tool of power and economic tool of wealth

accumulation through higher valued *mulatto* slave children, the (often involuntary) sexual encounters would provide the children with the chance for slightly better treatment (Beckles, 1989b; Kempadoo, 1999: 7). Race thus defined the slave system's hierarchical culture (Shepherd, et al., 1995), where "the white woman consumed, the coloured woman served and the black woman worked" (Beckles, 2003: 145; Mair, 1987). For the slave owner, black women could therefore serve three purposes: be part of the work force, provide more labour force through reproduction, and the possibility to be hired out as housekeepers or mistresses, to generate extra income during hard times (Beckles, 1989b: 142). Male slaves were also subject to sexual abuse, especially by Iberians, although in a different context. "To rape a male slave was to feminise him – to conquer him both physically and psychologically" (Sweet, 2003: 74). Sex was hierin used as a tool to emasculate and dominate men, forcing them into passive subjects (Trexler, 1995: 84). Women, although abused and dominated by white men, could use these sexual relations to influence their destinies and acquire better living conditions. Concubinage was therefore seen as a survival strategy, especially for younger female slaves (Bush, 2000: 726; Wade, 2009: 71f.).

The Caribbean was represented "as a land of sexual opportunity for young European males", with immoral and sexually promiscuous black women (free and enslaved) as the white man's sexual property (Morrissey, 1989: 147). Their behaviour was compared to animals, driven by sexual instincts, in contrast to what constituted "pure" and "decent" white womanhood (Kutzinski, 1993; Reddock, 1994). Among Caribbean women, the "mulatto" woman, of mixed descent was considered exceptionally exotic and desired by white men, while dark skin was often constructed as ugly and dirty (Henriques, 1965; Beckles, 1989b). Representing racial impurity, the mulatta was nevertheless ideologically and legally outcast and defined through her economic profitability. Her emergence during slavey was therefore a symbol of prostitution: "the sexually available, socially despised, yet economically profitable body" (Kempadoo, 1999: 6). This racialization of sexual desire is still found in many Caribbean societies today. In Cuba and the Dominican Republic, even among locals, the mulatta is seen as desirable (Schwartz, 1997), while Haitian women are seen as too dark skinned and are often associated with poor hygiene (Kempadoo, 2003: 172f.).

The period of emancipation, that followed slavery, did not fundamentally change the established sexuality patterns. Although not legally bound to slave owners anymore, the "white-bias" still encouraged sexual abuse and power relations (1965: 203). Also, some professions remained "women's work" or "black/coloured work", such as prostitution and domestic servitude (Kempadoo, 1999: 9). New economic pressure pushed ex-slaves into poverty, which explains the increase in prostitution, as for example in the case of Jamaica (Ibid.: 204).

4.1.2 How Tourism Became the "Cure" for Colonial Hangover

By the twentieth century, aggravated through the 1920s depression and the First World War, the Caribbean region suffered from deep poverty and dependence on the few agricultural products that were exported: cotton, sugar and cocoa (Barriteau, 2001: 49). The inequities and institutionalization of injustice, created through colonialism and slavery, exacerbated especially coloured people's situation in the post-emancipation period. The 1930's to 1950's were characterised by political and economic issues on international and regional levels, with the shrinking of the British Empire and the simultaneous expansion of U.S. hegemony in the region (Ibid.). The 1950's to 1970's showed waves of political independence among Caribbean states, although their varying levels of expansionist policies, and integration into the capitalism driven world economy, sparked political turmoil and unemployment throughout the region (Reddock, 1994; French, 1995). This was partially due to the US abolishing their preferential market access (Marshall, 1998) and the international economic shocks that affected those disadvantaged states disproportionally (2001: 68). Furthermore, existing gender systems, that promoted the inferior status of women in politics, economy, and domestic life were reinforced in society (Carty, 1988).

The road to neo-colonialism followed a similar pattern throughout the region. International donor agencies would push a state towards tourism as driver of economic growth. Previously organized by emerging industrialization that provided subsidies and protection for certain economic sectors, that state would shift towards export which urged radical changes (Silié & Colón, 1994; Cabezas, 1999: 94). Following financial crisis, rising debt, and the constant expanding of the informal sector, the IMF would then call for austerity measures that effectively ended subsidies in food, raised the prices for basic necessities, and led to the overall decrease in social welfare services as they were either canceled or privatised (Deere, et al., 1990). Increasing inequality, aggravated poverty, and migration were the result, pushing more people into the informal sector to provide for their families (Cabezas, 2009: 12). These developments are best studied in the 1960's Dominican Republic (Cabezas, 2004), 1980's Jamaica (Mullings, 1999) and post-soviet Cuba (2004: 989; Susman, 1998). In 1993 the World Bank reported the Caribbean to be the region with the highest migration rates in the world (Mondesire & Dunn, 1995: 11), losing about 10% of its population between the 1950's and the 1980's (Momsen, 1987). This process was by that time an institutionalized aspect of Caribbean society, as the predominantely male migrants sent back much needed remittances, to the now mostly female-headed households (Momsen & Townsend, 1987a: 346). Migration mitigated therefore the effects of surplus labour and restrictive welfare throughout the region (Barriteau, 2001: 63).

The preference of young women in export-processing industries led to high rates of male unemployment, leaving women with a higher burden of economic provision. Due to low wages in these

industries, women were forced to complement their income by working in the informal sector, which coincided with an increase in prostitution across the Caribbean (Cabezas, 1998). The Caribbean's advertisement through the four S': sea, sand, sun and sex continued to sell the erotic "other" as naturally sexually available and part of the vacation package (Campbell, et al., 1999; Walvin, 1992). Therefore, the image of tourism as service oriented "hospitality" industry put and still puts women at the centre of this sector, whether they serve food, keep rooms clean or satisfy tourists sexually (Momsen, 1994; Sinclair, 1997). This is also due to the fact, that women are often paid less than men, which keeps the tourist destination affordable for the industry, as well as the tourist (Brennan, 2004: 32).

Initially, international tourism was sold to Caribbean states as the idea of economic development, "without large outputs of manufacturing and technology" (Miolan, 1994), thus creating much needed jobs and exchange and promoting cultural understanding. Based on attractive natural assets, such as the warm climate, culture, and beaches, tourism was expected to feed from existing resources (Taveras, 1993). By granting foreign investors concessions and tax abatements, governments hoped to stimulate foreign exchange, repay debts and create jobs (Cabezas, 1999). The resulting disparities in wealth distribution are ever growing, as tourism facilities on the one hand provide potable water, energy and infrastructure, whereas the vast majority of the local population experiences deficiencies in all these forms (Ibid.). The promised advantages of independence and tourism have turned their back on the Caribbean states, as they remain culturally and materially controlled by factors, such as foreign investments and globalisation, wherefore Nixon (2015) describes tourism as "one of the largest sites of neo-colonialism, shaping economic realities and national culture" (2015: 3). The foremost broken promise of tourism turned out to be the provision of employment and welfare for locals. While most tourist resorts and facilities are owned by international companies, countries have to borrow money to build infrastructure in the first place, thus encouraging dependence rather than empowering themselves (Crick, 1989: 316). Through increasing competition within the Caribbean region, more money is borrowed in a vicious cycle (Chambers, 2000). While work in the tourism sector stimulates migration of locals to the tourist regions, they only find low-paid and unskilled work, as expatriates are typically employed (Gregory, 2007: 25). Furthermore, darker skinned people are rarely hired for jobs that require direct contact with tourists, except for eroticised activities such as animators (2007: 26). These patterns recreate, what Crick (1989) calls "the dualistic structure, the plantation system, of the colonial economy" (1989: 317).

In addition, the Caribbean experiences a relatively high level of "leakage", which describes the amount of money that does not reach or stay within the holiday destination (Meyer, 2006: 6). Figure 2 shows, how this leakage comes about in most developing countries. The World Bank expects an overall leakage of about 55% in the developing world (Boo, 1990), and the Caribbean reports an average

leakage of 70%, although individual states such as the Bahamas have found rates as high as 90% (Patullo, 1996). Compared to other well-established tourism destinations, such as New Zealand and the Philippines (11-20% leakage), the Caribbean is nevertheless ranking exceptionally high (2006: 8). This might be in part due to the predominant industry of all inclusive tourism that takes place in the Caribbean. Subsequently the trips are planned and paid for in advance, outside of the destination country, therefore not benefiting the local population and increasing poverty as well as inequality.

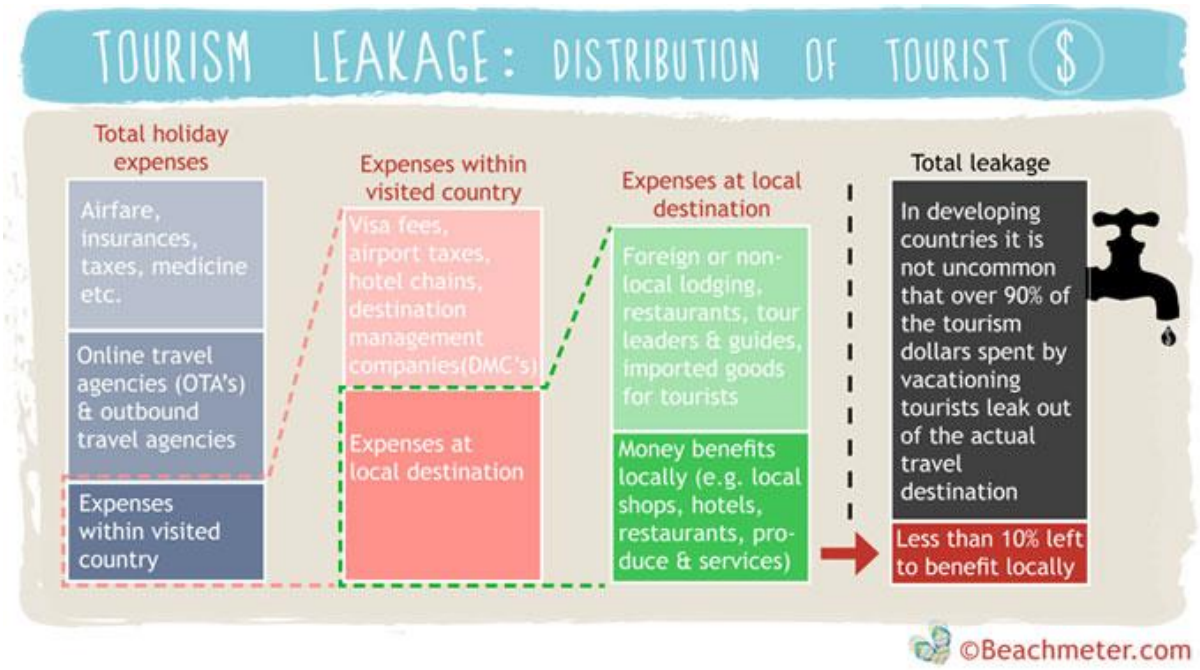

Figure 1: Explaining Tourism Leakage (Beachmeter, n.d.)

This analysis shows not only, how the Caribbean fell prey to the curse of independence and neo-colonialism, but also how women were disproportionally affected by its effects and how its racial and gendered hierarchies prevail in today's Caribbean society and institutions. Although women acquired voting rights in the 1950's, they were still regarded as second-class citizens and their interests were widely ignored in public policy (Mohammed, 1994; Barriteau, 2001: 57f.). Public participation was even more restricted for women of East Indian or Asian origin, as their cultural gender ideologies regard women as destined for the role of wife and mother (Seapaul, 1988; Ryan, 1988: 389). Also, although many legal female discriminatory measures were removed by the 1980's, the underlying gender ideologies and biased interpretation when it comes to their application, still remain (2001: 69). Women's low societal status, additionally conditioned by their race, and their status as often sole breadwinners in the household left and still leaves them vulnerable to exploitation through the illicit tourism sector and prostitution.

4.2 Explaining Sexual Exploitation of Children

4.2.1 Poverty & Globalization

The afore mentioned feminization of poverty paved the way for the commodification of sex that is so widely accepted in the Caribbean today and that increases especially poor women's and children's vulnerability (Quamina-Aiyejina & Brathwaite, 2005). Reports show, that the share of extremely poor children is significantly higher in rural, than in urban areas (UNICEF, 2016) and that domestic servitude is considered common practice for poor children across the Caribbean, working unpaid but living with the families they serve. In Haiti, approximately 6% of all girls and 32.1% of all boys aged 13 to 17 years have ever worked for money or other forms of payment (Together for Girls, 2014: 42). Furthermore, states such as Jamaica report "Sugar Daddys/Mommies" increasingly engaging into sexual relations with children, often below the age of twelve, in exchange for money or goods (Shared Hope International, 2012: 34).

Drivers for child prostitution are foremost grounded in hunger and the instinct to survive (Fraley, 2005), as well as complementing the family income (Pasura, et al., 2012: 209). Nevertheless, other poverty-related factors must be considered, as those living in rural areas are found exchanging sexual favours for protection on unsafe roads, to pay bus fares or to buy school books. In this case, children are left with little choice when it comes to pursuing an education to eventually escape poverty (AI, 2006). The international spread of consumerism further aggravates SEC, as children in impoverished regions seek to adopt technology and fashion trends. With no special skill required, the sex industry lures them with the idea of earning good money in little time (George & Panko, 2011: 135), and often it is even parents, who emerge in the consumerist lifestyle and exploit their children to maintain it (Ibid.).

Romance stories à la *Pretty* Woman and the hope for a better life continues to promote migration, especially of young girls from rural areas, to tourist hubs, as studied for the Dominican Republic (Brennan, 2004), Haiti (Lunde, 2010) and Costa Rica (Vandegrift, 2008). Countries affected by higher youth unemployment or natural desasters, like Haiti and Nicaragua, are more likely to produce mass migration flows to those destinations (Lunde, 2010). While young girls are found more likely to migrate within the region (2010: 16), they mostly work in unskilled jobs within the tourism industry or domestic servitude, as higher paying jobs are preferably given to international migrants (Vandegrift, 2008).

Furthermore, the ability to work and secure a livelihood within the legal economy is often bound to the local's claim to citizenship. Especially poorer families are often reluctant to register their new-borns, as it requires to visit an official location and may be bound to the payment of a fee or due taxes.

Also, those who encounter the police often face the loss of their identity papers, as reported in the Dominican Republic (Gregory, 2007: 36f.). Through the routine of "policing of citizenship" authorities have the power to control people's movements across social labor divisions within the tourism economy (Ibid.), and to deny children the access to the regular job market in the first place.

4.2.2 Societal & Educational Drivers

SEC is reportedly an "open secret" in the Caribbean and although it mostly involves older men and girls, boys are increasingly found to be exploited in similar ways (Jones & Trotman Jemmott, 2016: 843). SEC is normalised due to the still prevailing view that women's bodies serve male sexuality, a "boys will be boys" mentality and over all *machismo* (ECPAT International, 2016). Girls and boys are aditionally often recruited at auctions, as reported for Jamaica, where girls as young as 14 would be hired and bought off their families by clubs (Shared Hope International, 2012: 26). *Machismo* is "a stereotype that emphasizes hypermasculinity and (is) associated with the Latin American male" (Hardin, 2002: 1). It includes a variety of perceptions about male aggression, pursuit of women and sexual expertise (Puccia, 2009: 37f.), grounded in Spanish colonisers' portrayal of the Latin male. Just as racial and gendered hierarchies, this colonial stereotype has found its way into today's society and prevails as justification of male behaviour. A survey in Haiti found about 50% of surveyed girls endorsing the idea that men should be able to lay with other women, decide about the timing of sex, the use of condoms and that women should accept violence if it meant to keep the family together (Together for Girls, 2014: 24). Men are seen as possessing a greater sex drive that needs to be met, thus justifying cheating, while women are expected to mostly refrain from sexual intercourse before marriage, leading to a "sexual double standard" within society and the wide acceptance of sexual abuse (Chant & Craske, 2003: 142f.). This social reality runs in stark contrast to the image of the wild and erotic local woman that is portrayed in tourism advertisement. Gender-based discrimination and killings are highly reported for Jamaica (AI, 2006) and Nicaragua (AI, 2018: 279), where women are at high risk of being sexually harrassed and unable to press charges due to the social stigma they encounter or the impunity that laws offer to perpetrators. The same Haitian study also found, that about 50% of inquired girls and 40% boys aged 13 to 17 years believed wife-beating was justified in a variety of situations, ranging from leaving the house without notice to burning the food (2014: 24).

Limits of analysing SEC in the Caribbean through "fixed, adult-centric, white, Eurocentric, gendered, middle-class values of childhood" (Robinson, 2008) are commonplace. Childhood, especially in the Global South, has to be understood as conditioned by the distinct economic, social, historical and cultural environment (Kesby, et al., 2006; Holt & Holloway, 2006). Studies by Jones and Trotman Jemmott (2016) and Pasura et. al (2012) show, that recognition of childhood in the Caribbean varies

between 12 and 16 years of age, although the beginning of menstruation may also define them as legitimate sexual targets (2016: 838). Male sexual entitlement was found as deeply culturally embedded, allowing for the abuse of adolescents as they are often denied the status "child". A minority of about 20% of participants also agreed, that fathers had the right to decide with whom their children would initiate first intercourse, allowing themselves the right to do so as patriarchs (2016: 840). In general, the involvement of young girls in prostitution is widely seen as "normal" and essentially "of choice", with men seeing girls as becoming more and more sexually assertive at a younger age (2012: 206). They see this as legitimation for engaging into sexual economic exchange with them, without considering that these girls may be coerced into prostitution through poverty and desperation. The situation nevertheless differs for the sexual abuse of boys, as *machismo* often impedes the acknowledgement of this abuse. On the one hand, relations with an older woman are seen as a boy's sexual "initiation" or "education". On the other hand, abuse by a man often goes along with homophobia, fear of own homosexuality and macho social norms, hence leading largely to the suppression of this event and significantly lower report rates (2012: 207). Still, girls are more frequently targeted, with about 47% of sexual initiations reported as at least partially forced, with higher prevalence in rural areas (Halcon, et al., 2000)[1].

Race and belonging to a minority group are another set of factors that increase a child's vulnerability. While the *mulatta* is still widely regarded as desirable, black and indigenous women experience their subjugation to ethnic-racial hierarchies (Wade, 2013: 188), manifest in their often low status and predominant employment in unskilled work (Anderson, 2000; Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003). As a site of articulation of gender and race, domestic servitude has long disregarded the dimensions of racism and sexual abuse that figure for especially darker-skinned women in this sector. This is especially concerning, knowing the amount of children that it employs. Colonial racial hierarchies are also found in the sex sector, where blackness is still seen as rather undesired and often associeated with poor hygiene. Therefore, black and indigenous women and children are more heavily exploited, as their services are lower paid (Brennan, 2004: 34f.). This shows clearly in the Dominican Republic in the case of darker skinned Haitian migrants (Torres-Saillant, 1999; Brennan, 2004).

The last societal driver for SEC is the poor acces to education that many children experience. The main reason for children to drop out of secondary education is the need to provide for themselves and their families (Save the Children, 2018; Clark, 2008: 74). Also, girls, especially those belonging to ethnic minority groups, are found to have less access to education (ECPAT International, 2016: 26). Although primary education for all children, as one of the UN's millennium goals, seems to have improved, UNESCO (2017) reports out-of-school rates ranging from 1% (e.g. Belize & Aruba) to 19% (Puerto Rico)

[1] 1997-1998 study carried out in Jamaica and 8 other Caribbean countries and referring to girls that had encountered sexual intercourse.

and UNICEF (2015a) found an average rate of 6.3% in Latin America and the Caribbean. Furthermore, a national survey in Haiti found only about 50-60% of children finishing primary school (Save the Children, 2018). Also, even though enrolment numbers are constantly rising, children enter primary education often at a later age than recommended and spend significantly longer within it. More detailed statistics on education can be found in Appendix A. Children without a solid educational background are vulnerable, as they face fewer job-possibilities (formal or informal) and are less likely to question their working conditions or contracts (Clark, 2008: 74). Finally, with the majority of schools being privately managed and few schools situated in rural areas, education is simply less accessible for poorer families, wherefore their children's vulnerability is further increased (AI, 2018: 185).

4.2.3 Sexual Violence and Eroding Family Structures

Sexual violence comprises a variety of actions, including but not limited to: emotional abuse, poverty-induced transactional sex, threats, involuntary or humiliating intercourse (AI, 2006: 8; Together for Girls, 2014: 20). Although these terms are generally accepted among Caribbeans, transactional relations between older men and "consenting" adolescents are generally accepted or overlooked (Jones & Trotman Jemmott, 2009: 8). Violence, whether domestic, rape or catcalling, is widespread in the Caribbean and a prominent *macho* behaviour (van Wijk, 2006: 35). The World Bank (2003) estimates the Caribbean to have the worldwide earliest age of sexual initiation, at an average of 10 years old and mostly due to child abuse. The socially and culturally constructed boundaries of childhood, as well as the varying definition of what constitutes child sexual abuse, make it difficult to quantify this issue.

Countries that stand out in reports on gender- and age-based violence are Jamaica, Haiti and Nicaragua. The low legal protection of women and encouraged societal impunity of men creates an environment that leaves women at the margins of self-defence and report rates of sexual abuse at only about 25% (AI, 2006: 4; AI, 2018: 279). In addition, the high level of gang violence, especially in Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago that persists even in schools, and the general availability of guns exacerbates the situation, leaving girls and women prey to "protectors" exchanging sexual favours for safety (2006: 4, 14; Katz & Fox, 2010). While girls are the main target of SEC, boys are increasingly among the victims (Jones & Trotman Jemmott, 2009: 13), although common homophobia leads mostly to the denial of this issue (Jones & Trotman Jemmott, 2016: 841). Children from poorer families, dark-skinned, belonging to a minority or working in domestic servitude are also found to be more vulnerable to childhood abuse (Together for Girls, 2014). More detailed statistics on sexual abuse can be found in Appendix B.

One structural factor, underlying the afore mentioned issues, is the disintegration of families. While children should be protected by their parents, Central America is leading in domestic violence (ECPAT International, 2016: 27). Exploited children are found to by majority come from dysfunctional homes, characterised by poverty, social exclusion, absence, violence, or substance abuse. In some cases, children enter prostitution to pay for their parents' drugs and end up addicted themselves (Ibid.). Intra-familial abuse and abuse by the mother's boyfriend is reported as a significant problem in Caribbean society (Jones & Trotman Jemmott, 2009: 12; UNICEF, 2014). Besides (sexual) abuse, reports find increasing levels of parental neglect among Caribbean families. The combination of poverty, marginalisation, violence, neglect, and non-provision of food (Mayorga & Velázquez, 1999), as defying basic purposes of families, leave those children vulnerable to sexual exploitation and trafficking. For more detailed information on familial neglect and abuse, see Appendix C.

4.2.4 Health Risks

The HIV epidemic is widespread across the Caribbean, with Haiti experiencing the highest rates outside of sub-Saharan Africa (Angulo-Arreola, et al., 2017: 56; Gebre, et al., 2016: 469). Most countries report heterosexual transmission to be the main reason for its spread, although it is heavily fueled by those societal factors mentioned above. *Machismo* and traditional gender roles often leave women in a position where they cannot negotiate condom use and get infected due to their partner's cheating behaviour (2017: 58). Afraid of stigma and marginalisation for themselves and their children, women may not choose to seek out treatment (AI, 2006: 18; Puccia, 2009). Further drivers of unprotected sex and the spread of HIV and STDs are: substance abuse (2017: 56f.), poor sexual education among young people (Coggins, 2007), and sex tourism (PAHO, 2007). More detailed information on substance abuse and HIV can be found in Appendix D.

In addition, those sexually or emotionally abused during their childhood are found more likely to engage into risky sexual behaviour, have multiple partners, and use condoms infrequently (Together for Girls, 2014: 24) (see also Appendix B). In many countries abortion continues to be illegal, leading to high rates of teenage pregnancy and increasing maternal mortality, as those aged 15 to 19 years are twice as likely to experience complications (UNICEF, 2008: 12; AI, 2018: 279). Again, poverty and Afro-descent are among the most influential risk factors for adolescent childbearing. Also, pregnancy and motherhood often leads girls to drop out of school, thus left without qualification for jobs in the legal industry and pushing them into prostitution (Ibid.).

A WHO report found that about 80% considered themselves healthy, although nearly 10% reported having a disability or chronic illness (WHO, 2000: 5f.). With the exception of Haiti and Nicaragua, most Caribbean countries report at least basic access to water and sanitation, although rural areas (where

data is available) seem more disadvantaged than urban areas (UNICEF, 2015b). Specific case studies show, however, that malnutrition is a serious problem in the Caribbean (Galicia, et al., 2016). Anemia is found to especially affect children under 6 years and women of childbearing age (Mujica-Coopman, et al., 2015) and hunger, as a result of neglect and/or poverty is an important driver for children to enter prostitution. More detailed statistics on the displayed health issues are found in Appendix E.

4.2.5 Trafficking

Children may exchange sexual favours for goods or money and they may enter this situation on their own behalf or pushed by family members. The most common consequence in these cases is, that they find themselves trafficked. Although trafficking for sexual exploitation takes place across borders in the Caribbean, children are more likely to be trafficked domestically. Women and children, especially those living in poverty, weak family structures, of African-descent or belonging to minority groups, are particularly vulnerable to trafficking, as they are frequently excluded from higher education, employment and overall subordinated in the social system (Clark, 2008: 72; Miller-Perrin & Wurtele, 2017).

An under-researched issue is that of re-trafficking. Those escaping trafficking frequently find themselves re-trafficked within a brief period of time, with 15 to 25-year olds being especially prone to this phenomenon (IOM, 2010: 11f.). Reasons for re-trafficking include: officials engaged in trafficking activities, weak family support, psychological trauma that impedes reintegration, discrimination or stigma, and economic difficulties back home (Ibid.). Another trend, that should be kept track of, is the digital exploitation of children herein. Countries, such as the Dominican Republic, report an increase in child pornography and find children being recruited in schools by classmates (ECPAT International, 2016: 46). Traffickers also increasingly hand out cell phones to the exploited children, through which the encounters with tourists are organised. As a result, SEC and CST in the public space is becoming less visible and harder to tackle (Ibid.: 47). Children are increasingly recruited online, while education and prevention mechanisms for children and their parents are largely absent, and traffickers easily disguise from persecution in the cyber space (ECPAT International, 2012).

All identified factors make vulnerable children prey to traffickers' promising relief, and environmental factors, such as poverty, gender-inequality, corruption, and weak legal systems facilitate traffickers to operate (Langberg, 2005: 133f.). They are aware of cultural practices and legal loopholes that enable their impunity and have a network of public and private agents, such as taxi drivers, and public officials, that recruit and transport the victims (Ibid.: 134). With the steady increase in sex tourism, the demand in trafficked prostitutes is rising as well and virtually all Caribbean states are destination and/or transit countries, whereas source countries are mostly found among those with the lowest GDP figures,

highest youth illiteracy rates and lowest rates of female primary education entrances (IHRLI, 2002). The most widespread form of recruitment are fraudulent job offers, where girls are promised jobs as waitresses, dancers or secretaries. Once accepted, girls end up in dept bondage, where pimps charge them high fees for example for transportation and behaviour with clients, introducing them into a vicious cycle of low payment and high debts that makes the girls dependent on the pimp; a form of modern day slavery (Jeffreys, 2009: 154). Especially concerning herein is the introduction of children into SEC by their own families, as through afore mentioned sex auctions in Jamaica. Desperate for income and survival, parents are increasingly found to sell their children into CST in tourist hubs, or to hand them to traffickers, who promise them a better life (Panko & George, 2012: 70; Godziak, 2008). Another form of trafficking includes what is called the "lover-boy method". Here, girls are seduced by older boys and find themselves eventually sexually exploited (Staiger, 2005). This method is, nevertheless, less attributed to big trafficking networks and rather part of individual SEC. Traffickers are not foreign to the victims; they often share the same ethnic background, language and women are increasingly part of trafficking networks, with some of them beeing former trafficking victims themselves. They eventually moved up in the network, and are valued for their ability to create trust with younger girls (UNODC, 2016: 7). Some cautious estimates on traffickers and victims can be found in Appendix F.

4.3 The Creation of "Paradise" and its Aftermath

4.3.1 The Caribbean "Paradise"

The Caribbean is mainly sold through the provocation of sexual desire, and it is transnational corporations as well as the states which profit from this. The exotic "other" and thus "paradise" are constructed just as in the colonial days (Cabezas, 1999: 110; Nixon, 2015: 3). In the tourists' mind, the destination's given attributes of climate and beaches are deeply intertwined with a certain expectation to fulfill sexual fantasies that they have fostered abroad. Most commonly cited is the expectation and perception of darker skinned Caribbean woman as warm, caring and submissive, in contrast to the cold and emancipated Western woman that is disputing men's supremacy (Kinnaird, et al., 1994).

What Thompson (2006) describes as the "Caribbean Picturesque", is among the initial drivers of tourism and promoter of the colonial paradise mythology. During the late 1880s until the beginning of the 1900s, Caribbean islands sought to refashion themselves as "tropical paradises" through staged photographies in Jamaica and the Bahamas (2006: 4). This "tropicalization" process, which describes the relationship between the imagination of islands for tourist consumptions and the resulting political and social implications, eventually led to these photographs symbolizing the whole region (Nixon, 2015: 127). Nineteenth-century travellers brought to the developed nations the idea of the Caribbean as "easy living" and the natives as welcoming and always available to serve (Sheller, 2004: 29). Havana, Cuba and Kingston, Jamaica thus developed a strong reputation for sex tourism from the 1950s on (Patullo, 1996), which was fueled by the introduction of package and cruise-ship holidays (2004: 31, 33). During this development, the bodies of Caribbean men, women and children increasingly became "naturalised", meaning they were commodities to be consumed within the inexpensive exotic and erotic experience (Enloe, 1989; Sanchez Taylor, 2000: 42).

4.3.2 Sex Tourism as Industry

As CST is part of the general tourism and sex tourism infrastructure and both children and adults work alongside each other on the streets and bars, the industry will be analysed more broadly first. Websites advertising sex tours typically use sexism-, racism- and imperialism-related marketplace mythologies, cultural mythologies that are transformed for economic and ideological purposes (Thompson, 2004), in order to intrigue the sex tourist's fantsies and desires of domination and power. Information about legal frameworks and STD's are, in turn, largely left out, showing the pages' aim at protecting just tourists and not sex workers (Gezinski, et a., 20016: 785). Through the illegality of their practice in

many countries, involved travel agencies disguise their activities through clandestine websites and social networks, hence hampering their prosecution (Teixeira, et al., 2018: 500). Arriving to the Caribbean with preconceived ideas, promoted through advertisements, media and online forums (Cheng, 2010), the sex tourism industry crafts these sexscapes to accredit the ideas of authenticity of the "uncivilized" world with its beaches and hot women (O'Connell Davidson & Sanchez Taylor, 1999). Sex tourists, however, see sex workers through the lens of cultural and racial differences instead of their work and performance for tourists. This results often in the assumption, that the qualities and behaviours expected from sex workers apply to the majority of local women as well (Katsulis, 2010). Ideas of women as naturally servile and overtly sex driven spearhead reports and discussion boards on sex tourism websites (Kempadoo, 2003), using openly degrading and racist vocabulary and most popularly refering to lighter skinned "LBFM's", meaning "little brown fucking machines" (van Wijk, 2006: 24). The racialised demand is met with most prostitutes being black or *mulattas* (Puccia, 2009: 27). Male sex workers, often called *gigolos* or *hustlers*, come from similar situations, although they tend to be single and thus don't have to support others (Pruitt & LaFont, 1995; Phillips, 1999), while in the spirit of *machismo* they are also less likely to be socially stigmatized, except for if they engage in homosexual prostitution.

The sex industry consists of many layers, racial and gendered hierarchies. While elite and male prostitutes are largely accepted by the authorities, women working in discos or on the streets are subject to common and brutal mass arrests (Cabezas, 1999: 117; Brennan, 2004). While these arrests mostly happen without clear accusations, officials and eventually the state profit from the fees and bribes that are extracted, as found in case studies on the Dominican Republic (Cabezas, 1999) and Jamaica (Campbell, et al., 1999). The police is said to restrict prostitutes' movements and regulate the industry through bribes, while social stigma leaves prostitutes at the margins of defense (Cabezas, 1999: 117f.). Locals are also found to often only have restricted access to tourist areas, with a special police force keeping these areas "clean" from local venders and prostitutes, as in the case of the Dominican Republic and discrimination of Haitian immigrants (Gregory, 2007: 66). Through these practices and institutions, the tourists are effectively denied the experience of the "real" country and fed with an improved and constructed version, especially designed for tourist consumption.

Governments, under high economic pressure, are often keen to ignore child sex tourism. As part of the larger sex tourism industry, CST disguises in the use of the established tourism industry that the state so highly depends on. In these countries, organised crime, corruption and enforcement of the rule of law are found as other correlating issues (Mekinc & Music, 2015: 71f.). With the acknowledged lack of viable data on CST, the corruption index thus may reveal at least, whether a country is likely to have high levels of informal activities, including CST. With the exception of the Bahamas and St. Lucia, all listed Caribbean states perform below 50 out of 100, thus showing high rates of corruption and low

law-enforcement rates, which generate fruitful breeding ground for CST. For more detailed corruption data, see Appendix G. Child sex tourism is found mostly through word of mouth. Within SEC and CST there are two main forms of facilitators and exploiters that create complex networks: the intermediaries and the pimps. Pimps derive their income from SEC and may be brothel owners, traffickers or even peers to the victim (ECPAT International, 2016:50). Intermediaries, on the other hand, facilitate contact and/or provide information and can be found in the formal as well as the informal sector. They may be hotel employees granting access to the premises, taxi drivers, former tourist guides, corrupt (immigration) officials or peers as well (Ibid.; Cabezas, 2004; Rafferty, 2013). In Jamaica, girls as young as thirteen are found advertised through these networks (Shared Hope International, 2012: 31). As the majority of child prostitutes don't fit the child image but are pubescent adolescents, and in the earlier mentioned absence of identification documents, child prostitution is effectively hard to isolate from adult prostitution.

4.3.3 Who Are the Clients?

Sex tourism in the Caribbean affirms the Western male's sexual need for power and desire, as men don't have to rely on their looks or be particularly rich to be "desired" by women (O'Connell Davidson & Sanchez Taylor, 1999: 40). In addition, and in contrast to Western prostitutes, they perceive the Caribbean women and girls as caring , their "relationship" to be romantic and fuelled by natural sexual desire and only to a lesser extent money, as Brennan (2004) found in her field research with Dominican sex workers (see also Wade, 2009: 194). The power imbalance between tourists and prostitutes is structured through his white-supremacy on the one hand, and his economic power on the other hand. Sex tourists tend to neglect this imbalance and, blinded by cultural mythologies, seek this "girlfriend experience" (Katsulis, 2010: 219f.; Rivers-Moore, 2013).

Garrick (2005) identifies three types of sex tourists: the "man who is looking for love", the "White Knight" and the "Macho Lad". While the macho lad represents the most misogynistic type, seeking degrading sexual interactions (Ratliff, 1999), White Knights are more benevolent and "helping" the prostitute (Yokota, 2006). Finally, the men looking for love makes use of their privileges to feel desired and dominate, although that may happen unconsciously (Garrick, 2005). The majority of case studies and reports find Americans among the predominant group of sex tourists in the Caribbean (Mekinc & Music, 2015: 69), which may be explained by geographic proximinty and low air fares. Sex tourists are found traveling to developing countries also for the reason of accrediting their cultural or racial superiority to the "uncivilised" (Brace & O'Connell, 1996; O'Connell Davidson & Sanchez Taylor, 1999: 43). They construct their own "enlightened" masculinity, generosity and humanity in contrast to the "barbarous" local men, the wife-beaters, pimps and cheaters (1999: 44; Rivers-Moore, 2012: 855).

Among sex tourists, child sex tourists don't follow a specific pattern. There is no specific origin or profession attributed to them, and although most of them are male, women also do it (ECPAT International, 2016: 48). Their age roughly lies between 20 and 60 years and even if their income is low for Western standards, this still puts them in a privileged economic position when traveling to developing states (Seabrook, 2000: 104). What is mostly left out in the discussion about CST is also the role of locals and domestic travelers in SEC in tourist destinations. Although foreigners are willing to pay more than the local average, especially if seeking intercouse with younger children, most prostitutes derive their income from year-round local clients (Mayorga & Velásquez, 1999). The case of Jamaica shows, that the girls are being moved to different towns by their pimps or traffickers to comply with this local demand year round (Shared Hope International, 2012: 29).

In contrast to popular perception, only the minority of child sex tourists can actually be classified as paedophiles, as this only includes children until the age of 13 (Lanning, 2010: 19). They are characterised as often coming from dysfunctional marriages or relationships, may have experienced sexual abuse in their own childhood and seek to seduce the child (Salter, 1988), although not generally fitting a stereotype (Blanchard, 1995). For those aged above 13, scholars refer to the perpetrators as hebephiles, meaning as attracted to adolescents (Danni & Hampe, 2000: 490). Hebephiles' victims typically remind them of the sexually happiest time in their life and, other than the paedophile, they seek the sexual relationship to be two-sided (2000: 499; Rivera & Widom, 1990). It is generally found, nevertheless, that child abusers are attracted by submissiveness (Kanters, et al., 2016), which is seen as a key selling point in Caribbean sex tourism as a whole, thus blurring the lines between adult- and CST. Furthermore, they may be classified as either preferential, the child being the object of choice, or situational, the child being a sexual convenience (Lanyon, 1986; Salter, 1988). While preferential offenders are more likely to plan their encounters beforehand and seek advice from online networks, the situational offender cannot be clearly stereotyped and his actions are therefore harder to prevent.

The motivations of tourists for the exploitation of children vary, although some common characteristics can be identified. Firstly, the status as outsider grants tourists a feeling of impunity and anonymity, which is especially important in the case of situational offenders. Presented with the possibility of a sexual encounter with a minor, this anonymity may turn the balance (George & Panko, 2011: 136; ECPAT International, 2016: 48). Closely related is the concept of social distancing, that allows the perpetrator to justify his actions through cultural prejudices, like black hypersexuality and girls being mature earlier (Kosuri & Jeglic, 2017). Secondly, the tourists' socio-economic status may lead them to see themselves as benefactors, helping struggling children and families to survive. In this case, the damage they inflict on the child and the crime committed is neglected and even violent behaviour may be seen as justified (ECPAT International, 2016: 49). Thirdly, virgin-seeking is still a common practice among CST, but also local SEC. This relies in part on cultural myths about virgins

healing sexual ailments, but also the practical idea that in a region that is plagued with HIV and STDs, younger girls are less likely to be infected (George & Panko, 2011: 135f.). Finally, the desire for superiority and domination is also found in CST, as children are easier to manipulate and dominate, especially the most vulnerable (Cossins, 2000). Exotisation plays an important role in this case, as the racialized other may be desired and dominated in a colonizer-fashion, while those tourists are rarely seen approaching poor children in the streets of developed countries for sexual favours (O'Connell Davidson, 2004; Mekinc & Music, 2015).

Even though awareness campaigns resort mostly to the image of paedophiles, it is important to acknowledge that they are only a very small group, with situational offenders constituting the main share of perpetrators. Situational offenders may have sexual encounters with both children and adults and do not worry primarily about age but physical appearance, thus denying to themselves their partner's age (O'Connell Davidson, 2000), although they may also be intrigued by one of the previously mentioned factors. In addition, the "paradise" lifestyle tourists seek in the Caribbean often involves habits such as excessive drinking which, paired with the older appearance of underage girls in heels and make up, may lead to the denial of age as well (Ibid.).

4.3.4 The Aftermath

What is left, when the tourists are gone and the children leave their families, is physical and psychological damage that is often irreversible and has a significant impact on society, as well as the states' economic future. Physical consequences include, amongst others,: exhaustion, sleeplessness, incarceration and abusive mass arrests, frequent contortions and burns as consequence of violence by customers, pimps, or traffickers, frequent viral illness, cervical cancer, chronic hepatitis, vaginal injuries due to harmful practices such as douching or the use of mixtures to tighten or dry the area, stomach-ache, headaches, STDs, vaginal infections and pregnancy as consequence of rape by a customer (Pheterson, 1996; Cabezas, 1999; Mellon, 1999; Farley, 2004; AI, 2006; Jeffreys, 2009; Mekinc & Music, 2015). Furthermore, women in prostitution are more likely to experience an early death and sexual assaults against them are more violent, often involving weapons (Farley, 2004: 1098). Also, children and young women in prostitution often lack sexual education about contraception, STDs and pregnancy and the chronic health problems, experienced by most prostitutes, are a mixture of sexual assault, physical violence, stress and childhood trauma and are deemed comparable to the long-term consequences of torture (Radomsky, 1995; Crowell & Burgess, 1996; Peel, et al., 2000). For children, the prolonged abuse can lead to permanent damage, such as stunting of growth and reproductive problems (Dixon, 2008: 84).

In addition, psychological consequences, such as depression, eating disorders, the psychological harm of being sold, suicidal thoughts or attempts, post-traumatic stress disorder, anxiety, emotional numbing, low self-esteem, guilt, self-mutilation, cutting, substance abuse, humiliation through verbal assault by pimps, insecurity and aggression are found among the majority of (child) prostitutes in the Caribbean (Favazza, 1996; Pheterson, 1996; Strong , 1998; Farley, 2004; AI, 2006; Mekinc & Music, 2015). Women may also experience a complex relationship with their pimp; what Zimmerman (2003) describes as "traumatic bonding" or "Stockholm syndrome". In this case, hostages develop affection for their kidnappers, through the instinct to survive. In prostitution women get often beaten up and raped by their pimps or traffickers but depend on them completely, leading to this psychological phenomenon and often reluctance to testify abuses (Jeffreys, 2009: 164). Children may additionally develop trust issues towards authority figures, especially when introduced into prostitution by a family member and are likely to develop aggression, anti-social behaviours and addictions. Attempts to re-introduce them into the education sector may suffer from cognitive difficulties, development delays, and poor memory and verbal skills, as well as a difficulty to adhere to rules and authority (Dixon, 2008: 85). The mentioned mental and physical consequences are even worse for trafficked women and children, as they are expected to work at cheaper rates and exposed to more harmful practices by their traffickers, as they are heavily objectified as their property (2009: 240).

The combination of physical and psychological consequences of SEC and CST also affect Caribbean societies in a wider sense. Families may crumble under the pressure of paying medical bills of the children or unintended pregnancy leaves the child in charge of a child, without the means to support it, thus perpetuating the cycle (Jones & Trotman Jemmott, 2009: 14). Furthermore, the costs of trafficking on society can be estimated through all the costs involved in persecution, courts, legal-/non-legal aid, witness protections schemes, reparation costs, etc. (Dixon, 2008: 93). In the end, the found difficulties in re-integrating these abused children back into the school system and the behavioural issues that could arise, may lead to generations of loss in human resources for the state, thus eradicating possibilities for change.

5. Challenges and Recommendations

The goal of this work is not to establish an extensive solution framework, but to select and encourage a few sustainable recommendations that could actually improve the situation for children in the region and antagonise SEC and CST in the long-run. Although some recommendations may seem less attainable than others, it must be kept in mind that change needs time and so does societal, regional and international dialogue and negotiation of morals and norms.

A word of reason should precede this section, as what has become the most apparent challenge so far is the inability to draw an adult-child distinction in sexual exploitation in the Caribbean. Doing so would neglect all the identified historical, social and economic drivers. Most women and men in exploitative situations in the region are likely to have entered them as minors, driven by poverty, abuse, discrimination or the promise of a better life. Root causes and effects are similar, although especially health effects show a more devastating impact on children. Campaigns on CST focus on the minority of paedophiles and leave the majority of adolescent victims largely out of the picture. It is also illusionary to eradicate SEC and CST while leaving adult prostitution intact, as the networks of facilitators and traffickers are inextricably interlinked. Lastly, tourists rarely inquire the age of a prostitute, if the girl looks mature. It is part of the exotic and erotic experience of paradise to drink and to enjoy the Caribbean life and women. As long as these gendered and racialized fantasies of paradise are intertwined with the offered holiday experience, women and girls will be equally exploited. Therefore, adult and child sexual exploitation will not be distinguished throughout most recommendations, although some may apply to children in order to protect them specifically.

5.1 Economic Factors

There are three main economic challenges that developed throughout history and are still evident today: Firstly, the high dependence on foreign capital paired with the pre-eminence of foreign companies and debt hinders regional development and leads to disproportionately high leakage. What is essential here is a change in goals, from foreign exchange seeking to sustainable development, income, employment, and inclusion of Caribbean society into tourism planning. One often cited solution is the promotion of community tourism (Mellon, 1999: 321), where tourists stay within local communities. Locals act as managers and entrepreneurs while tourists discover authentic local habitats, learning to respect and celebrate their culture. A word of caution is nevertheless needed, as in the long-run Caribbean states will have to diversify their economy to decrease dependence on foreign investment and provide a broader range of job possibilities. Free trade agreements with the

Americas will have to be revised to offer those developing states a chance, as they are currently hampered by the inability to promote local industries without granting foreign investors the same privileges.

Secondly, tourism-driven economy leaves locals with few job possibilities, leading to an increase in informal activities, and trafficking. Employment gives parents the possibility to provide for their families and to pay for education, thus reducing the children's vulnerability and contributing to societal development. NFE and vocational training are ways to achieve certification where formal school education was not achieved and new skills may provide access to a wider and constantly innovating job market (ILO, 2009: 10; Mellon, 1999: 319), as well as the possibility to leave prostitution for a better-paying job. Those trainings can furthermore be employed to challenge racial- and gendered thinking or provide gender-specific skill training to empower girls and women. To move these programmes beyond good will, they should be compatible with working hours or provide child care for mothers. NFE, but also formal education, should be additionally paired with job counselling programmes to help young people and adults find work, and be acknowledged with appropriate working conditions, thus preventing exploitation through ignorance. In addition, CCTs as promoted by the ILO (2009: 10) could be considered. They are cash incentives for parents that meet certain requirements, such as their children's school attendance. This measure can nevertheless not work without improvements in the labour market, as it only delivers short-term relief. However, as poverty seeks instant relief and desperate families are keen to sell their children into exploitative circumstances, this should be considered an additional measure, as it is found to have a positive impact on family vulnerability (2009: 11).

Lastly, migration, which is seen for most young girls as the only chance to generate income, lacks protection mechanisms and may lead to exploitative working conditions. Similar to the Project for the Prevention of Adolescent Trafficking in Latvia (Boak, et al., 2003), the government or in cooperation with CSOs should provide young people with information about safe migration, strategies to avoid trafficking through fraudulent job offers, and reconsideration of migration as the right choice in their case. Information formats should also consider social reality, by resorting to (social-) media and educational facilities, thus reaching out to young people instead of expecting them to seek this information themselves.

5.2 Social Factors

The social tolerance of abuses, gender- and race-based discrimination is something that children are brought up with and that prevails through its continuous practice. Real change can only be achieved, if propagated by boys and men. Education and awareness raising programs to dispute the acceptance of such social practices and education about their rights in the case of abuse can find help to address a wider public in social marketing. Social marketing, as the use of marketing strategies to address social issues within society and promote behavioural change instead of mere information sharing, have proven effective in campaigns on health-related topics, such as responsible sexual behaviour and condom use in Jamaica (Francis-Brown, 2003). These strategies, that incorporate the increasing use of mass- and social-media, could educate children and parents about possible trafficking threats encountered online and social issues that disproportionally affect females.

Socio-economic factors keep undermining family cohesion, leaving young people most vulnerable where they should feel safest. The erosion of family structures can in part be mitigated by the provision of jobs and thus more stable living conditions. A protective environment can be encouraged through the installation and support of community-based protection networks, as well as contact points for dialogue and assistance in the case of abuse.

People working in the sex trade, even though often victims of trafficking, are socially stigmatised and marginalised within their communities, thus hindering their reintegration and increasing the likeliness of re-trafficking. As children witness stereotyping from a young age, education about the inadmissible nature of physical and sexual violence has to start in school, to encourage safe environments and increase reporting rates. Child protection issues must be openly addressed, its shortcomings acknowledged, and victims should not have to be afraid to demand justice. Children, who have been trafficked or involved in prostitution, should also be seen as valuable resource in drafting awareness and prevention programmes or acting as peers in such projects, as they know recruitment practices, vulnerability factors, prevention and assistance needs best. They can effectively contribute to the decline in stigmatization of prostitution and thus the facilitation of re-integration.

5.3 Health

Poverty, as one of SEC's main drivers, also includes high rates of child malnutrition. Although most Caribbean countries have policies aimed at tackling malnutrition, more efforts are needed in monitoring and evaluating these developments and challenging the sustainability of the policies in place (Galicia, et al., 2016: 145).

Another issue is the spread of STDs and HIV in the region. Pedagogic approaches can be a helpful tool to educate children at a low threshold. Programmes like "Soccer and Sexual Health Education" in Haiti (Kaplan, et al., 2015) have shown that the combination of leisure activities and sexual health education are highly effective among young people. Especially rural areas may profit from this approach, as it can be included into existing leisure or educational activities. The role of social workers in this context should not be underestimated, as it not only provides employment possibilities but also the chance to challenge social norms in a less formal environment.

Women and children in prostitution, as well as victims of sexual abuse, should have access to HIV and STD check-ups, physical-, and mental health care. If the exploitative situation involves family neglect, temporary shelter should be provided (AI, 2006: 36). Access points for those in need offer the possibility of information gathering for prevention and abatement of sexual exploitation, but also to educate the victims about their legal rights and options, as re-education programmes could use these centres as points of departure. Again, social marketing can be a useful tool to address social myths about virgins' healing abilities and increasing HIV rates through *machismo* behaviour, but also low sex education levels. While those programs are most commonly provided by international donors or NGOs (Livingston, 2018: 39), governments should include them into their agenda and promote local organisations in their endeavours. These programs, especially in tourist areas, should also address CST and SEC to discourage situational offenders and make them aware of the physical, psychological and societal consequences of their behaviour.

5.4 Education

Currently, education is highly inefficient, as children either leave school to provide for their families, are denied access through ethnic-racial discrimination or take too many years to graduate. Globalization and the internet also play a significant role in future youth developments, as young people increasingly live in technological global spaces. With their parents being unexperienced with the possible consequences of their children's behaviour, the number of potential exploitation victims is rising.

Reducing not only the number of out-of-school children, but ensuring their success in primary education is vital to reduce their vulnerability to child labour and trafficking. Governments must guarantee free basic education. Parents may not acknowledge the importance of education, and books, uniforms and meals represent hidden costs (ILO, 2009: 16). Here, incentives like free meals, can be set in place to promote school attendance. In rural areas, NFE and training of life skills, such as communication, negotiation, coping mechanisms, and conflict resolution, can mitigate the absence of a formal school system and prepare the youth roughly for life after graduation (Rafferty, 2013: 567).

Nevertheless, the provision of educational infrastructure is vital in the long-run. As girls, especially darker-skinned and minorities, are still commonly considered inferior to boys, their education must be of special interest to society, if it is to overcome gender-hierarchies. Those children re-entering school after being trafficked also need special attention to catch up academically and socially. Here as well, social workers may provide useful help in assistance, extracurricular group sessions and research on how to facilitate societal re-integration of trafficking victims sustainably.

5.5 The Tourism Industry

While paedophiles plan their trip with the intention of SEC, using clandestine online networks and providers, situational offenders are persuaded by the fake eroticised "paradise" that the tourism industry creates for them. As previously stated, empowering of communities is not only an effective tool to diminish the region's economic dependence, but also CST through realisation of their non-eroticised value. Although sexualization is expected to prevail of some sort, the Caribbean has to be demystified and, as witnessed in Southeast Asia, media-guided public opinion can set moral standards and norms for the industry (Aronowitz & Koning, 2014: 690).

Meanwhile, prostitutes live in insecure and exploitative working conditions, prey to abuse and mass arrests. They are the ones paying on each end, be it with the integrity of their body or the bribes and fees to ensure their "freedom" and "safety". In addition to the physical and psychological consequences, society pays the debt of SEC and CST through assistance and reintegration costs, as well as the loss of important human resources. Tourism resorts picture the local population often as criminal and violent (Brennan, 2004: 78), alienating them from tourists, and restricting their access to tourist areas, hence keeping the population from the active participation in the tourism industry. Governments and tourism operators must stop these practices, if a healthier and more diversified tourism sector is to emerge. To change this means to tackle the issue of corruption that is so widespread in the region. Women and children should be encouraged to seek help in the case of abuse and not fear aggressive policing or indifference by officials. Officials and individuals must also be accountable by law in the case of corruption and the people, empowered by CSOs, as well as the media can play a role in exposing such behaviour and holding the government accountable for persecutions. All in all, the fight of corruption is not just a fight against individual actions but a habit within Caribbean society that has to evolve over time.

The tourist industry seems "untouchable" as states largely depend on it and children are deeply woven into its informal sex sector. Issues found in the tourism industry rely on a myriad of stakeholders and can thus not only address the government alone. Foremost, it is the tourism industry itself that has to take responsibility in fighting SEC and CST. One of such initiatives is the "The Code", as an industry-

driven initiative to end CST[2]. To be effective, however, all Caribbean tourism and travel associations and agents need to be a signatory to it. Besides, yet missing monitoring and enforcement mechanisms need to be put in place to ensure compliance. As industry insiders are a valuable source of CST identification (WTO, 2010), collaborative efforts between governments, the industry, civil society, and the media is needed to expose regular tourism networks within the "untouchable" industry that are currently misused for CST by facilitators and pimps.

5.6 From Law to Assistance

The main problem surrounding SEC, CST, and trafficking is the lack of viable data, which is in part due to the clandestine nature of the crimes, but also because of inefficient documentation mechanisms and corruption within the state apparatus and industry that seeks to disguise its true extent and evidences to combat it. To gather viable data, statistical approaches should increasingly merge with thorough field work. Furthermore, national and regional effort is needed to develop monitoring and evaluation processes to retrieve data free from corruption and with insight into the informal sector.

Although most countries have increasingly adopted legislation to punish traffickers, and to protect vulnerable women and children, they also report few cases of prosecution and conviction (U.S. Department of State, 2017). This leads to the assumption, that these new mechanisms and promises are either too ambiguous, highly ineffective or just not carried out more than on paper. The police, and other authorities, may interpret and break the rules according to their ends and traffickers still largely act with impunity, as laws often criminalize the prostitute, not all forms of SEC are punishable, and an effective framework to protect children is absent (UN General Assembly, 2013). National legislation must discard ambiguities in defining trafficking, facilitation therefor, sexual-, and physical abuse that are currently used as loopholes for individuals and trafficking networks. Laws should be especially concerned with the exploitation of children and possible protection systems. Herein, the combination of "heavy penalization, quick prosecution, and heavy conviction rates" is found to impact sex trafficking substantially (Panko & George, 2012: 74). NGOs can also play a key role in reviewing police investigations on sexual violence and SEC, and point out shortcomings and corruption patters. Furthermore, mechanisms should be put in place to investigate complaints against officers, in order to decrease aggressive policing (AI, 2006: 36). Also, all agents involving recruiting or migration services should be bound to licensing, registration and monitoring to prevent trafficking and have special provisions for the recruitment of minors and according sanction mechanisms, as they are currently little regulated (ILO, 2009: 23).

[2] http://www.thecode.org/about/

Children often do not know where to seek help and are routinely bribed to refrain from testifying against their perpetrators. Re-traumatization or renunciation of victims during legal processes can be avoided by adopting child-sensitive procedures (Bassiouni, et al., 2010: 489). These may include the provision of access to social services or temporary residency, as well as protection mechanisms during and after trials. Contact points or special support systems for sexual exploitation must be available at least in tourist hubs and all involved parties to the legal process, from police officers to lawyers, should undergo gender- and age-sensitive training to lower the threshold of reporting such crimes. Victims' privacy should be respected throughout the entice process (U.S. Department of State, 2015: 26). They should not be confronted with their perpetrators if not absolutely needed, and communication is key to lower the victim's insecurity. Rehabilitation should focus on equipping victims with the means to avoid re-trafficking, be it through NFE, financial compensation, or trauma-focused cognitive behavioural therapy (George & Panko, 2011: 139). Family reunification must be critically evaluated, as it is counterproductive to send a child back into desperate and abusive conditions.

International cooperation on SEC and CST is largely missing, although a variety of states like the US, most European states and Australia, have initiated extraterritorial legislation to punish national perpetrators for their crimes abroad (Seabrook, 2000; George & Panko, 2011). All Caribbean states must ratify all those regional and international treaties and declarations aiming at the eradication of gender-based violence, its persecution, as well the provision of fair trials and reparations for victims (AI, 2006: 37). Regional and international efforts are also needed to monitor and prevent preferential child offenders from travelling to these destinations and to ensure effective multi-national intelligence agency cooperation.

6. Conclusion

Historical factors, such as colonialism and economic restructuring, have shown to be at the heart of many of the issues connected to SEC and CST today. A more comprehensive approach has proven to deliver more sustainable recommendations, due to deeper insight into conditioning circumstances. Be it through perpetuating gendered and racial hierarchies or the involvement of multinational organisations that undermines the development of diverse economies, and sustainable development within the Caribbean in a neo-colonialist manner. Promotion of community involvement in sustainable tourism planning is needed, although real change can only be achieved through the diversification of economies. In addition, awareness raising and dialogue programmes will be useful tools counter those hierarchies at a young age, as long as they're backed by community based support to provide especially those marginalised and vulnerable with save environments.

Furthermore, socio-economic factors keep eroding family structures, as jobs in the formal sector are unattainable for most of the population and especially men are hardly employed, while multinational corporations profit from the tourism industry. This development is not improving, fuelling male resentment and a new wave of aggressive *machismo*. If no changes occur in this regard, gender-based violence, intra-familiar violence and substance-abuse, as well as inequality within society can be expected to remain stable or even rise. Not only have young people to be educated about the hidden dangers of trafficking in migration and job possibilities, but NFE must be resorted to as a way to educate and re-educate people in a system that does currently not only lack job possibilities but education access to many people, be it due to social stigma, marginalisation or location. Tackling SEC and CST means combating root causes and social norms that children are brought up with. Apart from the vital acknowledgement of education as valuable by families, innovative pedagogic and marketing approaches are needed to diminish the acceptance of those norms among the next generations, improve sex education, lower HIV/SDT infection rates, promote gender equality, increase abuse report rates, and demand justice in corruption.

Likewise, the tourism industry, facilitators, and exploiters have to be held accountable for their actions. Statistical approaches, field work ,and victims of sexual exploitation/trafficking must be combined, to develop sustainable prevention and eradication programmes. Child-friendly procedures should be adopted from reporting, to conviction of perpetrators and assistance to the victim, in order to increase report-rates and lower the possibility of re-trafficking. Eventually, more effort is needed to turn legal promises into action, be it through the promotion of civil society and the demand for a more morally sustainable form of tourism or an increase in regional and international cooperation in identifying and persecuting criminal networks.

One thing is for sure: as long as the Caribbean is sold as sexual and escapist paradise, and exploiters as well as tourists largely find impunity, children and adults will likewise continue being sexually exploited. As long as governments try to conceal deplorable circumstances with superficial actions, instead of tackling root causes such as poverty, economic dependence, social norms, and education, there will be no sustainable improvement Caribbean society. Governments have to take responsibility and swap greed for their people's future, while civil society has to be empowered to demand justice, moral change, and be agents for their economic and social future.

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Appendix A

Out-of-school Children & Education Statistics in the Caribbean

UNESCO (2017): UNESCO eAtlas of Out-of-School Children. Online source: https://tellmaps.com/uis/oosc/#!/tellmap/-528275754 [s of 01.06.18]

Country	**Percentage of out-of-school children of primary school age**
Aruba	1%
Belize	1%
Trinidad & Tobago	1%
Nicaragua	2%
St. Vincent & The Grenadines	2%
Costa Rica	3%
Grenada	3%
Cuba	5%
Saint Lucia	5%
Barbados	7%
Bahamas	12%
Dominican Republic	12%
Panama	12%
Guatemala	13%
Puerto Rico	19%

Save the Children (2018): The Many Faces of Exclusion – End of Childhood Report 2018. Online source: https://campaigns.savethechildren.net/sites/campaigns.savethechildren.net/files/report/EndofChildhood_Report_2018_ENGLISH.pdf [As of 06.06.18]

Country	Out-of-school children of primary and secondary school age (%) 2012-17
Antigua & Barbuda	19.4
Panama	16.8
Dominican Republic	15.2
Bahamas	11.2
Saint Lucia	10.6
Nicaragua	10.4
Haiti	9.9
Guyana	9.5
Belize	9.2
Cuba	8.1
Barbados	5.5
Costa Rica	5.3
Trinidad & Tobago	5.4
Saint Vincent & the Grenadines	4.5 (cf. p.32-35)

UNICEF (2015): Fixing the Broken Promise of Education for All – Findings from the Global Initiative on Out-of-School Children. Quebec: UNESCO Institute for Statistics.

Distribution of children who leave school before completing primary education, by age group, selected countries, 2007-2012

Country	Primary school age	1-2 years older	3 or more years older
Haiti	18%	11%	71%
Dominican Republic	47%	17%	36%" (p. 25)

"Selected countries with a large difference between the male and female out-of-school rates, latest data available, 2010-2013: Male out-of-school rate 10 percentage points or more greater than female out-of-school rate: Antigua and Barbuda" (p. 29)

UNICEF (2015): Education Statistics. Online Source: https://data.unicef.org/topic/education/overview/ [As of 01.06.18]

Number of children enrolled in primary school, regardless of age, expressed as a percentage of the total number of children of official primary school age.

Country	Year	Total	Male	Female
Antigua & Barbuda	2012	98	101	95
Bahamas	2010	108	107	109
Barbados	2011	105	106	105
Belize	2013	118	120	115
Costa Rica	2013	103	104	103
Cuba	2013	98	98	97
Dominica	2013	118	119	117
Dominican Republic	2012	103	108	97
Guyana	2012	75	71	80
Jamaica	-	-	-	-
Nicaragua	2010	117	118	116
Panama	2013	100	101	98
Saint Kitts & Nevis	2013	85	83	86
Saint Lucia	-	-	-	-
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	2013	105	108	102
Trinidad & Tobago	2010	106	108	104

Number of children enrolled in primary or secondary school who are of official primary school age, expressed as a percentage of the total number of children of official primary school age.

Because of the inclusion of primary-school-aged children enrolled in secondary school, this indicator can also be referred to as a primary adjusted net enrolment ratio.

Country	Year	Total	Male	Female
Antigua & Barbuda	2012	86	87	85
Bahamas	2010	98	-	-
Barbados	2011	97	97	97
Belize	2013	100	100	100
Costa Rica	2013	91	90	91
Cuba	2013	96	96	97
Dominica	2009	97	96	99
Dominican Republic	2012	89	90	88
Guyana	2012	75	70	80
Jamaica	-	-	-	-
Nicaragua	2010	93	93	94
Panama	2013	91	92	91
Saint Kitts & Nevis	2013	82	81	84
Saint Lucia	-	-	-	-
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	2013	96	97	95
Trinidad & Tobago	2010	99	99	98

Number of children of official primary school age who are not enrolled in primary or secondary school, expressed as a percentage of the population of official primary school age.

Children enrolled in pre-primary education are excluded and considered out of school.

Country	Year	Total	Male	Female
Antigua & Barbuda	2012	14	13	15
Bahamas	2010	2	-	-
Barbados	2011	3	3	3
Belize	2013	0	0	0
Costa Rica	2013	9	10	9
Cuba	2013	4	4	3
Dominica	2009	3	4	1
Dominican Republic	2012	11	10	12
Guyana	2012	25	30	20
Jamaica	-	-	-	-
Nicaragua	2010	7	7	6
Panama	2013	9	8	9
Saint Kitts & Nevis	2013	18	19	16
Saint Lucia	-	-	-	-
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	2013	4	3	5
Trinidad & Tobago	2010	1	1	2

Percentage of children entering the first grade of primary school who eventually reach the last grade of primary school.

Country	Year	Total	Male	Female
Antigua & Barbuda	-	-	-	-
Bahamas	2009	89	91	88
Barbados	2010	93	-	-
Belize	2012	91	90	91
Costa Rica	2012	88	86	89
Cuba	2012	96	95	97
Dominica	2012	86	-	-
Dominican Republic	2012	91	87	96
Guyana	2011	92	90	95
Jamaica	2012	86	89	84
Nicaragua	-	-	-	-
Panama	2012	93	-	-
Saint Kitts & Nevis	2012	93	-	-
Saint Lucia	2011	90	91	88
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	2010	69	61	77
Trinidad & Tobago	2009	89	87	92

Appendix B

(Sexual) Abuse of Children in the Caribbean

UNICEF (2014): A Statistical Snapshot of Violence Against Adolescent Girls. Online source: https://www.unicef.org/publications/files/A_Statistical_Snapshot_of_Violence_Against_Adolescent_Girls.pdf [As of 20.05.18]

"Percentage of girls aged 10 to 14 years who experienced any physical punishment in the past month

Country	Percentage
Saint Lucia	~36%
Trinidad & Tobago	~38%
Barbados	~42%
Belize	~49%
Jamaica	~56%
Dominican Republic	~65%
Haiti	~71%" (p. 6)

"Percentage of girls aged 15 to 19 years who experienced any physical violence since age 15 and percentage of girls aged 15 to 19 years who experienced any physical violence in the last 12 months

Country	Since age 15	In the last 12 months
Haiti	~27%	~16%
Dominican Republic	~13%	~9%" (p. 7)

"Percentage of girls aged 15 to 19 years who experienced any physical violence since age 15, by perpetrator

- Dominican Republic
    - Current husband/partner 26%
    - Former husband/partner 18%
    - Current/former boyfriend -
    - Mother/stepmother 24%
    - Father/stepfather 23%

    - Daughter/son 0%
    - Brother/sister 7%
    - Other relative 6%
    - Mother-in-law 0%
    - Father-in-law 0%
    - Other-in-law -
    - Friend/acquaintance 13%
    - Teacher 0%
    - Employer/someone at work 0%
    - Police/soldier -
    - Other 5%
- Haiti
    - Current husband/partner 13%
    - Former husband/partner 2%
    - Current/former boyfriend 4%
    - Mother/stepmother 52%
    - Father/stepfather 40%
    - Daughter/son 0%
    - Brother/sister 17%
    - Other relative 16%
    - Mother-in-law 0.1%
    - Father-in-law 1%
    - Other-in-law 0.2%
    - Friend/acquaintance -
    - Teacher 11%
    - Employer/someone at work 0%
    - Police/soldier 0.2%
    - Other 4%" (p. 8)

"Percentage of girls aged 15 to 19 years who ever experienced forced sexual intercourse or any other forced sexual acts, by perpetrator

- Dominican Republic
    - Current husband/partner 7%
    - Current/former boyfriend 12%
    - Mother/stepmother 8%

    - Father/stepfather 1%
    - Brother/step brother -
    - Other relative 5%
    - In-law 0.4%
    - Own friend/acquaintance 31%
    - Family friend 4%
    - Teacher 0%
    - Employer/someone at work 0%
    - Police/soldier 0%
    - Priest/religious leader 0%
    - Stranger 23%
    - Neigbour/community member -
    - Other 5%
    - Missing 7%
- Jamaica
    - Current husband/partner 16%
    - Current/former boyfriend 36%
    - Mother/stepmother -
    - Father/stepfather -
    - Brother/step brother -
    - Other relative 12%
    - In-law -
    - Own friend/acquaintance 19%
    - Family friend -
    - Teacher -
    - Employer/someone at work -
    - Police/soldier -
    - Priest/religious leader -
    - Stranger 15%
    - Neigbour/community member -
    - Other 2%
    - Missing -“ (p. 14)

"Percentage of girls aged 15 to 19 years (or otherwise noted) who ever experienced forced sexual intercourse or any other forced sexual acts (including in childhood),

- Jamaica ~11%
- Haiti ~10%
- Dominican Republic ~8%" (p. 12)

"Percentage distribution of girls aged 15 to 19 years who ever experienced forced sexual intercourse or any other forced sexual acts, by age at first incident of the violence

- Dominican Republic
    - Under age 10 ~18%
    - 10 to 14 years ~23%
    - 15 to 19 years ~31%
    - Don't know/missing ~28%
- Haiti
    - Under age 10 ~2%
    - 10 to 14 years ~21%
    - 15 to 19 years ~75%
    - Don't know/missing ~2%" (p. 13)

UNICEF (2009): Progress for Children – A Report Card on Child Protection. Online source: https://www.unicef.org/media/files/Progress_for_Children-No.8_EN_081309(1).pdf [As of 01.06.18]

"Percentage of children 2–14 years old who experienced physical punishment only, psychological aggression only, and both physical punishment and psychological aggression

- Source: MICS, DHS and other national surveys, 2005–2007.
    - Jamaica
        - Both physical punishment and psychological aggression 61%
        - Psychological aggression only 14%
        - Physical punishment only 12%
    - Dominican Republic
        - Both physical punishment and psychological aggression 45%
        - Psychological aggression only 27%
        - Physical punishment only 12%

- Trinidad and Tobago
  - Both physical punishment and psychological aggression 42%
  - Psychological aggression only 23%
  - Physical punishment only 9%
- Guyana
  - Both physical punishment and psychological aggression 47%
  - Psychological aggression only 15%
  - Physical punishment only 11%
- Belize
  - Both physical punishment and psychological aggression 38%
  - Psychological aggression only 13%
  - Physical punishment only 17%" (p. 8)

"Percentage of girls and women 15–49 years old who think that a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife under certain circumstances, by circumstance

- Source: DHS, MICS and other national surveys, 2001–2007.
  - Latin America and the Caribbean
    - If she neglects the children 12%
    - If she goes out without telling him 9%
    - If she argues with him 4%
    - If she refuses sex with him 4%
    - If she burns the food 5%" (p. 9)

"Percentage of children 2–14 years old who experienced any form of violent discipline, by type, and percentage of mothers and caregivers who think that children need to be physically punished, in countries with data

- Source: MICS and other household surveys, 2005–2007.
  - Belize
    - Children who experienced any form of violent discipline 68%
    - Children who experienced psychological aggression 51%
    - Children who experienced physical punishment 55%
    - Percentage of mothers and caregivers who think that children need to be physically punished 25%
  - DomRep

        - Children who experienced any form of violent discipline 83%
        - Children who experienced psychological aggression 71%
        - Children who experienced physical punishment 57%
        - Percentage of mothers and caregivers who think that children need to be physically punished 9%
    - Guyana
        - Children who experienced any form of violent discipline 74%
        - Children who experienced psychological aggression 63%
        - Children who experienced physical punishment 59%
        - Percentage of mothers and caregivers who think that children need to be physically punished 23%
    - Jamaica
        - Children who experienced any form of violent discipline 87%
        - Children who experienced psychological aggression 75%
        - Children who experienced physical punishment 73%
        - Percentage of mothers and caregivers who think that children need to be physically punished 34%
    - Trinidad and Tobago
        - Children who experienced any form of violent discipline 75%
        - Children who experienced psychological aggression 66%
        - Children who experienced physical punishment 52%
        - Percentage of mothers and caregivers who think that children need to be physically punished 25%" (p. 31%)

Together for girls (2014): Violence Against Children in Haiti – Findings From a National Survey 2012. Online source: http://www.togetherforgirls.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/2012_Haiti_Findings-from-a-Violence-Against-Children-Survey.pdf [As of: 31.05.18]

Sexual violence (sexual abuse and exploitation) experienced in childhood

- "One out of 4 females aged 13 to 24 years in Haiti experienced at least one incident of sexual abuse before turning 18 years of age.
    - Among males in the same age group, 1 out of 5 experienced at least one incident of sexual abuse prior to the age of 18.

    - Among those who experienced at least one incident of sexual abuse prior to age 18 years, 69.5% of females and 85.4% of males had multiple incidents (i.e., two or more incidents) of sexual abuse.
- Of those who had their first sexual intercourse prior to age 18, 1 out of 5 females and 1 out of 10 males experienced their first sexual intercourse as unwilling, meaning that they were forced or coerced to engage in sexual intercourse." (p. 21)

Physical and emotional violence experienced in childhood

- "Ninety percent of females and 85.7% of males aged 13–17 years perceived that their most recent experience of physical violence by an adult household member or authority figure in the past 12 months was intended as disciplinary action or punishment.
- Approximately one-third of both females and males in Haiti experienced emotional violence by an adult household member prior to turning 18 years of age." (p. 22)

Overlap of Sexual, Physical, and Emotional Violence in Childhood

- "Sexual, physical, and emotional violence commonly overlapped in childhood in Haiti.
- One-third of females and one out of 4 males aged 13 to 24 years experienced multiple types of violence prior to age 18.
- Females were significantly more likely to experience multiple forms of violence during childhood than males." (p. 22)

Perpetrators of childhood physical violence

- "Among 18–24 year olds who experienced physical violence before turning 18 by an adult household member or an authority figure in the community, approximately 6 out of 10 females and males experienced at least one incident of child physical violence by a mother and/or father.
    - In the same group more than 8 out of 10 females and males that had experienced physical violence had at least one incident of physical violence that was perpetrated by a teacher, more commonly a male teacher.
    - Similar patterns of perpetration were observed among 13–17 year olds who experienced physical violence in the 12 months prior to the survey." (p. 22)

Where the sexual abuse occurred

- "Almost 6 out of 10 of both females and males who had experienced sexual violence prior to age 18 indicated that at least one of their experiences of sexual abuse took place in their own home or tent, or the home or tent of the perpetrator.

    - The most common location, however, for both females and males was their own home or tent.
- About 1 in 5, 18–24 year old females reported an incident occurred on a road.
    - Among 13–17 year old females and males the most common location for the most recent incident of sexual abuse occurring during the last year was on a road." (p. 22)

"Childhood Domestic Servitude and Violence

- "Childhood domestic servitude was significantly associated with experiencing sexual and emotional violence prior to age 18 among both females and males aged 18 to 24 years.
    - Among 13–17 year olds, female domestic servants were significantly more likely than peers who were not servants to have experienced sexual and physical violence in the preceding 12 months, while emotional violence was more likely in both male and female domestic servants." (p. 51)

Service Uptake for Violence

- "Approximately 6 out of 10 females and 4 out of 10 males aged 18 to 24 years who experienced child sexual abuse prior to age 18 years told someone about an incident of sexual abuse.
    - Only 1 out of 10 females and 1 out of 15 males who experienced sexual abuse prior to age 18 received any professional services of any kind, including medical, mental health, legal, or protection services, for the sexual abuse.
    - Approximately 1 out of 10 females and males who experienced physical violence prior to age 18 received any professional services of any kind for an incident of physical violence.
- There was no significant difference between females and males in their overall experience of childhood sexual exploitation.
    - There was no significant difference between the forms of childhood sexual exploitation being used against boys and girls 13 to 17 years in the 12 months prior to the survey." (p. 51)

Together for girls (2014): Violence Against Children in Haiti – Findings From a National Survey 2012. Online source: http://www.togetherforgirls.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/2012_Haiti_Findings-from-a-Violence-Against-Children-Survey.pdf [As of: 31.05.18]

Violence and Sexual Risk Taking Behavior

- "Over a third (36.4%) of sexually active females aged 19–24 years who experienced child sexual abuse had multiple sex partners in the past 12 months compared to 29.4% of 19–24 year old females who had not experienced child sexual abuse.
- Females aged 19–24 years who experienced child physical violence were more likely to have received gifts, food, or favors in exchange for sex during the past 12 months compared to those who had not experienced child physical violence.
- Females aged 19–24 years who experienced childhood emotional violence were more likely to use condoms infrequently in the last 12 months compared to those who had not experienced childhood emotional violence." (p. 24)

Appendix C

Familial Neglect and Abuse

World Health Organisation (WHO) (2000): A Portrait of Adolescent Health in the Caribbean 2000. Online source: http://www1.paho.org/hq/dmdocuments/2010/A%20Portrait%20of%20Adolescent%20Health%20in%20the%20Caribbean%202000.pdf [As of 03.06.18]

- "Nearly one in five students of both genders and all age groups worry a lot about their parents leaving them; and nearly the same percent report wanting to run away from home sometimes or a lot of the time (4.5% actually did run away in the last year).
    - Parents' drinking or drug use is a concern for about 10%.
- Living situations vary for adolescents.
    - About half live with both of their parents, and one-third live with their mother only. About 10% report that one or both of their parents are either dead or they don't know if they are alive.
- Although most adolescent feel cared about by their mothers (91.9%) and fathers (86%), a greater proportion do not feel they can talk to them about problems.
- Crowding is a significant concern for a number of young people with 29% reporting 2-4 people sleep in a room and an additional 3.4% indicate more than 5 people sleep together." (p. 23)

Gopaul-McNicol, Sharon-Ann (1999): Ethnocultural perspectives on childrearing practices in the Caribbean. In: International Social Work 42(1): 79-86.

- Payne (1989)[3] found that corporal punishment was seen as a means of training children to grow up knowing right from wrong.
    - Payne also found that 76.5 percent endorsed flogging or lashing with a belt or strap as an approved method, with the buttocks most often identified as the part of the anatomy to which it should be administered.
    - Slapping with the hand, spanking with a shoe and hitting the knuckles or palm of the hand with a ruler were approved by 14.4 percent, 14.2 percent and 5.4 percent respectively. Burning and scalding (traditional methods used to punish stealing) and

[3] Payne, M.A. (1989) 'Use and Abuse of Corporal Punishment: A Caribbean View', Child Abuse and Neglect 13: 389–401.

lashing out at the child with any object at hand were the forms of corporal punishment most strongly disapproved of.

    - Payne also noted the types of misconduct for which corporal punishment was considered most appropriate: disrespect to parents or elders, dishonesty, disobedience, stealing, indecent language, violence, deliberate defiance, disregarding the rules of the home or community, laziness and neglect of chores.
    - Therefore, the sentiment 'to spare the rod is to spoil the child' is commonly endorsed by most West Indians." (p. 80f.)

- "This research investigation was initiated to explore childrearing attitudes and practices of people from the English-speaking Caribbean to help explain the reason for the given attitude and practice of corporal punishment as a form of discipline.
    - Equally pertinent to this study was an exploration of the types of physical, emotional and sexual harm or neglect that children are subjected to in their families." (p. 81)

Appendix D

Substance Abuse and HIV in the Caribbean

Angulo-Arreola, Iliana, Bastos, Francisco and Strathdee, Steffanie (2017): Substance Abuse and HIV/AIDS in the Caribbean: Current Challenges and the Ongoing Response. In: Journal of the International Association of Providers of AIDS Care 16(1): 56-74.

- Lifetime use of crystal methamphetamine
    - 2.3% of students in the Cayman Islands, aged 12 to 18
- Lifetime use of amphetamines
    - 3.4% of 11th graders in Jamaica, at least once so far
    - 9.5% of street children in Haiti, aged 11 to 19
    - 11.7% of street children in Haiti, aged 15 to 18 years
- Lifetime use of ecstasy
    - Caribbean rates ranging from 1% to 2%.
    - 1.2% of school children in the Dominican Republic, aged 12 to 20 years
    - 1.6% of 16-year-olds in the Cayman Islands" (cf. p. 58)

World Health Organisation (WHO) (2000): A Portrait of Adolescent Health in the Caribbean 2000. Online source: http://www1.paho.org/hq/dmdocuments/2010/A%20Portrait%20of%20Adolescent%20Health%20in%20the%20Caribbean%202000.pdf [As of 03.06.18]

- "While reported use is relatively low, a significant number of young people say that they have difficulty with alcohol or drugs.
    - Over a fifth report experiencing problems related to drinking or drug use, common problems include loss of friends or the breakup of a relationship.
- Some adolescents come from homes where one or more parents have had problems with drinking (13.4%) or drugs (2.8%).
    - Likewise, more than 7% of youth worry about their own drinking or drug use and nearly that many report usually drinking 4 or more drinks at one time (5.8%).
    - A higher percentage (6.9%) report drinking alcohol and driving, and an even higher proportion (16.5%) report riding in a motorized vehicle with people who had been drinking." (p. 13)

Together for girls (2014): Violence Against Children in Haiti – Findings From a National Survey 2012. Online source: http://www.togetherforgirls.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/2012_Haiti_Findings-from-a-Violence-Against-Children-Survey.pdf [As of: 31.05.18]

Sexual Abuse and HIV/AIDS Testing Knowledge and Testing Behaviors

- Approximately two-thirds of females aged 18–24 years who experienced any sexual abuse prior to age 18 knew where to go for an HIV test, however, less than half were ever tested.
    - Among males of similar age, half of those who experienced any sexual abuse prior to age 18 knew where to go for an HIV test and only 1 out of 10 were ever tested." (p. 23)

Angulo-Arreola, Iliana, Bastos, Francisco and Strathdee, Steffanie (2017): Substance Abuse and HIV/AIDS in the Caribbean: Current Challenges and the Ongoing Response. In: Journal of the International Association of Providers of AIDS Care 16(1): 56-74.

- "Countries with increasing proportions of female HIV cases are Antigua and Barbuda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, and Trinidad and Tobago.
- Regional and cultural differences also contribute to the feminization of the epidemic, with unequal socioeconomic development and high population mobility further promoting the spread of HIV in the Caribbean.
    - HIV prevalence has reached rates of 1% or higher in the general population in at least 12 Caribbean and Central American countries: the Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Panama, Suriname, and Trinidad and Tobago." (p. 61)

Puerto Rico

- "In 2002, more than half of all HIV infections were linked with injecting drug use, and approximately one quarter were due to heterosexual contact.
    - In 1981, 4639 (66%) of all AIDS cases reported the primary mode of transmission was injecting drug use, followed by 8% attributed to heterosexual contact with an IDU.
    - The proportion of AIDS cases attributed to IDU declined from 70% before 1988 to 59% in 1991, and the proportion of cases attributed to heterosexual transmission increased from 5% to 18%." (p. 62)

Dominican Republic

- "Heterosexual intercourse is reported to be the primary form of transmission for HIV, accounting for 81% of infections in the 15- to 44-year-old age group for both sexes.
    - Among adults, the male to female ratio in 2004 was 8:1. Although prevalence by sex was higher for men than for women, in the poorest neighborhoods the opposite occurs, with women having a higher prevalence than men.
    - High HIV prevalence is believed to be linked to tourism, the existence of free zones, a high migration rate, port establishments, and poverty." (p. 63)

Antigua and Barbuda

- "Although the epidemic initial started in the homosexual population, today the epidemic is largely driven by heterosexual contact.
    - Determinants of the epidemic in Antigua and Barbuda include sex tourism, a small but growing prostitution scene, and an overall low level of condom use.
- For the period of 2000 to 2002, the leading cause of death among 20- to 59-year-olds was AIDS, with 9.8% accounting for all the deaths in this group.
    - During the same period, women had the highest HIV prevalence in the group of 25- to 29-year-olds.
    - For the period of 2001 to 2005, 55.1% of all the new AIDS cases in all age groups were male and 44.9% were female.
- Initiatives to control the epidemic during 2003 to 2005 have included a social marketing program on condoms, schoolbased AIDS education for youth, programs to ensure safe injections in health care settings, programs for men who have sex with men, CD4 count testing every 3 months, and public education to address the issues of stigma and discrimination." (p. 64)

Barbados

- "The population of Barbados is considered at high risk of HIV because of the context of increasing violence and illegal drug use coupled with increasing migration and free movement of labor policies.
    - Both MSM (men having sex with men) and CSWs (commercial sex workers) are 2 of the c most affected populations." (p. 64f.)
- "Information available up to March 2005 shows that there were 34 new HIV cases, compared with the 60 reported for the same period in 2004. The number of cases of AIDS reported declined for both males and females in 2005." (p. 65)

Jamaica

- "An increase in tourism has been considered a driver of the local HIV epidemic.
    - There is an active prostitution scene, especially in its main urban areas, such as the Kingston Metropolitan Area, which are plagued by the criminal activity of gangs, who exploit sex workers and participate in drug trafficking and other illicit activities, such as gambling and control of workers' unions.
    - Crack cocaine has been spreading in recent years in such settings and has been associated with increased rates of unprotected sex and multiple partnerships among both CSWs and women in general.
- The primary modes of HIV transmission are heterosexual sex (62%-68%), mother-to-child transmission (8%), and homosexual or bisexual transmission (6%).
    - Less than 2% of cases in total are attributed to injecting drug use. Jamaica has one of the highest numbers of AIDS cases and deaths in the Caribbean and a significant number of HIV-infected individuals have a concomitant STI.100
- The HIV/AIDS epidemic poses a serious threat to the productive sector, since the majority of HIV/AIDS cases occur among the working and reproductive age group." (p. 65)

Haiti

- "The Haitian epidemic is generalized, with the reproductive age group for both men and women being the most affected.
- The most common mode of transmission is through heterosexual contact.
    - Haiti has a high adult HIV prevalence, estimated at 2.2%. There were 120 000 people living63,150 with HIV/ AIDS as of 2007.
    - Haiti faces the worst AIDS epidemic outside Africa and bears the greatest burden of HIV in the Western hemisphere.
- HIV/AIDS is one of the top 5 leading causes of death, with no differences between the sexes.149
    - In 2003, AIDS was the leading cause of death among 20- to 49-yearolds, comprising 14.5% of deaths. Estimates for HIV prevalence among women and men of ages 15 to 59 years are 2.2% to 2.3% and 2%, respectively. Among children of age 5 to 9 years, HIV/AIDS is among the 5 leading causes of death in both sexes.
- Haiti has a prevalent prostitution scene in its main urban areas, primarily composed of low-paid sex workers clustering in the streets of its capital, Port-au-Prince.
    - The former international sex industry is on the verge of collapse after social and political turmoil." (p. 65f.)

- "The very violent gangs from Cite´ Soleil and other slums have been involved in drug smuggling, prostitution, and other criminal activities.
    - Relatively little is known about the interrelationship between drug trafficking and prostitution in Haiti." (p. 66)

Cuba

- "Despite the political, social, and economic problems all through the history of Cuba, it is impossible to deny Cuba's successful development and implementation of targeted strategies to prevent HIV/AIDS that have been the result of civic cooperation from various sectors of the government.
    - Cuba's epidemic is considered the smallest of the Caribbean.
- The main mode of HIV transmission is by unprotected MSM sex.
    - According to the Pan-American Health Organization at the end of 2005, there were 6967 reported HIV cases in the all of Cuba; 2806 had developed into AIDS.
    - The number of PLWHA153 is approximately 6200 and the number of HIV/AIDS-related deaths is less than 100. The estimated prevalence rate in the population of 15 to 49 years age group is still under 0.1%. In the age group of 15 to 24 years, the prevalence dropped from 0.07% in 2001 to 0.05% in 2005. Of all the reported cases, 80% occurred in men.
- Cuba's strategy to control the epidemic and its success stems from the involvement of multiple sectors in the prevention and control strategies.
    - Some of the areas of the government and civil society that are involved include the tourism industry, which makes sure to inform tourists about infection risk; culture, which includes Cuban television; the commercial sector; women's organizations in charge of educating Cuban women; as well as the ministry of work and social security.
    - Other key strategies taken by Cuba to control the epidemic include the involvement of groups of MSM and transvestites (men who cross-dress as women but do not espouse a female gender identity) that have organized to increase awareness on the importance of preventing HIV/STIs." (p. 66)

Bahamas

- "Heterosexual contact is the main mode of HIV transmission, 21 with a 3% prevalence rate among 15- to 49-year-olds (2007).
    - HIV/AIDS was the leading cause of mortality in 200 for children of age 5 to 9 and 10 to 19, accounting for 28.6% of all deaths. Among adolescents of age 14 to 24 years, there

were 3 HIV/AIDS cases registered during 1999 to 2003. For the group of adults 20 to 64 years of age the leading cause of death for both men and women was HIV/AIDS, with 33.7% and 33%, respectively, during the period of 1999 to 2000.

- The cumulative HIV infection cases up to December 2005 were 10 479; incidence cases for HIV declined by 56.1% from 659 in 1994 to 289 in 2003.
    - The greatest change was seen in the group of 20- to 49-year-olds. According to estimates available for 2007, which are the most recent, there were about 6200 PLWHA residing in the Bahamas." (p. 67)

St. Lucia / Trinidad & Tobago

- "Heterosexual transmission is the primary mode of HIV infection.
    - As in other Caribbean countries, there has been an increase in HIV cases among women and those 15 to 24 years of age.
- Saint Lucia and Trinidad and Tobago have experienced one of the most serious HIV epidemics in this region.
    - HIV prevalence in Trinidad and Tobago is 2.6%." (p. 67)

Appendix E

Health Statistics

World Health Organisation (WHO) (2000): A Portrait of Adolescent Health in the Caribbean 2000. Online source: http://www1.paho.org/hq/dmdocuments/2010/A%20Portrait%20of%20Adolescent%20Health%20in%20the%20Caribbean%202000.pdf [As of 03.06.18]

- "Younger adolescents are more likely to report better health and, by age 16, one in six youth report fair to poor health status.
    - In addition, almost 10% of young people (more boys than girls) report having a handicap, disability, or chronic illness that limits their activities.
- As demonstrated in other studies, poor health is positively associated with risk factors such as abuse and parental problems and negatively associated with protective factors such as connectedness to family and community.
    - These relationships, however, are not extremely strong (odds ratios < 2.0)." (p. 6)
- "Most adolescents (85.9%) say they have a place where they usually receive medical care.
    - Only 36.2% have had a checkup in the last two years, however. Less than half have seen a dentist in the past two years.
    - If they need contraception, students would go, first to physicians, then drug stores, then family planning clinics, and public health clinics.
- Males are consistently less likely to use health care services than females; and they are more likely to believe adults will not provide confidentiality.
- However, when it comes to personal matters, many youth (both males and females) feel that often adults cannot be trusted to maintain confidentiality, and this attitude extends to physicians, nurses, teachers, guidance counselors, peer counselors or parents." (p. 10)

UNICEF (2015): Water and Sanitation Statistics. Online source: https://data.unicef.org/topic/water-and-sanitation/drinking-water/ [As of 01.06.18]

Access to water (in %)

1: At least basic 2: Limited (more than 30 mins) 3: Unimproved 4: Surface water

Country	National				Rural				Urban			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Antigua & Barbuda	97	-	3	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bahamas	98	-	2	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Barbados	98	0	2	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Belize	97	1	2	0	96	1	3	0	99	1	0	0
Costa Rica	100	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	100	0	0	0
Cuba	95	2	2	0	90	4	4	2	97	1	2	0
Dominica	97	-	4	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dominican Republic	94	2	2	1	86	6	3	5	97	1	2	0
Guyana	95	1	1	2	93	2	2	3	100	0	0	0
Haiti	64	7	29	0	40	10	50	0	81	5	14	0
Jamaica	93	3	2	2	88	5	3	4	97	1	2	0
Nicaragua	82	1	13	3	61	2	30	8	97	0	2	0
Panama	95	1	3	1	87	1	8	4	99	1	0	0
St. Kitts & Nevis	98	-	2	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St. Lucia	98	2	0	0	98	2	0	0	98	2	0	0
St. Vincent & the Grenadines	95	-	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Trinidad & Tobago	97	1	2	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Save the Children (2018): The Many Faces of Exclusion – End of Childhood Report 2018. Online source: https://campaigns.savethechildren.net/sites/campaigns.savethechildren.net/files/report/EndofChildhood_Report_2018_ENGLISH.pdf [As of 06.06.18]

Country	Child stunting (% children aged 0-59 months) 2012-17	Under-5 mortality rate (deaths per 1,000 live births) 2016
Antigua and Barbuda	-	8.5
Bahamas	-	10.6
Barbados	7.7	12.3
Belize	15.0	14.9
Costa Rica	5.6	8.8
Cuba	-	5.5
Dominican Republic	7.1	30.7
Guyana	12.0	32.4
Haiti	21.9	67.0
Nicaragua	23.0	19.7
Panama	19.1	16.4
St. Lucia	2.5	13.3
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	-	16.6
Trinidad Tobago	11.0	18.5 (cf. p. 32-35)

Galicia, Luis, López de Romaña, Daniel, Harding, Kimberly, De-Regil, Luz María and Graheda, Rubén (2016): Tackling malnutrition in Latin America and the Caribbean: challenges and opportunities. In: Rev Panam Salud Publica 40(2): 138-146.

Prevalence of stunting in children under 5 years old, by wealth quintile, in countries with available nationally representative data, Latin America and the Caribbean, 1985–2014

- "Low prevalence (0-20%), Medium prevalence (20-30%), High prevalence (30-40%), Very high prevalence (>50%)

Country	Year	Lowest quintile	Second quintile	Middle quintile	Fourth quintile	Highest quintile
Barbados	2012	7.5%	~8.5%	7.9%	~10.0%	3.1%
Belize	2011	32.9%	~ 21%	12.3%	~12.0%	9.0%
Dominican Republic	2013	45.9%	~25.5%	22.5%	~13.0%	6.5%
Guyana	2009	29.5%	~18.0%	13.4%	~12.5%	9.8%
Haiti	2012	31.0%	~26.0%	20.5%	~16.0%	5.5%" (p. 143)

Mujica-Coopman, María, Brito, Alex, López de Romaña, Daniel, Ríos-Castillo, Israel, Cori, Héctor, and Olivares, Manuel (2015): Prevalence of Anemia in Latin America and the Caribbean. In: Food and Nutrition Bulletin 36(2): 119-138.

- "In Latin America and the Caribbean, anemia has been a public health problem that affects mainly women of childbearing age and children under 6 years of age.
    - However, the current prevalence of anemia in this region is unknown." (p. 119)
- "15 National Health Surveys were included:
    - Argentina 2007, Bolivia 2008, Brazil 2006, Chile 2003, Colombia 2010, Costa Rica 2009, the Dominican Republic 2009, Ecuador 2012, El Salvador 2008, Guatemala 2009, Haiti 2005–2006, Honduras 2005, Mexico 2006, Nicaragua 2003–2005, and Panama 2000.
    - Six studies with national or regional representativeness conducted on children from Chile (two regional studies in 2012 and 2013), Costa Rica (national study in 2009), Cuba (regional study in 2011), and Mexico (national study in 2007) were also included." (p. 120f.)

Prevalence of Anemia in Children Under 6 Years of Age

- "Among children 19 to 72 months of age, the lowest prevalence of anemia (4%) was found in Chile and Costa Rica.
    - Among younger children, low prevalence was reported from Chile (12 to 18 months, 14%), Argentina (12 to 18 months,16.5%), and Mexico (< 2 years, 19.9%).
- Anemia was a moderate public health problem among children in Nicaragua, Brazil, Mexico (12 to 59 months), Ecuador, El Salvador, Cuba, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Peru, Panama, and Honduras, with rates ranging from 20.1% to 37.3%.
    - Guatemala, Haiti, and Bolivia had the highest prevalence rates among children, ranging from 47.7% to 61.3%, indicating a severe public health Problem." (p. 121)

Country	Year	Age	Prevalence Rate (%)
Costa Rica	2009	1-7 years	4.0%
Nicaragua	2003-05	6-56 months	20.1%
Cuba	2011	6-56 months	26.0%
Dominican Republic	2009	6-56 months	28.0%
Panama	2000	12-59 months	36.0%
Haiti	2005-06	6-56 months	60.6%" (p. 122)

Prevalence of Anemia in Women of Childbearing Age

- "Chile had the lowest prevalence of anemia in the region among women of childbearing age (5.1%).32
    - In Colombia, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru, Honduras, and Argentina, anemia in this population was a mild public health problem, with prevalence ranging from 7.6% to 18.7%.
    - In Guatemala, Brazil, the Dominican Republic, and Bolivia, anemia was a moderate public health problem, with prevalence ranging from 21.4% to 38.3%.
- Panama and Haiti had the highest prevalence rates of anemia among women of childbearing age (40.0% and 45.5%, respectively)." (p. 121)

Country	Year	Prevalence Rate (%)
Costa Rica	2009	10.2%
Nicaragua	2003-05	11.2%
Dominican Republic	2009	34.0%
Panama	2000	40.0%
Haiti	2005-06	45.5%" (p. 122)

Appendix F

Trafficking in the Caribbean

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) (2016): Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2016. Online source:
https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/glotip/2016_Global_Report_on_Trafficking_in_Persons.pdf [As of 01.01.18]

Trafficking in Central America and the Caribbean

- "Share of trafficked adults: 38%
- Share of trafficked children: 62%" (p. 11)
- "Most frequently detected victim profile: Girls, 46%
- Most frequently detected form of exploitation: Sexual exploitation, 57%
- Gender profile of convicted offenders: 51% males
- Share of national citizens among offenders: 88%
- Summary profile of trafficking flows: Mainly domestic and intraregional" (p. 89)

The report implies the following countries as Central America and the Caribbean: Bahamas, Barbados, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Nicaragua, Panama and Trinidad and Tobago.

Shares of children and adults

- "Detected victims of trafficking in Central America and the Caribbean, by age and sex, 2014 (or most recent)
    - 16% men, 26% women, 51% girls & 7% boys
- Trends in the shares of adults and children among detected victims in Central America and the Caribbean, 2009-2014
    - 2009: 49% adults & 51% children
    - 2010: 51% adults & 49% children
    - 2011: 53% adults & 47% children
    - 2012: 54% adults & 46% children
    - 2013: 39% adults & 61% children
    - 2014: 42% adults & 58% children" (p. 90)

Forms of exploitation

- "Forms of exploitation among detected victims of trafficking in Central America and the Caribbean, 2014 (or most recent)
    - 57% Trafficking for sexual exploitation
    - 15% Trafficking for forced labour
    - 27% Trafficking for other purposes
- In Central America and the Caribbean, trafficking for 'other' purposes is frequently reported, accounting for about 27 per cent of the victims detected there.
    - Many of these victims were trafficked for begging, and some, for illegal adoption." (p. 91)

Offenders

- "The gender composition of the detected victims of trafficking in this region – particularly in Central America and the Caribbean - is also reflected in the relatively large shares of women offenders.
    - Many female victims are detected, and many women offenders are sanctioned.
- Approximately half of the persons convicted of trafficking in persons in Central America and the Caribbean are females.
    - The prevalence of female offenders may be related to the local nature of the trafficking enterprise. It is often conducted by a few individuals targeting one or two victims. The offenders may be couples or relatives or friends of the victim(s).
- For cross-border trafficking, Central America and the Caribbean is mostly an origin, which suggests that female traffickers might be more likely to be involved in the recruitment of women or children.
- Similar observations can be made regarding the citizenships of the offenders. Most of the convicted traffickers in Central America and the Caribbean are citizens of the country of conviction.
    - About 8 per cent were from South America; especially from countries geographically close to the Caribbean and Panama.
- Persons investigated for trafficking in persons in Central America and the Caribbean, by sex, 2014 (or most recent): 52% male & 48% female
- Persons prosecuted for trafficking in persons in Central America and the Caribbean, by sex, 2014 (or most recent): 42% male % 58% female
- Persons convicted of trafficking in persons in Central America and the Caribbean, by sex, 2014 (or most recent): 51% male & 49% female" (p. 92)

- "Share of offenders convicted in Central America and Caribbean, by their area of citizenship, 2014 (or most recent)
    - 88% National offenders
    - 8% South America
    - 2% Central America and the Caribbean
    - 1% East Asia and the Pacific
    - 1% Western and Central Europe" (p. 93)

Trafficking flows

- "Most of the cross-border trafficking flows follow the broad patterns of economic differences; victims are trafficked from poorer to relatively richer countries nearby.
    - This was seen in several parts of Central America and the Caribbean; to some extent in connection with flows originating from or directed towards South America.
    - Victims detected in the richer countries of the Caribbean - such as Barbados, Panama and Trinidad and Tobago - originated from neighbouring or close South American countries, such as the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, Colombia and Guyana.
    - Moreover, victims from Haiti were frequently detected in the Dominican Republic." (p. 95)

"Flows of trafficking in persons between North and Central America and the Caribbean and per capita gross domestic product, 2011-2014

Country	Flow	GDP per capita
U.S.	Mainly destination	~ 55,000
Trinidad & Tobago	Mainly destination	~ 19,000
Barbados	Mainly destination	~ 15,000
Panama	Mainly destination	~ 11,000
Mexico	Destination and origin	~ 10,000
Dominican Republic	Destination and origin	~ 6,000
Guatemala	Destination and origin	~ 4,000
El Salvador	Destination and origin	~ 4,000
Honduras	Mainly origin	~ 3,000
Nicaragua	Mainly origin	~ 2,000
Haiti	Mainly origin	~ 1,000" (p. 95)

- “Central America and the Caribbean is also an origin of trafficking outside the region. Trafficking from these countries accounted for about 10 per cent of the victims detected in South America.
    - Most of these victims are trafficked from the Caribbean to countries of the Southern Cone, as well as to the Andean countries.” (p. 95f.)

Appendix G

Corruption Perceptions Index 2015-2017

Transparency International (2017): Corruption Perceptions Index 2017. Online source: https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2017#table [As of 01.06.18]

Countries are ranked on a scale from 0 to 100, with 0 being the highest rate of corruption

Country	Rank 2015	Rank 2016	Rank 2017
Barbados	-	61	68
Bahamas	-	66	65
Costa Rica	55	58	59
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	-	60	58
Dominica	-	59	57
St. Lucia	-	60	55
Grenada	-	56	52
Cuba	47	47	47
Jamaica	41	39	44
Trinidad & Tobago	39	35	41
Guyana	29	34	38
Panama	39	38	37
Dominican Republic	33	31	29
Nicaragua	27	26	26
Haiti	17	20	22