

PALACKY UNIVERSITY OLOMOUC

Faculty of Science

Department of Development and Environmental Studies



Anna Lodinová

**For Whose Pleasure? International Sex Industry and  
Tourism in the Caribbean**

Bachelor thesis

Supervisor: Lucie Macková, M.A.

Olomouc, 2018



I hereby declare that this thesis is of my own work and to the best of my knowledge, it contains no material previously published or produced by another party. If so, it is acknowledged and properly referenced.

Olomouc, 2018

.....  
Anna Lodinová

I would like to express gratitude to Lucie Macková, M. A. for her patience and guidance not only during the formation of this thesis but throughout my whole Bachelor study. Furthermore, I would like to thank my family, V., and close friends for their support and sense of humour.

UNIVERZITA PALACKÉHO V OLMOUCI  
Přírodovědecká fakulta  
Akademický rok: 2016/2017

**ZADÁNÍ BAKALÁŘSKÉ PRÁCE**  
(PROJEKTU, UMĚLECKÉHO DÍLA, UMĚLECKÉHO VÝKONU)

Jméno a příjmení: **Anna LODINOVÁ**  
Osobní číslo: **R15188**  
Studijní program: **B1301 Geografie**  
Studijní obor: **Mezinárodní rozvojová studia**  
Název tématu: **Pro či potěšení? Mezinárodní sexuální průmysl a turismus  
v Karibiku**  
Zadávající katedra: **Katedra rozvojových a environmentálních studií**

Z á s a d y p r o v y p r a c o v á n í :

The Bachelor thesis engages in the topic of sex tourism in the Caribbean region. The author defines the concept, causes, impacts and addresses related phenomena together with influential aspects on global and regional basis. The thesis analyses main hubs of sex tourism, compares interests of men and women and deals with the question of (non)development through tourism of this kind and state strategies. Highlighted are also conceptual problems regarding sex tourism and globalization.

Rozsah grafických prací: **dle potřeby**  
Rozsah pracovní zprávy: **10 - 15 tisíc slov**  
Forma zpracování bakalářské práce: **tištěná/elektronická**  
Seznam odborné literatury:

Albuquerque, K. Sex, Beach Boys and Female Tourists in the Caribbean. *Sexuality and Culture*, 1998: 87-111. Brennan, Denise. What's Love Got to Do with It?: Transnational Desires and Sex Tourism in the Dominican Republic. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2004. Carter, S., a S. Clift. *Tourism and Sex: Culture, Commerce, Coercion*. London and New York: Thomson Learning, 2000. Clancy, M. The Globalization of Sex Tourism in Cuba: A Commodity Chains Approach. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 2002: 63-88. Hannam, K. *Tourism and Development I: Globalization and Power*. *Progress in Development Studies*, 2002: 227-234. Kempadoo, K. Sun, Sex and Gold: Tourism and Sex Work in the Carribean. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999-12. Padilla, M. *Caribbean Pleasure Industry: Tourism, Sexuality, and AIDS in the Dominican Republic*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007. Piscitelli, A. G. Tropical Sex in a European Country: Brazilian Women's Migration to Italy in the Frame of International Sex Tourism. *Revista Estudos Feministas*, 2008: 717-744.

Vedoucí bakalářské práce: **Lucie Macková, M.A.**  
Katedra rozvojových a environmentálních studií

Datum zadání bakalářské práce: **27. ledna 2017**  
Termín odevzdání bakalářské práce: **13. dubna 2018**

L.S.

prof. RNDr. Ivo Frébort, CSc., Ph.D.  
děkan

doc. RNDr. Pavel Nováček, CSc.  
vedoucí katedry

V Olomouci dne 26. dubna 2017

## **Abstract**

The first part of this thesis provides an underlying framework and the second part analyses the phenomenon of sex tourism in relation to the Caribbean region. The concepts of human sexuality, imaginative geography, sex work, and tourism are described to facilitate our comprehension of sex tourism. The author describes five types of legal prostitution approaches that have been adopted across regions and further examines the issue of modern slavery in all its forms. These forms are subject to global eradication, thus the relation to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals is determined. The author further addresses the significance of tourism in the economic system and its role in the Sustainable Development Goals as well. Sex tourism, the subset of tourism, is a phenomenon that may serve as a development strategy in many countries, therefore the second part of the thesis is dedicated to the analysis of sex tourism in six Caribbean states. Attention is paid to distinctive features and socio-economic context as well as to positive and negative aspects of sex tourism.

**keywords:** Caribbean, exploitation, modern slavery, prostitution, sex work, tourism

## **Abstrakt**

V první části autorka představí teoretický rámec práce. Druhá část analyzuje fenomén sexuálního turismu v oblasti Karibiku. Pojem sexuální turismus je definován pomocí vybraných konceptů o lidské sexualitě, imaginativní geografii, sexuální práci a turismu. Práce popisuje pět právních přístupů k prostituci, které se vyskytují napříč regiony, a dále rozebírá problematiku moderního otroctví ve všech jeho formách. Cílem globálních snah je jejich vymýcení, jak je popsáno v Cílech udržitelného rozvoje Organizace spojených národů. Autorka dále popisuje důležitost turismu v ekonomickém systému a stejně tak jeho roli v Cílech udržitelného rozvoje. Sexuální turismus jako podmnožina turismu bývá rozvojovou strategií v mnoha zemích, a proto je druhá část práce věnována analýze sexuálního turismu v šesti karibských státech. Z tohoto důvodu jsou předmětem zkoumání rovněž specifické znaky, socio-ekonomický kontext a pozitivní a negativní aspekty sexuálního turismu.

**klíčová slova:** Karibik, zneužívání, modern otroctví, prostituce, sexuální práce, turismus

## Abbreviations

<b>AIDS</b>	<i>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</i>
<b>ATM</b>	<i>Asynchronous Transfer Mode</i>
<b>CATWA</b>	<i>Coalition Against Trafficking Women Australia</i>
<b>CSEC</b>	<i>Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children</i>
<b>CST</b>	<i>Child Sex Tourism</i>
<b>ECPAT</b>	<i>End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography, and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes</i>
<b>GDP</b>	<i>Gross Domestic Product</i>
<b>HDI</b>	<i>Human Development Index</i>
<b>HIV</b>	<i>Human Immunodeficiency Virus</i>
<b>HPV</b>	<i>Human Papillomavirus Infection</i>
<b>INTERPOL</b>	<i>International Criminal Police Organization</i>
<b>ILO</b>	<i>International Labour Organisation</i>
<b>IMF</b>	<i>International Monetary Fund</i>
<b>IOM</b>	<i>International Organization on Migration</i>
<b>LDCs</b>	<i>Least Developed Countries</i>
<b>LGBT</b>	<i>Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender</i>
<b>OECD</b>	<i>Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development</i>
<b>OSCE</b>	<i>Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe</i>
<b>SAPs</b>	<i>Structural Adjustment Programs</i>
<b>SDGs</b>	<i>Sustainable Development Goals</i>
<b>SIDS</b>	<i>Small Island Developing Countries</i>
<b>STDs</b>	<i>Sexually Transmitted Diseases</i>
<b>UNAIDS</b>	<i>Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS</i>
<b>UNDP</b>	<i>United Nations Development Programme</i>
<b>UNWTO</b>	<i>United Nations World Tourism Organisation</i>
<b>USD</b>	<i>U.S. Dollar</i>
<b>WHO</b>	<i>World Health Organization</i>
<b>WTTC</b>	<i>World Travel &amp; Tourism Council</i>



# Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
Methods and objectives.....	3
1. Human sexuality.....	4
1.1 Sex work.....	5
1.1.1 Direct sex work.....	6
1.1.3 Legislation.....	7
1.1.2 Indirect sex work.....	9
1.2 Modern slavery.....	10
1.2.1 Sexual exploitation.....	12
2. Tourism.....	14
2.1 Globalization.....	18
2.2 Sex tourism.....	19
2.2.1 Sex tourism vs. prostitution.....	20
2.2.2 Romance tourism.....	23
3. Sex tourism in the Caribbean.....	24
3.1 Socio-economic context.....	26
3.2 Sex tourism in the Dominican Republic.....	27
3.4 Sex tourism in Jamaica.....	29
3.5 Sex tourism in Cuba.....	30
3.6 Sex tourism in Curacao and Sint Maarten.....	31
3.7 Sex tourism in Barbados.....	33
3.8 Negative aspects of sex tourism.....	33
3.9 Positive aspects of sex tourism.....	36
Conclusion.....	37
References.....	40

**Table of figures**

Figure 1: Population (total and percentage) of 100 countries with legal, illegal, and limitedly legal prostitution ..... 8

Figure 2: Typology of modern slavery ..... 10

Figure 3: Forms of modern slavery (in millions) in 2016..... 11

Figure 4: International tourist arrivals in 2016 ..... 16

Figure 5: International tourist receipts in 2016..... 17

Figure 6: International sex tourism by regions ..... 21

Figure 7: Map of Central America and the Caribbean ..... 24

## Introduction

The initial phase of forming this thesis came up as a compilation of thoughts and questions after completing the course 'Sexuality and Globalization' and having to live near a red-light district in Gent, Belgium. Sex tourism is seen as an enticing attraction and a jocular conversation topic, yet not many relate it to phenomena that this thesis presents. Despite the aim being to describe the nexus between sex tourism and development, the overall mission is to provoke debate and raise awareness about the causes and consequences of sex tourist and sex worker activities.

Sex work is, to a certain extent, every states' "open secret". In other words, the willingness to de-stigmatize the sex industry and to adopt an overt stance reveals much about country maturity. In relation to this, the question of the thesis title emerged. The sex industry (and subsequently the sex tourism industry) does not solely pleasure its clients (sex tourists). One must not omit the pleasure in the form of generated revenue it commonly brings the governments, companies and enterprises, hotels and restaurants, travel agencies, pornography industries, brothel owners, drug dealers, pimps, traffickers, and smugglers. Since sex work law varies across countries, most sex workers are vulnerable towards human rights violations and become victims of uneven power relations.

The occurrence of 'sex tourism' raised noteworthy concerns on the Caribbean scale during the 1990s. *"Sexual imagery in tourism marketing, the sexual behavior of tourists on holidays, the risk of sexually transmitted diseases, the contribution of tourism to commercialization of sex in developing countries and the need to introduce extra-territorial legislation against the sexual exploitation of children by tourists ..."* (Carter & Clift, 2000) are some of the issues that governments need to cope with. The "four S's" – sun, sea/surf, sand, and sex commonly create stereotypical imagery of tourism resorts. The fact that the "four S's" are associated with gender, sexuality, relationships, and human bodies is undoubtedly the implication of tourism marketing and its growing influence - the line between commercial sex and tourism fades away. This has become the trademark of many exotic destinations including the Caribbean. One of the explanations of adopting sex tourism as a development strategy lays in dependency theory which describes the economic disparities of advanced and developing regions in the global market (Caporaso, 1980). While advanced economies control the flow of capital, developing countries are expected to supply what is in demand. Equal terms can

be applied to sex tourism. Although the theory has faced a range of criticism, one must take into account that the Caribbean economy (and the sex tourism industry) is co-created by the heritage of colonialism and international intervention. Sex work in the Caribbean is tightly linked to European power control over the black population. Slavery consisted of forced labor but also of sexual services provided by black female slaves. These women had created the image of sexually promiscuous, animal-like, immoral subspecies of the female sex, in the land of sexual opportunities (Kempadoo, 2004; O'Connell Davidson & Sanchez Taylor, 2005).

This thesis provides a theoretical background to the global sex tourism industry and analyses the distinctive features it displays in the Caribbean. Attention will be paid to the description of sex work and government responses to sex work together with accompanying phenomena, particularly modern slavery. Sex work combined with tourism create a strong bond which has evolved during the past centuries and must be interpreted with caution. Sex tourism in the Caribbean is described through historical socio-economic events and the characterization of sex tourism in six island states. Further evaluation of negative and positive sex tourism aspects determines the relation of sex tourism and development.

## Methods and objectives

Resources concerning sex tourism focus mainly on the Southeast Asian and North African region. However, the Caribbean has not been covered to such extent. This area is thoroughly analyzed by Kamala Kempadoo (researcher and professor engaged in transnational and Caribbean feminisms, human trafficking discourses, studies of sexual labour-economic relations, Caribbean studies, and gender and development) and Jacqueline Sanchez Taylor (lecturer and researcher focusing on cosmetic surgery, prostitution, female sex tourism, medical tourism, and gender and development). Their research serves as the main source of information for understanding the field of sex tourism within the Caribbean. The thesis is a compilation of literature and data sources from databases of international organizations and research outcomes of actors engaged in related topics, e.g. Fondation Scelles, the *International Labour Organisation* (ILO), the *International Organisation on Migration* (IOM), the Walk Free Foundation, the *World Travel & Tourism Council* (WTTC), the *United Nations World Tourism Organisation* (UNWTO).

The purpose of this thesis is to thoroughly describe the field of sex tourism and its relation to development. To fully understand the nexus between sex tourism and development, the author will answer the following research questions:

1. What is sex tourism?
  - Who are sex tourists?
    - Why do they practice sex tourism?
  - Who are sex workers?
    - Why do they engage in sex tourism?
2. Where does sex tourism occur?
  - Why does it occur in the Caribbean?
3. What impact does sex tourism have?
  - What is the role of sex tourism in the global context?
  - What is the role of sex tourism in the local context?
    - Is the impact negative or positive?
  - How does it affect involved actors?
    - Is the impact negative or positive?
  - How does globalization affect sex tourism?

Special attention will be paid to selected regional sex tourism hotspots, namely the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Cuba, Barbados, Sint Maarten, and Curacao.

## **1. Human sexuality**

The search to satisfy one's needs and desires is no longer limited, in fact, it has broadened and become a matter of possibilities. Our perception of human sexuality has undergone a substantial transformation over the past decades from simply fulfilling the nature of reproduction.

Human sexuality may be understood as John Bancroft's (2009) description: *"that aspect of the human condition, which is manifested as sexual desire or appetite, associated physiological response patterns, and behavior which leads to orgasm, or at least pleasurable arousal, often between two people, but not infrequently by an individual alone"*. Physical pleasure and psychological satisfaction are further influenced by biological, psychological, social, economic, political, cultural, ethical, legal, historical, religious and spiritual factors and their interactions (Cavendish, 2010). At the outset, the term was understood as a matter of constituting sexually recognizable experience in Western societies (Foucault, 2012). However, a sexual revolution had occurred, representing a potential realm of freedom. A precondition of such a revolution was a type of decentred sexuality, freed from the needs of reproduction and shaped as a personality trait intrinsically bound with the self and defined by Anthony Giddens (2013) as 'plastic sexuality'.

Sexual orientation is a term that describes a person's sexual, emotional, or romantic attraction, as well as the gender(s) of the people they are attracted to (Unitarian Universalist Association, 2014). Sexual orientation differs from gender identity. Monosexuals and plurisexuals are two common categories differing in sexual orientation. Monosexual individuals are attracted to a single gender - heterosexuals and homosexuals, while plurisexuals feel attraction to multiple genders (Galupo, Mitchell, & Davis, 2015).

Our perception of foreign destinations is determined by our subjective geographical knowledge supplemented by human desires, motives, and prejudice. Thus, our geographical imagination is a projection of self-identity in spaces and places, and a process of fabrication and production-making. The connection between geographical knowledge and the enactment of self-identity led to Edward Said's Orientalism theory

which proclaimed that Western literature constructs Orient as *the Other* - a contrasting world of the West, inhabited by *others* (Said, 1978). The dichotomization of the two worlds creates a notion of *others* being uncivilized, uneducated, immoral, chaotic, but simultaneously freed from the constraints of modern standards. The encounter, direct or indirect, between us and the other, produces transculturation – a space where cultures meet, clash, and wrestle. As a result, both cultures ‘walk away’ influenced to either small or large extent (Pratt, 1992). This subjective experience has an impact on shaping our identity, sometimes even greater groups of individuals, and most importantly on our depiction of (an)other culture or country - also known as ‘imaginative geography’. This concept represents the complexity of how emotions, desires, attractions, and relations can be associated with a certain area, and sexual practices in an area. The integration of traveling and leisure with body politics, desire, and sex appeal in the last decades serve as evidence (Ryan & Hall, 2001). Developing countries are depicted as destinations of less moral constraint, of people with hypersexual desire and ‘authentic’ sexuality, of different value systems, and resemble the interweaving of exotic and erotic (Said, 1978; Qian, et al., 2012).

### **1.1 Sex work**

The subject matter of sex work emerged in the 1970s during the prostitutes’ rights movement in the United States and Western Europe (Kempadoo & Doezema, 1998). Most sex workers<sup>1</sup> (women, men, and transgendered) are subject to reinforcing processes such as poverty, debt, low income, unemployment, health issues, crime, lack of social support and other, leading to social exclusion (Balfour & Allen, 2014; Bradshaw, et al., 2004). The author describes sex work in terms of provision of sexual services for money exchange or its equivalent. Every country takes a different stand on its sex industry depending on its historical and cultural norms, legal frameworks, policy and economic and social factors (Harcourt & Donovan, 2005). Reflecting these regional disparities are examples practiced with impunity, including *grottos/gnahnis* – a term describing mainly older men using students for sexual desires in the Ivory Coast. This phenomenon is not considered prostitution by women who practice it. They consider it

---

<sup>1</sup> The author refers to the term ‘sex worker’ rather than ‘prostitute’ in order to indicate an income generating activity, not personal identity, and to refer to sexual commerce of all kinds. However, ‘sex work’ and ‘prostitution’ are used interchangeably.

a means to secure their financial status. *Kamakia* (also called *harpoons*) was a term for young Greek men who systematically offered services to female tourists in the 1970s. It was estimated that 9% of these relationships ended with marriage (Kousis, 1996). Another case is *concubines* - Chinese luxury mistresses of wealthy men, stipulated to showcase their “protector” and engage in private sexual practices. They are commonly accused in cases of corruption since local law determines them as accomplices since they benefit from corrupted money as mistresses of politicians. Public authorities have launched several anti-cohabitation campaigns, supported by Chinese President Hu Jintao, which raised awareness about the negative consequences of cohabitation, particularly among senior party officials (De la Grange, 2012; L’Herbier & Dali Roskilde, 2005; Fondation Scelles, 2016). Sex work can be practiced either freely, as a matter of personal choice, or forcibly, which is considered a slavery-like practice (Reanda, 1991). Further distinction (direct and indirect sex work) was made in Harcourt and Donovan’s (2005) research “*The many faces of sex work*”.

### **1.1.1 Direct sex work**

Services referred to as direct sex work include indoor and outdoor services with the primary purpose of sexual service, predominantly including genital contact in exchange for a fee. The most widespread type of sex work is offered on the streets or other public spaces. Street-based sex workers commonly reflect a state’s socioeconomic situation (war-torn, developing countries) or unemployment and drug situation (wealthy countries). Some sex workers actively seek their clients in venues such as hotels, hostels, clubs, pubs or transport hubs. Window and doorway sex work is common in the poorer European suburbs or Amsterdam and Hamburg (Aral & al., 2003).

Indoor sex work is mostly practiced in brothels which are somewhat more secure than outdoor practices in terms of personal safety and health care since they are likely to be subject to state regulation. Another form of indoor sex work is escort service where escorts meet their clients at regional or overseas venues. Meetings can be arranged either by escort services or by escorts themselves in cases of private work. These services have the advantage of operating covertly which makes them tolerated by law enforcers and local community (Blackmore & al., 1985; Hankins & al., 2002)



### 1.1.3 Legislation

Prostitution law differs across nations and their jurisdictions. While some countries decriminalize prostitution and designate it as legitimate employment, others condemn it as a punishable crime and human rights violation. Although there is little common ground in the diverse policy directions, several countries have revised their legislation and have attempted to find the right balance in approach to prostitution. Despite the difference in opinions on the most effective way of dealing with sex work and sex trade, the governments (which are, in some cases, substituted by international or non-governmental organizations) aim to prevent human exploitation and human rights violations, and to eliminate the crime that accompanies prostitution.

To categorize certain policy approach patterns, 5 legal models of sex work are recognized - criminalization, abolitionism, neo-abolitionism, regulationism, and decriminalization (Hindle & al., 2008). The first model prohibits all aspects of prostitution trade and all included parties are subjects to prosecution. It is considered a violation of human dignity and criminal sanctions are applied to reduce the number of sex workers. This legal model is applied in, for example, Russia, Cambodia, China (including Taiwan), Egypt, Iran, Iraq, or Rwanda. Abolitionism is an approach in England, that does not prohibit sex workers to enter the trade. Nonetheless, it is viewed as immoral. The main aim is to forestall the interference of sex workers in public safety and criminalize public solicitation. The neo-abolitionist approach, also called the Nordic model, calls for the decriminalization of prostitutes and the prosecution of clients and third parties (e.g. traffickers, pimps<sup>2</sup>) since it recognizes that sex trade is driven by demand. Prostitution is viewed as an activity that is not practiced by free will and violates human rights. The model was adopted in Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Canada, and is under consideration in Israel, Luxembourg, and Italy. The regulationist model treats prostitution as a legal occupation. Simultaneously, it is regulated by the state through work permits, toleration zones, or licenses. The model functions in the Netherlands, Bangladesh (excluding male prostitution), Indonesia, or Nicaragua. The decriminalization of sex work was first adopted by New Zealand, in 2003. The model removes all criminal penalties for sex work which receives equal recognition as other industries (Coalition Against Trafficking Women Australia, 2017; Hindle & al., 2008).

---

<sup>2</sup> Individuals that facilitate sex work practices and, alternatively, profit from the earnings of sex workers.

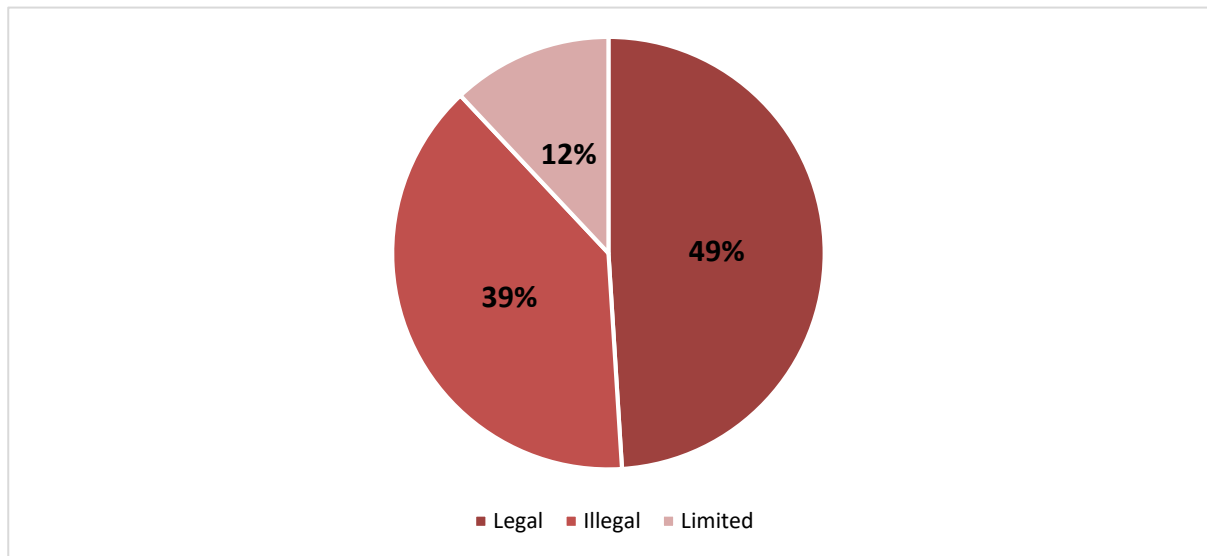


Figure 1: Population (total and percentage) of 100 countries with legal, illegal, and limitedly legal prostitution; source: ProCon.org, 2016; adjusted by author

As depicted in *Figure 1*, the legal status of prostitution legislative is not unified, however, sexual practices take place in the majority of chosen countries where prostitution is legal or limited (abolitionist, neo-abolitionist, regulationist, decriminalized). The country sample was chosen in a way that represents major geographical regions, religions, and policies.

The decriminalization approach has raised notable controversy amongst governments and organizations. The UNAIDS (*Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS*), the WHO (*World Health Organization*), Amnesty International, or the Human Rights Watch expressed their support of the approach. This should be attained more effectively than existing laws that prohibit sex work and associated activities. These laws commonly provide impunity for abusers rather than protecting violence-exposed sex workers and stimulate violent state prosecution. Ensuring their safety would improve the relationship between workers and police authorities, disease control, and the position of sex workers in society (WHO, 2012; Amnesty International, 2016; Human Rights Watch, 2014; Overs, 2015). On the contrary, arguments against prostitution legalization/decriminalization have been raised as well. Janice G. Raymond (2003), from the CATWA, insisted on considering the dimensions of negative and positive effects. She claims that legitimating prostitution strengthens not only sex workers but the entire sex industry with all accompanying activities (e.g. trafficking, pimping, adult and child

exploitation, slavery) (Binder, 2017). She further argues that legalization expands the industry and, simultaneously, enforces the practice of illegal activities. In 2001, prostitution accounted for 5% of the Dutch economy. It also increases the demand for sex and sex workers lose their anonymity due to registration and health check-ups. This makes them even more vulnerable for they become subjects of extortion and discrimination. State-sponsored prostitution becomes a “clean industry” that participates in generating revenues and creates economic dependency. Raymond and other activists support the Nordic model in penalizing the demand and developing sustainable employment opportunities for sex workers (Raymond, 2003).

Prostitution legislation is tightly linked to various aspects, such as geographical location, level of development, economic maturity, religion, historical events, form of regime, and more, that characterize a country. These aspects contribute to the legislation standpoint. The tendency to legitimize/decriminalize prostitution in modern history was built on the positive outcomes of a few countries. The question is whether the approach is applicable to countries with different abovementioned aspects, and if so, whether it would be of primary benefit to sex workers.

### **1.1.2 Indirect sex work**

Indirect sex services are practiced by individuals who recognize it as additional income. These services (lap dancing, erotic massages, telephone sex or virtual sex) have small health risk since they involve little or no genital contact. Other types of indirect sex work involve intercourse after a previous transaction between the worker and client e.g. gifts, alcohol, massage, escort, drugs. In such cases, sex workers can make long-term arrangements, which may escalate to a type of relationship (Allen, 1990; Josef & al., 1997; Thuy & al., 1998)

**1.2 Modern slavery**

The slavery abolition movement came into force in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, the occurrence of people forced to labor (in terms of work as domestic workers, fishermen, farmers, factory workers and other, under threat or coercion), debt-bonded labor, women forced into prostitution, children in sweatshops and women forced to marriage has not come to an end. All these forms of exploitation are nowadays labeled as an umbrella term – ‘modern slavery’. Slavery and human trafficking, although not explicitly included, are in close relation to this concept, being defined throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Anti-Slavery International, 2018). All forms may range from a period of days to years.

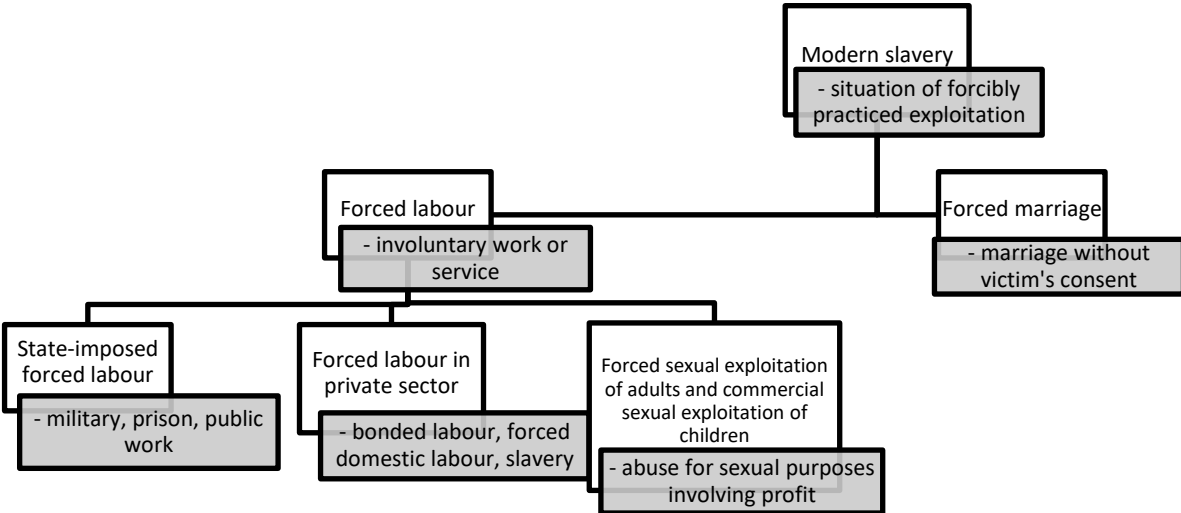


Figure 2: Typology of modern slavery; source: International Labor Organisation, Walk Free Foundation, International Organisation on Migration, 2017; IOM, 2018; created by author

The Global Slavery Index, presented by the Walk Free Foundation, covers a series of factors which predict the vulnerability to modern slavery in certain countries. These factors are divided into four dimensions – civil and political protections (political instability, political rights, ...), social health and economic rights (undernourishment, social safety net, ...), personal security (violent crime, women’s physical security, ...), and refugee populations and conflict (impact of terrorism, internal conflict, ...). In 2016, the highest relative<sup>3</sup> prevalence was estimated in North Korea, Uzbekistan (being also one of the countries with state-sanctioned forced labor), Cambodia, India, and Qatar. The

<sup>3</sup>The author has chosen the term ‘relative prevalence’ to demonstrate the seriousness of conditions related to population size in countries per se.

Foundation also monitors the response of governments to modern slavery. The top ten governments taking most action in 2016 were the Netherlands, United States of America, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Australia, Portugal, Croatia, Spain, Belgium and Norway (Walk Free Foundation, 2016).

According to the 2017 Global Estimates of Modern Slavery report, it was computed that a total of 40.3 million individuals were victims of modern slavery in 2016, out of which 24.9 million victims were forced in labor and 15.4 million were living in a forced marriage. A disproportionate share of 71% of the overall total constitutes of women and girls (International Labor Organisation, Walk Free Foundation, International Organisation on Migration, 2017; Swing, 2017).

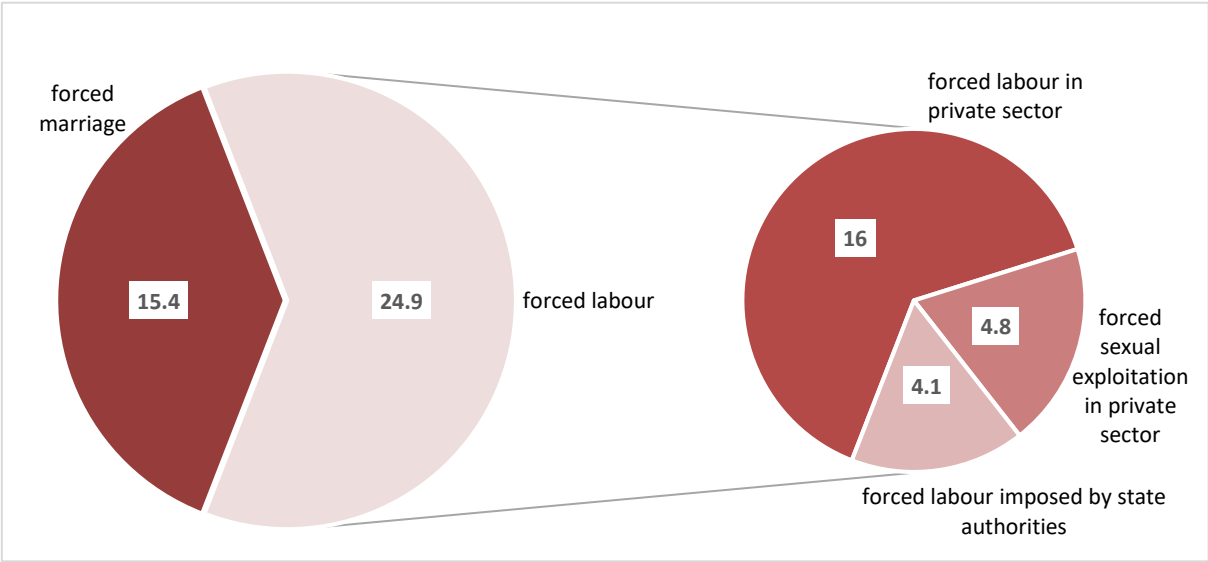


Figure 3: Forms of modern slavery (in millions) in 2016; source: International Labor Organisation, Walk Free Foundation, International Organisation on Migration, 2017; created by author

Values<sup>4</sup> in individual regions were assessed in accordance with data availability which lacked particularly in the Arab States and the Americas. The highest prevalence of modern slavery was ranked in Africa (7.6 victims per 1000 people in the region), followed by Asia and the Pacific region (6.1 per 1000), Europe and Central Asia (3.9 per 1000) the Arab States (3.3 per 1000) and the Americas (1.9 per 1000). Africa also has the lead in the prevalence of forced marriage (4.8 per 1000) while Asia and the Pacific have the highest prevalence of forced labor (4.0 per 1000). In terms of absolute numbers of persons in modern slavery, the populous Asia and Pacific is host to the most victims

<sup>4</sup> These figures must be interpreted with caution due to the disproportion research coverage and data limitations.

(62 percent of victims worldwide), followed by Africa (23 percent), Europe and Central Asia (9 percent), the Americas (5 percent) and the Arab States (1 percent) (International Labor Organisation, Walk Free Foundation, International Organisation on Migration, 2017).

### **1.2.1 Sexual exploitation**

Sexual exploitation occurs for two purposes – commercial and non-commercial. While the former includes widespread forms of forced prostitution, pornography, paedopornography (in case of children), strip dancing and related activities, the latter comprises of forced marriages and mail-order brides which can be found mainly in Africa and Asia (Scarpa, 2008).

Asia and the Pacific region once again take the lead in share of victims of sexual exploitation (73% out of the overall total), followed by Europe and Central Asia (14%), Africa (8%), the Americas (4%) and finally the Arab States (1%). Child victims of forced sexual exploitation under the age of 18 accounted for 21 percent of all victims (International Labor Organisation, Walk Free Foundation, International Organisation on Migration, 2017).

Sexually exploited victims are the most likely of victims of modern slavery to have been labor-forced outside their country of residence. Their share of victims exploited outside their residence country constitutes of 74 percent, the highest percentage of the total. This share is tightly linked to modern world migration and the measures to ensure migration security since migrants, particularly women and girls accounting for 99 percent of sexually exploited victims, are at high risk of being trafficked, coerced to labor or exploited in many forms (IOM, 2017). Human trafficking for sexual exploitation is the fastest growing criminal enterprise in the world (Equality, 2016). It is a high-profit, low-risk trade for those who organize it, but it is detrimental to the millions of victims exploited in slavery-like conditions in the global sex industry (Pan-American Health Organization, 2011).

In 2015, the Heads of State and Government and High Representatives adopted the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda, stating the ambitious objective to end forced labor, modern slavery, human trafficking, and the worst forms of child labor (particularly Target 8.7) by 2030. To achieve this objective, the following goals were addressed (United Nations, 2015; WinnieWei-enChu, 2017):

Target 5.2 of Goal 5: *“Eliminate forms of violence against all women and children in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation.”*

Target 8.7 of Goal 8: *“Take immediate and effective measures to eradicate forced labor, end modern slavery and human trafficking and secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labor, including recruitment and use of child soldiers, and by 2025 end child labor in all its forms.”*

Target 16.3 of Goal 16: *“Promote the rule of law at the national and international levels and ensure equal access to justice for all.”*

Many legal instruments, e. g. the United Nations 1956 Convention on slavery and slavery-like practices, the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons 2000, the Protocol of 2014 to the Forced Labour Convention and other, serve as guidance to achieving this objective. Nevertheless, deficiencies in data collection, categorization, legal gap elimination, intervention reassessment and monitoring should be resolved at a higher pace in order to build an effective policy response (International Labor Organisation, Walk Free Foundation, International Organisation on Migration, 2017).

#### **1.2.1.1 Sexual exploitation of children**

Sexual exploitation of children<sup>5</sup> and young people is a severe human rights violation established under the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (ECPAT & INTERPOL, 2018). The problem of commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) was first identified as a global concern at the Stockholm World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in 1996 and defined as *“sexual abuse by the adult and remuneration in cash or kind to the child or a third person or persons,”* in the Declaration and Agenda for Action against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children. It is a process in which *“the child is treated as a sexual object and as a*

---

<sup>5</sup> Person under the age of 18.

*commercial object*” and *“which constitutes a form of coercion and violence against children, and amounts to forced labor and a contemporary form of slavery”* (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe - OSCE, 1996). CSEC manifests itself in forms of child prostitution, child pornography, child trafficking for sexual purposes, child marriages and sexual exploitation of children in travel and tourism. These forms of exploitation are reflected by the widespread appearance of wealth incongruities, gender inequality, demand for child sex, armed conflict, or social attitudes (ECPAT, 2006).

The ever-increasing sexual exploitation of children in travel and tourism, meaning that people travel to a foreign country to engage in a commercial sex act with children, is a phenomenon also referred to as Child Sex Tourism (CST). However, while using this term one must not forget that it is not a legitimate branch of the tourism industry and that it does not include solely tourism and tourists, but also many traveling individuals, e.g. business travelers, military personnel, offenders in transit, individuals in exchange programmes, and other. CST involves a type of transaction (cash, clothes, food, accommodation) in order to have sexual contact with children. This usually takes place in multiple venues – hotels, apartments, brothels, beaches, etc. Some of the long-regarded CST destinations include Mexico, Brazil, Morocco, Senegal, Cambodia, Vietnam, Russia, and Ukraine. The majority of child sex tourists comprises of situational offenders, who take the presented opportunity to sexually engage with a person under 18 years old, whereas preferential sex tourists (preferring sexual contact with children) and paedophiles (persons with a clinical disorder showing intense inclination for children) comprise of the sex tourist minority (ECPAT, 2006). Child victims, boys and girls, often come from socio-economic disadvantaged backgrounds, ethnic minorities, displaced communities, orphanages, or simply tourism-dependent destinations (ECPAT, 2006; ECPAT & INTERPOL, 2018).

It is evident that child sex tourism victims are vulnerable to emotional, psychological and physical disturbances which can have a future impact on health, well-being, and future adulthood opportunities. They are often stigmatized by local communities and have difficulty obtaining basic or higher education (ECPAT, 2006).

## **2. Tourism**

Tourism is recognized not only as a significant social and economic phenomenon but also the gateway to drive socio-economic progress through creating job opportunities,



exporting revenues and developing infrastructure. Through experiencing the concentration of retailing, accommodating, catering, selling, entertaining, etc., the tourism sector co-creates an impression of a destination through cultural commodification which has an effect on the political domain (Sinclair, 1997). Tourism, representing the top export category, has become a promising sector for developing countries to improve their economic status. Tourism represents 40% of services exports to most emerging economies and has become an essential component of export diversification for advanced economies. It has a strong capacity to compensate for weaker export revenues in many commodity and oil exporting countries (WTTC, Oxford Economics, 2017; United Nations, 2013).

The United Nations World Tourism Organization (*UNWTO*) is one of the leading actors engaging in tourism worldwide and understands tourism as a subset of travel being a set of activities of persons outside the environment of their principal dwelling, usually for the purposes of leisure, business, etc. for less than one consecutive year (UNWTO, 1995; 2015). The tourism sector has been sustaining a steady positive trend, in fact, it has become one of the largest and fastest-growing economic sectors in the world outstripping world trade. International tourism generated USD (*U.S. dollar*) 1.4 trillion, representing 7% of the world's export of goods and services. The total contribution to world's GDP (*Gross Domestic Product*) was 10% (USD 7.6 trillion) in 2016 with forecast to rise by 3.9% (USD 11.5 trillion) in 2027 (UNWTO, 2017; WTTC, Oxford Economics, 2017).

In 2016, world international tourist arrivals reached a total of 1.235 million overnight visitors, likewise, international tourism receipts (accommodation, food and drink, entertainment, shopping and other goods and services) increased by 2.6 % (USD 1.220 billion) (UNWTO, 2017).

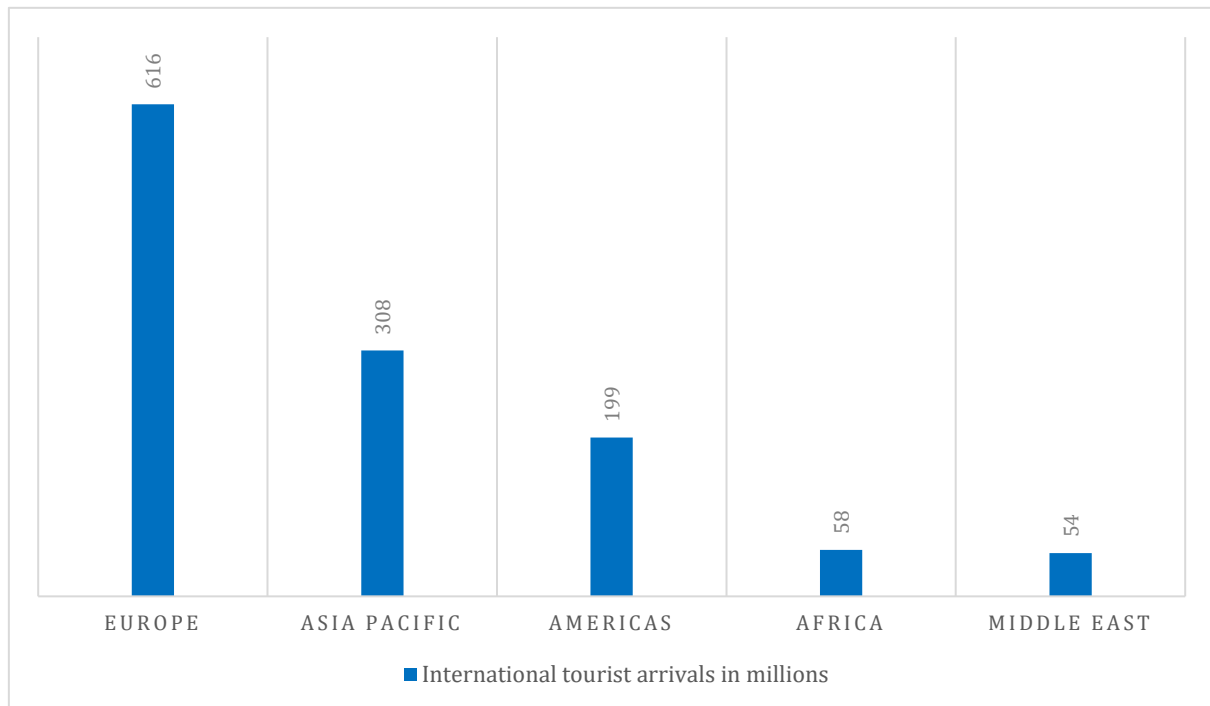


Figure 4: International tourist arrivals in 2016; source: UNWTO, 2017; created by author

Figure 4 represents international tourist arrival data from Tourism Highlights 2017 issued by the UNWTO. Europe, world’s most visited region, welcomed an equivalent to half the world ITA total which corresponds to 2% growth (Northern Europe taking the lead) due to assorted results across its destinations. An increase of 9% made Asia and the Pacific the fastest growing region across the five UNWTO regions with all subregions showing sound results. International arrivals in the Americas grew by 3% growth rate with leading results in South America. Africa recovered after a weaker performance in 2014 and 2015 with an 8% increase led by Sub-Saharan Africa. Available data for the Middle East point to a 4% decrease due to travel insecurities and negative advisories. However, data from June 2017 already show signs of recovery in a short period of time (UNWTO, 2017).

International tourism receipts<sup>6</sup> followed the overall trend in international tourist arrivals, though at a somewhat slower pace (see Figure 5). Receipts increased by 8% in Africa, 5% in Asia and the Pacific, 3% in the Americas and 1% in Europe, while they declined by 2% in the Middle East. Inbound tourism, meaning a non-resident traveling to given country, has been a vital source of foreign currency earnings and employment opportunities. Together with outbound tourism, meaning a resident traveling outside the economic territory of given country, it constitutes international tourism (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development - OECD, 2016; UNWTO, 2015; UNWTO, 2017; United Nations, 1994).

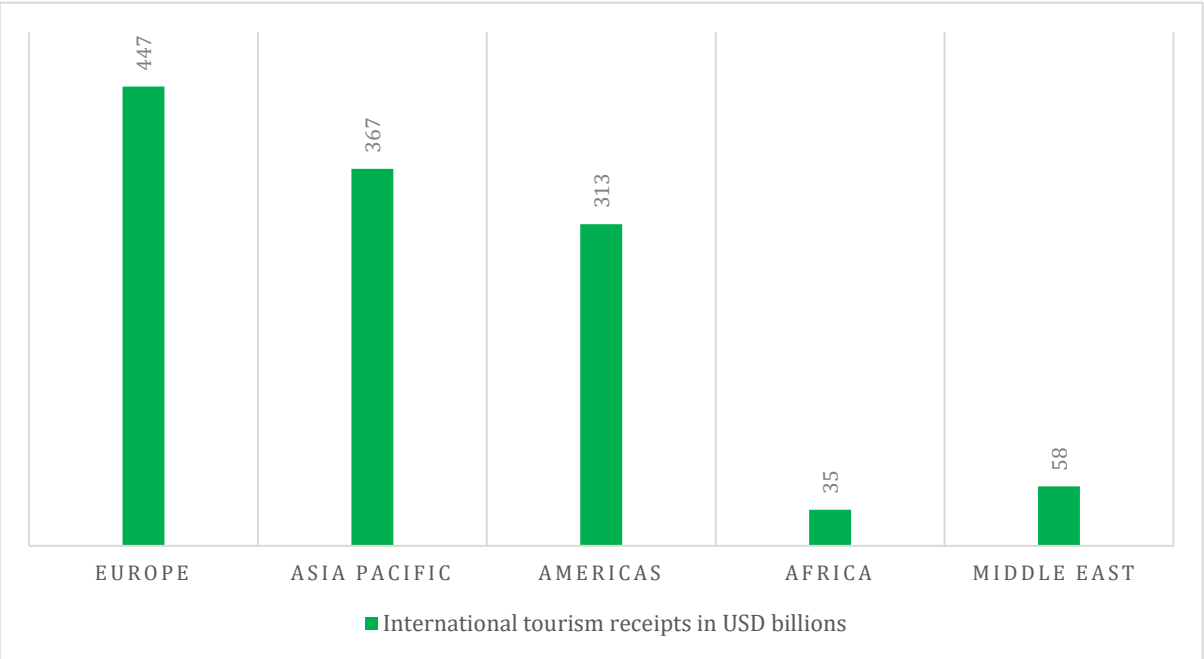


Figure 5: International tourist receipts in 2016; UNWTO, 2017; created by author

Tourism is considered an instrument for either direct or indirect achievement of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)<sup>7</sup>. Particularly, it is included in Goals 8, 12 and 14 on inclusive and sustainable economic growth, sustainable consumption and production (SCP) and the sustainable use of oceans and marine resources, as targets (United Nations, 2017):

---

<sup>6</sup> Growth in receipts is computed in real terms to avoid the distortions caused by exchange rate shifts between local currencies and the US dollar.  
<sup>7</sup> (United Nations, 2015)

Target 8.9 of Goal 8: *“By 2030, devise and implement policies to promote sustainable tourism that creates jobs and promotes local culture and products”.*

Target 12.b of Goal 12: *“Develop and implement tools to monitor sustainable development impacts for sustainable tourism which creates jobs, promotes local culture and products.”*

Target 14.7 of Goal 14: *“by 2030 increase the economic benefits of SIDS (Small Island Developing Countries) and LDCs (Least Developed Countries) from the sustainable use of marine resources, including through sustainable management of fisheries, aquaculture, and tourism”.*

Tourism is one of the most dynamic and far-reaching economic sectors that can make a decisive contribution to the achievement of the SDGs (UNWTO; United Nations Global Compact Network Spain, 2016; UNWTO, 2015).

## **2.1 Globalization**

Although sex tourism is not a direct indicator of development, it undoubtedly affects a number of its facets. The form of sex tourism has gone through a rapid transformation throughout its existence. The exotic sexual experience is no longer open to a narrow selection of individuals and does not acquaint them with a solely physical sexual practice. Globalization is a powerful process that increases the interaction and integration among individuals, companies, and governments, on a worldwide scale. Although the process was primarily driven by economic forces (constructing an international industrial and financial business network), it has effects on the environment, culture, diplomacy, state prosperity, and human well-being. While benefits may include an economic spin-off and improved living standard for poor countries, the benefited party is oftentimes represented by Western transnational corporations and dominant states in the international system (Levin Institute, 2016). Keeping up in the competitive sphere of touristic attractions is not an easy fate. The dependency on tourism in developing countries is expected to be constantly high as a result of increased offshoring and outsourcing in other economic sectors. Dependent countries should be aware of adopting a sustainable development approach with reference to the natural

environment and long-term competitiveness of regional economies (Zmyslony, 2011). With regards to tourism, advances in transportation have enabled global mobility and opportunities to travel have overcome barriers of fear (cultural experience, ensuring basic needs in foreign destinations, etc.) and expense (ATMs – *Asynchronous Transfer Mode*, currency exchange services). The ease of travel has simultaneously facilitated the functioning of terrorist groups, drug trade, smuggling, and human trafficking. It is also argued, that globalized tourism contributes to cultural commodification, thus, the degradation of cultural values and natural sites. In addition, the global spread of goods and services has a homogenizing effect on cultures, as global trends repress traditional features in individual cultures (Bird & Thomlinson, 2016).

## **2.2 Sex tourism**

*“The emergence of tourism and sex-related entertainment is an articulation of a series of unequal social relations including North-South relations, relations between capital and labor, male and female, production and reproduction”* (Truong, 1990). The expansion of the sex tourism industry has contributed to the development of the tourism industry. Apart from the tourism sector, conducting research and studying sex tourism can be challenging due to the complexity of data compilation, lack of methodological and philosophical frameworks as well as the unwillingness of public authorities and governments to acknowledge its occurrence due to its illegal and informal nature (Cohen, 1986; Hall C. M., 1994). The hardship in defining sex tourism is that it is a matter of dynamic continua rather than a strictly determined concept. When do people qualify to fall into the ‘sex tourist’ category? Do their sexual intentions need to be primary? Does financial compensation have to be involved? Does the actual ‘act’ need to be present?

Sex tourism must be understood as a multi-dimensional matter. Although sex tourism and prostitution may be intertwined, sex tourists must not be pictured only as Western male tourists remunerating prostitutes from developing countries, but as men or women whose deeper needs (companionship, fantasy fulfilment, relaxation, social bonding, adventure, experiencing something new, ...) may develop a bond to attributes that accompany tourism. Some describe sex tourism as travel for which the intention of a tourist is to engage in commercial sexual relations with sex workers in a foreign destination. Others understand sex tourism as trips organized from within or outside the tourism sector, however, using its structures and networks for the primary purpose

of commencing a commercial sexual relationship between the tourists and residents (Diotallevi, 1995). Although these definitions may serve as indicative theory, the multi-activity and multi-purpose nature of tourism indicate that sexual gratification does not have to be the primary motive of a tourist. In other words, purely the openness of a tourist to sexual experience during travels may count as a subtle form of sex tourism (Carter & Clift, 2000; Harrison, 1994; Herold & Kerkwijk, 1992; O'Connell Davidson J., 1996; Oppermann, 1999). The fact that sex tourism can be heterosexual, homosexual or transsexual supports the aforementioned multi-dimensional statement.

Researchers have been divided into two groups according to their perspective of the interpersonal dynamics of relationships between tourists and sex workers. McCormick (1994), in her analysis of theories of sexuality, labeled these groups as liberals and radical feminists. While liberals perceive sex workers as empowered sexual actors, radical feminists consider them subjects of victimization. Much of literature on sex tourism is viewed through the lenses of radical feminists such as O'Connell Davison (1998) who describes male sex clients as exploiters and deviants being motivated by hostility, and constructs a term 'Parasite's Paradise' to explain the power imbalance between the sex tourists with their economic power and exploited 'third world' partners. Unlike O'Connell Davison, Ryan (2000) in his analysis of sex tourism, argues that male sex tourists are driven by a wide diversity of objectives and that many sex workers rather than feeling as victims have a sense of power over males. In addition, the 'victim' and 'victimizer' vocabulary tend to depict sexual economic exchanges in the same way as in rape or abuse and therefore seeing the client as the male aggressor (Barry, 1995).

### **2.2.1 Sex tourism vs. prostitution**

One must not forget that the field of sex tourism reaches beyond the illustrated norms of prostitution and that developing a wider interpretation of sex tourism and sex tourists is needed. One of these norms represents financial compensation for services. Researchers in sex tourism argue that direct monetary exchange does not arise as subject matter in many sexual encounters. Despite the fact that economic gain remains a conspicuous incentive for sex workers, monetary transaction is commonly substituted by forms of gifts, social security/support either for workers per se or their family, or the vision of settlement in a foreign country (Dahles, 1998; Kleiber & Wilke, 1995; Kruhse-

MountBurton, 1995; Odzer, 1994; Symanski, 1981). The fact that sex seekers often feel affection for sex workers can escalate into short-term or long-term relationships with sex seekers, particularly female, having an almost altruistic tendency to support their lovers or friends materially or mentally. Due to the fact of possible intimacy or friendship, many statements of sex tourists and sex workers prove that they do not consider themselves as actors of prostitution (O'Connell Davison & Sanchez Taylor, 1996).

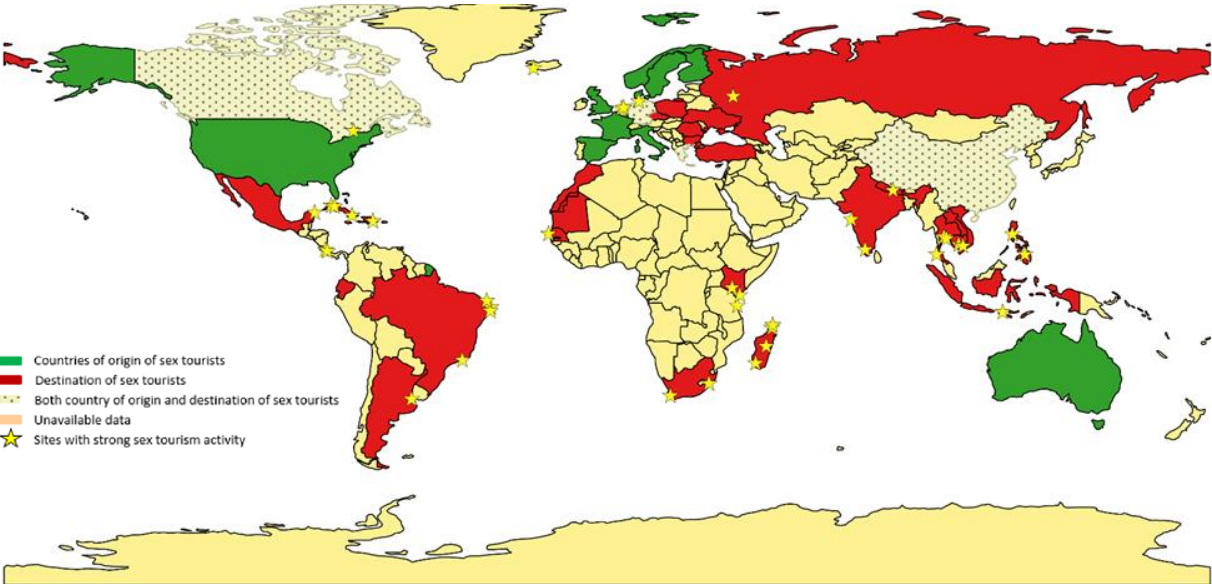


Figure 6: International sex tourism by regions; data source: Fondation Scelles, 2012; created by author

Sex tourism may be domestic, which involves travel within the same country, or trans-national, which involves travel across national borders (Hannum, 2002). Tourists visit strip joints, massage parlors, and red-light districts for voyeuristic purposes and many of them seek love, tenderness or companionship overseas instead of the commercial Western customer-sex worker relationship (Ashworth, White, & Winchester, 1988; Kruhse-MountBurton, 1995; Latza, 1987; Symanski, 1981). One may forget that even though tourists travel to sex destinations, most sex work also requires traveling, creating an international sex worker market which oftentimes replicates sex tourism routes. Sex workers are usually imported from developing countries or remain at their destination of origin (German researcher Schöning-Kalendar uses the so-called *resource woman* term, being a sex worker either imported or consumed at production destination, similarly to other resources) (Schöning-Kalendar, 1989). As depicted in Figure 6, sex tourist destinations are concentrated in the Southeast region (mainly

Thailand, the Philippines and Cambodia), Central and Eastern Europe (the Netherlands, Germany and Austria), West Africa (Gambia, Kenya and Tanzania) and South America together with the Caribbean (Brazil, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, the Dutch Caribbean) (Carter & Clift, 2000; Connor, 2016; Grant, 2017; Pettman, 1997). Despite the lack of available data, there is a clear pattern of tourists traveling from industrialized countries to coastal resorts of 'exotic' developing countries. The roots of sex tourism in Korea, the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam were founded by the establishment of US military bases in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (Hannum, 2002).

Another norm of prostitution is a sexual encounter. In the field of sex tourism, however, the need for sexual intercourse is not imperative. Oral sex, visiting strip clubs or sex shows, participating in pride parades or LGBT (*Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender*) events, as well as voyeurism is, according to most researchers, part of sex tourism (Latzka, 1987; Ryan, 1999). In addition, homosexual and transsexual relations have made categorization of sexual intercourse even more undesirable since practices do not have to have it involved. The risk of disease transfer is, nonetheless, probable as in any sexual contact. As the former director of WHO's Global Program on AIDS (*Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome*), Jonathan Mann, proclaimed (1995): "*The dramatic increase in worldwide movement of people, goods, and ideas is the driving force behind the globalization of disease. For not only do people travel increasingly, but they travel much more rapidly, and go to many more places than before ...*". In 2001, it was estimated that 5 – 50% of short-term travelers engaged in casual sex and more than 357 million sexually transmitted infections were acquired yearly by people aged 15 – 49, in 2016 (over 1 million people daily) (Ericsson, Steffen, & al, 2001; WHO, 2016). Tourists traveling internationally take greater risk by not abiding rules of safe sex practices, e.g. using protection. While the incidence of typical bacterial *sexually transmitted diseases* - STDs (syphilis, gonorrhea, chlamydia, trichomoniasis) or viral STDs (HPV - *Human Papillomavirus Infection*, HIV – *Human Immunodeficiency Virus/AIDS*) has decreased over the past decades in industrialized countries, developing countries struggle with the eradication process due to underdeveloped STD services (De Schryver & Meheus, 1989). Additionally, research shows that HIV prevalence among sex workers is 12 times greater than among the general population (UNAID, 2014).

The development of the Internet in the 1980s (and eventually social media), had opened a whole new sex tourism opportunity, replacing the former phone 'sex lines' and



allowing individuals to be a part of a wide area network. Although 'customers' may not travel physically, they still can be considered 'cyberspace sex tourists', enjoying arousal via virtual sex service videos and images (Durkin & Bryant, 1995; Kohm & Selwood, 1998; Oppermann, 1999). Virtual sex tourism has become a field of additional space for adult and child sexual exploitation. Organized prostitution and human trafficking networks use the Internet, particularly social media, for the development of their business (Fondation Scelles, 2016). As Grayman (1995) claims: "*tourism and the sex industry are mutually reinforcing*" and the industry has become an integral part of contemporary tourism (Ryan & Hall, 2001).

### **2.2.2 Romance tourism**

A widespread assumption of sex worker-clients being only male had made researchers such as Jaqueline Sanchez Taylor conduct research to disprove this notion. In her publication on female sex tourism (2001), she not only proves that female sex tourism has become as profound as male sex tourism but also that the behavior of female sex tourists is interpreted differently from male sex tourists. These female tourists are commonly described as innocent wealthy 'lonely women' who are exploited by local 'beach boys' actively seeking money for a holiday romance or sexual harassment (Momsen, 1994). Pruitt and LaFont (1995) observed in their studies in the Caribbean that both female tourists and local men considered their relationship to be based on romance and courtship rather than sex for money. The dissimilar nature of female sex tourism compared to male sex tourism had researchers refer to 'romance tourism' instead of female sex tourism (Dahles & Bras, 1999; Herold, García, & DeMoya, 2001). Pruitt and LaFont (1995) even suggest that romance tourism can have a positive impact on breaking down traditional gender role stereotypes. This concept is, however, strongly criticized by Albuquerque (1998) who also conducted research in the Caribbean. He argues that women who feel to fall under the category of romance tourism comprise only a small proportion of the total and that the majority of women seek casual sex. O'Connell Davidson (1998) supports this statement by describing female sex tourists as delusional and considers them as exploitive as male sex tourists.

This double standard of male and female sex tourist behavior is, according to Sanchez Taylor (2006), a crucial mistake that produces deeply rooted gendered stereotypes of power, sexual exploitation, prostitution, and sex tourism. In other words,

the euphemisms for female practices then deny the possibilities of women exploiting men. Contributing to this notion is the fact that male prostitution has been long overlooked since victimization is a highly gendered concept (Hakken, 1999). She further argues that relationships of female sex tourists and local sex workers are based on the same economic and social inequalities that underpin male sex tourism (Taylor, 2001).

### 3. Sex tourism in the Caribbean



Figure 7: Map of Central America and the Caribbean; source: Kempadoo, 2004

The Caribbean region encompasses countries and territories bordering the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, including the Bahamas, and coastal areas of Guyana, Surinam, and French Guyana. The area includes more than 7000 islands of which most experienced either former or ongoing foreign power domination and 13 have become independent island countries. A common distinction is made between the Greater and the Lesser Antilles. The Greater Antilles comprise of the four largest islands in the northwest portion of the Caribbean Sea – Cuba, Hispaniola (Haiti and the Dominican Republic), Jamaica and Puerto Rico. The Lesser islands consist of smaller archipelagos

located to the south and east of the Great Antilles (Rosenberg, 2017). The region evinces favorable tropical climate conditions, diverse terrestrial and marine systems, and endangered species. Jointly with its cultural heritage and history, it lures an increasing number of tourists to visit this 'exotic paradise'. In 2016, the Caribbean saw a robust performance with the number international tourist arrivals exceeding 25 billion having Cuba and the Dominican Republic contribute by the largest share. This was reflected by the total tourism contribution of 14.9% to GDP (USD 56.4 billion). The contribution of travel and tourism to GDP in the Caribbean is substantial and maintains leading position in comparison with other world regions (WTTC, 2017).

Albeit the fact that Southeast Asia, North and West Africa, and Eastern Europe have been constantly in the 'sex tourism spotlight', the Caribbean earned its spot in the sex industry long ago. Documented stories of sexual encounters in the Caribbean reach to the 15th century, during Christopher Columbus explorations and considerable research states that Columbus and his crew brought first cases of syphilis to the New World. The early growth of sex tourism in the Caribbean was driven by waves of middle-class adventure-seeking Americans and Europeans, visiting the islands in the 19th century. Additionally, military conquests and establishments of military bases contributed to sex tourism expansion (Hannum, 2002).

A set of linkages between international debt, price fluctuations in global commodity markets, economic development policy, prostitution, and social policies adopted by individual countries, have constructed a Caribbean "sexual Disneyland". The Caribbean, particularly the two biggest tourism centers - Jamaica and the Dominican Republic, has become heavily reliant on tourism as a source of foreign exchange. Prostitution and other forms of sexual services gained prominence in the activities of informal tourism economy, having workers from other sectors also involved to supplement low wages. The informal sex tourist industry then offers not only extensive sexual experiences but also services that are not available in more affluent countries in terms of diversity, cost, moral constraints and power relations (O'Connell Davidson & Sanchez Taylor, 2005). In this context, instances of gay sex tourism have also reached the Caribbean, particularly the Dominican Republic, Sint Maarten, and Curacao (DeMoya & Garcia, 1999).

Since prostitution is illegal in most Caribbean countries, exact statistics about sex workers, sex clients and money generated by the sex industry are unavailable. Individuals and institutions, who are part of the tourism industry, benefit directly or

indirectly from the sex industry as well as governments that support the tourism sector (Hannum, 2002).

### **3.1 Socio-economic context**

The developments of the Caribbean 16<sup>th</sup> century economy were characterized by Western European control and U.S. interests, with a dependency upon foreign trade and global markets (Deere, 1990; Klak, 1998). Sugar, coffee, cocoa, and tobacco were, with the help of foreign firm financing and enslaved African and indentured European and Asian labor, amongst the first long-term export staples. Sectors of oil refining, bauxite mining, banana production, fishing, and logging had developed by the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, controlled from the outside as well. The restructuring of the global economic system pressured the regional system by *structural adjustment programs* (SAPs), enforced by the World Bank and IMF (*International Monetary Fund*). The programs were focused on promoting economic growth by restoring macroeconomic stability. Yet, emphasis on robust economic growth overshadowed social and human dimensions of adjustment and was expected to benefit the poor through the “trickle-down effect”. The national economy was forced to compete in the global market. However, national economies were unable to succeed which resulted in a surplus laboring population, driving down wages of those in work, and the growth of informal economic sector (Le Franc, 1994; Safa H., 1997). Offshore banking, money laundering, drug trafficking, informal commercial trading, information processing, and export manufacturing were applied to acquire foreign exchange and to pay off the debts of national governments (Maingot, 1993; Watson, 1994; Safa H. I., 1995).

In the 1960s, the United Nations put forward an improvement proposal to adopt tourism as a strategy to participate in the global economy. Caribbean governments implemented the strategy at different times with the objective to diversify their economies, overcome economic crises, and to draw foreign exchange (Crick, 1989). According to the Travel Industry World Yearbook 1996, the tourism market was one of the region’s fastest-growing industries in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, with an estimate that one person in formal tourism employment equals one person in informal tourism activities (Patulla, 1996). Caribbean governments, both colonial, such as the Dutch Antilles, or independent, as with Jamaica and the Dominican Republic, had a greater role than managing Western enterprise interests in their tourism product. Governments

informally regulated and tolerated sex work since its high demand generated extra benefit, all in the framework of the official tourism industry (Fanon, 1970). Incidences of prostitution, drug addiction, alcoholism, domestic violence, and rape accompanied the process of social and economic disruption, particularly in the form of women marginalization, which intensified as a consequence of unequal employment distribution (Tauli-Corpuz, 1997). The 1980s spread of globalization and corporatization of capitalism has had a discernible impact on the structural opportunities for Caribbean working people, with sex work being an important livelihood (Kempadoo, 1999). We have no knowledge of which events caused the initiation of sex work, whether European colonization of the Caribbean, the plantation system, or slavery, given that no studies exist on sexual labor and sexual relations among the pre-Colombian populations. Nevertheless, references document that it was an integral part of the region's history (Henriques, 1993; Beckles, 1989).

Undertones of racial differences and unequal power relations have been evident in the Caribbean sex trade from its genesis and persist to present day. The Caribbean racial system should be defined as a phenotype-based color continuum rather than the stereotypical black/white distinction. Historical events and racial mixing have caused the effect of persistent population "whitening" which was more socially valued and affirmed the continuum of historically constituted racial discrimination (Fernandéz, 1999).

### **3.2 Sex tourism in the Dominican Republic**

The initial phase of developing the international tourism industry in the Dominican Republic began in 1967. The development of the state's international tourism economy was slowed by former totalitarian rule, United States military invasion, and internal violence. Nevertheless, the regime of President Balaguer and his efforts to create a tourism-favorable investment climate was heavily subsidized, sanctioned, and supported by the United States, the World Bank, and the Organization of American States (Barry, Wood, & Preusch, 1984; Lladó, 1996). His aim was to reduce the deficits of international debts by injecting foreign exchange generated by tourism and securing employment opportunities. After thirty years of development, the country had built seven international airports and dozens of exclusive tourist resorts. These improvements were, however, accompanied by ongoing massive unemployment, civil

unrest, a large foreign debt, and alarming reports of sex tourism and child prostitution (O'Connell Davison & Sanchez Taylor, 1996; Silvestre, Rijo, & Bogaert, 1994). The pressure of other Caribbean destinations leveraging their competition in the tourism sector resulted in the continued expansion of the tourism infrastructure and growing number of investments. The disparities in the distribution of wealth within the nation further escalated into the inequitable conditions between hosts and guests (Cabezas, 1999).

The Dominican Republic sex industry serves both local clientele and foreign visitors. Prostitution that serves locals includes sex work in brothels, bars, and massage parlors, as well as “dating services”. The growth of the foreigner segment of the sexual services market (specifically in the area of Puerto Plata, Sosúa, and Montellano) is known for bar and cabaret workers, street workers, independent sex workers, “sanky pankies”, formal tourism workers and casino escorts. Sosúa, a resort town in the north part of the country, is the largest and oldest area of tourism development (also called tourist enclave). All locals engage in multiple economic activities in the tourism economy that encompass sex work on an either part-time, opportunistic basis or under permanent arrangements. El Batey, the tourist zone, and Los Charamicos, the working-class area, are divisions of Sosúa where informal arrangements are the most observable. Transnational hotels to airlines to the small street vendors all profit from the circulation of sex workers.

The police, the state, and local and transnational enterprises are aware of the market value that sex represents and tolerate the sex industry despite proclaiming that prostitution is immoral. According to the Sexual Offences Act (1998), *“it is illegal to procure a person to work as a prostitute; to keep or manage or act or assist in the management of a brothel, to provide premises for prostitution and to knowingly live wholly or in part on the earnings of prostitution.”* Nevertheless, prostitution lies in a grey law area which enables police and other authorities to operate according to their level of corruption and willingness, which mostly results in massive arrests and human rights violations. In addition, the laws that do concern prostitution serve only to protect tourists, who already have many cultural, economic, and social privileges (Cabezas, 1999; Institute of Development Studies, 2017).

### **3.4 Sex tourism in Jamaica**

The government attributed the tourism industry's success between 1980 and 1994 to a number of innovations including the concept of an all-inclusive holiday and a thriving marketing and promotion programme. An increasing number of women, men, and children entered the industry to generate income and wages rather than settle with the unrealistic survival conditions of the existing minimum wage.

Sex tourism was never a formal part of Jamaica's tourism product. It arose from the developments imposed by state and private sector to discipline the state's industries according to the market-competitive, globalized world economy (Giddens, 1989; Hall S., 1992). While governments emphasized the importance of tourism restructuring, other traditional exports such as bauxite and sugar lost their foreign exchange earning potential. The national tourism product became diversified as Jamaica invested in tourism marketing, developed new market niches and implemented a set of strategies including privatization, market segmentation, the introduction of new technologies. New tourism products such as ecotourism, health tourism, sports tourism and research tourism were developed through joint public and private initiatives and gradually obtained generous state support (Mullings, 1999).

The main Jamaican sex tourist destinations are Ocho Ríos, Negril and Montego Bay which all differ in attraction according to their geographical location, physical facilities, and economic growth patterns. Ocho Ríos is a port of call for cruise ships and it is the only site that offers tourist cruises. The ships produce multiple earnings from offering an extraordinary experience in the form of sexual services as part of day and night "cruise packages". Negril is a widely dispersed beach resort town well known for its long stretch of beach and hotels, restaurants, and nightly entertainment. It is an ideal area for attracting prospective clientele, hence sex workers working from the beach are referred to as "beach girls". Most sex workers provide services to clients throughout their entire visit and as researchers Campbell, Perkins and Mohammed (1999) stated in their work, several sex workers visited mainland Europe and the United States, and a number of sex worker-tourist relationships ended with marriage. In Montego Bay, a pivotal tourist destination and contributor to Jamaica's economy, sex workers who focus on tourists are concentrated on hotel strips while those who deal with local clientele appear in suburb areas and close to churches and clubs. In some go-go dance clubs, sex workers were recruited as former dancers and additionally started working in the sex

industry, making use of the club facilities. Such cases are often ordered by club owners as part of working contracts.

It is illegal to sell sex and to knowingly live wholly or partly on the earnings of prostitution. Despite its illegal terms, it is widely tolerated. The police and other authorities ensuring safety, particularly in Negril, are commonly sex clients themselves or collect a percentage of sex workers' earnings in exchange for protection from their intervention. Despite the fact that the police arrest people for prostitution, it is alleged that a number of police workers work as gigolos (Campbell, Perkins, & Mohammed, 1999; Institute of Development Studies, 2017).

### **3.5 Sex tourism in Cuba**

Before 1959, tourism was Cuba's second largest industry after sugar. At the time, most visitors were American male tourists and the industry was composed of organized crime, illegal drug trade, gambling, and prostitution trade. Prostitution became illegal after the revolution in 1959. Former prostitutes (referred to as *jineteras/os* in Cuban slang) were to attend educational programmes with the objective of their reintegration to productive society. However, the reintegration efforts were ineffective and the aftermath of post-revolutionary poverty, unemployment, and overall underdevelopment of the country created a supply of sex workers. Prostitution trade started to flourish again in the 1990s when economic conditions forced Castro to reopen the tourism industry (Hannum, 2002). Cuba faced an economic paralysis after the collapse of the socialist block, accompanied by persistent trade embargo from the United States. Similarly to other socialistic economies such as Vietnam or Hungary, Cuba started to focus its economic orientation on the promising tourism sector. In 2016, the island welcomed over 4 million visitors and the direct contribution of the tourism sector to GDP was over USD 2 million (WTTC, 2017).

Due to the succession of preceding events, an unusual effect had appeared - the sale of sexual services did not take place within an established institutional framework. In other words, there was no existence of an organized sex trade system, brothel network, or third-party involvement which has enabled sex workers to operate independently to present time. Although this actuality brought forward a number of advantages, it was rather double-edged. Since sex workers had to compete amongst themselves and they did not have the obligation to share their earnings with another



party, sexual services were provided for very cheap prices. Sex tourists would rather spend weeks in Cuba than in other sex tourism destinations due to price differences. Despite the seemingly superior working conditions, sex workers are commonly indirectly exploited by black market landlords. Most sex workers migrate to Cuban tourism centers, particularly Havana, Varadero, Santiago de Cuba, and Santa Lucía, in search of sex work opportunities. However, the Cuban housing system does not permit immigrants to establish permanent residence. Sex workers are therefore dependent on landlords who charge above-standard prices (Kempadoo, 1995).

The Cuban revolution claimed to have eliminated institutionalized racism, however, the intensification of racial discrimination in sex tourism (but also in general) became evident after the following years, especially due to differences in the way sex tourists perceived white Cubanas (descendants of European colonizers) and black Afro-Cubanas (descendants of emancipated African slaves). Afro-Cuban women are commonly subject to racial discrimination and sexualized conceptions among tourists and locals. They, the racialized *other*, are viewed as the representatives of lower class and tourists feel racial, educational, and economic dominance over them. White Cubanas, on the other hand, are not perceived as *jineteras* so patently. It is more believable for the public eye to consider the intentions of white Cubano women as noble and their relationship with sex tourists as romantic. Rivalry between the two groups is common in most Cuban cities. Racism among Cuban sex workers creates the notion that racial discrimination is accustomed and sex tourists commonly build upon this notion (Fernandéz, 1999; Kempadoo, 1995).

### **3.6 Sex tourism in Curacao and Sint Maarten**

Curacao and Sint Maarten are two of the five geographically separated islands of the Dutch Caribbean region. The islands became autonomous members of the constituent country Netherlands Antilles of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1954, having the military and foreign affairs managed by the authority of the Dutch government. Curacao and Sint Maarten became autonomous countries within the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 2010, after the dissolution of the Netherlands Antilles. Due to this colonial history, most of the laws and regulations governing the five islands are a reflection on Dutch laws and regulations, including laws concerning prostitution.

Prostitution in Curacao and Sint Maarten is legal. Sex can be bought and sold legally within government-controlled brothels and small establishments. Punishment is only applied to third-party involvement such as pimping, procuring or trafficking. All sex workers must apply for a work permit, which includes conditions of obligatory medical examinations. Sex workers are taxed but cannot affirm all labor rights (Institute of Development Studies, 2017). Offshore companies, oil refinery, and tourism are the main pillars of the Curacao economy. Even though tourism is not the main source of income, the government has made it a top priority sector. The island houses the largest legal brothel, established in 1949, in the Caribbean region – Campo Alegre also called Le Mirage (Editor, 2012). The brothel was originally established to cater to the needs of male migrant workers, Dutch marines, and American military personnel. This state-controlled open-air sex house is an enclosed complex situated on the outskirts of town close to the airport and has its own police department and government-enforced medical services. Thousands of sex workers are employed annually, usually being recruited from Cuba, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, and Colombia. The brothel is managed by the family of a local businessman and operates under a hotel license. Several smaller hotels and clubs also legally profit from prostitution (Martis J., 1999; Global Network of Sex Work Projects, 2014).

Sint Maarten is shared by the French (North) and the Dutch (South). Contrary to the economy in Curacao, tourism is the island's major economic pillar. The island is home to the second largest brothel in the Caribbean, the Seaman's Club. The Club was established to cater Japanese fishermen and sailors who worked in the fishing industry in the 1960s. Similarly to Le Mirage, the Seaman's Club is also managed and owned by a local family. Apart from the Seaman's Club, several other bodies operate legally under nightclub or hotel license, or illegally as brothels. Prostitution is considered an accepted and necessary aspect of tourism. The institutionalism of prostitution is tolerated since the perception of governments and locals consider it a means of protecting womanhood from harassment, rape, disease spread, and increasing number of abortions. The system in Curacao and Sint Maarten permits prostitution under the circumstances of taking place in state-controlled institutions and of sex workers being registered and regularly examined by doctors. Sex trade on both islands is considered permissive and even though there are many similarities between both islands, St. Maarten shows a more open attitude towards prostitution and embraces a larger number of foreign sex

workers. Governments profit from the sex industry indirectly in the form of revenues from sex work permits, taxes on sex work institutions, and sales taxes on goods purchased by sex workers (Kempadoo, 1999; Martis J., 1999).

### **3.7 Sex tourism in Barbados**

Barbados has been a well-known sex tourism destination since the early 1970s. The British colonial history, the extraordinary natural scenery, and the geopolitical significance of Barbados as an important seaport provided a steady demand for sex. Prostitution was not practiced solely by colored women but also by white slave owners. After the abolition of slavery in 1834, the practice pervaded through Barbadian culture, providing a steady income for sex workers working either from a brothel or their home. Although prostitution is an illegal activity, female prostitution is tolerated within established districts of Bridgetown, e.g. the historical red-light district of Nelson Street. Male prostitution plays a significant role in Barbados. The so-called “beach boys”, “gigolos”, or “beach hustlers” receive compensation for the social or sexual services they render to women (Press, 1978). Hustlers tend to emphasize their masculinity which reinforces stereotypes in racial, sexual, and exotic *other* perceptions (Pruitt & LaFont, 1995). Female tourists represent sources of income in exchange for accompaniment and sexual services which is commonly viewed as exploitation by Barbadian males. Many cases, however, result in relationships or even marriage. This is followed by eventual cohabitation in the country of origin of females, however, research shows that most marriages do not last (Dank & Refinetti, 1999). Tourism in Barbados represents a means to consume, practice, and affirm the two gender identities. This can be seen as the dependency continuation of a (sexual) labor relationship within a social framework of post-colonialism (Philips, 1999).

### **3.8 Negative aspects of sex tourism**

As indicated, sex tourism disposes of a list of negative aspects that affect economic, social, and health facets on the state level as well as the level of individuals. The first aspect is **the intensification of racism**. Despite national and international efforts, the occurrence of racism remains evident worldwide. The Caribbean is a destination where many races meet. The region is inhabited by a variety of ethnic groups and many tourists are drawn to the racial differences in an either positive or

negative way. Since many sex workers are coloured, another dimension of condemnation is added to racial prejudice. Sex workers are vulnerable to physical violence and mental pressure. In addition, racism can constitute not only skin colour but also nationality and class. Simply the fact that sex workers speak a foreign language or that they lack education may evoke racialized dominance of the advanced Western tourist (Kempadoo, 2004).

The second negative aspect represents **exploitation and human rights abuse**. Although it is in tight relation with the aspect of racism, unfortunately, it disposes of a wider range of features. Sex workers are oftentimes forced to undergo high risk due to poor economic and social conditions. Since sex work is still penalized or publicly disapproved, sex workers' rights are constrained. According to a number of sex worker interviews (in the Caribbean and abroad), the majority of workers do not report cases of abuse by their clients. Given that sex workers can be threatened by death, state prosecution, imprisonment, forced eviction, fining, or losing anonymity, they must cope with abuse on their own. Sex work, in general, does not require special qualification and is therefore open to adults as well as teenagers (Amnesty International, 2016; Kempadoo, 1999).

Another negative aspect constitutes the connection of the sex (tourism) industry with **organized crime**. Human trafficking entails the crossing of country borders or can happen within a country. Either way, members of organized crime groups commonly establish cooperation with sex workers, who represent a possible ally, mediator, or customer. In addition, sex workers can manipulate their foreign clients who intentionally or unintentionally figure as an actor in illegal trade, e.g. weapons, drugs, corruption deals. Sex workers themselves are oftentimes bound to organized crime groups because of drug trade. Drug addiction accompanies the lives of many sex workers worldwide. Sometimes, it is the reason for entering the sex work industry. The financial need for drug intake contributes to the poor social status and most importantly affects sex workers' health, e.g. mood disorder, behavioural issues, psychosis, weakened immune system, cardiovascular conditions, brain damage, body change, birth defects, or sudden death (Gateway Foundation, 2018). A great number of organized crime groups are key actors in the management of human trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation. Many victims (particularly women and children) are kidnapped under the pretext of employment, others are trafficked as a result of the inability to pay

debts or through extortion. Although traffickers are under the spotlight of most government authorities, they take advantage of human vulnerability especially during situations where the control over security is impaired, e.g. mass migration, natural disasters, wars. Child sex tourism is in most cases entirely managed by organized crime groups.

Another negative aspect of sex tourism is the **neglecting of sexual health**. Safe sex is key in order to prevent infection and spread of STDs and the facilitation of the transmission of HIV. Many sex workers take the risk of unprotected sexual practices with consequences reaching not only individuals engaged in the sex tourism industry but the entire public. The reasons to undergo unsafe sex vary – a higher payment offer, additional expenses for condoms or contraception, client coercion, or simply the underestimation of risk. As stated by the World Health Organisation (2016), *“Sexually transmitted infections impose a substantial strain on the budgets of both households and national health systems in middle- and low-income countries, and have an adverse effect on the overall well-being of individuals.”* In the ambit of sex tourism, STDs represent a substantial threat due to the transnational matter of spread, which intensifies especially when sex tourists return from countries with high HIV prevalence. Additionally, safe sexual practices are crucial to avoid unwanted conception and abortions. Many sex workers cannot afford medical abortion and undergo drastic intervention or, in other cases, leave their children in orphanages. Moreover, teenage pregnancy ceases the potential to obtain higher education and desired future employment. The WHO and several regional organizations have implemented programmes to provide comprehensive information and education about sexual health, access to sexual health care, and support governments in creating a promotional environment (Plan International, 2018; Moya, 2002; WHO, Department of Reproductive Health and Research, 2010).

The fifth negative aspect represents the one-dimensional **image of sex tourist destinations**. The expansion of sex tourism in the so-called “Third World” contributes to the mistaken assumption that this area is opposite of the advanced, educated, morally constrained West. Globalisation of goods and services can create a stereotypical image of sex tourist destinations, particularly to those who are not interested in sex tourism or to those who do not engage in it. Not only does it affect people in the Western world, but destinations per se have transformed according to the expectation of their visitors. A

parallel can be drawn upon the transformation of sex workers and the departure from natural behaviour. The sexual image can evoke negative responses in terms of racism, stigmatization, xenophobia, opposition to international cooperation (e.g. refugee asylum, tourists), and the overall spread of misleading information.

Most of the listed negative aspects can be reduced or eliminated by policy regulations and efficient government intervention which primarily devolves from states' attitudes towards the sex tourism industry. In 2016, the average unemployment rate in Latin America and the Caribbean exceeded 8 percent with almost 50 percent of the working population works in the informal economy (ILO, 2017). According to a survey on corruption in Latin America and the Caribbean, worked out by Transparency International (2017), an estimation of 90 million people paid bribes. These estimates are the result of a patent gap in regional policy. Most governments remain involved in corruption and are unable to fully secure basic human rights, although exhibiting a positive approach towards the industry.

### **3.9 Positive aspects of sex tourism**

Although sex tourism generates a rather greater number of negative impacts, some important positive aspects arise as well. Not only does sex tourism offer the **opportunity of employment**, but it also offers a significantly higher income than regular work. The industry represents a lucrative alternative, particularly for inhabitants of developing countries, to improve the standard of living. Working in the sex tourism industry can be a temporary means of subsistence or lifelong occupation. Either way, it can be a point of reference for many inhabitants facing desperate life conditions or poverty. When certain measures of control and safety are applied, some view the industry as more decent than other opportunities in the informal economy (Yates, 2016).

Another positive aspect of sex tourism is that it may represent a positive **economic force** in developing economies. A sex tourist represents economic revenue not only for sex workers but also for the government. The tourism sector along with the sex tourism sector represents a thriving development strategy for many developing countries. A sex tourist represents an economically desirable subject since he/she contributes to the state economy through the multiplier effect. In other words, sex tourists do not pay solely for sexual services, but also for travel agencies,

accommodation services, transport, restaurants, cultural sites, bank services, and numerous other. This positive secondary effect on other economic sectors is welcomed by Caribbean governments (Coltman, 1998; O'Connell Davidson J., 1998; Kempadoo, 1999; ILO, 1998).

The third positive aspect is the emergence of **relationships**. As indicated in previous chapters, a considerable number of sex worker-sex tourist agreements had evolved into serious relationships or marriage. Although cases remain anonymous and circumstances unknown, such an outcome brings many possible benefits to sex workers, e.g. foreign resettlement, financial security, improved standard of living, or family formation. Long-term relationships may have a positive impact not only on sex workers themselves, but also their family members via remittances, gifts, education (Bauer & McKercher, 2003; Kempadoo, 1999; Padilla, 2008; Cohen, 2003; O'Connell Davidson J., 1998).

Positive aspects of sex tourism are lucrative not only for engaged individuals but also for governments. Their positive impact can intensify if the sex tourism industry is accompanied by legal practices and if undesirable effects are under state control.

## **Conclusion**

In the 1990s, 'sex tourism' was already recognized in Southeast Asia before it had raised concerns in the Caribbean. Therefore, it was not a completely unrecognized phenomenon in the world. Nevertheless, as stated by Kamala Kempadoo (1999), "*... this new development was not isolated from a sex trade that had existed in the regions for several centuries or from international racialized and gendered divisions of labor and power and a globalizing capitalist economy.*" The desire to experience a sexual adventure in an exotic destination can be explained through sexual, racialized, and economic attributes that create substantial demand in Western civilization. These attributes have intensified and evolved during the post-colonial era which was subsequently accompanied by the expansion of the tourism sector and globalization efforts.

This thesis was created to provide a comprehensive description of the sex tourism industry in the Caribbean and determine the relation between sex tourism and development. Human sexuality is the driving force for the institutionalization of sex. Sex work is a mostly involuntarily practiced employment, extended worldwide. Most sex workers have been victims of some of the many forms of modern slavery. The ever-

increasing demand for sexual services has induced a favorable environment for corruption, trafficking, pimping, smuggling, and the management of organized crime groups. In addition, the expansion of the sex industry created a market for the sexual exploitation of children.

During the past few decades, the question of sex work legitimization has been a part of global agenda and the gradual implementation of diverse legal approaches brought the attention of numerous governments, international organizations, and non-governmental organizations. The most controversial approach, sex work decriminalization, was first adopted by New Zealand and supported by many significant international organizations. They emphasize the importance of preserving the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights which declares all human rights inalienable and therefore consider protecting the rights of sex workers equally essential as any other human being. In their view, decriminalization of sex work best corresponds to this mission. Although the approach also disposes of a number of deficiencies, the fact that significant international organizations recommend its implementation should evoke interest in the field of development studies.

Sex tourism encompasses a number of consequences the sex industry produces. Nevertheless, sex tourism and prostitution do not equal. This thesis indicates the importance of understanding sex tourism in a multi-dimensional matter since there is no existence of a generally recognized paradigm. Sex tourists (female, male, transgender) dispose of various motives, desires, and cultural backgrounds, and the same applies to sex workers. The exoticization and erotization of distant cultures in the developing world are a reflection of created imagery and power distribution.

The Caribbean region has gone through many radical changes after the end of colonization and the intervention of international institutions. Due to the consequences of these, and many other, economic transformations, governments of the many island states invested in tourism as a development strategy. The sex tourism industry constituted of a large share of economic revenue which is why most countries either officially or unofficially welcomed its expansion. Indeed, the economic state of most Caribbean states improved, and we can assume that the sex tourism industry, respectively its positive aspects, contributed to their development. The results of the *Human Development Index* (HDI) for 2016 show great differences among the Caribbean states – with the lowest HDI in Haiti (0.493) and the highest in Barbados (0.795) (*United*



*Nations Development Programme* - UNDP, 2016). Nevertheless, the HDI does not take into account deficiencies in other development facets (e.g. level of corruption, gender equality, income distribution, human rights violations, and other) that are widespread in the Caribbean.

The substance of sex tourism in the Caribbean differs according to the extent of state affirmation. While the sex tourism industry serves as an economic “crutch”, it simultaneously generates a significant number of uncontrolled negative consequences that harm, most importantly, local people.

## References

- Albuquerque de, K. (1998). Sex, Beach Boys, and Female Tourists in the Caribbean. *Sexuality and Culture* 2, 87–111.
- Allen, J. (1990). Sex and secrets. Crimes involving Australian women since 1880. *Oxford University Press*, 189–194.
- Amnesty International. (2016, May 26). *Amnesty International publishes policy and research on protection of sex workers' rights*. Retrieved from Amnesty International: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/05/amnesty-international-publishes-policy-and-research-on-protection-of-sex-workers-rights/>
- Amnesty International. (2016). *Sex Workers at Work: A Research Summary on Human Rights, Abuses against Sex Workers*. London: Amnesty International.
- Anti-Slavery International. (2018). *What is modern slavery?* Retrieved from Anti-Slavery International: <https://www.antislavery.org/slavery-today/modern-slavery/>
- Aral, S. O., & al., e. (2003, January 3). The social organization of commercial sex work in Moscow, Russia. *Sex Transm Dis*, pp. 39-45. Retrieved from NCBI: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/>
- Ashworth, G., White, P., & Winchester, H. (1988). The Red-light Districts in the West European City: A Neglected Aspect of the Urban Landscape. *Geoforum*, pp. 201-212.
- Balfour, R., & Allen, J. (2014). *A Review of the Literature on Sex Workers and Social Exclusion*. UCL Institute of Health Equity.
- Bancroft, J. (2009). *Human Sexuality and Its Problems*. Elsevier Health Sciences.
- Barry, K. (1995). *The Prostitution of Sexuality*. New York: New York University Press.
- Barry, T., Wood, B., & Preusch, D. (1984). *The Other Side of Paradise*. New York: Grove Press.
- Batista, R. (1997, July). (COVICOSIDA, Interviewer)
- Bauer, T. G., & McKercher, B. (2003). *Sex and Tourism: Journeys of Romance, Love, and Lust*. New York: Haworth Hospitality Press.
- Beckles, H. (1989). *Natural Rebels: A Social History of Enslaved Black Women in Barbados*. London: Zed Books.
- Binder, J. (2017, August 5). *This is what really happens when prostitution is decriminalised*. Retrieved from The Independent:

- <https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/prostitution-decriminalisation-new-zealand-holland-abuse-harm-commercialisation-a7878586.html>
- Bird, G., & Thomlinson, E. (2016, October 26). *Globalization's Impact on Tourism*. Retrieved from Asian Entrepreneur: <http://www.asianentrepreneur.org/globalization-tourism/>
- Blackmore, C. A., Rigau-Pérez, J., & al., e. (1985). An outbreak of chancroid in Orange County, California: descriptive epidemiology and disease-control methods. *Infect Dis*, 840-844.
- Bradshaw, J., Kemp, P., & Baldwin, S. a. (2004). *The drivers of social exclusion: A review of the literature for the Social Exclusion Unit in the Breaking the Cycles series*. London: Office of the Deputy Prime Minister.
- Brathwaite, F. (1983). *Unemployment and Social Life: A Sociological Study of the Unemployed in Trinidad*. Bridgetown: Antilles Publications.
- Cabezas, A. L. (1999). Women's Work is Never Done. In K. Kempadoo, *Sun, Sex and Gold* (pp. 93-124). Rowman and Littlefield.
- Campbell, S., Perkins, A., & Mohammed, P. (1999). Come to Jamaica and Feel All Right: Tourism and the Sex Trade. In K. Kempadoo, *Sun, Sex, and Gold*. 125-156: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Carter, S., & Clift, S. (2000). *Tourism and Sex: Culture, Commerce, Coercion*. London and New York: Thomson Learning.
- CATWA. (2017). *Demand Change: Understanding the Nordic Approach to Prostitution*. Melbourne: CATWA.
- Cavendish, M. (2010). *Sex and Society*. Marshall Cavendish.
- Cohen, E. (1986). Lovelorn "farangs": The correspondence between foreign men and Thai girls. *Anthropological Quarterly* 59, pp. 115-127.
- Cohen, E. (2003). Transnational Marriage in Thailand: The Dynamics of Extreme Heterogamy. In T. G. Bauer, & B. McKercher, *Sex and tourism: journeys of romance, love and lust* (pp. 57-81). New York: Haworth Hospitality Press.
- Coltman, M. M. (1998). *Introduction to Travel and Tourism, an International Approach*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- Connor, N. (2016, May 13). *Sex tourism expanded into new destinations thanks to cheap flights, says landmark report*. Retrieved from The Telegraph:

- <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/05/13/sex-tourism-expanded-into-new-destinations-thanks-to-cheap-fligh/>
- Crick, M. (1989). Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences: Sun, Sex, Sights, Savings and Servility. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 307-344.
- Dahles, H. (1998). Of Birds and fish: Streetguides, Tourists and Sexual Encounters in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. In M. Oppermann, *Sex Tourism and Prostitution* (pp. 30-41). New York: CCC.
- Dahles, H., & Bras, B. (1999). Entrepreneurs in Romance: Tourism in Indonesia. *Annals of Tourism Research* 26, 267-93.
- Dank, B. M., & Refinetti, R. (1999). *Sex Work and Sex Workers*. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.
- De la Grange, A. (2012, May 8). *Concubines chinoises, le péché capital*. Retrieved from Madame Figaro: <http://madame.lefigaro.fr/societe/concubines-chinoises-peche-capital-080312-220458>
- de la Soledad Valdéz, I. A. (1996). Leyes y Prostitución en Republica Dominicana. *Juntarnos: Primer Encuentro Dominicano de Trabajadoras Sexual*, 96-101.
- De Schryver, A., & Meheus, A. (1989). International travel and sexually transmitted diseases. *World Health Stat Q.* , 90-99.
- Deere, C. D. (1990). *In the Shadows of the Sun: Caribbean Development Alternatives and U.S. policy*. Boulder: Westview.
- DeMoya, E. A., & Garcia, R. (1999). Three Decades of Male Sex Work in Santo Domingo. In P. Aggleton, *Men Who Sell Sex: International Perspectives on Male Prostitution and HIV/AIDS*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Diotallevi, M. (1995). *World Tourism Organisation*. Retrieved 2017, from WTO Statement On The Prevention Of Organized Sex Tourism: [https://web.archive.org/web/20030814172032/http://www.world-tourism.org/protect\\_children/statements/wto\\_a.htm](https://web.archive.org/web/20030814172032/http://www.world-tourism.org/protect_children/statements/wto_a.htm)
- Dominica, Commonwealth of. (1998). *ILO*. Retrieved from Dominica - Sexual Offences Act 1998: [http://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/natlex4.detail?p\\_lang=en&p\\_isn=49696&p\\_count=DMA&p\\_count=208&p\\_classification=01.04&p\\_classcount=25](http://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/natlex4.detail?p_lang=en&p_isn=49696&p_count=DMA&p_count=208&p_classification=01.04&p_classcount=25)

- Durkin, K., & Bryant, C. D. (1995). "Log on to Sex": Some Notes on the Carnal Computer and Erotic Cyberspace as an Emerging Research Frontier. *Deviant Behaviour* 16, pp. 179-200.
- ECPAT. (2006). *Terminology Guidelines for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse*. Luxembourg: ECPAT.
- ECPAT, & INTERPOL. (2018). *Towards a Global Indicator on Unidentified Victims in Child Sexual Exploitation Material*. Retrieved from ECPAT: <http://www.ecpat.org/resources>
- Editor. (2012). *Curacao Chronicle*. Retrieved 2017, from Sex Tourism And Trafficking In The Dutch Caribbean: Prostitution in Jamaica is illegal but widely tolerated and the government does not fully comply with the minimum standard set out in the U.S. Trafficking Victims Prevention Act, but that they have made significant progress in their attempts to meet those
- Equality, N. (2016). *Equality now: A just world for women and girls*. Retrieved 2017, from Sex Trafficking Fact Sheet: <https://www.equalitynow.org/sites/default/files/Sex%20Trafficking%20Fact%20Sheet.pdf>
- Ericsson, C. D., Steffen, S., & al, e. (2001, April 1). Sexually Transmitted Diseases in Travelers. *Clinical Infectious Diseases*, pp. 1063–1067.
- Fanon, F. (1970). *Black Skin, White Masks*. London: Paladin.
- Fernandéz, N. (1999). Back to the Future? Women, Race, and Tourism in Cuba. In K. Kempadoo, *Sun, Sex, and Gold: Tourism and Sex Work in the Caribbean* (pp. 81-93). New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Fondation Scelles. (2012). *There Are 42 Million Prostitutes In The World, And Here's Where They Live*. Retrieved from Business Insider: <http://www.businessinsider.com/there-are-42-million-prostitutes-in-the-world-and-heres-where-they-live-2012-1>
- Fondation Scelles. (2016). *Prostitution, Exploitation, Persecution, Repression*. Paris: Economica.
- Foucault, M. (2012). *The history of sexuality, Vol. 2: The Use of Pleasure*. New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group.

- Galupo, M. P., Mitchell, R. C., & Davis, K. S. (2015, December). Sexual minority self-identification: Multiple identities and complexity. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, pp. 355-364.
- Gateway Foundation. (2018). *Effects of Drug Abuse and Addiction*. Retrieved from Gateway Treatment Centres: <https://recovergateway.org/substance-abuse-resources/drug-addiction-effects/>
- Giddens, A. (1989). *Sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens, A. (2013). *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love, and Eroticism in Modern Societies*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Global Network of Sex Work Projects. (2014). *Curaçao Opens Campo Alegre Brothel*. Retrieved from Global Network of Sex Work Projects: <http://www.nswp.org/timeline/event/curacao-opens-campo-alegre-brothel>
- Grant, L. (2017, December 6). *The Most Popular Countries for Sex Tourism*. Retrieved from Huffington Post: [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/oyster/the-most-popular-countries\\_b\\_8067520.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/oyster/the-most-popular-countries_b_8067520.html)
- Grayman, J. (1995). *Let's Go: The Budget Guide to Southeast Asia*. St Martins Pr.
- Hakken, J. (1999). 'Heretical texts: the courage to heal and the incest survivor movement'. In S. Lamb, *New Versions of Victims: Feminist Struggle with the Concept*. London: New York University Press.
- Hall, C. M. (1994). *Tourism and Politics: Policy, Power and Place*. Wiley.
- Hall, S. (1992). The Question of Cultural Identity. In S. Hall, D. Held, & T. McGrew, *Modernity and its Future*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Hankins, C. A., Friedman, S. R., Zafar, T., & al., e. (2002). Transmission and prevention of HIV and sexually transmitted infections in war settings: implications for current and future armed conflicts. *AIDS*, 2245-52.
- Hannum, A. B. (2002). *ReVista: Harvard Review of Latin America*. Retrieved 2017, from Sex Tourism in Latin America: <http://dev.drclas.harvard.edu/revista/articles/view/53>
- Harcourt, C., & Donovan, B. (2005). The many faces of sex work. *Sex Transm Infect*, 201-206.
- Harrison, D. (1994). Tourism and Prostitution: Sleeping with the Enemy? *Tourism Management* 15, pp. 435-443.

- Henriques, F. (1993). *Prostitution and Society: Europe and the New World*. London: Macgibbon and Kee .
- Herold, E. S., & Kerkwijk, v. C. (1992). *AIDS and sex tourism*. AIDS Soc.
- Herold, E., García, R., & DeMoya, T. (2001). Feamle Tourists and Beach Boys: Romance or Sex Tourism? *Annals of Tourism Research*, 978–997.
- Hindle, K., Barnett, L., & Casavant, L. (2008, November 19). *Current Publications: Law, justice and rights: Prostitution: A Review of Legislation in Selected Countries*. Retrieved from Parliament of Canada: <https://lop.parl.ca/content/lop/ResearchPublications/prb0329-e.htm#Overview>
- Human Rights Watch. (2014). *World Report 2014*. New York: Seven Stories Press. Retrieved from Human Rights Watch: <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2014>
- ILO. (1998 , August 19). *Sex industry assuming massive proportions in Southeast Asia*. Retrieved from International Labour Organization: [http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS\\_007994/lang--en/index.htm](http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS_007994/lang--en/index.htm)
- ILO. (2017). *Economía informal en América Latina y el Caribe*. Retrieved from Organización Internacional del Trabajo: <http://www.ilo.org/americas/temas/econom%C3%ADa-informal/lang--es/index.htm>
- Institute of Development Studies. (2017). *Interactions*. Retrieved from Sex Work Law - Countries: <http://spl.ids.ac.uk/sexworklaw/countries>
- International Labor Organisation; Walk Free Foundation; International Organisation on Migration. (2017). *Forced labour, modern slavery and human trafficking*. Retrieved from International Labor Organisation: <http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/forced-labour/lang--en/index.htm>
- International Labor Organisation; Walk Free Foundation; International Organisation on Migration. (2017). *Global Estimates of Modern Slavery*. Geneva: ILO Publications.
- IOM. (2017, August). *Global Trafficking Trends in Focus*. Retrieved from IOM: [www.iom.int](http://www.iom.int)
- IOM. (2018, February 19). *Protection from Sexual Exploitation and Abuse: IOM Awareness-Raising and Reporting Procedures*. Retrieved from IOM Emergency

- Manual: <https://emergencymanual.iom.int/entry/35669/protection-from-sexual-exploitation-and-abuse-iom-awarenessraising-and-reporting-procedures>
- Josef, M., Linnan, M., Barakbah, Y., & al., e. (1997). Patterns of sexually transmitted diseases in female sex workers in Surabaya, Indonesia. *STD AIDS*, 576–580.
- Kempadoo, K. (1995, 1 October). *Sex Tourism in Cuba*. Retrieved from War Resisters' International: <https://www.wri-irg.org/en/story/1995/sex-tourism-cuba>
- Kempadoo, K. (1999). *Sun, Sex and Gold: Tourism and Sex Work in the Carribean*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Kempadoo, K. (2004). *Sexing the Caribbean: Gender, Race and Sexual Labor*. London: Routledge.
- Kempadoo, K., & Doezema, J. (1998). *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance, and Redefinition*. Routledge: Psychology Press.
- Klak, T. (1998). Thirteen Theses on Globalization and Neoliberalism. *Globalization and Neoliberalization*, Rowman and Littlefield.
- Kleiber, D., & Wilke, M. (1995). Aids, Sex und Tourismus: Ergebnisse einer Befragung deutscher Urlauber und Sextouristen. In M. Oppermann, *Sex Tourism* (p. 8). Baden-Baden: Nomos-Verlagsgesellschaft.
- Kohm, S., & Selwood, J. (1998). The Virtual Tourist and Sex in Cyberspace. In M. Oppermann, *Sex Tourism and Prostitution* (pp. 123-131). New York: CCC.
- Kousis, M. (1996). *Tourism and the family in a rural Cretan community*. University of Crete.
- Kruhse-MountBurton, S. (1995). Sex Tourism and Traditional Australian Male Identity. *International Tourism: Identity and Change*, pp. 192-204.
- L'Herbier, M., & Dali Roskilde, B. (2005). *A study of the sexual norms & practices of students at the University of Abidjan-Cocody*. Roksilde: Roksilde University.
- Labor, B. o. (2008). *Human Rights Report: Dominican Republic*. Retrieved 2017, from U.S. Department of State: <https://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2008/wha/119157.htm>
- Latza, B. (1987). Frankfurt: Fischer.
- Le Franc, E. (1994). *Consequences of Structural Adjustment: A Review of the Jamaican Experience*. Kingston: Canoe Press.
- Levin Institute. (2016). *What Is Globalization?* Retrieved from Globalization101.org: <http://www.globalization101.org/what-is-globalization/>



- Lladó, J. (1996). *El Plan Nacional de Desarrollo Turístico*. Santo Domingo: Conference X Convección Nacional y Exposición Comercial.
- Maingot, A. P. (1993). The Offshore Caribbean. *Modern Caribbean Politics*, 259-276.
- Mann, J. (1995). Health and Tourism. In S. Carter, & S. Clift, *Tourism and Sex: Culture, Commerce and Coercion* (p. 4). New York: Pinter.
- Martis, J. (1999). Tourism and the Sex Trade in Sint Maarten and Curacao, the Netherlands Antilles. In K. Kempadoo, *Sun, Sex, and Gold: Sex Tourism in the Caribbean* (pp. 201-2017). New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Martis, J. (1999). Tourism and the Sex Trade in St. Maarten and Curacao, The Netherlands Antilles. In K. Kempadoo, *Sun, Sex, and Gold* (pp. 201-216). Rowan and Littlefield.
- McCormick, N. (1994). *Female Salvation: Affirming Women's Sexual Rights and Pleasures*. Westport CT: Praeger.
- Momsen, J. (1994). Tourism, Gender and Development in the Caribbean. In V. Kinnaird, & D. Hall, *Tourism: A Gender Analysis*. Chichester: Wiley.
- Moya, C. (2002). *The Sexual and Reproductive Health of Young People in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Retrieved from Advocates For Youth: <http://www.advocatesforyouth.org/about-us/programs-and-initiatives/745?task=view>
- Mullings, B. (1999). Globalization, Tourism, and the International Sex Trade. In K. Kempadoo, *Sun, Sex, and Gold* (pp. 55-80). Rowman and Littlefield.
- O'Connell Davidson, J. (1996). Sex Tourism in Cuba. *Race & Class* 38, pp. 39-48.
- O'Connell Davidson, J. (1998). *Prostitution, Power and Freedom*. Cambridge: John Wiley & Sons.
- O'Connell Davidson, J., & Sanchez Taylor, J. (2005). Travel and Taboo: Heterosexual Sex Tourism to the Caribbean. In E. Bernstein, & L. Schaffner, *Regulating sex: the politics of intimacy and identity* (pp. 83-98). London: Routledge.
- O'Connell Davison, J., & Sanchez Taylor, J. (1996). *Child Prostitution and Sex Tourism: Cuba*. Bangkok: ECPAT.
- Odzer, C. (1994). *Patpong Sisters: An American Woman/s View of the Bangkok Sex World*. New York: Arcade Publishing & Blue Moon Books.
- OECD. (2016). *OECD Tourism Trends and Policies 2016*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- Oppermann, M. (1999). Sex Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 26, pp. 251-266.

- OSCE. (1996, July 9). *The Stockholm Declaration for Action*. Retrieved from OSCE: <https://www.osce.org/pa/38049>
- Overs, C. (2015, September 15). *Sex workers' rights: mapping policy around the world* . Retrieved from The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2015/sep/15/laws-against-sex-workers-can-a-map-help-to-move-the-discussion-forward>
- Padilla, M. (2008). *Caribbean Pleasure Industry: Tourism, Sexuality, and AIDS in the Dominican Republic*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Pan-American Health Organization. (2011). *Organization of American States*. Retrieved 2017, from Trafficking of Women and Children for sexual exploitation in the Americas: <https://www.oas.org/en/cim/docs/Trafficking-Paper%5BEN%5D.pdf>
- Patulla, P. (1996). *Last Resorts: The Cost of Tourism in the Caribbean*. Jamaica: Ian Randle.
- Perry Hobson, J., & Dietrich, U. C. (2008, October 18). Tourism, Health and Quality of Life: Challenging the Responsibility of Using the Traditional Tenets of Sun, Sea, Sand, and Sex in Tourism Marketing. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing* 3, pp. 21-38.
- Pettman, J. J. (1997). Body politics: international sex tourism. *Third World Quarterly*, 93-108.
- Philips, J. L. (1999). Tourist-Oriented Prostitution in Barbados. In K. Kempadoo, *Sun, Sex, and Gold* (pp. 183-200). Rowman and Littlefield.
- Plan International. (2018). *Sexual Health and Rights*. Retrieved from Plan International: <https://plan-international.org/sexual-health>
- Pratt, M. L. (1992). *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge.
- Press, C. M. (1978). Reputation and Respectability Reconsidered: Hustling in a Tourist Setting. *Caribbean Issues*, 109-119.
- ProCon.org. (2016, 5 18). *100 Countries and Their Prostitution Policies*. Retrieved from ProCon.org: <https://prostitution.procon.org/view.resource.php?resourceID=000772#barbados>
- Pruitt, D., & LaFont, S. (1995). For Love and Money: Romance Tourism in Jamaica. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 422-440.
- Pryce, K. (1979). *Endless Pressure*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

- Qian, J. X., Wei, L., & Zhu, H. (2012). 'Consuming the tourist gaze: imaginative geographies and the reproduction of sexuality in Lugu Lake. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 94, 107–124.
- Raymond, J. (2003, March 25). *Janice Raymond*. Retrieved from Prostitution Research & Education: [http://prostitutionresearch.com/pub\\_author/janice-raymond/](http://prostitutionresearch.com/pub_author/janice-raymond/)
- Reanda, L. (1991, May). Prostitution as a Human Rights Question: Problems and Prospects of United Nations Action. *Human Rights Quarterly*, pp. 202-228 .
- Rosenberg, M. (2017, March 30). *Which Islands Are in the Greater Antilles and Lesser Antilles?* . Retrieved from ThoughtCo: <https://www.thoughtco.com/islands-in-greater-and-lesser-antilles-4069042>
- Ryan, C. (1999). Sex Tourism Paradigms of Confusion. In S. Carter, & S. Clift, *Tourism, Travel and Sex* (pp. 23-40). London: Cassell.
- Ryan, C. (2000). Bodies, Identity, Self-fulfillment and Self-Denial. In C. Ryan, & C. M. Hall, *Sex Tourism: Marginalities and Liminal Peoples* (pp. 17-58). London: Routledge.
- Ryan, C., & Hall, C. M. (2001). *Sex Tourism: Marginal People and Liminalities*. London: Routledge.
- Safa, H. (1997). *Where the big fish eat the little fish: Women's Work in the Free-Trade Zones*. Oxford University Press.
- Safa, H. I. (1995). *The Myth of the Male Breadwinner: Women and Industrialization in the Caribbean*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. Hamondsworth: Penguin.
- Sanchez Taylor, J. (2006). Female Sex Tourism: A Contradiction in Terms? . *Feminist Review*, 42-59.
- Scarpa, S. (2008). *Trafficking in Human Beings: Modern Slavery*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Schöning-Kalendar, C. (1989). Dem Thema auf der Spur. *Frauenhandel in Deutschland, Tübinger Projektgruppe Frauenhandel*, pp. 9-16.
- Silvestre, E., Rijo, J., & Bogaert, H. (1994). *La Neoprostitución Infantil en República Dominicana*. UNICEF.
- Sinclair, M. T. (1997). *Gender, Work and Tourism*. London: Psychology Press.
- Sublime. (2017). *Viral4real*. Retrieved 2017, from Here Are 10 of The Most Popular Sex Tourism Destinations—You Won't Believe Who's at The Top!: <http://www.viral4real.com/10-sex-tourism-destinations/>

- Swing, W. L. (2017, September 19). *Ending Modern Slavery*. Retrieved from IOM: <https://www.iom.int/news/ending-modern-slavery>
- Symanski, R. (1981). *The Immoral Landscape: Female Prostitution in Western Societies*. Toronto: Butterworth.
- Tauli-Corpuz, V. (1997). The Globalization of Mining and its Impact and Challenges for Women. *Third World Resurgence* 93.
- Taylor, J. S. (2001). Dollars Are a Girl's Best Friend? Female Tourists' Sexual Behaviour in the Caribbean. *Sociology* 35, pp. 749–764.
- Thuy, N., Nhung, V. T., Thuc, N. V., & al., e. (1998). HIV infection and risk factors among female sex workers in southern Vietnam. *AIDS*, 425–432.
- Transparency International. (2017, October 9). *Corruption on the rise in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Retrieved from Transparency International: [https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption\\_on\\_the\\_rise\\_in\\_latin\\_america\\_and\\_the\\_caribbean](https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_on_the_rise_in_latin_america_and_the_caribbean)
- Truong, T. D. (1990). *Sex, Money and Morality: Prostitution and Tourism in Southeast Asia*. London: Zed Books.
- U.S. State Department. (2011). *The Gleaner*. Retrieved 2017, from Jamaica not hard enough on human traffickers: <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20110628/lead/lead2.html>
- UNAID. (2014, October 16). *Sex workers*. Retrieved from UNAID: <http://www.unaids.org/en/resources/documents/2014/Sexworkers>
- UNDP. (2016). *Human Development Data (1990-2015)*. Retrieved from Human Development Reports: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/data>
- Unitarian Universalist Association. (2014, October 29). *Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity 101*. Retrieved from UUA: <https://www.uua.org/>
- United Nations. (1994). *Recommendations on Tourism Statistics*. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations. (2013). *Sustainable tourism: Contribution to economic growth and sustainable development*. Geneva: United Nations.
- United Nations. (2015). *Sustainable Development Goals*. Retrieved from Sustainable Development Goals: 17 Goals to Transform Our World: <http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/>

- United Nations. (2017). *Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*. Retrieved from Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform: <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld>
- UNWTO. (1995). *Technical manual: Collection of Tourism Expenditure Statistics*. UNWTO.
- UNWTO. (2015). *Methodological Notes to the Tourism Statistics Database*. Madrid: UNWTO.
- UNWTO. (2015). *Tourism in The 2030 Agenda*. Retrieved from World Tourism Organization UNWTO: <http://www2.unwto.org/content/tourism-2030-agenda>
- UNWTO. (2017). *2016 Annual Report*. Madrid: UNWTO.
- UNWTO. (2017, June). Strong tourism results in the first part of 2017. *UNWTO World Tourism Barometer*, 1-5.
- UNWTO. (2017). *UNWTO Tourism Highlights*. Madrid: UNWTO.
- UNWTO; United Nations Global Compact Network Spain. (2016). *The tourism sector and the Sustainable Development Goals – Responsible tourism, a global commitment*. Madrid: United Nations.
- Walk Free Foundation. (2016). *The Global Slavery Index 2016*. Retrieved from The Global Slavery Index 2016: <https://www.globalslaveryindex.org/findings/>
- Watson, H. (1994). *The Caribbean in the Global Political Economy*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- WHO. (2012, December 12). *New WHO guidelines to better prevent HIV in sex workers*. Retrieved from World Health Organization: [http://www.who.int/hiv/mediacentre/feature\\_story/sti\\_guidelines/en/](http://www.who.int/hiv/mediacentre/feature_story/sti_guidelines/en/)
- WHO. (2016). *Global Health Sector Strategy on Sexually transmitted diseases 2016-2021*. Geneva: WHO Document Production Services.
- WHO. (2016, August). *Sexually transmitted infections*. Retrieved from WHO: <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs110/en/>
- WHO; Department of Reproductive Health and Research. (2010). *Developing sexual health programmes*. Retrieved from WHO: [http://www.who.int/reproductivehealth/publications/sexual\\_health/rhr\\_hrp\\_10\\_22/en/](http://www.who.int/reproductivehealth/publications/sexual_health/rhr_hrp_10_22/en/)
- WinnieWei-enChu. (2017). *2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and Human Trafficking*. Retrieved from Human Trafficking Search:

<http://humantraffickingsearch.org/20177112030-agenda-for-sustainable-development-and-human-trafficking/>

World Resources Institute. (2008). *The Caribbean region*. Retrieved from World Resources Institute: <http://www.wri.org/resources/maps/caribbean-region>

WTTC. (2017). *Travel & Tourism Economic Impact 2017: Cuba*. London: WTTC.

WTTC. (2017). *Travel and Tourism Economic Impact: Caribbean*. London: WTTC.

WTTC; Oxford Economics. (2017). *World Report 2017*. London: WTTC.

Yates, A. (2016, February 21). *An Introduction To The World Of Sex Tourism*. Retrieved from Kinsey Confidential: <https://kinseyconfidential.org/sex-tourism-sex-tourists/>

Zmyslony, P. (2011). Globalization, Tourism, and Cities: Pros and Cons. *Folia Turistica*, 300-311.