



**International Labour Organization
International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC)**

Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 8

**Jamaica
Situation of Children in Prostitution:
A Rapid Assessment**

**By
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November 2001, Geneva

Preface

Unacceptable forms of exploitation of children at work exist and persist, but they are particularly difficult to research due to their hidden, sometimes illegal or even criminal nature. Slavery, debt bondage, trafficking, sexual exploitation, the use of children in the drug trade and in armed conflict, as well as hazardous work are all defined as Worst Forms of Child Labour. Promoting the Convention (No. 182) concerning the Prohibition and immediate action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999, is a high priority for the International Labour Organization (ILO). Recommendation (No. 190, Paragraph 5) accompanying the Convention states that “detailed information and statistical data on the nature and extent of child labour should be compiled and kept up to date to serve as a basis for determining priorities for national action for the abolition of child labour, in particular for the prohibition and elimination of its worst forms, as a matter of urgency.” Although there is a body of knowledge, data, and documentation on child labour, there are also still considerable gaps in understanding the variety of forms and conditions in which children work. This is especially true of the worst forms of child labour, which by their very nature are often hidden from public view and scrutiny.

Against this background the ILO, through IPEC/SIMPOC (International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour/Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour) has carried out 38 rapid assessments of the worst forms of child labour in 19 countries and one border area. The investigations have been made using a new rapid assessment methodology on child labour, elaborated jointly by the ILO and UNICEF¹. The programme was funded by the United States Department of Labor.

The investigations on the worst forms of child labour have explored very sensitive areas including illegal, criminal or immoral activities. The forms of child labour and research locations were carefully chosen by IPEC staff in consultation with IPEC partners. The rapid assessment investigations focused on the following categories of worst forms of child labour: children in bondage; child domestic workers; child soldiers; child trafficking; drug trafficking; hazardous work in commercial agriculture, fishing, garbage dumps, mining and the urban environment; sexual exploitation; and working street children.

To the partners and IPEC colleagues who contributed, through their individual and collective efforts, to the realisation of this report I should like to express our gratitude. The responsibility for opinions expressed in this publication rests solely with the authors and does not imply endorsement by the ILO.

I am sure that the wealth of information contained in this series of reports on the situation of children engaged in the worst forms of child labour around the world will contribute to a deeper understanding and allow us to more clearly focus on the challenges that lie ahead. Most importantly, we hope that the studies will guide policy makers, community leaders, and practitioners to tackle the problem on the ground.



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¹ Investigating Child Labour: Guidelines for Rapid Assessment - A Field Manual, January 2000, a draft to be finalized further to field tests, <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/ipec/simpoc/guides/index.htm>

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To the staff of the Caribbean Child Development Centre at the University of the West Indies, Mona, who collaborated in this project and provided inputs from their earlier research on the sexual exploitation of children. The support of their efficient administrative team in arranging workshops and other logistics is gratefully acknowledged.

Thanks to the various stakeholders who made time for interviews, participated in workshops and willingly shared their knowledge and experiences. A special debt of gratitude is owed the research team, who despite time and resource constraints, conducted the fieldwork with zeal and efficiency. Their knowledge and experience gained from living and working in communities enriched the quality of information collected.

Thanks to the Government of Jamaica for agreeing to have the Rapid Assessment as part of the ILO's global review. Jamaica has the distinction of being the only Caribbean country included in this process.

Special thanks to the persons who reviewed the draft and provided detailed feedback. These include Mrs. Janet Brown, Director of the Caribbean Child Development Centre; Mrs. Sian Williams, Consultant with the CCDC; Mr. David Nii Addy, Ms Michelle Yankanish and Mr. Geir Myrstad of the ILO/IPEC teams in Trinidad and Tobago and Geneva respectively; Mrs. Claudette Richardson-Pious, Executive Director of Children First - a Jamaican NGO supporting street and working children; and Dr Kamala Kempadoo, researcher and author of several publications on sex workers and sex tourism, and who in 2000-2001 served as the Temporary Lecturer-in-charge of the Mona Unit, Centre for Gender and Development Studies at UWI.

The greatest debt however, is owed to the children who agreed to be interviewed and participated in focus group discussions. Without their support, this rapid assessment could not have been done. This debt is best paid, by ensuring that there is ratification of ILO Conventions 138 and 182, additional research, legal reform to eliminate the sexual exploitation of children, as well as policies and programmes aimed at improving their situation and that of their parents.

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Research Coordinator
September 2001.

TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR THE RAPID ASSESSMENT ON CHILDREN IN PROSTITUTION IN JAMAICA

The study was commissioned within the framework of the International Labour Organization (ILO) through its International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) and its Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC). The ILO is undertaking a number of rapid assessments on the worst forms of child labour in selected countries. The TOR required that investigation should be made through, background research and, most importantly, the application (or where necessary, the adaptation) of the ILO/UNICEF rapid assessment methodology outlined in the document, ILO/UNICEF: Investigating Child Labour-Guidelines for Rapid Assessment: A Field Manual, Draft, January 2000.

The objectives of the study in Jamaica were to:

- Produce quantitative and qualitative data related to children in prostitution;
- Describe the magnitude, character, causes and consequences of the involvement of children in prostitution; and
- Provide recommendations for policy development as well as for improving the methodologies for investigating child prostitution to be applied in subsequent studies and research work.

The study was conducted under the overall guidance of IPEC and its focal point in the ILO Caribbean Office, the Coordinator of Child Labour Activities. The External Collaborators were required to collect and analyze information necessary for the comprehensive assessment on children in prostitution in Jamaica, the final product of which was to be submitted in report format.

Specifically the External Collaborators were required to:

- Collect and analyze existing information, research findings and statistics on the characteristics of child prostitution;
- Collect and review relevant national legislation policy documents or guidelines issued by national authorities;
- Conduct a series of semi-structured interviews and group discussions with (ex-) children engaged in prostitution, key informants and children at risk in selected locations;
- Provide information on institutions and programmes dealing with the problem of prostitution and children at risk of sexual exploitation;
- Prepare a comprehensive report on the extent, causes and characteristics of child prostitution in the locations surveyed and identify policy implications;
- Present findings of the study at a future ILO workshop.

In undertaking the assignment, the External Collaborators were required to collaborate actively with the Caribbean Child Development Center, UWI as well as to liaise with relevant government ministries and other organizations involved in the issue in Jamaica.

Detailed Terms of Reference for the External Collaborator and the CCDC are included in the Appendix.

STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

This report is presented in five (5) major sections. The first is the Executive Summary and this has been prepared for use as a stand-alone document for wider distribution with references.

Part 1 presents the background to the study, and examines:

- International instruments and factors;
- Jamaica's socio-economic context ;
- Jamaica's legal framework for understanding the problem;
- ILO/IPEC Caribbean Child Labour Programme; and
- Previous research in Jamaica on children involved in prostitution and related activities.

Part 2 presents the research methodology and the data collection.

Part 3 presents the research findings and includes information on:

- a) Character:
 - Activities
 - Lifestyle Conditions
 - Hours of Work
 - Physical appearance of the Children
- b) Magnitude
- c) Causes
- d) Consequences.

Information on children's aspirations and resource agencies working with street and working children is also included.

Part 4 presents the Recommendations. These focus on

- Policy Development and Programme Interventions; and
- Strategies to improve the ILO/UNICEF Rapid Assessment Methodology.

References are included and the report ends with the Appendix, which includes:

- Detailed Terms of Reference for the External Collaborator(s); and
- Data collection instruments and guidelines for interviewers.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study on child prostitution in Jamaica is part of the campaign to ratify the 1999 International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No. 182 and Recommendation 190 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour, which the ILO defines as:

- (a) All forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
- (b) The use, procurement or offering of a child for prostitution, production of pornography or pornographic performances;
- (c) The use, procurement or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs; and
- (d) Work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.

Convention 182 is one of 13 ILO Child Labour Conventions and complements earlier international standards. Jamaica has ratified four of these and efforts are being made to ratify Convention No. 182 and No. 138 at an early date.

Significant action has taken place between the time that the draft and final reports were completed. These include: the ILO's approval of funds to the Government of Jamaica to address child labour; establishment of an ILO/IPEC office within the Ministry of Labour, and commissioning of research on the worst forms of child labour in tourism, the informal sector and in fishing communities.

UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, (CRC)

Article 32 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), which Jamaica ratified in 1991 defines child labour as any activity carried out by children, whether reimbursed or not which implies exploitation, interferes with their education, or is dangerous or harmful to their integral development. Article 34 indicated that the state shall protect children from sexual exploitation and abuse, including prostitution and involvement in pornography.

Consistent with these requirements, the Government of Jamaica has established age limits for compulsory schooling. It has also identified a basic minimum age for various kinds of work; prepared and circulated the ***Draft Child Care and Protection Act***, established an integrated system to monitor the CRC, improved data systems on children, reviewed the education system and curricula and intensified efforts to combat child labour. Jamaica has participated in regional and international meetings in August and October 1997 and held a national consultation on child labour in September 1997.

UNICEF, the UN agency primarily responsible for children's issues, is also committed to eliminating child labour and has provided various forms of support towards this end. This has included collaboration with the ILO to develop a joint ILO/UNICEF Rapid Assessment Methodology and Manual on Child Labour among other initiatives.

UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)

The third international framework relevant to this study is the UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) which was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1979 and came into force in 1981. Jamaica is a signatory to this Convention and Article 6 of CEDAW requires all parties to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation including prostitution. These three international instruments provide a strong framework to guide action to eliminate the involvement of children in prostitution. They provide the moral framework to address the worst forms of child labour.

ILO/IPEC Rapid Assessments

This ILO study is one of 38 ILO/IPEC Rapid Assessments (RAs) being done to collect data and test the ILO/UNICEF methodology. It is also part of a series of sub-regional activities organized by the ILO Caribbean Office aimed at raising awareness and the development of a Caribbean information base on child labour issues. In recent years, these activities have included:

1. Organizing an ILO Sub-regional Training Workshop for Statisticians on Child Labour Statistics and Survey Methodologies in Trinidad and Tobago in February 1999.
2. Publication of a report of the meeting in collaboration with the ILO Statistical Bureau.
3. Organizing an ILO Caribbean Tripartite Meeting on the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Kingston Jamaica in December 1999.
4. Publication of the proceedings and conclusions of that meeting in 2000.
5. Commitments to fund country programmes aimed at eliminating child labour.
6. ILO hosting a meeting of Caribbean Labour Ministers in Jamaica in April 2000 which examined new challenges concerning the world of work.
7. ILO participating in the 5th Ministerial Meeting of Ministers Responsible for Children and Social Policy held in Jamaica in October 2000. The ILO hosted a major exhibition on child labour.

Socioeconomic Context

Awareness of Jamaica's social and economic context is important to understanding the factors contributing to children's involved in prostitution and related activities as well as identifying solutions to the problems. The population is young and in 1999, persons under 18 years accounted for 39 per cent of all citizens. This included a fairly balanced ratio of 502,911 males and 506,104 females. Debt burdens and several successive years of modest or negative economic growth, have contributed to poverty which places children at risk. Poverty is associated with crime and violence, (especially domestic violence), unemployment (especially among women) and the illegal drug trade which impact on children's survival and standard of living. In 1998 an estimated 16 per cent of the population were classified as poor, meaning that they fell below the poverty line of J\$136,949 (approx. US\$3,112) for a family of five. In 1999, the weekly minimum wage was J\$1,200 (approx. US\$27). The rate of unemployment was 15.7 per cent, but women were disproportionately affected and they accounted for 65 per cent of unemployed persons.

Poverty, tourism, poor parenting practices and distorted values are among some of the factors associated with children in prostitution and these are now discussed. Poverty in Jamaica is multidimensional and is seen as a major factor contributing to children in prostitution. Poor families usually have inadequate access to health, education, housing and social services. Those in rural areas also experience a higher level of poverty (19.5 per cent compared to 16 percent for the

national average). Female, single-headed households account for 44.7 per cent of the population and women are concentrated in low-wage sectors.

Poverty also contributes to the phenomenon of street and working children and a 1994 Report indicated that there were 22,000 working children under the age of 16 years. According to that report, 55.0 per cent of these were in the age group 15-16 years and 34.0 per cent were in the age groups 12-14 years. Their main work activities were: vending, newspaper delivery, welding, mechanics, carpentry, care giving, farming and domestic work. In 2000, a study was being done to determine the current population and situation of children living or working on the streets.

Tourism is Jamaica's largest foreign exchange earner, contributing approximately US\$1.3 million in 2000. It also provided direct employment for more than 72,000 persons. In addition, hundreds more earn their living by selling goods and services (including sex) to tourists. Although the latter is illegal, it persists in response to demands from visitors. The Government of Jamaica is actively involved in tourism and through the Ministry of Tourism, has developed a Master Plan for tourism, policies, training programmes and a wide range of attractions. Private sector and community involvement also help to create a very diversified product, which targets visitors for weddings, conferences, international sports, culture and music festivals, as well as the more traditional Caribbean scenery and lifestyle. Some advertisements also promote the country as an exotic, hedonistic destination and the ideal getaway for relaxation and excitement.

As with many tourist destinations worldwide, some visitors also come for intimate relaxation, including a few who come to live out sexual fantasies associated with racist stereotypes of the sexual prowess of the black males and females. This 'demand' becomes a 'pull factor' for females (primarily) and males (some under 18 years) from all over the island who come to 'supply' services. The demand by some visitors for drugs (especially marijuana) is also a 'pull' factor for locals to migrate to tourist destinations, and continues despite the efforts of Jamaica's law enforcement agencies. *Sex tourism* is NOT officially sanctioned and security patrols have been increased in resort areas to reduce and eliminate prostitution and other forms of crime. 'Spring Breakers' (North American college students) are one segment of the market associated with sex tourism. Their excessive behaviour has been heavily criticized and steps have been taken to control their behaviour. Some local children (below 18 years) also take advantage of Spring Break to become involved in prostitution during this period.

Poor parenting practices and the perceptions of children as the property of their parents also contribute to children's involvement in prostitution. Lack of perception of children as citizens in their own right sometimes contributes to child abuse and the sexual exploitation of children. Parents who assign adult responsibilities to children at an early age and give older children (primarily girls) major responsibility for child-care, cooking, cleaning and housework, create pressure from which some escape. The practice of using children for agricultural labour (especially on Fridays) creates pressures from which many seek to escape. Expectations that older boys should earn money for the family has contributed to the phenomenon of boys wiping windscreens, selling products and begging at traffic lights in some urban centres.

Distorted value systems that place priority on material things rather than wholesome relationships are also seen as factors contributing to children in prostitution. Western values promoted through travel, the print and electronic media, films and cable television, have become the desired lifestyles for many Jamaicans including children. Placing a high value on material goods (designer clothing, expensive cars), the lifestyle of the rich and powerful, has 'pushed' some children to engage in prostitution. In summary therefore, economic poverty, poverty of values and poor parenting practices are among the background factors associated with children in prostitution.

Process to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Jamaica

The Jamaica study was conducted in the year 2000 and coincided with the review of several international agreements and conferences, as well as the drafting of local legislation that impacts women, children and health. These factors have created an enabling environment that has broadened the number of interests groups and stakeholders that can be mobilized to eliminate the problem of children in prostitution. Among these events were:

- The 10th Anniversary of the UN Declaration on the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC);
- The Beijing + 5 process culminating in the UN Conference in June 2000 to review progress made on the 1995 Beijing Platform of Action (POA) to promote the empowerment and advancement of women;
- The global conference on HIV/AIDS held in July 2000 in Durban, South Africa;
- Discussion of the Draft Child Care and Protection Act (2000) to be tabled before the Jamaican Parliament; and
- The Fifth Ministerial Conference on Children and Social Policy held in Kingston, Jamaica in October 2000.

This study also builds on the recommendations of the UNFPA-sponsored Caribbean Youth Summit held in October 1998 which focused on adolescent reproductive health. The Summit examined the rights of adolescents and young persons to be:

- a) Protected from coercive sex and sexual exploitation; and
- b) Free from sexual exploitation and harassment, trafficking and abduction.

Two consultations on child labour, were also supported by the ILO and UNICEF, which recommended:

- Advocacy and legislative changes for ratification of Conventions 138 and 182;
- Rehabilitative services for children engaged in child labour;
- Surveys to determine the extent and characteristics of the problem;
- Awareness building on child labour;
- Generating commitment to its elimination;
- Measures to improve attendance of primary school age children; and
- Strengthening employment creation, credit facilities and training opportunities for parents.

Previous Research

This RA study also builds on research done by Sian Williams of the CCDC on sexual violence and the exploitation of children for cash and goods in Jamaica that resulted in two publications:

a) Williams, S (1999) 'Sexual violence and exploitation of children in Latin America and the Caribbean: The Case of Jamaica,' Caribbean Child Development Centre, University of the West Indies, Mona

b) Williams, S (2000) 'The mighty influence of long custom and practice'. Sexual exploitation of children for cash and goods in Jamaica,' presented at the Symposium on the Rights of the Child and the Caribbean Experience, 13th –15th March 2000, Barbados, Caribbean Child Development Centre, University of the West Indies and UNICEF Caribbean Area Office.

In addition, this RA study has also benefited from research on tourism and the sex trade in Jamaica done by Shirley Campbell, Althea Perkins and Dr Patricia Mohammed of the Centre for Gender and Development Studies Mona Campus Unit at the University of the West Indies. The resulting publication was:

Campbell, S, Perkins, A and P. Mohammed, (1999) "Come to Jamaica and Feel All Right: Tourism and the Sex Trade" in Kamala Kempadoo (Ed.), *Sun, sex, and gold: tourism and sex work in the Caribbean*. (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield).

RA Research Process

The University studies provided guidance to develop this research on children in prostitution as they helped to clarify the problem. Using the ILO/UNICEF Rapid Assessment Methodology Manual as a background document, the conceptual framework and methodology for this study were developed by a team that included:

- Mr David Nii Addy, the IPEC Focal Point in the ILO's Caribbean Office in Trinidad and Tobago;
- Mrs Kay Cooke, the IPEC Consultant in Jamaica;
- Mrs. Sian Williams, Consultant at the Caribbean Child Development Centre (CCDC) who is an Early Childhood Specialist with regional and international consulting experience; and
- Dr Leith Dunn, the Project Coordinator, who is an International Development Consultant with regional and international consulting experience.

The CCDC is part of the School of Continuing Studies at the University of the West Indies Mona and provided an institutional base for the project because of their previous research. The Rapid Assessment tried to complement rather than duplicate some of the issues covered in the CCDC study and builds on the recommendation of that study about the need for primary research as well as a National Plan of Action. The CCDC noted that a clear process relationship was established between the two studies and reported that UNICEF provided money for consultations to develop such a plan. The planning process was however delayed until this ILO study had been completed. It is expected that the process will continue and will benefit from the findings of this study.

While the RA study was seen as a follow-up to the CCDC study, the TOR did not specifically request that the study attempt to address all the questions raised in that study. Some have however been addressed while others remain. All the studies cited are seen as complementary and part of a process that requires further research, awareness building and sustained action to eliminate children's involvement in prostitution in Jamaica.

Research Team

The research team included seventeen (17) persons. Thirteen (13) were community development workers and the others were researchers who had previously done similar studies or work in the field of child labour, child rights and sex work in Jamaica.

Research Objectives

The three main objectives of the study were to:

1. Produce quantitative and particularly qualitative data related to child prostitution;
2. Describe the magnitude, character, causes and consequences of the involvement of children in prostitution;

3. Provide recommendations for policy development and improving the methodologies for investigating child prostitution to be applied in subsequent studies and research work.

Research Methods

Four main Rapid Assessment research methods were used:

- Interviews with children involved in prostitution and related activities, with guidance counselors, interviews with NGOs working with street and working children, key stakeholders in government, international agencies & private sector;
- Focus groups discussions with children and other key stakeholders;
- Observations of locations reported to be associated with children involved in prostitution and related activities;
- Documentary reviews.

Three workshops were held at strategic points (beginning, middle, and end) during the research process and these helped to collect information. These were:

- a) A training workshop with interviewers and researchers at the beginning of the process;
- b) A post-data-collection debriefing workshop with interviewers and researchers;
- c) A stakeholders workshop with representatives from local, national and international institutions working in the sector to present and get feedback on the preliminary findings and recommendations.

Research Methods for Investigating Children in Prostitution

A variety of rapid assessment research methods should be used and data triangulated to verify information. A high level of professionalism is required. Identifying and collaborating with key informants to get access to the target group of children, building trust, rapport and confidence, respecting confidentiality; probing leads to make children more visible and moving beyond the barriers of social and personal prejudice are key elements for conducting this kind of research.

Security risks need to be addressed. Budgets need to take account of related costs associated with conducting research at night, meeting the cost of food, drink, entry fees to clubs and higher transportation costs for taxi drivers with information on key locations. Special attention to recording and analysing data and writing graphic, non-sensational reports that respect and protect the identity of key informants are also challenges. Selection of an experienced and skilled team with strong community and institutional links is also vital to success. Using well-known and trusted persons is especially important in working with the children.

Interviews: The Main Interviewer was selected on the basis of her prior research experience in a study of sex tourism. Elite interviews were conducted with key informants from a range of national institutions who had attended the CCDC workshop in 1999. Other interviewees were identified through the research workshops and referred by key informants as the project developed. Agencies working with street children, working children and sex workers, identified and facilitated linkages with children involved in prostitution and related activities and these persons were then interviewed. Other members of the research team also assisted in conducting interviews.

Focus Group Discussions: A Focus Group Coordinator was selected on the basis of her professional knowledge and working experience with street and working children and her involvement in an island-wide study on child labour. Her experience of working with children who are poor, created a high level of comfort in talking with children. In addition, public recognition of

her as a well-known television and media personality, helped to establish trust and rapport with the children.

Observations: The field researchers identified most of the locations for observation by ‘brainstorming’ during Workshop 1. Their background as social workers, community animators and conflict resolution mediators, as well as their prior experience of doing participatory research in rural and urban inner city communities, enabled them to easily identify a number of locations and collect data.

Documentary Sources: In addition to the two UWI studies and the two ILO reports mentioned previously, local and regional studies on child labour and sex tourism were reviewed. This included a 1981 study on child labour in Jamaica published by the UK-based Anti Slavery Society. Information on other studies emerged during the process and local newspaper clippings provided an excellent source of information.

Review Process: The draft report was peer reviewed by the ILO/IPEC Caribbean and International staff teams in Trinidad and Tobago and Geneva, the CCDC team, a researcher/child rights activist whose agency supports street and working children in Jamaica and a researcher who has done extensive work on sex tourism internationally.

Scope and Limitations of the Research

The study focused on children under 18 years who were involved in various forms of prostitution. Consistent with the Terms of Reference, seven locations were used as the primary sources for data collection: Montego Bay, Negril, Sav-la-Mar, Lucea, Spanish Town, Portmore and Kingston. A total of 269 persons were consulted across seven parishes through:

- 73 interviews;
- 15 focus group discussions and three (3) workshops;
- Observations in 35 locations in the tourist towns of Montego Bay and Negril, the rural town of Sav-la Mar, and the urban centres of Kingston, Spanish Town and Portmore. Another 45 island-wide locations were identified through reports from stakeholders; and
- Documentary reviews of research studies, institutional publications and newspaper clippings.

The 269 persons consulted included:

- 129 children (48 per cent), the majority of who were females; and
- 140 adult stakeholders (52 per cent).

Given the well-known difficulty of gaining access to children in prostitution and related activities, the large number of children consulted was considered a major achievement.

Among the main limitations of the study were the non-inclusion of children in agriculture and transportation sectors and children with disabilities; dependence on self-reports or estimates of children’s ages; limited ability to analyse the vast store of information in police records, newspaper archives in print media companies or data in the Ministries of Health and Education.

Timeframe

Data collection in the field was completed during three weeks in June and the data analysis and report writing were done between July and August 2000.

Research Findings

Locations

Research in Montego Bay, Negril, Sav-la-Mar, Lucea, Spanish Town, Portmore and Kingston, revealed a number of high risk areas that are potential havens for child prostitution. These include parks, bathing and fishing beaches, sea walls, bus stands, taxi stands, major tourist centres, school gates, malls and fast food restaurants, go-go clubs, massage parlours and brothels. Tourist centres and the main roads between major towns are the kinds of locations where adult entertainment clubs flourish. These businesses on public transport routes offer travelling clients opportunities for short sexual encounters.

Characteristics

Consistent with ILO Convention 182, the study regarded children working in prostitution as one of the worst forms of child labour. In the seven locations surveyed, ***children between the ages of 10-18 years***, were exposed to prostitution, pornographic performances and other activities that adversely affect their health, safety and morals. These activities took place in private (household) as well as public spaces suggesting that nowhere was safe for the children.

The majority of children involved in prostitution and related activities were girls and there was a gender division of labour in some sexual activities. Quantitatively, girls were more exploited than boys, although there are groups of boys who are severely sexually exploited. Among the most vulnerable were:

- children living and working on the street (who were mainly boys) who exchanged sex to meet basic survival needs;
- girls who engaged in prostitution on the streets;
- girls who were employed as go go dancers;
- girls who were employed as masseuses in massage parlours; and
- Children in sexual-economic exchanges.

Their experiences are summarized in this executive summary and discussed more fully in the body of the report. Irrespective of categories however, lack of economic support, love and affection, emerged as factors that 'push' children onto the street or into sexual activities for gain.

Children Living and Working on the Street

These children were the first group and were the most exploited and vulnerable. This was because they did not have the protection of adult family members or an institutional environment for support and as such they were exposed to extreme economic deprivation and abuse. Most were small boys, **between the ages of 6 and 17 years**. Those involved in sexual activity were **between 12 and 18 years**. The majority were from very poor backgrounds and were out of school, although a few attended school irregularly.

Adult homosexual males were their main clients and to a lesser extent, female prostitutes. Their inability to meet their basic needs made these boys desperate and severely reduced their ability to bargain with 'adult clients.' Some became involved in prostitution because of a perceived lack of other opportunities. Adults who exploited their need and dependency coerced some boys into sexual activities. Reports of boys engaging in sexual intercourse in exchange for a basic meal of a patty and box drink were not uncommon. Risks of physical violence from their peers on the streets and others were also high because of Jamaica's strong homophobic culture. Their involvement in

homosexual relations also meant that these boys were more invisible than other children involved in prostitution and were therefore less accessible for rehabilitation and support. Conditions at home that 'push' children onto the street therefore need to be examined and addressed as part of the solution to this problem.

Children in Prostitution

The second group were children involved in formal prostitution who were treated as adults. The majority in this group included girls, but boys, primarily in homosexual relationships, were also identified. As with adult sex workers, some girls engaged in traditional prostitution and operated from established brothels, while others operated from bars, massage parlours or go-go clubs. Clients were locals and foreigners (usually males) from various social classes. Girls operating from clubs had access to overnight rentals or short-stay accommodation, usually calculated on the basis of hourly rates. Like adults in some institutions, children charged rates for specific sexual acts, while in others they were able to negotiate rates with clients. On a more informal basis, children hung out on the streets or in locations that attract large crowds such as malls, food courts, fast food restaurants, cruise ship ports and beaches. These locations served as points to solicit and pick-up clients. Some girls were involved by providing 'escort services' to local and foreign clients. Others operated from their home and provided sexual services to regular clients for income. The study also interviewed a few girls who said their mothers were their pimps and managers.

Exploitation of very young children was very disturbing and the age range for girls engaged in prostitution in tourist areas was as young as 10 or 11 years. The study identified girls of a similar age having sex with local male clients on the fishing beach in one rural location studied, sometimes in exchange for as little as a fish.

Children in Seasonal Prostitution

The third group included children engaged in prostitution on a seasonal or part-time basis, usually **associated with earning money** to meet their 'wants' as opposed to their 'basic needs.' *These girls tended to be older, between 15 and 18 years.* Their 'wants' included: designer clothing, trendy hairstyles, opportunities to travel in luxury vehicles, a higher standard of living and access to persons with power, status and influence. Pressure to meet the financial costs associated with school graduations and special events, motivated some girls to engage in sexual activities for money. Spring Break for example, was used by some to earn quick money because of the lucrative opportunities it provided to earn foreign exchange.

Go-Go Dancers

The fourth group was comprised of female exotic dancers in go-go clubs across the island. Most *were between 13/14 and 18 years* and two patterns emerged: some girls operated full-time at specific clubs, while others were migrants, moving to various locations around the island. Relocations were usually associated with boredom, insufficient work or the need to escape because of conflicts or fights with colleagues or clients. Living conditions varied but generally point to a chain of exploitation. For example, they were hired to dance but were often forced to provide sexual services if club patrons so wished or face dismissal. Long hours and relatively low rates for specific sexual acts compounded this exploitation although rates were standardized. Many reported sexual harassment by club owners, managers and patrons. Accommodation arrangements were often tied to wages. They often lived on the premises, which also served as brothels suggesting that they could not go 'home' to sleep when they had finished dancing for the night as they lived and worked at the same location. In some clubs, their rooms were used for prostitution. The cycle of exploitation was further compounded in some clubs as the girls had to cover the cost of 'costumes.' Dancers in some clubs reported that they were initially provided with costumes,

(including negligees) but were unable to keep them. In others, dancers were responsible for providing their own costumes and had to rent them for \$500 a night per costume, which was then deducted from their pay. Girls also reported that they purchased costumes from men who specialize in costumes for go-go dancers and massage parlour workers.

Massage Parlour Workers

The fifth category of children involved in prostitution was massage parlour workers. They were all females, usually with a secondary school education and aged *between 15 and 18 years*. At this age they were more physically developed with 'pointed breasts.' This was considered a 'marketable asset,' which effectively exploited their adolescence for the benefit and profit of massage parlour owners, operators and clients. Conditions under which they operated were similar to those of go-go dancers and the exploitation was similar: intimate sexual relations with clients were usually obligatory if the client so desired.

Sugar Daddy Girls

The sixth category of children in prostitution included young girls, *some below 12 years*, who were pressured into sexual relations with adult males. Sexual exploitation in exchange for economic benefits that sometimes included support for their family was the norm in these cases. The girls were usually required to provide sexual services for an adult male in exchange for basic needs to which the child would normally be entitled, such as education, food, clothing, shelter and financial support. Though difficult to enumerate, the practice appeared quite common and was reminiscent of a similar practice during slavery, of handing over girls to the slave master for his sexual pleasure. The hope was that the girl and her family would have a better chance of survival and an improved standard of existence. Children in this context face double exploitation from the men and from their own families. The male 'Sugar Daddy' has replaced the slave master in a similar unequal power relationship.

'Chapses'

The seventh category of children who were sexually exploited were teenaged schoolboys who were called '*Chapses*.' Like the 'sugar daddy girls' they were having sexual relationships with 'Sugar Mummies' in exchange for economic support. These women were usually affluent and like their male counterparts, kept the boys primarily to have sexual relationships at their convenience, in exchange for providing economic support, access to education and a higher standard of living. The emerging pattern was of women picking up the boys from school, occasionally taking them on outings, treats and holidays and providing them with gifts, clothing and money. More research is needed to determine the magnitude of this phenomenon of Sugar Daddies and Sugar Mummies, as well as the physical, psychological and emotional impact of these relationships on the health, education and morals of the boys and girls involved.

Children Used in Pornographic Productions

The eighth category of children involved in prostitution were children who earned income from their participation in the production of pornographic videos, photographs and live sex shows. These were girls who also engaged in prostitution. There was a specific report in a tourist town of a girl being exploited by a foreign male tourist who 'fell in love with her' and promised to marry her and take her to North America. She later discovered that their sexual liaisons had been videotaped and copies had been reproduced for sale.

Children Used in Sacrificial Sex

A ninth category of sexually exploited children identified but not verified were girls who were used for sacrificial and ritualistic sex associated with devil worship, satanic rites, and 'cleansing'

men with STDs. Reports were not verified, but if true, they would represent an extreme form of exploitation.

The psychological trauma and the migratory character associated with such practices are mind boggling.

These activities are considered to be among the worst forms of child labour because they

- Sexually exploit children;
- Violate their basic rights;
- Disrupt their education;
- Expose them to high-risk life-threatening behaviour;
- Socialize them into treating their bodies as sexual commodities for sale; and
- Corrupt their moral values.

Lifestyle Conditions

This section examines lifestyle conditions such as roles, relationships with their peers, relationships with their families, relationships with their clients, sources and levels of income and living arrangements.

Roles: The problem of children in prostitution was also associated with the reversal of roles, with children being given or being asked to assume adult roles. Some children became involved in prostitution-related activities because they had been forced to become family breadwinners. Some operated as full-time or part-time prostitutes, while others were engaged in business activities using their bodies as commodities. Repeated exploitation of their childhood had changed some from being victims to becoming exploiters, who used crime and violence to survive. Some children reported that they tricked and stole from clients, sometimes drugging them and robbing them of money and jewelry. In Westmoreland, there was also a report of a 15-year-old girl who was already in charge of a group of girls involved in prostitution. .

Relationships with peers spanned two extremes. At one end peer influence was an important factor that got children involved in prostitution. They tended to operate in groups, which served as a support network especially when they were exposed to danger. At the other end, conflicts between peers were common on the streets as well as in clubs as both boys and girls competed with each other to get clients to survive. In the middle, there were reports of a group of gay boys who provided protection for girls involved in prostitution in a tourist area. Girls in the go-go clubs also had fights over clients and sexual partners, which shows a very complex pattern that requires further research.

Relationships with Families: Most children involved in prostitution maintained relationships with their family, more often than not with a mother, siblings and other relatives. They often developed relationships with regular clients.

Income and Other Conditions

Go-Go Dancers: Estimates of earnings and conditions under which children operated varied. On average, go-go dancers earned basic rates of between J\$800 and \$1500¹ per night for four sets of dances and an additional J\$900 if they stripped. Tips were also a source of income and some reported that they could earn another J\$3,000 per night from tips. In the tourist city of Montego Bay, dancers reported that they earned J\$2,000 per week, plus food and boarding and an additional

¹ USD \$1 = JMD \$45.72 (October 2001)

J\$1,000 - \$5,000 per night from tips, especially if they were paid in US dollars. Even higher earnings were possible if they also worked as prostitutes. Most activities took place at night as clubs operated between 8 p.m. and 3:00 am. The time was extended if the girls had clients. Dancers rested during the day until it was time to work again. Supervisors organized them for dances and in some clubs collected money from clients who wanted to have sex with the girls.

Massage Parlours: Girls who worked in massage parlours tended to have a higher level of education than go-go dancers and prostitutes. In one establishment, most of the girls interviewed were secondary and high school graduates. They earned an average of J\$3,000-J\$4,000 per week, working shifts of six to eight hours. Some massage parlours operated around the clock with shifts from 8am –5pm, 6pm to 12 am and 12 am to 6am. Payment was by commission and the number of clients served determined their level of income. Some establishments provided accommodation and food for the girls who want to live in. They reported that they sometimes get gifts of perfume and jewelry from clients.

Prostitution: The earnings of children in prostitution varied widely according to their social status, gender and the location in which they operated. Earnings took the form of food, gifts and money. Girls who engaged in prostitution on the beaches of Old Harbour Bay, are sometimes paid in fish. Children on the streets of Kingston, sometimes exchanged sex for a patty and box drink, fried chicken or some other fast food meal. Some clients gave occasional gifts such as designer clothes and shoes. Cash income varied between a few hundred dollars to several thousand dollars weekly. Girls in prostitution, who provided services for male clients in urban centres, earned an average of J\$1,500 nightly and approximately \$5,000 weekly. Their clients also paid room rental expenses of J\$700 per hour or \$1,500 per night. Homosexual boys in prostitution earned an average of J\$7,000 per night and reported being able to earn up to J\$10,000 if they steal from clients. ‘Street boys’ earned less: in Montego Bay, homosexual boys in prostitution earned about \$1,000 per night while those in Kingston earned about \$500 on average.

The study was unable to determine the level of earnings for girls in prostitution who provide services to female clients, or the income earned by ‘Chapses.’ Age, experience, sector, season, location, length of a relationship, class, the range of services to be provided and the time of the week emerged as factors that influence earning levels. Business in go-go clubs for example, was slower during midweek and weekends were peak times.

The study did not find any evidence of children who were physically forced into prostitution, although there was ample evidence of several who felt forced by their economic circumstances to engage in prostitution or other forms of sexual activity to survive economically.

Magnitude/Estimated Numbers

While it was not possible to estimate the number of children involved in ‘Sugar Daddy’ and ‘Sugar Mummy’ relationships, it was possible to collect some rough estimates of the number of go-go dancers and prostitutes in some locations. In Hanover, a Ministry of Health study suggests that there are at least 30 go-go dancers below 18 years working in clubs.

In the tourist resort of Negril, the total numbers were not ascertained but interviews were carried out with **thirty-one (31) girls** in six locations. All were engaged in various forms of sexual activity for money and their ages ranged between **13 and 18 years. Most were between 15-18 years.** These girls reported that they were mainly involved in prostitution and received protection from six boys between 14 and 18 years who themselves survived by engaging in homosexual prostitution.

Taxi drivers and the go-go dancers who were interviewed identified several of Negril's popular hotspots. Negril's seven miles of white sand beach also provided ample opportunities for soliciting. The community of 'LTL' in Negril's West End was also identified as the location where a lot of boys and girls involved in sexual activity for gain live. One of the children remarked that 'anything evil you want' can be found in 'LTL.'

In Montego Bay, 20 girls and 10 boys between 10 and 18 years from several inner city communities were identified as being involved in sexual activities for gain on a large scale. They are organized in groups, an adult is usually in charge of the younger ones but they work independently of each other. They frequent the Hip Strip, Gloucester Avenue and the beach. In Canterbury, one group, the 'Marjorie Crew' includes young girls aged 13-18 years, but the numbers are not known. Nine (9) boys aged 10-16 years were interviewed in the Amphitheater, who were from the surrounding communities, as well as from Adelphi (St James), Lucea and other parishes. They reported that homosexual activities with boys took place at the Dump Up Beach, while young girls were working in clubs on Church Street. Six (6) of a total of 20 dancers were interviewed at the 'F Club,' (30 per cent) were between 16-18 years with the majority being 17 years old. An interviewee from the Jamaica AIDS Support organization in Montego Bay estimated that among children involved in prostitution, 60 per cent were girls and 40 per cent were boys.

A dancer interviewed in Western Jamaica noted that there are over 100 girls working as go-go dancers. An official from the Health Promotion and Protection Division of the Ministry of Health's Epidemiology Unit, however confirmed that total numbers are very difficult to estimate. He stated that last year, over 100 persons from Ocho Rios, (St. Ann), St James and Kingston had participated in a small focus group study of children under 16 years involved in prostitution. A survey is however needed he said, to ascertain actual numbers. He reported that females as young as 10-12 years were being seen by the health authorities as part of a health promotion and prevention programme. Boys classified as 'Rent-a Dreads' and 'Beach boys' were reportedly working as male prostitutes and were concentrated in the tourist resorts of the North Coast. These boys engaged in oral, anal and vaginal sex with three to four partners per night, (local and overseas clients) and earned between J\$500-J\$20,000 per night.

Another Health Education Officer in Sav-la-Mar stated that prostitutes who work on the streets rarely appear in Westmoreland, but are confined mainly to Negril, but go-go dancers operate all over the parish. This was described as a hidden form of entertainment, so health workers visit clubs in addition to providing services at health centres. While similar reports were received of children dancing in clubs, engaged in prostitution or operating in massage parlours in Portmore, Spanish Town and Kingston, it was not possible to estimate the numbers.

Causes

The research findings established several causal links, which acted as 'push' factors. These encouraged children to become involved in sexual activities to earn money. Among these were:

- Economic poverty, unemployment and limited job opportunities for young people and their parents.
- Poor parenting and adolescent parenting, which contribute to various forms of child abuse and child neglect which in turn 'encouraged' children to leave home and find their own forms of survival.
- Poor family values, which contributed to inter-generational prostitution and go-go dancing being promoted as viable lifestyles.

- Peer pressure.
- Early sexual exposure.
- Fear of reprisals from community dons and people in power ('the bigger heads'), which made some women in particular tolerate situations that adversely affected the rights of their children.
- Ascribing adult roles for children, therefore forcing them to act like adults. Many girls interviewed said that they had major responsibilities for the care and support of their family including younger siblings. In some low-income communities, a girl becomes a woman when she starts to menstruate. Some girls were forced into adult activities such as sexual intercourse at a very young age and were required to contribute to their economic support, using any means possible, including their bodies.
- Limited Education: low levels of literacy, education and training, as well as undetected learning disabilities which affect children's ability to cope with the school system so they drop out.
- Media Advertising: Several newspaper advertisements seek girls to work in massage parlours, but there is little monitoring to ensure that children are not employed. These ads are also misleading, as they do not specify that the girls are required to provide sex to clients.
- Health Issues: Untreated psychological problems as well as emotional deprivation also emerged as possible causes.
- Some counselors interviewed felt that many of the children interviewed were searching for love, comfort, belonging and security.
- Inadequate Monitoring of Laws: Weak monitoring of existing laws and legal loopholes create an enabling environment for child pornography to flourish.

Consequences

The findings show that many of the activities associated with children being involved in sexual activities for gain are likely to harm the psychological health, longevity, safety or morals of children. As well as the CRC and CEDAW, these findings underscored the urgency with which Jamaica has to ratify ILO Convention 182 and Convention 138 and to implement policies and programmes to eradicate the worst forms of child labour. The range of sexual activities in which children were engaged has far-reaching implications for their education, health, moral values, self-esteem and development. The main consequences were:

- Disruption of the children's education. Most children interviewed within the compulsory schooling age range were either attending school irregularly or not at all. Many experienced low levels of literacy and had limited training.
- Health and safety risks are increased through physical violence from clients, gang rape, physical and mental abuse and sexual harassment. Physical violence was also associated with conflicts among female co-workers in clubs because of jealousy. Children are also very vulnerable to exposure to STDs including HIV/AIDS.
- Exposure to hard drugs and possible drug addiction.
- Stress related for fear of discovery by their family or neighbours, for girls operating as prostitutes or masseuses.
- Mental illness associated with depression, psychological pressure, stress, tension and physical illness which they associated with their need to find work in order to care for family members.

- Some of the children interviewed said that they were under pressure to earn as much money as possible during a relatively short time span from activities such as go-go dancing, despite the risks, because they paid well.
- Distorted values: Some children said they felt justified doing these activities because of their higher income-earning potential than legal forms of work. Some adopted the attitude 'a no nutten.' (Translated to mean 'Its no big thing' or 'its not a big deal.') Involvement in these activities had expanded children's moral boundaries to the extent that they justified criminal behaviour such as stealing.
- Some guidance counselors felt the children had a very limited ability to set personal life goals and were unable to identify activities that would enable them to explore their full potential.

Recommendations

Policy Development

Consistent with Convention 182 and Recommendation 190 the policies of the Government of Jamaica should focus on:

- Prevention;
- Rehabilitation;
- Providing free education and attention to children at special risk; and
- Taking account of the special needs of the girl child.

As the former Minister of Labour Welfare and Sports and the Director of the Bureau of Women's Affairs spearheaded the process to get child labour issues on the public and international agenda, prevention and rehabilitation strategies should include these persons where possible.

To achieve the policy objectives outlined above, the Government of Jamaica should:

1. Ratify Convention 182 and Convention 138 as a matter of urgency.
2. Strengthen the legal framework to protect children at risk and to punish persons who violate the laws (see details below).
3. Provide institutional support to ensure the start of the new IPEC Programme for Jamaica in January 2001.
4. Establish a National Machinery (NM) in collaboration with the IPEC Programme, to eradicate the worst forms of child labour identified in this RA study, the CCDC study and the ILO/UNICEF consultations to date. The Terms of Reference of the National Machinery should include:
 - Prevention and eradication of the worst forms of child labour;
 - Promotion of inter-institutional collaboration between the NM and resource agencies; and
 - Monitoring and evaluation.

Membership of the NM should include representatives of :

- Working children;
- Government agencies;
- Non governmental organisations working with street and working children;
- Trade unions;
- Private sector groups; and
- International development agencies.

The National Machinery should seek collaboration with:

- The Ministry of Tourism, Sports and Entertainment;
- The Bureau of Women's Affairs whose mandate focuses on women and the girl child;
- The Ministry of Health/Child Support Unit, responsible for child health issues and should include the HIV/AIDS Programme and Jamaica AIDS Support;
- The Ministry of Labour;
- The National Poverty Eradication Programme (NPEP);
- The Human Resource Employment and Training Programme and the National Training Agency (HEART/NTA);
- Jamaica Movement for the Advancement of Literacy (JAMAL);
- The Statistical Institute of Jamaica (STATIN);
- The Jamaica Constabulary Force (Police).

5. The NM/IPEC should host a series of workshops to consult with key stakeholders and develop a Plan of Action (POA) to eliminate the problem of children in prostitution or other sexual activities to generate an income. Workshops should be held with:

- Children engaged in sexual activities for income, to share the findings and recommendations of the study and get feedback on priority interventions for the Plan of Action.
- Other key stakeholder groups to share the findings and recommendations of the study and the feedback from the consultations with the children in order to develop policies and programmes for the Plan of Action. Representatives of groups of children at risk should be invited to participate in these consultations.

6. The Plan of Action should include:

- **Special programmes for children.** These should be identified by the children (including the girls) and seek to prevent, rehabilitate and eradicate the worst forms of child labour. Findings should be shared with the Ministry of Health, which already has an extensive HIV/AIDS programme with special outreach programmes for adolescents.
- **A Legal Reform Programme.** This should seek to improve legal protection for the children and should include strategies to improve monitoring and enforcement of the law. Research findings should be used to strengthen the Draft Child Care and Protection Bill 1999, to ensure that involving children in prostitution is classified as a criminal offence that attracts criminal penalties, as recommended by Sections 12 and 13 of the C182 R 190.
- **Public Education Programmes.** These should be aimed at policy makers, parliamentarians, the judiciary as well as the general public. Special education programmes should be developed, targeted at children. The Public Education Programme should include information on ILO Conventions 182 and 138; the CRC, CEDAW, as well as the recommendations of the UNFPA-sponsored Caribbean Youth Summit, health risks associated with sex work and parenting education.
- **Special Education Programmes for Children.** These should include:
 - The establishment of community-based drop in centres for children where they can access information to increase awareness and protection from STDs including HIV/AIDS and encourage children to practice healthy lifestyles and build life skills;
 - Special efforts to ensure compulsory education and children's exposure to vocational skills;
 - Motivational and counseling programmes in schools and communities, to build children's self-esteem and discourage their involvement in prostitution and related activities.

- **Sensitivity Training Programmes** for specific target groups such as Health, Education and Labour Officers, NGOs/CBOs and media practitioners. Similar programmes should be developed for owners and operators of clubs and other places of adult entertainment that may employ children to discourage and eliminate the employment of children in clubs, massage parlours, bars and brothels.
- **Information Exchange.** Consistent with Section 11 of C 182, the national machinery should collect and exchange information at a national and international level.
- **Networking and Collaboration.** There should be close collaboration with National Poverty Eradication Programmes and institutions that promote health, education and training. This should enable families in need to benefit from some of the special employment and food programmes available for poor families at risk. Low-income single mothers should also be targeted for special attention. Providing economic support and employment for the families will hopefully improve levels of income and access to resources. This should have the desired effect of reducing the motivation for children to engage in prostitution.
- **Establishment of a Registry.** Consistent with Recommendation 190, a Registry should be established to collect court and police records to improve monitoring.
- **Research and Data Collection.** Consistent with Section 5 (1) of Recommendation 190, further research and data collection should be conducted to fill information gaps. Consistent with Section 5 (2), disaggregated data should be collected and centralised, to monitor and report on progress.
- **NGO/CBO Support and Capacity Building.** Institutional support should be provided to Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Community Based Organisations (CBOs) to strengthen their capacity to be partners with government and international agencies. This would enable them to expand preventive and outreach programmes to the children at risk.
- **Sex tourism.** The Ministry of Tourism, Sports and Entertainment should develop a special programme to eradicate children's involvement in tourism by selling sexual services to visitors.

PART 1

BACKGROUND

1. BACKGROUND

This section of the report presents the background to the study, and examines local and international frameworks that help the reader to understand the social, economic and legal context in which the problem of children in prostitution takes place. It also places the study within the context of the ILO's Caribbean programme to eliminate the worst forms of child labour and introduces the reader to the growing body of research that can be used to eliminate the involvement of children in prostitution.

1.1 International Framework

This study falls within the international framework of ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No 182), 1999 and Recommendation No 190 Article 5, which states, that

'Detailed information and statistical data on the extent and nature of child labour should be compiled and kept up to date to serve as a basis for determining priorities for national action for the abolition of child labour, in particular for the prohibition and elimination of its worst forms as a matter of urgency.'

The study is part of the ILO's International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), which is conducting Rapid Assessments (RA), in 19 countries and one border area on the worst forms of child labour. Jamaica's vociferous lobbying for this Convention no doubt influenced the decision to include it as one of the countries being studied. The Jamaica study is one of six (6) studies on child prostitution, while other studies examine working street children, drug trafficking, child soldiers, child domestic workers, bonded children, child trafficking, and hazardous child labour in commercial agriculture, fishing, mining and garbage dumps (ILO, 2000: 4).

This Rapid Assessment is also intended to support the ILO's Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC), and provides an opportunity to test the ILO/UNICEF Rapid Assessment methodology, developed in 2000. The study also supports the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), which Jamaica ratified and signed in 1991. During this 10th Anniversary period, the study will help to raise awareness on an issue that is under-researched, somewhat invisible, but appears to be common in Jamaican society. It provides an opportunity to examine how child prostitution affects the rights of children and national development goals.

This RA also coincides with activities held in 2000 to commemorate and review the Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995. This also involved a review of the UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The study also supports the recommendations of the UNFPA- sponsored Caribbean Youth Summit held in 1998.

In June 2000, while data collection for the study was in process, the UN General Assembly (UNGASS) had a special session to review and appraise progress on the 1995 Beijing Platform of Action (POA). The Beijing +5 meeting also identified challenges to implementing the 12 priority areas in the POA, that aim to empower and advance the status of women. Globally, these priorities were: poverty, education, health, violence, human rights, media, environment and the girl child.

Jamaica's priority areas reported to the UNGASS were: violence against women and children, poverty, education and training, all of which are directly relevant to this study.

The study is also timely as it coincides with a major review of national legislation to protect the rights of children. The Draft Child Care and Protection Act 1999 has been widely circulated, and the public has been invited to comment. The findings of the RA can help to strengthen this legislation.

The HIV/AIDS pandemic also makes the study relevant. In July 2000, while data from the study were being analysed, the XIII International AIDS Conference was held in Durban, South Africa. Reports from the conference focused national attention on the state of HIV/AIDS in Jamaica and the wider Caribbean. According to the joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), the Caribbean ranks second to Africa in the number of people living with HIV/AIDS. An estimated 4,196 Jamaicans are reported to have contracted the disease since 1982 of which more than 3,000 have died (Sunday Gleaner, July 16, 2000: 8A). A study entitled *Utilising the Performing Arts to Engender Behaviour Change for Young Residents of an Inner-city Jamaican Community* was presented to the Conference by a Jamaica-based US Peace Corps Volunteer. It was reported that 50% of children aged nine (9) to sixteen (16) in one of Kingston's inner cities, have had sexual intercourse without using a condom. The report also estimated that 10% of residents in that community were infected with HIV/AIDS. The release of this information evoked strenuous objections from residents.

Dr Yitades Gebre, Director of the National HIV/AIDS Control Programme, estimates that some 9,000 Jamaicans are HIV positive and that the prevalence rate of pregnant women who were HIV positive was 1.5 per cent (The Gleaner, Wednesday July 2:1). Statistics show that the Caribbean has the second highest rate of infection per capita in the world and the profile of the disease has changed with more heterosexual women and children being infected. This has serious implications for long-term development planning, as most women who are infected and die are in their peak productive and reproductive years. They die leaving a growing number of children either infected or orphaned by the disease. The implications are also grave, given the prevalence of single parent, female headed households in most Jamaican families.

1.2 Jamaica's Socio-economic Context

The UNDP classifies Jamaica as a medium development country, ranking 0.734 on the Human Development Index in 1997. The population of 2.5 million is almost evenly divided between males and females, with females representing only a slightly larger percentage (49:51). According to the Jamaica Survey of Living Conditions, the population living below the poverty line was 15.9% in 1998. Almost half of those classified as poor (48.9 per cent) were children 0-18 years. UNICEF (2000) indicated that in 1997, Jamaica's GNP per capita was low (US\$1,550) in comparison to some of the other Caribbean countries. For example for 1997, Antigua was US\$7,380 and Trinidad and Tobago was US\$4,250. Jamaica's GNP was significantly less than the per capita income of her main trading partners such as the USA, the United Kingdom and Canada. In 1997, GNP per capita for the USA was US\$29,080, and US\$20,870 and US\$19,640 for the United Kingdom and Canada respectively (UNICEF 2000: 104-107).

Jamaica's resources for basic social services such as health and education are limited as more than a third (34.7 per cent) of total GDP was used to service foreign debts in 1999. Unemployment is also higher, estimated at 15.7 per cent (STATIN: 1999). Female unemployment was 22.5 per cent, almost twice that of male unemployment at 10.0% (ESSJ: 1999). Children from large families in single female-headed households, in which the main income earner is either unemployed or

underemployed, are more at risk of becoming children involved in prostitution and related activities than children whose conditions are better. In 1997, 44.7 per cent of Jamaican households were females-headed.

Poverty is also associated with youth and nearly half the population of Jamaica's 2.6 million people are below the age of 18 years. The estimated population for 1998 varies across different sources. STATIN (1998) reports the under 18 population as 1,056,770, while UNICEF (1999) reports the under 18 population as 962,188 representing 37.3 per cent of the total population. The same report, 'Changing the Future for Jamaica's Children,' notes that the estimated number of working children under 18 years was 22,000 in 1997, while the estimated number of street children was 2,500 in 1993.

This youthful population also coexists with an old age dependency ratio that has increased since the mid-1990s, putting pressure on the working population. Approximately 48.9 per cent of the persons in poverty are children between the ages of 0-18 years (UNICEF, 1999). Economic pressure without requisite skills and employment opportunities, contributes to the problem.

The trend towards urbanisation has also contributed to poverty as it is associated with the spread of squatter communities, overcrowded housing and limited access to health, education, utilities and other social services. Income disparities have also increased to the extent that the wealthiest fifth of the population consumes more than eight times that of the poorest fifth (UNICEF, 1999: 8, 17). Urbanisation contributes to overcrowding, which in turn contributes to crime and violence. Over 789 murders were committed between January 1 and November 24, 2000 in Jamaica and the trend has continued. Violence and poverty are inter-linked and are major deterrents to investment and national development. Women and children are particularly at risk, with violence against them being a major concern.

Gender relations also influence children in prostitution- girls are disproportionately involved in sexual activities for income and affection. This no doubt stems from the patriarchal view of women as sex objects to be used and abused by men. Historically, the social status of women has also been defined in relation to having a man for economic support. Women and girls are the main victims of rape, incest and domestic violence and these violent acts were cited in several interviews as the factor that introduced the children to sexual intercourse. Rochester, Reynolds and Morris (1998) report that the national age for first intercourse was 16 years for females and 14 years for males although there are variations depending on the socio-economic group. Almost a quarter of all births in Jamaica are by teenagers below 19 years and more than one-fifth of these girls are having their second child. (UNICEF, 1999: 25).

In Jamaica, women carry the major responsibility for economic support, child rearing and parenting. The 1997 Jamaica Survey of Living Conditions reports a high rate of female-headed households (approx.45 per cent). A recent study on the feminization of poverty sponsored by the Canadian/Caribbean Gender Equity Fund, indicated that 47% of urban households are headed by women and of these, 30% live below the poverty line. The study also showed that unemployment levels for women are rising especially among the under 25 age group, as a result of the significant decline in employment within female dominated sectors. Income disparities between men and women also contribute to poverty and on average, women earn 70% of wages earned by men.

Single mothers are concentrated in low-wage service occupations that provide few benefits. Retrenchment in female dominated sectors such as garment manufacturing in the Free Trade Zones, has in recent years, contributed to the already higher unemployment rates among young women. The pressure for survival is greater and some women use this to justify the involvement of

their children in prostitution. The reality is that single mothers with many children are less likely to be able to effectively monitor their children, thereby increasing their vulnerability to sexual exploitation.

Poverty has also been associated with many years of negative economic growth. This has been partially linked to the country's inability to cope with the demands of the global economy. The resulting hardships have fuelled new waves of emigration to the USA, the United Kingdom, Canada and the Eastern Caribbean, thereby creating a population of 'barrel children.' These are children whose parents have migrated and send them barrels of material goods but are not around to guide them. Many children are left in the care of relatives and friends, some of who may not be able to provide adequate supervision, love and support. These circumstances leave the children vulnerable to exploitation and abuse.

Without wishing to oversimplify the issues, male poverty is often associated with limited employment opportunities because of low levels of education, certification and skill, as well as unwillingness to accept low wage jobs. Pressure to support many children and households also means that many men renege on their financial responsibilities or provide only minimal support. While the pattern is changing, there are many fathers who are not involved in the raising of their children. The absence of the father figure and income supporter, is another possible reason why children are involved in sexual activities to survive.

The Jamaica Survey of Living Conditions (1999) has indicated that levels of poverty have declined by 47.9% for the period 1989-1998 and attributed this to the National Poverty Eradication Programme (NPEP) launched by the Government of Jamaica in 1995 and the Jamaica Social Investment Fund (JSIF) which was incorporated in 1996. Despite extensive public education programmes, many people are still unaware of the 70-odd NPEP programmes they can access to improve their standard of living. It is against this background that many parents depend on their children to supplement household income, which contributes to the problem being studied.

Globalisation and rapid developments in telecommunications and computer technology have increased the quantity, volume and speed of information shared between people across the globe. Children now have greater access to pornography, through cable TV channels as well as the Internet at a time when parents are less able or willing to monitor their television viewing. Globalisation has also influenced fashion and lifestyle trends and these also impact the values of Jamaican children, many of whom aspire to acquire name brand clothing and have affluent lifestyles to feel self-confident and accepted by their peers.

Poor parenting skills have also been associated with child prostitution. Many Jamaican parents view their children as personal property to be used as they see fit and find the concept of children's rights alien. In this context some children are abused, which pushes some of them to leave home before they are capable of looking after themselves.

The structure of Jamaica's economy also places a high value on tourism, which is a major earner of foreign exchange and an important source of employment, but which has social costs. Over 2 million visitors arrived in Jamaica in 1999. Of these 1.2 million (1,248,397), were stopover visitors, who stayed an average of 10.9 nights, and 764,341 cruise ship passengers. Foreign exchange earnings were US\$1,233 million. Most stopover visitors came from the United States (69.7%), the United Kingdom (10%), Canada (8.0%) and other European countries (6.7%) (ESSJ, 1999:15.1-15.4). A recent study on 'Jamaican Attitudes to Tourism' commissioned by the Jamaica Tourist Board reported that almost a third of the population (30%) depended directly or indirectly on tourism. (Dunn & Dunn, 1999). The tourism product is associated with a vacation in 'paradise,'

which for some visitors includes sun, sand, sea, drugs and sex with locals. Many Jamaicans travel to tourist towns such as Negril, Montego Bay, Ocho Rios and Port Antonio in search of opportunities to interact with tourists and, in so doing, earn United States dollars. Among those Jamaicans seeking to earn an income from tourism are children under 18 years.

Education is important to the country's national development strategy and consistent with the CRC, education is considered a fundamental right for all children. The Economic and Social Survey of Jamaica (1999) notes that education receives approximately 11% of the national budget, which was J\$17.2 billion in 1999. Reforms have been introduced at the primary and secondary level and a Green Paper on Education has been drafted. Efforts have been made to improve literacy, numeracy, reading and comprehension at the primary level, and a comprehensive reform of the secondary education programme (ROSE) was introduced. Consistent with national needs, Information Technology is but one of the new subject options available to students. Efforts have been made to give children more equitable access to secondary education.

Despite these efforts, education remains a major challenge and the correlation between educational underachievement and children involved in prostitution needs to be explored through further research. A recent UNICEF Report (1999) notes that almost 20 (19.5 per cent) out of every 100 children do not attend primary school. The report also states that the effectiveness and the efficiency of the public school system, as measured by rates of repetition, remediation and achievement are very low. Literacy data for 1994 showed that 30% of children in the primary school system graduate functionally illiterate. The primary education system, UNICEF further noted, has been unable to ensure that all children can, by Grade 6, achieve global standards and competence in literacy and numeracy, and in addition, many do not have the skills needed to continue to secondary education. (UNICEF, 1999:13). Drop out rates for boys and girls are high – girls for pregnancy, boys through lack of interest and other reasons.

1.3 Legal Framework

In addition to understanding the framework of international instruments and the social and economic context, it is important to understand the legal framework in which the involvement of children in prostitution exists. A review of current legislation shows several age variations to define a child and limited protection for children involved in sexual activities for income. It confirmed the concern of Williams (1999) who noted the inadequacy of Jamaican laws to protect children from abuse and several weaknesses were highlighted.

One illustration of these weaknesses related to the legal definition of a child. Legislation on Adoption defines a child as a person under 18 years. The Guardianship and Custody Act includes a person under 18 years but does not include a person who is or has been married. Since Independence in 1962, the legal age of majority is 21 years. The Law Reform (Age of Majority) Act of 1979, states that a person attains the age of majority at 18 years. The same Act that relates to the Legal Minimum Age for the receipt of medical counseling without parental consent, has the age limit as 16 years. The age of sexual consent for a 'young person' provided for in Section 54 of the Offences Against the Person Act is also 16 years. The Juveniles Act (1951) defines a child as a person under 14 years, a juvenile as a person under 17 years and a 'young person' as a person aged 14-17 years. The United Nations defines a child as a male or female between the ages of 0-18 years and this is the definition used for the current study.

Saulter (1999), in her 'National Report on the Situation of Violence Against Women and Girls in Jamaica,' provides a detailed overview of the Offences Against the Person Act, which covers rape,

carnal abuse, protection of women and girls, suppression of brothels, child stealing and attempts to procure abortion. Saulter's report also provides details of the CARICOM model legislation on Sexual Offences, as an example of how legislation can be revised to make it more comprehensive. The CARICOM legislation covers rape, unlawful sexual connection, incest, sexual intercourse with a female under fourteen, sexual intercourse with a person between fourteen and sixteen, indecency with a person under fourteen, indecent assault on a person, gross indecency, indecency between a woman and a girl, sodomy, procurement and abduction of a minor.

In an attempt to provide a comprehensive legal framework for the protection of children, the Government of Jamaica drafted and widely circulated a new ChildCare and Protection Act in 1999 (*Sunday Gleaner Supplement August 6, 2000*).

It was outside the scope of this assignment to undertake a comprehensive review of this proposed legislation, but a cursory review of the draft legislation shows some awareness of the problem of street children and children involved in prostitution and related activities. In the draft, a juvenile is defined as a 'person under the age of seventeen/eighteen years.' Article 4 speaks to 'Cruelty to juveniles' and covers exposure to several risks, including '...being found destitute...wandering without a visible means of subsistence...found begging or receiving alms...and loitering.' All these are viewed as situations in which children are exposed to 'moral danger.' Article 8 specifically addresses begging, while Article 46:1-4, prohibits the employment of juveniles (in nightclubs etc.). The references to street children are more explicit, but references to children involved in prostitution are oblique and very vague. It is hoped that the findings of this RA study can help to strengthen this draft legislation to ensure better protection of children from the worst forms of child labour.

This background shows that poverty, poor education, poor parenting skills, tourism and the impact of globalisation on values and attitudes, are among the factors that impact and contribute to the involvement of children in prostitution. In addition, both the legal framework to protect children and monitoring to ensure adherence to existing laws are inadequate.

1.4 ILO/IPEC Caribbean Child Labour Programme

In response to these and other challenges, the ILO Caribbean Office has organized a series of sub-regional activities aimed at awareness raising and the development of a Caribbean information base on child labour issues. These included:

- a) Organizing an ILO Sub-regional Training Workshop for Statisticians on Child Labour Statistics and Survey Methodologies in Trinidad and Tobago in February 1999.
- b) Publication of a report of the meeting in collaboration with the ILO Statistical Bureau.
- c) Organising an ILO Caribbean Tripartite Meeting on the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Kingston, Jamaica in December 1999.
- d) Publication of the proceedings and conclusions of that meeting in 2000.
- e) Commitments to fund a country programme aimed at eliminating child labour.
- f) ILO hosting a meeting of Caribbean Labour Ministers in Jamaica in April 2000 which examined new challenges in the world of work.
- g) ILO participating in the 5th Ministerial Meeting of Ministers Responsible for Children and Social Policy held in Jamaica in October 2000, which included hosting a major exhibition on child labour among other activities.

In 1999, the ILO and UNICEF held two consultations on child labour in collaboration with the Ministry of Labour Social Security and Sport. Recommendations from these consultations included the need for:

- Advocacy and legislative changes to ratify ILO Convention 138 on Minimum Age and Convention 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour;
- Rehabilitation services for children engaged in child labour;
- Conduct of more surveys to determine the extent and characteristics of the problem;
- Awareness building on child labour;
- Generating commitment to its elimination;
- Measures to improve attendance of primary school age children; and
- Strengthening employment creation credit facilities and training opportunities for parents (ESSJ 1999:24.8).

Earlier, in 1996 support was given to enable Jamaica to participate in a Child Labour Conference in Sweden.

1.5 Previous Research

A review of available literature showed that relatively little research has been done on children in prostitution and related activities, although some had been done on child labour. This RA attempted to fill the gap and indicate new areas for research.

Among the studies identified was Judith Ennew and Pansy Young's (1981) study on 'Child Labour in Jamaica,' published by the Anti Slavery Society. It documented children's perceptions of their work and provided a wide range of children's working activities such as fishing, household labour, work in the formal and informal sectors, street vending and in multiple other activities. In general these were very similar to children's work today. The Child Support Unit of the Ministry of Health was also conducting a baseline study on child labour in 2000 but the details were not yet available when the RA was being conducted. A few studies on sex workers in Jamaica were also identified and included:

- a) 'Knowledge Attitude Practice and Behaviour Survey of Female Commercial Sex Workers,' (Ministry of Health 1996).
- b) 'Come to Jamaica and feel alright: Tourism and the Sex Trade in Jamaica' (Shirley Campbell, Althea Perkins and Patricia Mohammed 1999).
- c) 'Study of Go Go Dancers' (Ministry of Health, Hanover, 1999).
- d) 'HIV/AIDS Prevention and Education for Commercial Sex Workers in Jamaica: An Exploratory Study and Need Assessment' (Penny Campbell and Ann Marie Campbell 2000). (Draft report).

The first study was a quantitative evaluation of a project conducted by the Association for the Control of Sexually Transmitted Diseases (ACOSTRAD) during the period 1989-1996 in Montego Bay, Ocho Rios and Kingston. It indicated that all 100 women in the sample were aware of appropriate prevention practices and reported a high incidence of condom use with clients. They, however, practiced high-risk behaviour by not using condoms consistently with non-paying partners. In addition, 10 per cent reported a sexually transmitted infection (STI) in the last three months and 24 per cent reported an STI in the last year (Campbell and Campbell, 2000).

The second study focused on sex tourism in Jamaica and provided considerable insight for the current study. This qualitative study was conducted in 1998 through the Mona Unit of the Centre for Gender and Development Studies at the University of the West Indies and was published in 1999 in Dr. Kamala Kempadoo's edited volume, 'Sun, Sex and Gold: Tourism and Sex Work in the Caribbean.'

Researchers Campbell, Perkins and Mohammed, working within a feminist framework, used the life history technique to interview 16 sex workers (15 females and one male) in the tourist resorts of Negril, Montego Bay and Ocho Rios. Of interest to this RA study are the findings *that sex workers in that study had been involved in sex work before their 18th birthday*. The report also noted that in some Montego Bay clubs, *female sex workers 'may have been recruited as young as age fourteen or fifteen as go-go dancers (and) then become sex workers in addition to remaining dancers.'* In describing the participants in the study, reference was also made to a phenomenon commonly encountered in the current RA study, of a *'thirteen year old who was impregnated by a "big man" who was a family friend.'* (Campbell, Perkins & Mohammed 1999:134). Other similarities were encountered: girls' early sexual abuse by stepfathers with their mother's knowledge; children running away because of hostile relationships with stepparents, or from overwork...having to carry wood, water and having to look after siblings; and friends or family members introducing adolescents into sex work (Campbell, Perkins & Mohammed 1999:135).

These researchers also examined ideology and attitudes towards the sex trade, reviewed existing legislation governing prostitution and noted its focus on vagrancy, soliciting and loitering as forms of antisocial behaviour. While the sample was small, their qualitative study provided important insight into the range of activities associated with sex tourism and the involvement of children.

The third study of 'Go Go Dancers' by the Ministry of Health in Hanover compared the Knowledge Attitudes and Behaviour of the dancers on sexual issues between 1998 and 1999. Of particular interest were the findings that:

- a) Some dancers had started working from as early as 10 years of age;
- b) 15 per cent of those surveyed were between 10-14 years;
- c) 40% of those surveyed were between 15-19 years;
- d) The majority of dancers were between 20-24 years and had started dancing from as early as 15-19 years, suggesting that they had spent approximately 5 years in the business;
- e) A large number of dancers are at risk of STIs including HIV/AIDS as they have regular partners and are not using condoms with them, although these partners also have multiple partners. Condoms were used during 79 per cent of transactional sex; 14 per cent used condoms with men other than their regular partner and *only seven per cent used condoms with their regular partner*. This suggested a very high risk of infection among the children who were dancers.

This MOH study in Hanover evaluated the impact of an outreach programme that involves visits by the MOH team to clubs twice monthly, to establish condom outlets, carry out tests for HIV and syphilis among go-go dancers, provide health education, encourage medical checks, and explain signs indicating the presence of STIs. Analysis of the study of go-go dancers showed that their number had almost doubled from 35 in 1998 to 67 in 1999. In addition, the women also had a greater perception of their risk of catching STDs. *The study confirmed that few prostitutes work on the street and the majority work as go-go dancers as well as part-time prostitutes, which the RA also confirmed.*

The fourth study by Campbell and Campbell (2000) was entitled 'HIV/AIDS Prevention and Education for Commercial Sex Workers in Jamaica: An Exploratory Study and Need Assessment.' It sought to collect information required for education and prevention strategies, to promote risk-reducing practices among Jamaican sex workers. Interviews were conducted with 27 commercial sex workers (CSWs) in specific parish locations known to have a high incidence of sex work activity and these locations coincided with those used in the RA study. Six of the CSWs were male including four who provided services to men and two who provided services to women. The female CSWs included dancers and prostitutes.

The sample of CSWs interviewed was between 20 and 49 years but the research established a link between CSW and basic education. *Almost 30 per cent (8) had dropped out of school before the age of sixteen and only one reported attending school at a higher educational institution*, which was a business school. One had not attended any school; seven had attended an All Age School; four, a Comprehensive School; six, a Secondary School; and four had attended a Traditional High School. The study provided rich qualitative data from interviews with CSWs, pointed to the risks posed to men, women and youth and included a wide range of recommendations to improve the quality and effectiveness of health promotion programmes.

In 1996, UWI Lecturer in the Department of Sociology and Social Work, Dr Claudette Crawford-Brown prepared a summary of the situation of children in prostitution and pornography in Jamaica as well as a situational analysis for the Ministry of Health. This was presented at the World Congress on the Sexual Exploitation of Children held in Stockholm in August 1996. Other studies have addressed the issue from the perspective of adolescent and reproductive health. The series of ECPAT studies on children in prostitution and sex tourism also provided comparative data on other countries in Latin America. Some of these studies are included in the list of references at the end of this report.

The most recent study that focused specifically on children involved in prostitution and related activities in Jamaica was entitled 'Sexual violence and exploitation of children in Latin America and the Caribbean: the Case of Jamaica,' (Williams 1999). In this study conducted through the Caribbean Child Development Centre (CCDC) at the University of the West Indies, Williams interviewed 50 Jamaican agencies between September 1998 and February 1999, to examine issues associated with children involved in "sex for gain." The study exposed the weekly auction in Hendon Square Bus Park in Sav-la Mar, where approximately *150-200 girls and women 'compete for interest of the men buying services,' which include employment as dancers in go-go clubs across the island. Many of the girls appeared to fall between 14 and 18 years* (Williams 1999:18-20).

Among the issues explored by Williams were the social processes at work, the historical antecedents, the choices and dilemmas faced by the children, especially girls, health and education implications as well as the influence of tourism. The legal framework, loopholes, and challenges of law enforcement were also examined. Williams also raised concerns about the non-recognition of the rights of children as citizens and the changing norms, attitudes and values that pressure children into sex to buy better lifestyles. The following questions were raised for further exploration, some of which the current study attempted to address.

- 1) Do the Jamaican public not see commercial sexual exploitation of children as a problem?
- 2) Are the Jamaican public inured to the incidence of commercial and sexual exploitation of children and therefore not reporting it?
- 3) Is the Jamaican public aware of it and concerned about it but see no point in taking it to the police or are they inhibited from doing so or scared because of the likely response?

- 4) Do the police receive reports but not record them? Are there no reports because the problem does not exist? (Williams 1999).

Building on Williams' initial exploratory research, the CCDC embarked on a process of national consultation in February 2000 to identify the critical issues to address for primary research, intervention and awareness raising. Findings of the study were presented at the consultation and noted Caribbean historian Professor Hilary Beckles spoke on the historical antecedents of child labour and children in prostitution. He also spoke about the process of 'handing over for betterment' in which the mother steps aside and allows patriarchy to move in. Beckles (2000) also noted that child slavery was a part of Jamaica's recent history, which existed until the 1940s. He then provoked the participants to examine processes at work in a society such as Jamaica in which there was no fundamental fracture in the continuum between the past and the present.

Using findings from Williams' study, Ambassador Taylor, Special Envoy for Children spoke of the auction on Jamaican television in March 1999. The police clamped down on Hendon Square and activities went underground and the auction was relocated to Guango Tree in Georges Plain in Westmoreland on the road between Sav la Mar and Negril.

Williams (2000) also used this research to prepare a paper entitled 'The mighty influence of long custom and practice, Sexual exploitation of children for cash and goods in Jamaica' presented at the Symposium on the Rights of the Child and the Caribbean Experience held in Barbados from March 13-15, 2000. It is also important to note that the CCDC is part of a Task Force developing proposals for future collaborative work and political change on the sexual exploitation of children.

This RA study builds on the findings of some of these earlier research studies, especially that of William's which recommended further research, action and consultation. It also gave children a voice as well as opportunities to share their own experiences, aspirations and needs. In so doing it has provided insight into the underlying causes and consequences of child prostitution as one of the worst forms of child labour. While the Terms of Reference did not request that the above-mentioned questions raised by Williams should be addressed, an attempt is made in the body of the report to address some of these issues in order to provide continuity and a link with that study.

PART 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
AND
DATA COLLECTION

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Research Objectives

This Rapid Assessment (RA) study was guided by the ILO/UNICEF publication ‘Investigating Child Labour: Guidelines for Rapid Assessment - A Field Manual’ (2000). RA uses a combination of quantitative and qualitative strategies to collect information within a short period. The findings are largely descriptive and analytical with some basic statistics. The RA for the Jamaica study was completed between June and late July.

The objectives of the RA as outlined in the Terms of Reference were to:

- (i) Produce quantitative and particularly qualitative data related to child prostitution;
- (ii) Describe the magnitude, character, causes and consequences of the involvement of children in prostitution; and
- (iii) Provide recommendations for policy development as well as for improving the methodologies for investigating child prostitution to be applied in subsequent studies and research work.

The specific Terms of Reference (TOR) for the investigation were prepared by ILO/IPEC with a division of labour between the CCDC and the Principal Researcher. Details are included in the Appendix.

The TOR and the ILO/UNICEF Manual also requested that a review of available literature and secondary data, legal and policy documents as well as newspaper clippings be undertaken. There was also a request to incorporate socio-economic data on the key locations and the families to the extent possible. In addition, an assessment was requested of current programmes and services for children in prostitution or at risk of becoming involved. Researchers were also asked to record the difficulties that they encountered in order to evaluate the RA methodology.

2.2 Research Methods

The RA methods used included:

- Semi-structured interviews with children, guidance counselors, NGOs and other key stakeholder groups;
- Observations of locations reported;
- Guided focus group discussions with children involved in prostitution, children working on the street, and other key stakeholders. Three workshops were held at strategic points during the RA;
- Documentary reviews.

The sample was selected using convenience techniques, targeting research locations known as sites frequented by children involved in sexual activities. Staff of agencies whose work was considered relevant was also targeted for interviews. Special efforts were made to include a diverse range of children related to: locations, sexual activities, males and females. The RA process was completed within the three-month timeframe anticipated, though completion of the final report extended beyond this time. Despite time and financial resource constraints, the methodology proved effective for researching the situation of children involved in prostitution in Jamaica.

2.3 Scope and Limitations

Children in prostitution was the initial focus of the study, but this was quickly expanded to include children involved in various forms of pornography and sexual activities for income or other reasons as these were all considered to be among the worst forms of child labour. The study was therefore able to unravel, and make less invisible, a range of activities that involve children in what Williams (2000) refers to as ‘sex work for gain.’

The ages of the children in the study were based on self-reports or reports from other key informants and were not independently verified². The RA was unable to adequately cover children in middle, upper class and deep rural communities, children with disabilities, children working in sectors such as agriculture and transportation and children who may be involved in the international sex trade. A number of data sources were identified for future analysis but time and resources did not allow us to fully explore them. These include newspaper archives in the *Gleaner*, *Observer*, *Star* and *X News*, the Statistical Units of the Police, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education and national poverty studies. These agencies should be encouraged to analyse existing data to contribute to a centralized database on children involved in prostitution and related sexual activities.

2.4 Locations Studied

Consistent with the TOR, the study covered six locations: Kingston, Spanish Town, Portmore, Montego Bay, Negril, and Sav-la-Mar, previously identified by the ILO as representing a range of possible interest areas for children involved in prostitution. Montego Bay and Negril represent typical tourist areas, while Kingston, Spanish Town and Portmore represent non-tourist, urban and sub-urban areas. Within these towns and cities, attempts were made to include ‘inner city’ as well as ‘up-town’ communities. Data from three other parishes (St Andrew, St Ann and Hanover) were also collected. Other locations across the island were identified as areas of interest for further investigation.

As requested by the ILO, observations were conducted in 35 locations in the tourist towns of Montego Bay and Negril, the rural town of Sav-la Mar, and the urban centres of Kingston, Spanish Town and Portmore. Another 45 locations across the island were identified through stakeholders, as areas in which children were involved in sexual activities for income. Together these 80 locations covered thirteen of Jamaica’s fourteen parishes.

A brainstorming session held during the orientation workshop, enabled community representatives from various parishes, to identify specific locations where children are allegedly involved in sex activities. This was an important contribution to the research process as their living and working experience made them very knowledgeable about community problems and issues.

While the majority of go-go clubs visited did have children under 18 years employed, a few of them stated that they did not employ children as it was illegal and was described by one club owner as “prison wuk.”

2.5 Persons Consulted

Over 266 persons were consulted across seven parishes through 15 focus group discussions, three workshops and 73 interviews. Of the 266 persons, 128 were children (48.1 per cent), while the other 138 (52 per cent) were key stakeholders. Table 1 summarizes the data collection sources and the distribution of the sample.

² As per the ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182), 1999, the term child applies to persons below 18 years of age. While this cut-off age applies to this study, in some focus groups there were a few youth already 18. It would not have been appropriate for the researchers to ask them to leave as they were interviewed in their natural setting (e.g. at the beach, mall, etc.).

Table 1: Summary of Focus Groups and Interviews

Sources	Estimated Numbers	Total
12 Focus group discussions and Interviews with children	129 children	129
3 focus group discussions and Interviews with adults	140	140
Total # persons consulted		269

2.6 Research Process

The project was conducted under the overall guidance and monitoring of an ILO/IPEC team. These included Mr. David Nii Addy, the IPEC focal point Coordinator for the Caribbean who is also ILO Coordinator for Child Labour Activities, the IPEC Consultant in Jamaica, Mrs. Kay Morrish-Cooke and visiting IPEC representative from Geneva, Mr. Geir Myrstad.

2.7 Research Team

The Caribbean Child Development Centre of the University of the West Indies, provided an institutional base for the study, as well as conceptual, administrative and logistical support for three workshops. CCDC staff members Ms Marva Campbell and Janet Ms DeSouza, were responsible for the latter while CCDC Consultant Sian Williams was responsible for the former and shared her research on child prostitution and participated in the orientation workshop. Sian is an Early Childhood Specialist with international and regional consulting experience.

Data collection was done by a 17- person research team, comprised of 13 Field Researchers, a Chief Interviewer, a Focus Group Coordinator and the Research Coordinator, Dr Leith L Dunn. Two (2) Field Research Teams were formed, one covered Kingston, Portmore and Spanish Town, while the other covered Montego Bay, Negril, Hanover and Sav-la Mar. The combination of technical skills in the combined team and a high level of commitment, enabled data to be collected from various sources simultaneously. The analysis and writing were then done in rapid succession, but took longer than originally anticipated.

2.8 Profile of Researchers

- Interviewer Shirley Campbell was one of the three researchers for the study of sex workers done by the Centre for Gender and Development Studies at the University of the West Indies, Mona Unit cited earlier. She is the Academic Director for the Jamaica-based programme of the School for International Training, and has wide consulting experience.
- Claudette Richardson-Pious, the Focus Group Facilitator is a well-known actress, TV personality and child rights activist and social worker. She is also Executive Director of Children First, an NGO based in Spanish Town that works with street and working children. Claudette's public profile and her facilitation skills were distinct advantages for working with the children and she was quickly able to establish rapport with them.
- Sharene McKenzie, the Field Research Coordinator, is a community animator, who has worked extensively with inner city communities and the national poverty eradication programme. She has also trained community animators in participatory research

methodologies, including most of the field researchers used in the study. Sharene also coordinated the field research for a CIDA-funded community baseline study.

- d) The Field Researchers were all trained community workers and most were former employees of the Social Development Commission and NGOs. Many live and work in inner city areas, which meant that they had accurate knowledge of locations where children were employed in sex work. This team focused on observations, in-depth interviews and case studies. A list of their names and their contribution to the research is included in the Appendix.
- e) Leith Dunn, the Research Coordinator is an International Development Consultant with extensive research experience and publications in Gender, Child Rights, Labour & Trade issues. Leith is also a trained group facilitator, with experience in using participatory methodologies. She drafted the work plan, budget, prepared research instruments, assisted with data collection and data analysis and prepared the draft and final reports.

2.9 Data Collection Instruments

A flexible interview guide was prepared for the interviews and focus group discussions and these were shared at the orientation workshop. Field researchers were provided with notebooks to record their observations and interviews. The main interviewer submitted interview notes electronically, but most of the other reports were submitted in handwritten format. A voice-activated microphone was used to record some of the focus group discussions with the children. Notes were prepared from these but the children's names were changed to protect their identities. Workshop discussions were recorded on flip chart paper and later analysed.

At the outset, the CCDC circulated a letter to key stakeholders who participated in their February workshop, informing them of the project, the date for the stakeholders workshop and requested that they share existing research to guide the project. Unfortunately, this initiative did not result in any documentary information being provided.

Workshops

Three workshops were held. Workshop 1 provided training and orientation for the research team and was held on 9 June, 2000. It built on the skills of the researchers who (as previously mentioned) had been trained in participatory research methods. Objectives and research questions were outlined, RA techniques explained and guidance given on conducting research with children involved in prostitution and related activities. The workshop also served as a focus group discussion to gather information on related activities in communities. Researchers Campbell, Pious and Williams provided valuable input from their previous research on sex tourism, child labour and the sexual exploitation of children respectively. McKenzie also contributed experience from working with inner-city communities.

Workshop 2 was held on 26 June, 2000 and served to collect data reports and debrief on findings. It also served as a focus group discussion, to capture additional data from the research team including challenges associated with conducting the research.

Workshop 3 was held on 28 July, 2000 to verify data and refine recommendations. With the use of a Power Point presentation, preliminary findings and recommendations were shared with key stakeholders, who represented a wide cross section of agencies. A list of participants is included in the Appendix.

2.10 Data Analysis

Field notes from observations, interviews and focus group discussions, flip chart reports from workshops as well as data from secondary sources were thoroughly examined and efforts made to determine emerging patterns or recurring themes and issues. Earlier studies on child prostitution and sex work provided valuable guidance for this process. Data were grouped and tabulated where possible in line with the requirements of the TOR and suggestions of the ILO/UNICEF Manual. For example, the types of activities identified were classified in terms of the level of risk for the CSWs. Attempts were then made to analyse data to extract meaning and understanding. The framework used for this analysis was Convention 182 and the CRC.

2.11 Reliability and Validity

Checks for reliability and validity of data were done by triangulation of research methods. Data from interviews were compared with data from observations, focus group discussions, and secondary sources. This was particularly important for checking the age and education of children involved in prostitution, activities, work patterns, rates and diversity of earnings, as well as the norms and practices of each activity.

Validation of the findings was done using a variety of strategies. A debriefing session with researchers after completion of the field research helped to clarify some emerging issues and trends. Consultation continued with the Field Researcher, the Focus Group Coordinator and some of the researchers while the data analysis and report writing were in progress, to clarify key issues. The main findings and draft recommendations were then presented to key stakeholders at a workshop held at the end of July. Feedback from this workshop was used to revise the draft report by early August. The document was then circulated for review by selected institutions and individuals. These included the CCDC Researcher, the ILO/IPEC teams in Trinidad and Geneva, the Focus Group Coordinator who had had the most detailed interviews with and reports on the children, and an academic researcher with extensive research experience on sex tourism. Feedback from these sources was used to prepare the final report.

PART 3

RESEARCH FINDINGS

3. RESEARCH FINDINGS

Consistent with the Terms of Reference, this section of the report describes the locations, character, magnitude, causes and consequences of the involvement of children in prostitution.

3.1 Locations

Analysis of the locations identified shows that in general, children involved in prostitution and related activities are found in many common locations. These include homes, community areas, parks, sea walls, bus stands, taxi stands, major tourist centres, fishing beaches, school gates, fast food restaurants, go-go clubs, massage parlours and brothels.

Montego Bay: The tourist town of Montego Bay, has a population of 82,002 according to the 1991 census. There, most of the children in prostitution were involved with tourists. Many locations were identified but the primary ones were the Hip Strip on Gloucester Avenue (main street), the beaches, hotels, go-go clubs, shopping malls and fast food restaurants. Some sections of the city catered to tourists while others catered to local clients. Events as diverse as popular stage shows and religious crusades provided opportunities for sexual encounters. There were male and female prostitutes serving both homosexual and heterosexual clients, entrepreneurs who facilitated links between clients and sex workers and made hotel reservations for sexual liaisons, while others provided protection. Two types of prostitutes were identified: those who work on the streets and others who walk the streets to make contact and seek clients. The latter were quite sophisticated, using cellular phones extensively and focusing more on foreign clients. The children who concentrated on local clients, tended to visit the malls, while those seeking tourists, went to the Hip Strip and clubs. Children and other persons interviewed identified Canterbury, Railway Lane, Flankers, Glendevon and Mt Salem as areas in which children were also working as prostitutes and go-go dancers. In these communities, the children exchanged sexual activity for money, material goods and status. Rates for sexual services were quoted in US dollars, especially if clients were tourists. Local residents pay in local currency, but most income is earned in foreign exchange. More diverse forms of sexual activity were found in Montego Bay and Negril than in other locations. These included activities such as group sex and sadomasochism.

Negril

This former fishing village, with its famous seven miles of white sand beaches, has become one of the country's main tourist attractions. The atmosphere is very 'laid-back' and Negril's tourists tend to be more bohemian than those vacationing in other resort destinations. Negril is a popular location for Europeans. There, many of the hotels, guest houses, restaurants and attractions are locally owned and co-exist with some of the larger international hotel chains. Negril is also one of the main sites for the popular (and infamous) 'Spring Break' tourist season, which has in recent years attracted thousands of North American college students during the Easter Break and is well known for its excesses.

In Negril, the pattern of children's involvement in sex work was similar to that found in Montego Bay, but distinctive. Popular pick up spots for contact with tourists were the beaches, Norman Manley Boulevard which is the main street in Negril, and the West End Road which is more rural and secluded than the Boulevard. Taxi drivers were key links between children involved in sexual activity and clients. The community of Lime Tree Lane in the West End was often cited as a popular location for sexual activity, including sex with children under 18 years. Some hotels and clubs were also popular spots. There were also reports of child pornography in Negril. There were reports of white male tourists who become engaged to young girls under 18 years, make plans to marry and migrate with them only for the girl and her family to realize that it was a hoax to get her

to perform in pornographic videos. Interviews confirmed the high value placed on relationships with foreign tourists as these provided opportunities to travel overseas and have a higher standard of living.

Children interviewed on the beaches of Negril, confirmed that the rates for sexual services are quoted in US dollars (which are preferred), and earning levels vary according to the individual's physical condition as well as the tourist season. During slow periods, some children relocate to other towns or service local clients.

Sav-la Mar

This is the capital city of Westmoreland and is a traditional sugar producing area. It has a population of 16,340 according to the 1991 census and is the next major town to Negril. It therefore serves as a major transportation hub because it is also an important commercial centre. Residents from adjoining communities and parishes come to the town for supplies and services and there are direct transport links to other parishes and towns, including Montego Bay, Negril, Mandeville and Kingston. The town has grown, been modernized and is very congested.

The RA study confirmed the weekly Thursday auction that was reported by Williams (1999) in which dancers seeking employment in go-go clubs are recruited, and its relocation to Guango Tree in Georges Plain. Most of the persons seeking to employ the dancers were club owners, agents of club owners, persons recruiting girls to work in clubs overseas (e.g. Curacao) and persons seeking to employ exotic dancers for their private activities. Some of the children interviewed in other locations, had come through Hendon Square/Guango Tree, while others spoke about it. There was also evidence of girls operating as prostitutes in their homes and communities as a means of economic survival. Most of their 'clients' were local males.

Spanish Town

This was the old capital of Jamaica during colonial times and is today one of the country's most populated, congested and busy urban centres with a population of 110,379 according to the 1991 Census. Much of Spanish Town's economy is based on trading and services. The town is a major link between Kingston and rural parishes and has several malls, residential communities of all classes, entertainment centres and transport centres. These provide ample locations from which children can seek opportunities for prostitution. The majority of these children hung around shopping malls, hotels and fast food restaurants. The majority of their clients were local males and their work took a different form from children operating in tourist areas. The reported level of their earnings was less and the range of sexual activities reported appears more conservative than those reported in Montego Bay and Negril.

Portmore

This large suburban community in St. Catherine is an extension of Kingston. It is comprised of middle and lower class communities, as well as large, modern shopping malls, with many fast food outlets. There are schools, colleges, clubs and one of the country's most popular nightclubs. All attract children involved in prostitution and related activities. Another popular 'hot spot' is the Port Henderson beach strip. There, several small hotels, motels, restaurants and entertainment centers also provide convenient locations for sexual liaisons. This area, located less than half an hour's drive from downtown Kingston, is a hub of entertainment activity on specific weeknights and on weekends. Vendors working on the surrounding beaches reported that persons who use the area for sexual liaisons include schoolgirls and their adult male partners.

Kingston

The population of the Kingston Metropolitan Area (KMA) was 538, 143 according to the 1991 Census and covers mainly Kingston and St Andrew. Kingston's larger population gave the impression that the number of children involved in prostitution was more widespread than in rural areas. The study therefore found more children on the streets in areas such as the Kingston Waterfront, the St. William Grant Park in Downtown Kingston and Mandela Park in Half Way Tree as well as the city's many adult entertainment centres. These were found in the hip strips of Knutsford Boulevard, New Kingston and adjoining roads, Cross Roads and Constant Spring Road and the main roads between downtown Kingston and Upper St. Andrew.

As previously noted, massage parlours are part of the adult entertainment industry that employs and exploits girls. In Kingston, this 'industry' has mushroomed. There were between 14 and 20 advertisements for massage services in one major daily newspaper. These parlours operated both downtown and uptown and served primarily local clients.

Fast food restaurants also emerged as important locations for children in prostitution. Schools were also pick-up points for boys and girls. In Kingston, there have been reports of schoolgirls riding public buses and exchanging sex for money and bus fares (Sunday Herald, February 13, February 20, 2000).

3.2 Magnitude

This section of the report provides information on the magnitude of the problem as best as could be determined and an overview of the range of persons consulted.

This Rapid Assessment was designed primarily as a qualitative study and was therefore unable to provide accurate quantitative figures on the scale of this problem. The table below provides information from the field research on locations and the numbers of persons contacted through observations and interviews.

Accurate estimates of the number of children involved in specific sexual activities or operating in locations identified will require close collaboration with several institutions over a longer period of research. The RA however provided guidance on how these numbers may be compiled in future studies. The following tables summarise the quantitative data.

Table 2: Data Collection Summary

Workshops/Focus Groups with Adults	Number of participants
1. –Social Welfare Training Centre, UWI June 9, 2000	15
2. Caribbean Child Development Centre	14
3. Social Welfare Training Centre, UWI July 28, 2000	36
Sub-total	65 adults
Interviews	
Interviews with Adults-field research	24
Elite interviews with adults	51
Total adults	140
Focus Group Discussions	
12 Focus groups with children	94 children
Interviews with children	34
Total children	129
Total persons consulted	269
Observations	
Observations in survey parishes	35
Reports from other parishes	45
Total locations identified	80

Table 3: Locations Visited and Persons Interviewed

Parishes	Locations visited	Interviews
St James	-	4 children
Westmoreland; Hanover	Negril :beaches, night clubs, hotels; Lucea: Health Centre	11 children- Go-go dancers; private and street prostitution 9 adults: Probation officers; Police; Night club owner, patrons of go go clubs
Montego Bay, St James	Hip Strip, public beaches at night, Night Clubs; Go go clubs, health clinic	3 Children ; Prostitution and go-go dancing; 1 adult ; taxi driver;
Kingston	Steets and night clubs in Kingston 8 and New Kingston	2 Children ;Go –go dancers & prostitutes 1 Juice Vendor near club
Western St Andrew;	Streets: East Kings House Rd; Stanton Terrace; Old Hope Road; Lady Musgrave Rd; Ruthven Road, Holborn Road; Community: Riverton Meadows Night Clubs: Eastwood Pk Rd; Constant Spring Road;	2 children 2 adults (Social Worker; Inner city community leader); Several community Residents in Riverton.
St Andrew	Night Clubs on Constant. Spring Rd.; Shortwood Rd; Ruthven Road	2 adults-including a relative of a child in prostitution
St Andrew	East Kings House Rd; Stanton Terrace; Old Hope Rd; Lady Musgrave Rd; Holborn Rd; Cross Rds-Fast Food outlets; Clubs on Constant Spring Rd.; Clubs on Eastwood Park. Rd.	2 Children (1M+1 F)
Kingston	- James Town & Craig Town	3 Children (2 F + 1 M)
Kingston	Lynhurst Road, Greenwich Pk, Kingston 13; Riverside Drive Various clubs in Riverside Drive	Club employees; Club Patrons
St Catherine:	Pt Henderson Road and on the beach	
St Catherine	New Haven; Port Henderson Road; Naggo Head Beach and Strip. Visited one sex shop; one brothel; 3 clubs on Port Henderson Rd & Naggo Head Fort Clarence Beach	2 children (1 M + 1 F) 1 Business woman Male clients of a brothel.
Kingston	Kingston: Rae Town	
St Catherine:	St John's Road Roundabout near William Street; Juvenile Boys Home Sligoville	1 Child (f) 1 adult male (warden) 1 adult female –relative of a child in prostitution
Kingston, Spanish. Town; Negril, St James	Various clubs and the Fort. Clarence Beach Strip, Mo Bay Strip, Negril	2 Children (1M + 1 F)
		33 children + 24 adults

	Over 35 locations were observed in the target parishes. In addition 45 more locations islandwide were identified making a total of 80 locations. Further research is needed to explore these in more depth.	
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Note: the names of clubs and specific locations visited have not been published.

The following reports give an indication of the magnitude of the problem.

One go-go dancer/prostitute who worked in Montego Bay and Negril, reported that she did the rounds and estimated that there are *more than 100 go-go dancers under 18 years in that area.*

In Montego Bay, reports from the focus groups with children indicate that approximately **30 children (20 girls and 10 boys) under 18 years are involved in sexual activities for gain on a large scale in the Montego Bay area.** Some are organised in groups, but work independently. Interviews conducted by Pious and verified by observations made by the research team working in Montego Bay, confirmed this and noted that *the very young girls (10-11 years) tend to be supervised by an adult who is usually female.*

Hanover adjoins St James, the capital of Montego Bay. A Ministry of Health study of go-go dancers in *Hanover* included 67 women, of which an estimated 55% (37) *were 19 years and under.* In that study *15 per cent of the dancers were between 10-14 years* (approx. 10 children) and *40 per cent were between 15-19 years (27 children).* That report also indicated that dancers each spend an average of five years in this business. These factors when combined should help to provide a more accurate estimate of actual numbers. Calculations of the number of children involved are complicated because of the mobile nature of some business/entertainment operations.

Reports from *Spanish Town* in St Catherine, indicate that there *may be 20 go-go dancers* in the same age group operating in this city. Reports from a go-go club in Kingston showed that there were five girls dancing there on a rotation basis. For future research, it should be possible to estimate the number of children dancing by identifying the number of clubs operating, calculating the average number of dancers in each and the proportion that are below 18 years. The Rapid Assessment did not afford this level of detailed research and as such it was impossible to estimate the number of children employed as go-go dancers.

Estimating the number of children living and working on the street who were involved in sexual activities for gain was equally difficult. This was confirmed by a representative of the National Initiative for Street Children, who stated *that it was impossible to accurately estimate the number of 'street children' at any one time, as there are children who enter and leave daily* (Dunn interview). The Ministry of Health child labour survey currently being conducted will no doubt provide some numbers.

Estimating the number of children employed in massage parlours was also difficult. The Rapid Assessment confirmed that children under 18 years are recruited and do work in some of them. Massage parlours are, however, not legally registered which would be one route to investigate them. Some of them do advertise in local newspapers and the number of the massage parlour advertisements has grown in recent years. These advertisements are a starting point to begin to explore the number of businesses operating to determine the number of children involved. It is

important to remember, however, that some do not advertise publicly. Research in this sector would help to identify the average number of masseuses working in each parlour, after which a calculation can be made of those 18 years and under. The table below attempts to summarise these activities.

Table 4: Magnitude and Ages of Children

Location	Numbers	M	F	Age Range	Activity
Hanover	30 (est.)		30	12-18 years	Go-go Dancers
Negril	31	6	25	13-18 years	Prostitution
Montego Bay	30	10	20	10-18 years	Prostitution, go-go dancing
Canterbury	?	-	?	13-18 years	'Marjorie Crew'
Ampitheatre	9	9	-	10-16 years	
F.Club	6		6	16-18 years	Go-go dancing
Western Jamaica	100 (est.)		100	Under 18 years	Go-go dancing
Kingston	Unknown				Various activities
St Catherine	Unknown				Various activities

In summary therefore, the Rapid Assessment, which was largely qualitative, did confirm that children are involved in various forms of sexual activity for gain and characteristics are described in the next section. Follow-up studies are therefore urgently needed to determine the magnitude of the problem in each type of activity.

3.3 Characteristics

Activities

This section of the report describes the character and range of pornographic activities in which children were involved and assesses the level of risk associated with each. Findings of previous studies by Campbell Perkins and Mohammed (1999) and Williams (2000) were confirmed and the main activities identified are listed below. These included:

- School girls in sexual relationships with 'Sugar Daddies' and school boys with 'Sugar Mummies';
- Children who are go-go dancers and others who are also involved in prostitution;
- Children who provide sexual services to adult homosexual and heterosexual clients (males and females);
- Girls working in massage parlours who also provide sexual services;
- Children (mainly boys) who live or work on the street and who are involved in prostitution;
- Children who are involved in pornographic videos, photographs and live sex shows; and
- Girl children who are exploited and used for sacrificial and ritualistic sex for devil worship and satanic rites and for cleansing men of STIs.

Table 5 : Pornographic Activities and Ranking of Risks

Type of Activity/Risks	High Risk	Medium Risk	Low Risk
Children providing sex for income support in the home -may be fairly widespread given state of the economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Invisible • Unprotected • Homosexual and heterosexual • Some street and working children 		
Children employed as go-go dancers who are not required to provide – sex	Negative psychological impact on the children with the potential to move them into prostitution	Jealousy & conflict between dancers leading to violence	
Children employed as go-go dancers who are also involved in prostitution	<p>- Limited decision-making power as the condition of the children's employment in clubs may require them to have sex with clients &/or the owner</p> <p>- Limited decision-making in the selection of clients</p> <p>Very high risk of exposure to STDs/HIV/AIDS as earnings increase if unprotected sex is provided.</p> <p>- Children have unprotected sex with regular partners, who themselves often have multiple partners.</p>		
Children in prostitution- street, hotel, part-time, full-time	<p>Limited decision making power over selection of clients</p> <p>Limited control of clients who make excessive demands</p>		
Children on the streets	Basic needs create desperation & make children easy targets for sexual exploitation by adults.		

	-Some children have a limited knowledge of STDs and safe sex. -Unprotected sex -Limited negotiating skills and control over decision-making		
Children working in massage parlours		Sex often required as part of contract. These children tend to be more educated & are hopefully aware of safe sex practices.	
Ritualistic sex	STDs, violence, psychological trauma		
Prostitution	Security risk- violence		
Children used for pornography (videos, photos)	Little control over negotiation, decision-making or use of end products –e.g. film		

These findings lead to the conclusion that most sexual activities in which children were involved for gain were considered high risk and could therefore be classified as the worst forms of child labour. The study found several examples of girls and boys exchanging sexual activity to meet basic needs such as:

- food, clothing, shelter, security, employment, and
- financial and other support to the child's family.

The study also found a number of children who were neither coerced nor forced into prostitution activities but became involved because it afforded them opportunities to:

- *fulfil their personal wants for designer clothing, trendy hairstyles and travel in luxury vehicles;*
- *travel overseas without having to use their own money;*
- *stay in hotels or exotic resorts on holidays;*
- *have a higher standard of living including housing; and*
- *meet persons with power, prestige, status and influence.*

The parents of some of these children had provided for their basic needs, but were unable to give them the quality of material things that the children and their peers valued highly. Distorted values made these children justify the use of their bodies as sexual commodities. ***The Jamaican research showed that not all children involved in prostitution are forced to do so.*** Many of their peers with similar desires opt not to use prostitution as a means of gaining status.

Sugar Daddies,' 'Sugar Mummies' and 'Chapses'

Perhaps the largest group of children involved in prostitution or related activities and the most invisible, are the silent army of those who engage in sexual activity within the confines of their own home or the abode of their exploiters. For some, sexual activity is exchanged willingly, while for others it is extracted unwillingly through rape, molestation and sexual abuse. The exchange is usually for money, material goods, services, security, affection or prestige.

Very disturbing was the finding that many of the children involved in prostitution experience their first sexual encounter through rape, incest and molestation. The actual numbers are difficult to estimate but are thought to be quite significant and reflect what Beckles described as the continuum from slavery to the present. Then (as now) girls (especially) are treated as sexual commodities, handed over to the master (or someone in a position of power and prestige) for 'betterment.' Then, they started to be sexually abused usually from the age of 10/12/13 years as they were considered the property of the master. The study found that this sexual exploitation might occur from as early as eight years as the following report illustrates.

C is a 15 year old child involved in prostitution who reported that she had been having sex from age 8 years, "because I liked it." According to her "it was only after Watchie (school watchman) pay mi, dat mi start collect money fi it." C said "I don't like to talk about it" (the experience) (Pious interview). The school watchman who was supposed to protect her and other children had exploited C. By paying her, he had also given her the idea that sex was something that had a monetary value.

In general girls were either required or encouraged to have relationships with older men in exchange for material goods to ensure their 'betterment.' As such, school fees, lunch money and busfare, schools books and supplies as well as graduation-related expenses (hairdo, ring, gown, dress, shoes etc.), emerged as material goods and educational support that were exchanged for sex.

The study also found that boys are involved in similar relationships but on a much smaller scale. There were reports of older, affluent women who daily pick up their 'chapses' from high school in expensive vehicles, take them home, take them on holidays and provide gifts in exchange for sex. In some cases, their family also receives financial support. These women have been called 'Sugar Mummies' for want of a better word, and the schoolboys are referred to as 'chapses' (McKenzie interview).

Several children were interviewed whose cases were similar to Tania, the 15 year old school girl, who faced the sexual advances and eventual conquest by "Uncle Larry," the "Sugar Daddy" in the Island Films production '**Dance Hall Queen**' (1997). Tania's mother deliberately encouraged her to 'go along with the programme as much as possible...because it was (Uncle Larry's) contribution that paid most of the bills' (Williams: 2000). Some of these girls were the primary, rather than supplementary breadwinners for their family.

Guidance counselors reported several cases:

One case from a rural school, confirmed that forms of 'child slavery' still existed. The case of 'Bridget' a 15 year old girl, who at the end of her graduation ceremony, learnt that the man with whom she had been having sex for gifts and pocket money, had had a private contract with her mother to hand her over after graduation. Unknown to her, he had also been giving money to her mother, and had now arrived, complete with a watch as her graduation present, to claim his 'property.' The girl became extremely angry when faced with this news (Dunn interview).

In another case a mother told her daughter "when I was your age I was minding myself with my p...." There were also cases reported of mothers who looked for clients for their daughters. While one mother was selling sex in one room, her teenage daughter was in the adjoining room doing the same thing. Some mothers would send their daughters out to work when their own boyfriends came to visit (Dunn interview).

Other parents knowingly or unknowingly colluded with these activities when they did not question the source of their children's gifts, clothing and income, that they did not provide. For example, a sixteen year old street boy "G" said, "Some a dem inna de community deh wid man an dem mada get tings and nuff ray ray an support it. Plus nuff big man dey wid young children like all 12 so, live wid him wife, an dem haffi love it" (Pious interview). 'G' was denouncing the reality that in some communities, mothers supported their daughter's relationships with older men because they received material goods from these men. He also noted that some girls as young as 12 years were living with big men as their wives 'and they had to love it' – implying that this was forced and that the children had no choice in the matter.

Homosexual/Lesbian Sex

Homosexual prostitution emerged in the study and included both sexes although it was more evident among young males. In these relationships, older, affluent homosexual men provided basic needs as well as gifts for a boy, sometimes taking them away to spend weekends or holidays with them. Street boys appeared most vulnerable to this type of activity as the following interview with "G" demonstrates:

'G' noted that: "Some boy deh wid bwoy too, cause a so nuff batty man get big up inna di community an move uptown. Dem meet batty man especially in a di Arcade an start rux him and dem move dem uptown to dem big house and dem get nuff things. Den when the big man no want him and move him out, so him set up himself and look a youth fi control. Sometimes him all mek other man rux him and get pay. A dat a lick. A don control. Some girl and bwoy a him flock an him work dem out" (Pious: focus group with street children in Kingston Waterfront).

G's comments illustrate several avenues that adults use to sexually exploit children. In the case cited above, he explained that some boys pursued social mobility through male prostitution. These relationships were, however, precarious as the boys are discarded when the man has lost interest. 'G' also explained the possibility of a male homosexual prostitute establishing his own 'stable' and the suggestion that some dons (area leaders) use children either for their own sexual pleasures or rent them out for the pleasure of others as a source of income. More in-depth research is needed to explore these situations.

In Westmoreland there was evidence of female lesbian activity involving children operating in the home/school environment as well as in the public/commercial sphere. In one rural school, a schoolgirl was reportedly having a relationship with two female teachers and was trying to cope with the resulting jealousies.

Children's exploitation through lesbian relationships also emerged in the study. Lesbians also patronise go-go clubs. Their reported preference was for younger, 'fresher' girls, rather than older women (Field research observations and interviews).

Girls on the streets were also vulnerable. 'D' a 'street boy' noted, "*nuff a dem (girls) a tun lesbian too. Dem beg beg woman till woman beg dem, but dat betta dan batty man.*" When asked why, he replied "me no know... It not so scornful" (Pious interview).

These comments reflect the strong homophobic attitudes of many Jamaicans and the perception that lesbianism is not as unacceptable as homosexuality. 'D' was explaining that the girls approached and begged women for things. Those who were lesbians in turn 'begged them for sex.' The study also found that in go-go clubs, some of the dancers have sexual relationships with each

other. This was evident in Kingston, Montego Bay and Negril. These relationships sometimes caused jealousies and conflicts among the dancers (Pious interviews and field research). It also emerged that Madams of some brothels were lesbians. As some of these girls were engaged as prostitutes with men there was also the risk of STIs if they did not use protection.

Prostitution with Tourists

The study found strong evidence of sex tourism involving children in Montego Bay and Negril. As previously mentioned, this concurs with the findings of Campbell et al (1999) who reported that some sex workers in the tourist industry had started in this profession as children. The field research, interviews, focus group discussion and observations in Montego Bay and Negril, highlighted several locations and activities that involved tourists. The owner of one of the hotels on the Negril strip also confirmed that girls as young as 13/14 years old were providing sexual services for tourists. European men in particular, reportedly liked 'black exotic girls.' Spring Break and summer were high season for these clients. There were reports of girl children being hired for private parties for small groups of young male tourists, during Spring Break in Negril (Dunn: Interview in Negril). Examples from the study are provided below.

Sexual exploitation of children in tourist areas was more varied. Children reported being paid by clients to perform 'straight sex, dry sex, kinky sex, group sex ("twosome," "threesome," "fivesome" and "manysome"), "blow jobs" (oral sex), homosexual activities with males, with females and mixed groups, as well as heterosexual activities.

'Carol is a 15 year old former student of an All Age School in Westmoreland, had not been to school since last year because she was working and complained that she was sometimes tired. She had engaged in sex with "woman, man, foursome, two women, two man, oral sex" (Pious interview).

'Hot lick': Children were also exploited by involvement in sadomasochistic sexual activities, primarily reported in the tourist areas. The 'Hot Lick' described by the girls, involved their clients tying them up and beating them until they cried out for pain. Their earnings increased the longer they could bear the pain and they would only be paid if they screamed (Pious interview).

Another activity was the 'lap dance,' which described 'dancing' on the laps of clients.

Stripping: Varying rates were paid for dancing topless, bottomless and fully naked. There was also an "All Inclusive" package that involved stripping and sexual intercourse. Fees for services were rated according to the type of sexual activity, the status of the area in which it was taking place and the season, and if it is in a tourist area. High-risk activities such as sex without a condom (bareback) also attracted higher rates.

Massage Parlours

Massage parlours are a niche market and the findings confirm that some of them employ girls as masseuses. The range of services offered includes sensuous massage, sexual intercourse with clients and acting out fantasies in costumes. Children in a focus group discussion held in the St. William Grant Park, spoke of *"girls who used to sell who were now working with a woman from (Kingston) Arcade, who have a parlour and is only stiff breast girls she want"* (Pious interview).

3.4 Lifestyle Conditions

The findings suggest that a high ‘prestige rating’ was given to having sex with white tourists, ‘the big man’ and the ‘don.’ In fact, some children regarded anyone with the financial resources to provide them with access to a higher standard of living as powerful and prestigious.

Medium prestige ratings were given to working in a massage parlour or go-go club, although (social class) ‘area’ and ‘location’ could increase or lower the level of prestige. Low status and low prestige were ascribed to activities such as prostitution on the streets. Street children involved in sex work earned the least and ranked lowest.

Similarly, the study did not indicate that children regarded dependence on an adult male or female for sex as a prestigious activity. More research is also needed on this dimension. The situation varied – most children who were forced to submit and engaged in these relationships out of economic need tended to be ashamed, and did not want this exposed. Others were seemingly proud of their work, which they did to provide their ‘wants’ and were more open and aggressive, actively pursuing their ‘clients.’

Dress and Physical Appearance

Children may be involved in prostitution in their school uniforms or may change clothing. Negril Police reported going to a man’s house to collect a girl who had gone there after school to provide sex. She had changed from her uniform into casual clothes, and had planned to change back to their uniform before returning home so her *parents would not be aware of what she was doing after school*. Children in a focus group on the Kingston Waterfront reported the same practice. “T” noted that : *‘dem have massage parlour whey big lawyer an manager go fi get dem kicks an a some a dem gal whey go a school, work inna dem. Den dem go home like nutten no happen’* (Focus group with street children on the Kingston Waterfront) (Pious interview).

Other children reportedly engaged in sex in their school uniform on buses as previously noted, in or behind school toilets, in adjoining premises to the school, as well as in public toilets. Security guards in a park in downtown Kingston confirmed that the public toilets were being rented to clients of schoolgirls for short sexual encounters. Children in school uniforms hanging around fast food restaurants for clients were also observed.

On the job, go-go dancers are required to wear exotic costumes and makeup that create fantasies for club patrons or clients who hire their services. They may also be required to strip. Physical appearance, dexterity in ‘climbing the pole’ and creativity in acting out fantasies afforded them higher levels of earning. When they are not dancing, dress was a matter of personal taste and girls working as prostitutes may look no different from other girls their age. They may dress in casual wear, consistent with current fashion trends, while others may dress in attire designed to attract sexual attention. This may include minimal or tight clothing to accentuate their physical form. Physical beauty and *light skin colour* also emerged as important assets, which fuelled the practice of skin bleaching especially among girls, who want to ‘look more attractive.’ *For girls, a ‘nice hairstyle’ was often featured among the list of ‘wants’ that motivated them to engage in sexual activities.*

Having a *‘good body’* emerged as an important asset for both homosexual and heterosexual males, but was not essential. According to one boy in the children’s focus group on the Kingston Waterfront, “it no matter how de boy look” (Pious interviews). To some homosexual clients the boy’s appearance was not important.

Information on the physical appearance of children working on the street emerged in a focus group with eleven children (eight boys and three girls), aged 12-16 years on the Kingston Waterfront. Among this group, three children (27%) (two boys and one girl) were identified as engaging in sex for money. Pious described these children as “not totally ragged but some were dirty and barefooted.” These youngsters, part of a group of an estimated 15-20 who reportedly frequent this area, were from adjoining low income, inner city communities. Their work also influenced their physical appearance as some were involved in ‘collecting bottles, washing cars, doing errands for cart vendors.’ Clients seeking sex would therefore be picking them up in this physical condition.

Earnings and Other Factors

This section of the report provides information on time, remuneration, use of income earned as well as specific conditions for various categories of sexual activity. Earnings of “Sugar Daddies,” “Chapses” and Homosexuals were discussed earlier.

Time: This section outlines the average number of hours for each category of sexual activity identified. The study was unable to determine the average number of hours per week for children who are in sexual relationships with adults in exchange for money and other benefits. Observations of beaches, bus stops, fast food restaurants and other locations, revealed that many children who are still in school, engage in sexual activities in the *evenings after school, on weekends and during holidays*. Occasionally girls would skip classes during the day to deal with a client but this appeared to be the exception rather than the rule. There was evidence that some children went to their ‘benefactors’ after school and returned home early enough to avoid the suspicion of their parent or guardian. Port Henderson Beach in St Catherine, for example, was close enough for the uniformed schoolgirls from Kingston who frequented it during the week. Children who ‘spend time’ at the homes of their friends during weekends and holidays, have the potential freedom to engage in sexual activities with clients, even to the extent of travelling overseas, unknown to their parents.

Some girls went to their ‘benefactors’ at any convenient time. Working long evening hours made some of them too tired to stay awake and concentrate on their schoolwork. Tiredness and their lack of interest in school were among the signs that guidance counselors used to explore the reasons for their low performance in school, which then revealed that they were involved in prostitution.

Go-go dancers do most of their work between Friday and Sunday and some clubs have special weekdays for dancing. Most of this activity takes place at nights, with the girls performing an average of four sets of dances between 8 p.m. and 3 am. Some are then involved in prostitution for the rest of the night, and then rest during the days. Prostitutes tend to work at nights. Massage Parlour workers tend to have one eight hour shift during a 24-hour period.

Earnings: Average earnings for boys involved in prostitution with homosexual men varied with the type of client and whether or not safe sex practices were used. This was best illustrated by a street boy who was a male prostitute who said that “sometimes (we use condom) but sometimes if is a ital slap yu get more money.” This is a very extreme form of exploitation as children are paid more for the higher risk associated with having sex without the use of a condom. One estimate of earnings from male homosexual prostitution was J\$7,000- J\$10,000 per night (US\$159- US\$227) which could involve several clients (Stephens: Interview in P Night Club). Children were more at risk because there were several partners rather than one. Campbell and Campbell (2000:38) report that homosexual adult male prostitutes earned between J\$500 and J\$4,000 (US\$11 – US\$91) for each sex act and tips were rare.

Table 6: Earnings

Type of Activity	Income (J\$)	Income (US\$)
Homosexual prostitution	7,000-10,000 per night-several partners	159-227 per night
Homosexual prostitution	500-4,000 per sex act	11-91
Go-go dancers	800-900 per week	
Go-go dancers- Spanish Town	1,500 –2,000 per week + 1000 in tips	34 –46 per week + 23 in tips
Go-go dancers-tourist areas	3,000 per week	68 per week
Go-go dancing + sex	1,000-10,000 per night + 20-1,000 (tips)	23-227
Prostitution	5,000 per night	114 per night

Remuneration for go-go dancers is calculated in basic income, tips and perks. Basic income varied according to experience, physical attraction, location (e.g. tourist vs non-tourist; rural vs urban) and employment status (self-employment vs contract work). As noted earlier, some children worked for themselves while others worked under a supervisor, manager or pimp. The research revealed that the range of basic income earned by go-go dancers was a low of J\$800-900 per week, a middle range of J\$1,500 (US\$34) and a top range of \$3,000 (US\$68) (Jackson, Gordon, Francis interviews). In tourist areas, girls earned about \$3,000 or more if it was during special seasons. In Spanish Town go-go dancers earned \$2000 (US\$45) per week plus another \$1,000 (US\$23) in tips, while some prostitutes earned \$5,000 (US\$114) per night or more. The scope for earning additional income from sex is significant and Campbell and Campbell (2000:38) report that the earnings for adult female dancers who have sex with clients, ranged between \$1,000 - \$10,000, with \$1,000 (US\$23) being an out of town rate and \$10,000 (US\$227) being in town only. Tips for sex were between \$20 to \$1,000 (US\$0.45-US\$23).

‘Paula’- a go-go dancer

Paula, a 15-year old go-go dancer, was interviewed at a Kentucky restaurant in Kingston. She reported that she had been involved in the profession since age 13 years old, dancing at various locations in Ewarton (St Catherine) and Montego Bay. She had come to Kingston three months previously to ‘cool out’ after stabbing another go-go dancer in Ocho Rios. For protection she had linked up with some of her old “bad gal friend dem from Kingston.” Paula had left All Age School and should have gone on to Secondary School but her parents could not afford it, so she went to live with an aunt who had four (4) other girls, one of her cousins was a go-go dancer. She, like many of her colleagues, was introduced to dancing by a relative or friend. This is consistent with reports from the studies by O’Donnell Davidson and Sanchez (1996) that indicate that peers and family often influence entry into sex work.

Paula said that things did not work out between her aunt and herself, so she and some of the other girls went to work at a go-go club in Montego Bay. She described the living and working conditions and these were typical of places described by other go-go dancers interviewed.

“We live in but de girl dem dung dey tief and dem rough, but through my cousin is a big time, dem haffi respect that. We get \$1,500 (US\$34) per week and my cousin get \$3,000 (US\$68) because she dance betta and have more experience and *can climb pole*. But you can mek more than dat one night inna tip, especially when tourist come inna the club... a pure US dem push inna you waist...-wus if you look good! But sometime the other girls dem jealous and through you and dem haffi live, sometimes it ruff. After a time, mi start mek more money than mi cousin and she start fight ‘gainst me, so me jus lef wid another girl and a so me do the rounds.” When asked if she met a lot of other girls under 18 years working as go-go dancers she replied, “Yes. Whole heap because *the club owner them prefer the young blood fi draw the crowd*.” When asked if it was about 20 –40 girls she replied: “*No man, yu mad! More than 100 in all*” (Pious interview).

‘Cherry’ – a go-go Dancer

Cherry, a go-go dancer, described living conditions of clubs in which she had worked.

‘You have you bed but is like a dormitory. You cook at some place and at other place dem feed you. ... Some of the girls smoke crack but most a we will only use ganja hard.’ She admitted that life as a go-go dancer “can be like a trap if you no smart.” She confirmed that some go-go dancers would do sex as well as dance. “Of course, if a man want sex and the ‘Benjamin’ right, me will let off, but the price haffi right cause when me did younger, a nuff free sex mi gi wey. Now me understand myself dem haffi pay.” Asked about the rates she said “\$1,000, \$2,000 (US\$23, US\$45) depends pon the man and the treatment. And you know sey area have whole heap fi do wid it. If a Ochi (Ocho Rios) a US” (Pious interview).

Asked what she did in her spare time she said “Sleep and rest mi body.”

‘Carol’ - her story

‘Carol’ was a 15 year old girl involved in prostitution in Negril. She described the conditions that children working as prostitutes faced. Carol was one of six members in the ‘Hot P.... Crew’ in Negril whose members were between 15 and 18 years. When she and a friend first arrived in Negril, they had nowhere to stay and slept on the beach. She said, “one of us watched while the other slept and we did this until we could afford to rent somewhere.” Some members of the Crew now lived in Lime Tree Lane in Negril’s West End.

‘Carol’ like the others, charged tourists according to their perceived economic status and the (tourist) season. Rates also varied depending on whether the man ejaculated inside her or whether he used a condom. This was consistent with the earlier finding of the boy involved in male prostitution who charged more for the risks associated with unprotected sex. Carol, in advising on her rates and sources of income said:

“Depends on the tourist, but during Spring Break a big money.” “Di man dem use condom sometimes...but more time dem no come inna mi – a different money dat.” Her other crew members had gone to other locations such as C..... R..... in the tourist town of Ocho Rios to dance, but she was in Negril, to “hold di fort (wait around), cause one white man promise to sen some money fi mi any time now, so mi haffi wait fi it” (Pious interview).

‘Carol’ quoted the following rates:

“Oral sex is US\$50-US\$100; pinwing wey mi play wid dem (penis) till dem almost come- US\$30. US\$100-US\$150...fi de real ting; groupy run a US\$500-US\$1,000. Party to strip, sex, everyting a US\$1,000.”

‘Carol’ at 15 years old had already acquired several material possessions that would take older people many years to accumulate. Asked how she felt about her involvement in prostitution she said:

“Mi no feel no way.”³ A money mi a look an my house criss (attractive). Me have everything: fridge, stove, microwave, carpet. And mi get gifts too yu know. One man did promise all fi married to mi but mi did fraid cause him too kinky-want tie me up and ting. But one a my friend go wey wid a white man and married and live a Denmark now. Him treat har like queen, but a no so it go all the time. My other friend she go a England and haffi go a di Jamaican place (High Commission) fi dem send har home. Him an all six a him friend dem want screw har non-stop. Har belly drop dung. She come back mash up and tek coke fi it” (Pious interview: Negril).

Carol’s story illustrates one of the motivating factors for some children to get involved in prostitution in tourist areas. Perceived benefits of prostitution with tourists included the possibility of marriage and migrating to North America or Europe. The fact that a few women have had positive experiences encourages many other girls to seek their fortune through these channels. Male gigolos working in tourist areas also have similar aspirations and exchange sex for gain.

Campbell and Campbell (2000:38) report that sex workers charge cruise ship clients a minimum of US\$30-\$50 and a maximum of between US\$100- \$200, for sex, especially those who are white. Tips of between US\$10- \$50 were also reported.

Observations of the Negril Beach confirmed evidence of ‘beach boys,’ ‘Rent a Dreads,’ ‘Tourguides,’ ‘Entertainment Coordinators’ and ‘Playmates.’ Some were very young, and openly solicited female tourists during both day and night-time, offering sex, drugs and a good time. Some had real locks while others wore wigs. One interesting observation was that female prostitutes tended to work mostly in the night while male prostitutes worked both day and night.

Dangers: Drugs, Pimps and Security

While there was no indication that children employed as dancers and prostitutes, were required to take illegal drugs, many reported being heavy smokers of ganja, but most said were very cautious about taking hard drugs such as crack and cocaine. ‘Carol,’ the dancer/prostitute, in responding to a question about whether they use drugs said:

“Yu mad! An mi see how much people it mash up! Once yu start dat yu done.” (Pious interview: Negril). Her friend ‘Julie’ chimed in, remember “Y” from town? She mash up and sell out har ting through har pimp.” This crew did not use pimps. According to ‘Carol’ “No sah! Dem wicked! Dem wan live big affa wi!”

Security was a big issue for the children involved in prostitution and they took steps to protect themselves. Although the study was unable to ascertain the varying costs associated with security services, there was constant proof of its existence. When asked how they managed on the road one of the girls in the Negril crew said: “We work with some gay youth whey a ruff neck from town (Kingston). Dem no ramp (romp).... Dem a 15, 17, 18, 20, 25... de youngest is 15.. no 14.”...

³ It doesn’t bother me

“Dem gone a Mo Bay cause ship (cruise ship) come in an nothing naw gwan dung ya” (Pious interview: Negril).

This confirmed the collaboration between young boys who were homosexuals and girls who were involved in prostitution.

Security was important because prostitution exposed children to many risks. When asked if they were ever beaten up, they said: “Yes, sometimes when we rob dem or when dem want back dem money.... Sometimes we drug dem so as we reach dem fall asleep an wi rob dem and flee. Dem call that *Grab and Flee*.”... “One time one man bruk mi hand. Him hold it an step pon it... that time me was 13” (Pious interview: Negril).

Security represented protection from physical abuse, which is an occupational hazard for prostitutes and dancers all over the world, regardless of their age. This activity was particularly hazardous for children as it often involved them in several illegal activities. Two of the girls interviewed in Negril were sisters and described how they became involved in prostitution.

Their mother had died when they were small, so they went to live with their father in Port Antonio, but fled because he physically abused them and wanted them to work “washing people’s clothes.” Next they went to live with an aunt, but said she too was ‘wicked’ and sent them to the SOS Children’s Village in Montego Bay. From there they were sent to Windsor and Maxfield Park Children’s Home. They met a girl who told them about Negril and they came. “When wi come ya, we sleep pon de beach. One sleep and one watch so till wi mek friend and start carry coke to deliver, till we start do sex and get money” (Pious interview: Negril).

Children Working on the Streets

This group of children were among those who were most exploited and abused. Their physical appearance, and the conditions under which they lived and operated were extremely difficult. Their standard of living was lower than that of the other categories of children described and they were more disadvantaged in terms of their social and economic bargaining position. The conditions under which they operated varied but were generally unstable. As previously noted, ‘street boys’ described how their colleagues were picked up, used and then ‘discarded’ when a client was tired of them.

Children on the street earned less money from sexual activities than their peers but had the potential for occasional high earnings. A former ‘street boy’ reported that one of his colleagues, a girl, was paid \$3,000 (US\$68) by a male client who took her to his house to have sex with him and his friends (Dunn interview). As noted earlier, street boys and older street prostitutes had a seemingly symbiotic relationship, exchanging sex for as little as a beef patty, a box drink or a J\$100 bill. Street boys also bought sexual services from prostitutes. They would pay \$500 (US\$11) for a ‘blow job’ and between \$250 - \$500 (US\$6- US\$11) for penetrative sex. There was a report of a disabled 11-year-old boy who would have sex regularly with a New Kingston prostitute. In addition to their older clients, some adult female prostitutes had Kingston street boys as regular clients. ‘Credit’ would be extended when the boys did not have cash, because they could accumulate debts. When they had money the prostitute would get whatever she demanded, if the boy was desperate for sex or affection. Some boys would reportedly give their entire day’s earnings to a prostitute for her to “hug him, kiss him up and make him feel like a man.” “She will pleasure him and he will pay her.... Some of the boys would give them everything they have when they pleasure them.” “Sometimes the boys don’t earn anything for the day and at other times they

could get thousands.” He noted, “there is a rumor that one day, “O” (the disabled boy) get \$10,000 (US\$227) from a man.” Some boys would have a lot of money because ‘drug mules on the road would use them to sell and carry drugs (because) police won’t search a street boy.... Sometimes a street boy would be at a dance and the police would raid and a man would give him a gun to hold because most likely the police won’t search him” (Dunn interview).

The money that children working on the street earned from these activities would sometimes give them enough disposable income to buy sex occasionally and meet their other needs. There was evidence that they occasionally used, but shared condoms. “Sometimes all six to seven boys use the same condom. Sometimes they don’t use anything and get a disease.” Some boys would become infected with STDs from getting ‘blow jobs’ from the same infected prostitute. They readily admit to having sex with a female prostitute but were reluctant to admit to having had sex with a man (Dunn Interviews).

Children Working in Massage Parlours

Less information was available on the income children earned from working in Massage Parlours. Campbell and Campbell (2000:38) reported that adult male prostitutes earn J\$2000 (US\$45) minimum to perform oral sex with women and between J\$3,000 (US\$68) and US\$1,000 for penetrative sex. The higher figure is usually over a two-day period.

3.5 Causes of Children in Prostitution

Analysis of the findings helped to identify several causative factors that contribute to the involvement of children in sex work. Weak monitoring of existing laws and loopholes in the legal system creates an enabling environment for child pornography to flourish. While the legal framework needs to be revised to better protect the rights of children, there are laws, which make such activities illegal. These are, however, not adequately monitored, which creates a climate of tolerance and indirectly socializes citizens into accommodating activities that involve children in sexual activity as a form of work.

Lack of public awareness of the depth and scope of the problem, combined with the lack of resources to address it, are also major factors. In addition to the work being done by the government through the Ministry of Health and other agencies, there are non-governmental institutions whose mandate is to work with these children. Most of them, however, lack the resources to implement programmes on the scale needed to have a significant impact on the problem.

Consistent with the analysis supporting ILO Convention 182 and Recommendation 190, **poverty is a major factor** and most of the children interviewed (99%) came from very poor backgrounds. Many were from low-income, inner city or rural communities, although child prostitution is recognized as a phenomenon that cuts across all social classes. The poverty described in the background section of this report, was reflected in the stories told by the children.

The physical conditions of poverty, created an enabling environment for early exposure to sexual intercourse. Overcrowded housing in which many families share a room, a bed, a bathroom and cooking facilities, limits privacy and security. These conditions also contribute to the many cases of incest and sexual abuse and are considered ‘push factors’ for boys and girls involved in sexual activity. Some children ‘escaped’ to the streets, and worked in the informal economy, which included selling their body as a sexual commodity. While most of the boys lived on the street and visited their families occasionally, the girls ‘worked’ from their home base, travelling to various locations to provide sexual services to their ‘clients.’

Incest and sexual abuse. Many of the children interviewed stated that they were escaping from the physical and other conditions described above. One girl ran away from home because she had seen her older sisters impregnated by their father, so she decided to leave “before my time come.” Others are desperate to escape from their reality even temporarily, in search of a better life, whatever the cost. When asked how they felt about having sex in exchange for money, some girls said “ah nuh nutten” (Its no big thing/Its not a major issue).

Poor education and literacy, undetected learning disabilities emerged as major issues that influence the involvement of children in prostitution. In probing the background of their parents and family, it emerged that most had low levels of education. Some parents were informal vendors, traders, prostitutes, former go-go dancers, or were unemployed. Several of the girls involved in prostitution had children of their own whom they had to support. It confirmed the negative impact of teenage pregnancy on the education and employment of young women, which was noted in the background section of this report. The evidence suggests that physical overcrowding in the home also impacted negatively on the children’s educational attainment and school attendance. Overcrowding in the home could therefore be a push factor that encourages young girls to escape.

Failure of the education system to address the needs of some children also predisposed them to turn to prostitution. The study identified several children who the educational system had failed. Some of the girls said they were ‘slow’ at school, which de-motivated and discouraged them from wanting to continue. Findings suggest that some children may have **undetected learning disabilities** that make them unable to cope with the average school curriculum and without adequate support, they had become frustrated, lost interest and dropped out of school. Many of the home situations described by the children were not conducive to studying, schoolwork or regular school attendance. Most of the children in the Downtown Kingston focus group had dropped out of school for at least two years. In other interviews and focus group discussions, some children attended sporadically with Fridays being a day when many did not attend school. Average educational levels were Primary and All Age with a few attending secondary schools and one attending high school. Many of the older children were secondary school dropouts, with Grade 9 being a particularly vulnerable age. This is the age at which most girls became pregnant and had to leave. The boys left for economic reasons but also because they were frustrated. More research is needed to determine why so many boys drop out during this stage of their lives.

For example, analysis was done of a group of 15 children who participated in a focus group discussion in the St. William Grant Park in Downtown Kingston. There were 10 boys and five (5) girls, all of whom worked as vendors. Nine were ‘street children,’ who sleep in the markets, at the Courthouse and at Central Police Station, while others lived at home and worked. Four of these children (44%) (all girls) still attended school. Two were in Primary School and two attended secondary school but did not go to school on Fridays (Pious: Focus group discussion).

Poor parenting and lack of parenting skills, also emerged as major factors contributing to children becoming involved in sexual activities for gain. Poor parenting contributed to teenage pregnancy and adolescent parenting was singled out as one major contributing factor. Many girls dropped out of school when they became pregnant and because of limited support from baby fathers and family, they opted for prostitution to support their child or children.

In sharing their life histories, it emerged that family crises such as death, migration, fostering and the institutionalization of children in residential homes, places of safety and juvenile detention centers, had placed some children at risk of being abused and engaging in prostitution or other

sexual activities. Weak enforcement of compulsory education also resulted in many school dropouts.

The Path to Prostitution

In the previous section, the experience of 'Carol' and her friend in Negril illustrates how a family crisis such as the death of a parent, can be a factor that leads children (especially girls) into prostitution. Physical abuse and experience in a children's home, can expose children to other youngsters who represent negative peer influences. The movement of children from home to home creates instability and some escape because they find the conditions difficult to tolerate. Without the protection of a caring family (however poor) and having escaped from an institution, the girls had to fend for themselves in order to survive. They got involved in drug trafficking and later, prostitution.

Assuming that they were drug couriers, ingesting coke and transporting it to either North America or Europe, it means that they were exploited and exposed to life-threatening risks, which made them eventually choose prostitution as a risky activity.

Imposing adult roles on children also emerged as a push factor for children to become involved in prostitution. While some parents recognized their roles as breadwinners and caregivers and provided basic needs, love and affection for their children, others reneged on their responsibilities. Few children interviewed had fathers who provided financial support, were positive role models or were active in parenting. A few of the children had fathers in prison.

The children therefore had to fill this gap, through their own resourcefulness or in the relationships they developed with adults. As noted earlier, some mothers encouraged, or ignored evidence that their girls were involved in sexual activity for gain. Some of the children interviewed shared the adult responsibility of helping to pay the family's mortgage and to educate their younger siblings who often had no idea of what they did for a living.

Ascribing girls the role of substitute parent for younger siblings may also place them at risk of becoming involved in prostitution as they may try to escape the responsibilities involved in looking after many younger siblings. This echoed the findings of Ennew and Young (1981) who reported that many children spoke of the tremendous burden involved in taking care of their siblings. Girl children from large families without adequate economic support are therefore among the high-risk groups for sex work. Several became teenage mothers, then had the additional responsibility of caring for their own offspring, without the education and skills required, and then became involved in sexual activities to support them.

Sexual abuse also emerged as a push factor. Many girls said their fathers or other male relatives had raped, molested, and sexually and physically abused them and their sisters.

Personal ambitions of some children to own their own house and start a business also pushed some of them into prostitution. One girl wanted to become a photographer to take and sell nude pictures. A few wanted to open their own 'stable' and have their own girls for hire when they retired. Some were cynical about formal education, as they "knew many high school girls who had got their (CXC) subjects but were unable to get jobs." This latter suggests that lack of employment opportunities even for those with a basic education was also a push factor.

Absence of parents and lack of parenting skills increased children's risk of becoming involved in prostitution. Many parents appeared unaware of the risks of abandoning their children or depriving them of basic needs. Migration or absent parents also emerged as factors that

predisposed some children to become involved in sex work. Some of the children interviewed said their parents had migrated to 'greener pastures' and had left them in the care of relatives and guardians. The situations they described made it clear that these adults were unable to adequately supervise them, or provide them with the love and affection they needed.

The ascribed roles of dancers and prostitutes as entertainers and entrepreneurs, were also factors. Children employed used their bodies as commodities to provide pleasure for a fee. Training and work experience in this context encouraged many to become con artists, thieves, drug couriers, and business entrepreneurs. The latter made money from establishing links between 'employees' who supplied sex and 'employers' who were willing to pay for sex. Many of the children used cell phones to conduct business.

Early sexual exposure was also a casual link to child pornography. As previously noted, many of the children had been initiated into sex at an early age through incest, child molestation and rape - some as early as seven or eight years. Some children engaged in sex for a single 'benefactor' for the duration of their school life while other girls moved on to become go-go dancers and prostitutes. Further research is needed to determine how many dancers attend school and work part-time. Most of those in the study had dropped out of school and were engaged in prostitution on a part-time, seasonal or full-time basis.

Peer pressure was an important factor in initiating girls into prostitution. Many dancers are mobile, moving on their own or with friends to various locations around the island. The study confirmed the importance of the Hendon Square/Guango Tree Auction in Westmoreland as a recruitment location and some had got jobs through this channel. Other girls got their jobs through friends, their reputation as well as their experience in dancing. The study was unable to determine the average length of time that dancers worked in one location before they moved on but altercations with other dancers were one of the factors that motivated them to relocate. There were two cases of women having stabbed another dancer in Kingston and moving on to a rural area 'to cool out.'

Family Connections

Though it was not widespread, one or two children said that **having a relative who is a prostitute** could also encourage children to get into these activities. One child interviewed in Spanish Town confirmed that her mother and grandmother were prostitutes. A 16-year-old girl involved in prostitution said:

"It run inna my family. My madda bring me inna di work an fi har madda bring har inna di work, but you see, mi no waan no pickney if a so it fi go. Mi haffi mash up dat." This indicated her interest in breaking the cycle and finding something else to do. Her mother had taught her that the qualifications to be a good prostitute were: "Good looks, clean skin, fine body, clean teeth, nuff clothes, and brain- my madda teach me dat yu haffi can con man and tek why dem money." Her mother had also taught her to use condoms and 'sometimes she lend me har false' (false vagina). Her mother lived in Portmore and had stopped working on the road, but had two of her daughters engaged in prostitution on the road to help pay mortgage and other expenses (Pious interview).

Fear of reprisals also emerged as a factor influencing girls' decisions to become involved in prostitution. Children in a focus group that was held with 15 street and working children attending school in the Spanish Town area, spoke of life in the inner city. In some communities, children were forced to have sex with community 'dons' and their mothers were afraid to speak out because they would be "branded as informers and this would mean they have to leave the community."

One street boy spoke of mothers who kept silent because they were receiving “child support” or “food and ting.” Fear of being killed if one is perceived as an informer, is very real in some communities. As one child put it, “In a dem community deh, police caan have a say in anything or else yu a informer an wi dead.”

Attitudes and values also surfaced as factors motivating children to become sex workers. Earlier, a distinction was made between **NEEDS and WANTS**. Some boys and girls appear to have been motivated by their need for food, clothing, shelter, school fees, books, lunch money as well as expenses for family members. More children in low-income communities engaged in sex for basic economic survival, education and family support. Some children were however motivated by ‘wants’ such as name brand (designer) clothes and shoes, opportunities to drive in flashy vehicles, have better housing, holidays, opportunities to visit hotels, as well as contact with persons of power, prestige and status. There was also sex in exchange for “love,” friendship and belonging.

Values that justify giving children over to adults for ‘betterment’ in exchange for sex, create a climate of tolerance that places children, especially girls, at risk of sexual abuse. Incest and other forms of child abuse also introduce children to sexual violence at an early age. This researcher argues that paying children for sex corrupts their value system, contributes to low self-esteem and encourages them to use their body as an economic commodity that can be divided for use and abuse. This assigns economic values to use of the various body parts which is morally wrong. The various contributing factors cited above must be addressed to eliminate the worst forms of child labour.

3.6 Consequences of Children in Prostitution

Violation of Children’s Rights

In addition to ways in which involving children in prostitution violates ILO Convention 182 and Recommendation 190, the findings also point to violations of several articles of the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

- **Article 17: Access to Appropriate Information.** Children’s lack of access to appropriate information about alternatives to participation in sexual activities as a means of earning money.
- **Article 18: Parenting Responsibilities.** Lack of effective parenting skills and lack of awareness among parents and guardians about their responsibilities in relation to the rights of their children, including protection from child labour.
- **Article 32 : Child labour.** The findings show that this Article as well as Part 8 of the Juveniles Act are being violated. Specific violations include employment of children under age 12 by parents, guardians and other adults although the Act only allows children over 12 years to do light domestic work, agricultural or horticultural work. They may also be involved in some prescribed occupation that does not interfere with their education. Many children are however involved in activities detrimental to their well being and education. Most go-go dancers work at nights, which would limit these children’s ability to attend school in the day.
- **Article 33: Drug Abuse.** This states that children have the right to protection from the use, production and distribution of dangerous drugs. The Dangerous Drugs Act deals with these issues but not does provide special protection for children. The National Council on Drug Abuse has an active education programme in schools. The findings however show that some children in prostitution and go-go dancers use ganja, while a few others use crack and

cocaine. There is also the suggestion that children are being used to carry and distribute narcotics.

- **Article 34: Sexual Exploitation.** This article speaks to preventing children from sexual exploitation, abuse, prostitution and involvement in pornography. The study provided several contexts and situations in which Article 34 was being violated and these were reported elsewhere.
- **Article 35: Sale, Trafficking and Abduction.** There were several reports of children being 'sold' in exchange for sex and economic support. One man came to claim his 'property' on graduation day, after supporting the girl and her family for years. This is a violation of the Offences against the Person Act for children under 18 years. Children in these situations are being 'sold' with the compliance and approval of their parents.
- **Article 19: Protection of children from abuse and neglect.** Many of the children involved in sex for gain were physically, verbally and emotionally abused from an early age as noted elsewhere in this report. Many entered into sexual activity to escape from these situations.
- **Article 20: Protection of children without a family.** Several cases were reported of children who escaped from children's homes, places of safety and juvenile institutions and ended up being involved in prostitution and related activities. There were also reports of inadequate facilities being available to the police to ensure that children are taken to a place of safety when they are taken to police stations. For example, the situation previously cited the difficulties reported by the Negril Police in transporting children involved in prostitution to a Children's Home in Trelawny and the shortage of personnel to process the paperwork and pursue cases through the courts. Reports of sexual abuse in some children's homes had initiated girls into sex and are also a violation of Article 20.

Safety and Health Risks

Many of the activities associated with sex work violate Article 3 (d) of Convention 182, which speaks of work which by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety and morals of children.

Among the safety and health hazards identified for all categories of children involved in prostitution were:

- Security risks and violence from clients.
- Infection from STIs/STDs especially from clients who want to ride 'bareback' (penetrative sex without condoms).
- What the children described as 'Kinky' sex which may be harmful. Among the categories described by the children were 'Golden Showers' (urination); defecation; animal sex; 'being tied up'; 'lesbian sex' and 'group sex.'
- Unscheduled gang sex (as opposed to group sex). A young girl involved in prostitution described how a client took her to his room and there were five men waiting, who used and battered her and did not pay her. After her ordeal, the hotel security had to call a cab to take her home. She then had to go to the doctor and took several weeks to recover.
- Having sex with men who have large penises. Another girls said that having sex with a "big strong white man" had made her faint and vomit. The client paid her US\$800, got her some tea and made sure she was alright before she left.

- “Man who long like donkey and want oral sex till dem come.”
- “Man who want oral sex who stink an sick yu stomach.”
- Sexual harassment: For example, one go-go dancer complained that “some of de boss dem, some time dem wan look yu, an if yu no up to it, dem pressure yu fi leave.”
- Touching go-go dancers. One said “Mi skin crawl when some of the man dem touch mi.”
- Drug abuse. Sex workers shared stories of their peers who start using hard drugs, noting that they usually become very thin and lose their sex appeal.
- Conflict in the club environment. Conflicts between dancers were sometimes associated with having to share accommodation in the clubs/brothels with other females. This sometimes created competition, conflict, jealousy and the risk of violence. Two unrelated go-go dancers interviewed had stabbed colleagues then fled to work in other parishes.
- Relationships with abusive clients. Females reported the negative experiences of colleagues who had migrated with abusive men.
- Wives of ‘big men’ finding them with their husbands.
- Unstable relationships. Male homosexual prostitutes spoke of short-term relationships with older affluent men, who then turn them out when they are tired of them and they again have to fend for themselves.
- Limited decision-making in choice of clients. Some children have limited control over their choice of clients. Decision-making over the use of condoms and the forms of sexual activity requested was also limited.
- Fear of exposure - One reluctant (female) masseuse lived in fear that residents from her community may come to the massage parlour where she was employed, because she had told her family that she worked in a doctor’s office.
- Lack of job stability: Stress and tension headaches were reported by one 17 year old go-go dancer, especially when there was no work, and there was pressure to provide for her sickly mother and younger siblings.
- Working on the street created its own stress: One girl involved in prostitution on the streets said “Mi look forward to stop work de road... go private and stick to regular customers” (She was looking forward to stop working on the road and to have only regular clients that could be dealt with privately).

Negative Psychological Impact

Some of the school guidance counselors interviewed reported that involvement in sex for gain had a negative psychological impact on some of the children in their care. For example, in one report, a girl, initiated into sex at eight years old, had had a history of exploitation by men and had been raped several times. She suffered from what the counselor described as ‘significant emotional disturbance.’ She also reportedly suffered from ‘maternal deprivation,’ as her mother never bonded with her. Despite years of counseling during her adolescence, she had by age 15 years, become involved in prostitution on the streets.

In another case reported, a 15-year-old street boy had been initiated into homosexuality by an adult male, who saw he was in need and used him. In the counselor’s view the experience was ‘confusing’ the boy, who told her of other boys who the man picked up at bus stops in lower Kingston 10 and took to his house.

Behaviour that brought these children to the attention of the guidance counselors often included the consistent non-completion of homework, the child not being prepared for school, or low grades because they said they could not study. Investigation sometimes revealed that the child lived in the overcrowded conditions described earlier and had to be on the street because the mother’s

boyfriend was visiting or did not leave until late (11 p.m.). Other children, who were involved in sexual activities for survival or status, were distracted and under severe emotional pressure, expressing feelings of guilt and being trapped, saying “*But Miss, I can’t do any better.*” Some expressed the hope that they could stop and get out. Many parents who encouraged their children to be involved in prostitution, did not, in the view of one guidance counselor, realise the psychological impact, or the long-term effects it could have on the children. Some were of the view that the children could not study because they were unable to handle the complex relationships of negotiating prostitution. Those who were being molested at home sometimes displayed rudeness in school (Dunn: Interviews with Guidance Counselors).

A former street boy described the behaviour patterns that indicate that a boy had been in a homosexual relationship. “Boys won’t tell you. They will say that they have been raped, or will tell a story about having a big man friend, a ‘Boss’, who give dem money. They will say that things like ‘batty man ting fi dead’ but they won’t admit to being a male prostitute.” Sometimes you can tell because you would see how they talk about a male situation. Or they would get very angry towards men as a whole... Or they would get very hostile to the other boys. ...They wouldn’t care what happened to them.... Their self esteem is very low.” When they trust you they will eventually tell you things what happen to them (Dunn: Interview).

Gender Impact

Gender analysis of the findings show that girls are disproportionately represented among children involved in prostitution and related activities as a group, although both boys and girls are involved. This increases their risk of exploitation, as children, as girls, as workers without protection, and by extension of their reproductive role, any children that they produce. They are therefore vulnerable at several levels, but can expect only limited protection from lawmakers because they are engaged in an illegal activity. Their risk factor is increased against the background of gender violence in Jamaica. A gendered approach is needed to guide interventions in addressing the needs of children involved in prostitution and related activities. While the RA could not be conclusive, there appears to be almost a 70:30 ratio in favour of girls. Table 3 below provides an indication of the gender distribution in sex work.

Table 7: Gender Distribution

GENDER	TYPE OF SEXUAL EXPLOITATION
Females 70%:	Home and street prostitution; temp. live-in lovers; go go dancers; porn videos and photos; massage parlours; exotic sex with tourists
Males 30%	Male prostitution with men and with women; ‘Chapses’; security for girls in prostitution in tourist areas; entrepreneurs: linking between clients and girls in prostitution; pimps; migrant sex workers

Jamaica is a very homophobic society and boy involved in male prostitution and sex work are at risk of violence from individuals who abhor homosexuals and think they should be eradicated. The laws of Jamaica define homosexuality as a crime. This places male children at very high risk. The earnings from male homosexual prostitution appear higher than for females because of the cloak of secrecy required for its operation. The HIV/AIDS pandemic, evidence that earnings increase for children who provide unprotected sex and are involved in prostitution with bisexuals, suggests that radically new interventions are needed to address the worst forms of child labour.

3.7 Children's Voices/Children's Aspirations

Aspirations voiced during focus group discussions are reported below.

a) Children in Prostitution and Go-go Dancing

- "Go away to a foreign country."
- "Get a visa...marry a rich white man and go to live with him in foreign."
- "Own a night club and set myself up with my own girls."
- "Not sure... but I want to do something before I get too old."
- "Own a home and finish paying mortgage on my mother's house."
- "Come out (of the business) when I mek some money."
- "Get out (of the business) before my children or younger brothers and sisters find out what work I am doing."
- "Get regular customers so I can stop working on the street."

b) Street Children

- "I want help to go back to school."
- "I want help with uniform, shoes, school fee and lunch money to attend school regular."
- "Work for my (unemployed) parents."
- "I want somewhere better to live."
- "Street children need skill training."
- "Set up a place where street children can get a bath and regular food."
- "Organise some more talks on STD and HIV in the Park like first time."
- "Help children on drugs."
- "Get counselors to work with street children."
- "Help street children to find their family."
- "Give out contraceptive pill and condom and talk to children so they will see life different."
- "Teach children to read and write."

c) Children in Old Harbour

Aspirations of 12 street and working children interviewed in Old Harbour Bay were to become teachers (2); "a big-time fisherman (2); "hairstresser" (all 6 girls) and "police" (2).

d) Children in St. William Grant Park

Aspirations of 24 street and working children interviewed were: "DJ" (6); "Teacher" (1); "Soldier" (3); "Hairstresser" (4); "Rich housewife with criss car" (2); "Police" (4); "Not sure" (3) and "Dressmaker" (1).

A review of these responses showed that most children have specific aspirations of the kind of work they would like to do or changes they would like to see in their life. **Many children would like to go back to school to finish their education, get a skill and earn a living.** The reality is that many have been robbed of their basic right to an education. While the range of their career choices are restricted to a few professions, none expressed the view that their current involvement

in prostitution related activities would enable them to achieve their goals. Some were very concerned that their parents and guardians could not find jobs. Other children were skeptical about the advantages of education, as they knew of “girls with their (CXC) subjects, who were not working.”

In response to situations similar to those described above, a number of non-governmental organisations have established programmes to address some of these needs. Below is a list of some of these resource agencies that can become important partners in developing programmes to address the needs of children involved in prostitution-related activities.

3.8 Resource Agencies

Among the various organizations working specifically with or on behalf of street and working children are:

- The National Initiative for Street Children (Kingston & St Andrew)
- Children First (Spanish Town)
- Hope for Children Development Company (Kingston & St Andrew)
- Western Society for the Upliftment of Children (Montego Bay)
- Jamaica Coalition on the Rights of the Child (Kingston & St Andrew)
- Necessary Education Training Programme (NET) of the Kingston Restoration Company
- The Learning and Earning Activities Programme (LEAP).

In addition there are other resource agencies whose work positively impacts street and working children. These include the Jamaica Aids Support in Kingston and Montego Bay, the National Council on Drug Abuse and the Women’s Centre Foundation. The latter provides a very effective programme that enables teenage mothers to complete their education and provides parenting education training for both mothers and fathers of babies. The Caribbean Child Development Centre provides specialist research, training and policy support for Early Childhood Education. Stakeholder networks to eliminate child labour have already been established. Many of these agencies are hampered in their outreach work by the lack of secure funding to ensure their sustainability. Providing them with basic institutional support would enable them to work with children involved in prostitution-related activities to find alternatives and re-orient their lives.

It is therefore important to build awareness and place the concerns of these children on the agenda of the Jamaican public to get support and eliminate the worst forms of child labour. Strategic planning for the sector is also critical to avoid duplication of effort.

Government agencies in health, education, social services, security, tourism, poverty reduction and the environment are likely to be open to exploring ways of supporting children at risk to find alternatives. Among these agencies is the Child Support Unit of the Ministry of Health, which includes the office of the Ambassador for Children Ms Marjorie Taylor and Children’s Services, the Bureau of Women’s Affairs whose programme includes outreach to girls and the Jamaica Social Investment Fund. Several international agencies operating in Jamaica, support programmes for children and adolescents. Among these are UNICEF, UNFPA and the UNDP. Below is a brief overview of the work of some NGOs working with street and working children who could become partners in the campaign to eliminate the worst forms of child labour.

National Initiative for Street Children

This programme is based in Kingston and works with approximately 30 children in the New Kingston and Half-Way Tree areas. It is focused on building self-esteem, behaviour modification and attitudinal change. It is sponsored by private-sector groups and is housed at the YMCA in Kingston.

Children First

This NGO serves over 700 children who live or work on the streets in the Spanish Town area. They are between the ages of three and 18 years and most of them are male. The focus is on empowering children through participation, awareness of child rights and remedial education. Non-traditional methods are used which focus on culture, basic skills training, counseling, a school and homework assistance programme, recreational and sporting activities, life and survival skills training, environmental awareness and management, career guidance, youth advocacy training and child rights education. Parenting Empowerment Programmes have been established for over 102 parents and an active Parents Group provides a link between communities and the agency. An annual summer camp is held as part of the community outreach programme. Children First has been successful in rehabilitating some street and working children. Some of their graduates, on becoming adults, have been working full-time in similar organizations. Former graduates are on the staff of Children First and the Programme Officer at the National Initiative for Street Children.

Western Society for the Upliftment of Children

Like Children First, this Montego Bay-based agency was established by Save the Children (UK) in response to the large number of children dropping out of school or leaving home and living on the street. Like its sister agency Children First, 'Western Society' provides remedial education, skills training parenting education and programmes aimed at building children's self esteem and children's awareness of their rights and responsibilities.

Hope for Children Development Company (HCDC)

Hope for Children is a legally incorporated community based organization which was established in 1992 under the auspices of Save the Children Canada's community intervention programme. HCDC's focus is on promoting the rights of children in Jamaica. They work primarily with four inner city communities in South-West St. Andrew and with children who would be classified as being in 'especially difficult circumstances.' There are four programmes: community services focuses on building awareness on child health and child development; advocacy focuses on prevention of child abuse and child neglect as well as building awareness about the CRC; the education programme supports remedial education, education assistance to children in need, skill training, sports development and an after-school programme; and computer training has recently been introduced into the curriculum.

Jamaica Coalition on the Rights of the Child

The Jamaica Coalition on the Rights of the Child was formed in 1989 and is an umbrella organization whose members work directly with and on behalf of children. Their core activities are public education and advocacy, stimulating debate in different forms to secure the rights of children. The Coalition also works directly with children to educate them on their rights and provide them with opportunities to be heard. This is important as there is a widespread view that 'children should be seen and not heard.' Both the government and public frequently consult the Coalition in recognition of their expertise on the rights of children.

The Coalition played an important role in supporting Jamaica's ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and in providing a realistic assessment of the implementation of the

CRC in Jamaica's first report to the Geneva-based Committee on the Rights of the Child (UNICEF 2000). It also lobbies for reforms of policy, legislation and resource allocations and has done an analysis of the national budget from the perspective of children.

The Necessary Education Training Programme (NET)

The Kingston Restoration Company, an agency charged with the redevelopment and restoration of the inner-city areas of Downtown Kingston, established NET in 1998 as part of this process. The programme aims to reduce the number of children on the streets and those who are not attending school because of financial constraints or lack of parental guidance. In 1999, approximately 125 children were registered in the programme, of which 75 were new and 50 were returning students. Four students were reintegrated into the formal school system, and two were trained in bindery and placed in jobs in the Jamaica Library Services (ESSJ 1999:24.8).

The Learning and Earning Activities Programme (LEAP)

LEAP is funded by the HEART Trust /NTA (Human Employment and Resource Training Programme/National Training Agency) and provides opportunities for children on the streets to learn a skill in a two-year programme. In 1997 there were 173 young people between the ages of 10-17 years benefiting from LEAP.

These are some of the agencies that can be used as channels for addressing the problem of children involved in prostitution-related activities.

Responses to Williams' Questions

Williams (1999) had raised a number of questions mentioned earlier in this report. An attempt is therefore made to address these questions from the findings of this RA study. Williams' questions were:

- Do the Jamaican public not see commercial sexual exploitation of children as a problem?
- Are the Jamaican public inured to the incidence of commercial and sexual exploitation of children and therefore not reporting it?
- Is the Jamaican public aware of it and concerned about it but see no point in taking it to the police or are they inhibited from doing so or scared because of the likely response?
- Do the police receive reports but not record them? Are there no reports because the problem does not exist? (Williams 1999).

Findings from the RA suggest that the situation is complex. Some Jamaicans do not see sexual exploitation of children as a problem because they are unaware of its existence. Though sex work (especially prostitution) is common in Jamaica, the existence of strong social taboos against it may contribute to social denial that children could be involved in related activities. *In other words, to acknowledge that there is a problem would mean that Jamaicans would first of all have to accept that sex work is an industry and that children are involved.* Many people interviewed expressed shock on learning that children were involved in prostitution and related activities. In probing below the surface however, they were able to recognize various sexual activities that involved children. For example, in some tourist areas, there were under-age beach boys, 'rent a dreads' and tour guides engaged in sex, but these were not immediately recognized as male children in prostitution.

Some Jamaicans are unaware of the problem because they do not regard children as citizens with individual rights, but instead, as the personal property of parents to be used as they see fit. Ascribed gender roles and the perception that the start of menstruation signals the onset of

womanhood is also a factor. This status is one of an adult and carries various roles and responsibilities. Some mothers clearly endorsed and encouraged their girls to become involved in sexual activities to ensure that the child contributed to the household or her education. In such a context, they may not see such activities as exploitation, but as a necessary condition for economic survival and educational advancement. ***The experience of conducting this research further suggests that some Jamaicans may know of individual cases but regard these as isolated rather than being common.***

The research showed that some club operators are aware that children should not be employed and recognized that violation of these laws could result in 'prison wuk' (prison work). Others turned a blind eye or tried to protect themselves by saying that they did not ask for birth certificates ('dem age paper') when employing go-go dancers. In so doing they were placing the responsibility on the children. Rather than viewing their actions as exploiting children, these adults interviewed saw this as helping children to get what they want and to have a better standard of living and felt their actions were justified.

Inadequate law enforcement was in part related to resource limitations and poor police community relations. Few people appeared willing to report cases of sexual exploitation to the police because relations between the police and residents in some communities are strained. Police reported that they receive few reports of such incidents in conducting their routine duties, they sometimes encounter children who are involved in prostitution and related activities. Negril Police shared their frustration of remanding a juvenile for prostitution and not having adequate resources for follow-up. There was also the likelihood that the child would again escape from the children's home, which effectively undermines their ability to enforce the law.

Public awareness of the appropriate channels for reporting is also a constraint. In addition the public is increasingly unwilling to report matters that may require them to go to court or to give evidence, because they fear being branded as an 'informer.' In some communities this is a death sentence. Within the Health sector, there is no mandatory reporting. This and the other factors mentioned contribute to complacency, acceptance and non-reporting.

PART 4

RECOMMENDATIONS

4. Recommendations

This section of the report presents recommendations for policy development, programme interventions as well as for improving the RA research methodology.

Recommendations for Policy and Programme Development

Ratify Conventions 182 and 138

The findings and recommendations of this study suggest the urgent need for the Government to take all necessary steps to ratify Convention 182 and Recommendation 190 as well as Convention 138 as a matter of urgency.

Establish National Machinery & Plan of Action (POA)

- Establish a National Machinery on Child Labour in collaboration with the ILO/IPEC programme to implement a POA.
- Ensure that children representing this target group are full members of this body and are fully involved in decision-making about interventions to address and eliminate the worst forms of child labour identified in this RA study and other related studies such as the ILO sector studies completed in 2001 and the CCDC study.
- Ensure that the NM supports the ILO/UNICEF consultation process that has been on-going.
- Ensure that interventions target the special needs of the girl child as girls are more at-risk because they are disproportionately represented among the group of children involved in prostitution.

The Terms of Reference of the National Machinery should include:

- Prevention and eradication of the worst forms of child labour;
- Promotion of inter-institutional collaboration between itself and resource agencies; and
- Monitoring, evaluation and providing progress reports.

Membership of the National Machinery should include representatives of:

- Children involved in prostitution and related activities;
- Government agencies;
- Non governmental organizations working with street and working children;
- Trade unions;
- Private sector groups; and
- International development agencies.

The National Machinery should seek collaboration with:

- The Ministry of Labour, The Ministry of Tourism, Sports and Entertainment, The Bureau of Women's Affairs whose mandate includes a focus on women and the girl child;
- The Ministry of Health/Child Support Unit, responsible for child health issues, the HIV/AIDS Programme and Jamaica AIDS Support;
- The National Poverty Eradication Programme;
- The Human Resource Employment and Training Programme and the National Training Agency (HEART/NTA);
- Jamaica Movement for the Advancement of Literacy (JAMAL);

- The Statistical Institute of Jamaica (STATIN); and
- The Jamaica Constabulary Force (Police).

Draft Statement of Principle

Ensure that the work of the National Machinery is guided by a Statement of Principle as proposed by participants who attended the verification workshop for this study. Preliminary thoughts are that such a statement should be guided by Convention 182, Recommendation 190, the CRC, CEDAW, Jamaican laws and the Recommendations of the UNFPA 1998 Caribbean Youth Summit.

Programme Interventions:

Consultations

The National Machinery together with ILO/IPEC should organize a series of workshops and consultations with key stakeholders to develop a Plan of Action. Organize consultations with:

- *Children involved in prostitution and related activities to share the findings and recommendations of this and subsequent ILO/IPEC studies to get feedback on priority interventions needed. Interventions should NOT be developed without their participation.*
- Other key stakeholder groups to share the findings, recommendations and feedback from the consultations with the children, to develop policies and programmes. Representatives of the children at risk should also be invited to participate in these consultations.

Plan of Action

Develop a Plan of Action to implement priorities determined by children involved in prostitution and related activities. This may include:

- Back to school programmes that would provide financial support to complete their education, and equip them with skills for employment;
- Alternatives to prostitution as a means of generating income;
- Employment programmes for parents and guardians
- Mentoring, self-development and self-esteem;
- Parenting education programmes targeted at families of children at risk;
- Preventive and reproductive health programmes; and
- Child rights advocacy to strengthen children's awareness of their rights.

Public Education

- Use the findings and recommendations to develop a public education programme that will inform, educate and mobilize the general public for action.
- As proposed by Convention 182, Recommendation 190 section 15, develop an information and sensitization public education training for national and local political leaders, parliamentarians and the judiciary.
- Include a focus on the CRC and CEDAW in all public education programmes to link the rights of children, girls and women with the special circumstances of children in prostitution. Also include the recommendations of the 1998 UNFPA-sponsored Caribbean Youth Summit on reproductive health and parenting education.
- Ensure that the public education programme does not sensationalize the issues, but focuses on building public awareness to identify and eliminate children's involvement in prostitution and related activities.

- Target some public education programmes at workers, employers, and civic organisations, as well as public sector workers in Ministries such as Health, Education, Transport, Social Services and Tourism;
- Strengthen partnerships with the National Literacy Programme, JAMAL and the HEART/NTA Programme and ask them to target adolescents at risk.
- Sensitize these institutions to detect children's involvement in sexual activities for gain and clarify their role in eradicating this form of child labour.
- ***Develop special sensitization and education programmes targeted at owners and operators of businesses that provide adult entertainment, such as clubs, massage parlours and brothels.***
- Ensure that the National Machinery collects and exchanges information with related institutions at national and international levels, consistent with Section 11 of C 182.

Legal Reform

- Use the findings of the study to review and strengthen the legal framework, to protect children at risk.
- Review the ***Draft Child Care and Protection Bill 1999 against the background*** of the findings of this study and propose changes to strengthen the legislation. Consistent with Section 12 and 13, the laws should ensure that the involvement of children in all forms of sex work is considered a criminal offence that attracts criminal penalties.
- Compile sex disaggregated data from the Courts and Police annually to analyse trends. This is consistent with Section 5 (3) on 'relevant data' concerning violations of national laws to prevent the involvement of children in prostitution. Also take into account the importance of privacy as per Recommendation 190 Section 6.
- ***Establish a Registry to collect court and police records*** to improve monitoring and to ensure consistency with Recommendation 190.

Monitoring and Enforcement

- Improve monitoring and enforcement of existing laws by the relevant institutions and provide them with the necessary sensitivity training and resources to do this effectively.
- ***Train all Labour Officers in the Ministry of Labour*** as proposed in Convention 182 and equip them to monitor the operations of go-go clubs, massage parlours and other forms of adult entertainment effectively, to ensure that children are not employed in them.
- Share the research findings with ***Ministry of Health personnel*** and encourage them to continue their effective health education and outreach programmes targeted at adult entertainment workers to promote health education and reduce the risk of infections.
- Explore collaboration with adult women employed as go-go dancers in various clubs to monitor new girls recruited to eliminate children working these establishments.
- Strengthen partnerships with the Child Support Unit in the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Education, the Jamaica Confederation of Trade Unions, the Jamaica Employers' Federation, the Private Sector Organization, other relevant government institutions and NGOs, to implement appropriate interventions. Such action is consistent with Recommendation 190 Section 8 of C 182.
- Encourage partner agencies to coordinate their activities to maximize their impact as per Section 9.
- Ensure that the national machinery or other competent authority responsible for implementing national programmes to eliminate children in prostitution are held responsible in the event of non-compliance as outlined in Section 10 and 11 of Recommendation 190. This authority

should also cooperate with international efforts and programmes to eliminate children in prostitution.

- Ensure that the affected children are involved and that the ILO/IPEC Programme in Jamaica is central to and kept informed of all initiatives. Ensure that, consistent with Section 11, the NM gathers and exchanges information about children in prostitution with international networks. This body would detect and seek to have persons prosecuted if they are found to be involved in the sale, trafficking, use and procurement or offering of children for prostitution and any related activity.
- Ensure that all persons who involve children in pornographic performances such as go-go dancing are pursued and prosecuted and that businesses that employ children in sexually related activities are prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

Special Programmes for Children

- *Establish community-based ‘drop-in’ centres for children* to give them access to information on STDs/HIV/AIDS prevention and other relevant data.
- Encourage motivational and mentoring programmes such as Youth Opportunities Unlimited (YOU) (and others) to work with children involved in prostitution, to build self-esteem.
- Organize education programmes to encourage children at risk to practice healthy lifestyles, continue their education, and to build coping skills for life.
- Share research findings with school counseling programmes through the Association of Guidance Counselors to sensitize them to the issues emerging and garner their support to eradicate one of the worst forms of child labour.

Networking

- The National Programme should adopt a multi-sectoral approach aimed at eliminating the involvement of children engaged in sex-related activities for gain.
- Expand parenting education and health education programmes for adolescents.
- Share research findings with institutions involved in the national poverty eradication programme to encourage better targeting of their interventions.
- Strengthen partnerships with the Jamaica Social Investment Fund, the Planning Institute and the Social Development Commission, the Kingston Restoration Company, churches and other stakeholders in the poverty-reduction programme.
- Target special employment initiatives at people in poor communities where possible (e.g. the Ministry of Industry and Commerce’s new initiative to provide 40, 000 Information Technology jobs).
- Share the findings with the Ministry of Tourism and Sports, the Jamaica Tourist Board and the Tourism Product Development Company (TPDCO) and encourage them to develop appropriate interventions to eliminate the involvement of children in prostitution in the tourist sector.

Institutional Support for NGOs/CBOs

- Strengthen partnerships with NGOs and CBOs working with street and working children to rehabilitate and provide alternatives for children engaged in prostitution and related activities. Some are already involved in remedial and other programmes that teach children their rights and responsibilities (e.g. remedial education, skill training and employment).
- Encourage the government to provide institutional support for NGOs and CBOs to increase the scope and effectiveness of their work with children at risk.

Research and Data Collection

- Establish a centralized data collection system to compile statistical and qualitative data on children at risk. This would ensure compliance with Recommendation 190 section 5 (1).
- Ensure that, consistent with C 182 Recommendation 190, Section 5 (2), information and statistical data are disaggregated by sex, age group, occupation, branch of economic activity, status of employment, school attendance and geographical location.
Encourage special collaboration between the Ministries of Health and Education as this database can help to guide the development of policies and programmes.
- Continue collaboration with the Caribbean Child Development Centre and the Centre for Gender and Development Studies at the University of the West Indies to garner their support in conducting future research.
- Commission research on children who are disabled, who are in agriculture, construction, mining and industry and who live in middle and upper class communities.
- Conduct research on children's involvement in prostitution related to workers in the transportation sector (taxi drivers, bus conductors, bus drivers).
- Conduct research on children in prostitution and drug trafficking and in doing so seek collaboration with immigration officers, staff of the Jamaican High Commissions in the UK, USA, Canada and Germany, to determine how many boys and girls migrate with tourists or are involved in drug trafficking.

Rapid Assessment Methodology

This final section of the report provides feedback on the use of the RA methodology to investigate children engaged in prostitution. Persons intending to do research in this field are likely to encounter a conceptual hurdle, and are likely to unearth more information by using the alternate concept of 'children involved in prostitution and related activities.' Perhaps the biggest challenge is to identify children at risk. Prostitution is commonly seen as an activity on the street and people are likely to say children are not involved, but probing with more familiar concepts such as 'sugar daddies' are likely to open up the discussion and make the lives of these children more visible. As sexuality and homosexuality are still considered taboo subjects in Jamaica, researchers will have to break through several barriers and prejudices associated with sexuality. Similarly, negative attitudes to prostitutes and prostitution despite the existence of traditional and new forms are also barriers.

Researchers should use a variety of RA methods, taking account of cost and time. Access and entry to key informants are critical for success. Researchers have to be self-confident, credible, and trustworthy to be effective. They will need to use creative techniques to facilitate the data collection process.

Key informants play a critical role in contacting children and these may be taxi operators, community development and health workers, journalists, security guards at hotels, agencies working with street children, community based organisations, as well as children involved in prostitution and related activities, as well as their families and friends.

Try to verify the age of interviewees using more than one approach. Age verification is difficult, as some children use heavy makeup and clothing to appear older. In Jamaica, the use of 'chicken pills' has made some girls develop early and many appear older than their real age.

Researchers should note that security risks are associated with data collection in this lucrative sector, especially as most activities take place at night. Researchers should work in pairs where

possible and budget for increased costs associated with conducting research at night (e.g. higher transportation costs). Taxi drivers who provide access to known 'night spots' will expect to be compensated and researchers should be prepared to negotiate. Research budgets also need to factor in the need to visit locations over time to determine trends rather than on a one-off basis. One cost-effective approach may be to use trained researchers from a range of communities and ask them to do observations in their own area. Budgets must also include funds to pay the cover charge or entry fee to go-go clubs as well as a budget for food and drinks. This is important as the children are often hungry and are more likely to talk if there is money, food and drink available.

Recording of data is critical and where possible researchers should avoid using notebooks when first making contact. Permission should be sought to tape interviews and discussions. Reports of observations should be completed as soon as possible after the event, as delays can result in lost and inaccurate information. To reduce or avoid suspicion, the dress and behaviour of researchers should 'blend in' to dress code of locations being visited such as go-go clubs.

Data analysis and the tabulation of results from both quantitative and qualitative research have to be done carefully, extracting and cross-checking data several times. Presenting the findings in a responsible way that provides details of children's experiences but does not sensationalize and trivialize the information is very important and is also very time consuming. Report writers need to take into account the various audiences who will read it, which may include both specialists and generalists. The language should therefore be simple and easily understood rather than complex. The level of graphic detail should be balanced, taking account of the cultural and social attitudes and values of the majority of the readers. Great care should be taken in not publicizing the names of actual venues where children have been observed in prostitution-related activities because of the security risks to which they can be exposed and the legal ramifications.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Terms, Definitions and Key Concepts

A Child

Under Jamaican law, the definition of a child varies between 16 and 21 years. For the purpose of this study, however, a child is regarded as a male or female person, under 18 years.

Prostitute and Prostitution

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990) describes a prostitute as a woman who engages in sexual activity for money. A male prostitute is described as a man or boy who engages in sexual activity especially with homosexual men for payment. Prostitution is then, defined as the misuse of one's talents and skills etc. for money (or) offering oneself for unworthy ends especially for money.

Child Prostitutes/Children Involved in Prostitution

The term 'child prostitute' is used in Jamaica to refer to a girl or boy under 18 years who engages in sexual activity in exchange for money, material goods, protection, social status, affection or access to persons perceived to have power and influence. It also includes children involved in sexual relationships with adults in exchange for money and family support within the context of their home, on the street and in private business places.

In compliance with ILO/IPEC requirements, the term 'child prostitute' has been modified where possible and replaced by the term 'children involved in prostitution and related activities.'

Sex Workers

The term 'sex workers' has become widely used across the globe to define men and women who were formerly referred to as 'prostitutes.' Over time, these persons have organized themselves around the world demanding acknowledgement of their occupation as a category of work, and have also indicated their preference to be called 'sex workers' rather than prostitutes. In response, researchers and some governments have used the term accordingly.

However, the 1st World Congress on Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (1996) recommended that care must be taken in the use of terminology in discussion and documentation on sexual abuse and exploitation of children. Contrary to the above, a second school of thought believes the terms 'child prostitutes,' 'child prostitution' and 'child sex worker' should be avoided since they obscure the fact that in almost all societies, children and adolescents trapped in commercial sex have not exercised free choice but have been forced into it by circumstances or persons. As a result, the term 'children involved in prostitution and related activities' has been used in this report instead of 'child sex workers.'

Children in Prostitution as Forced Labour

Research findings from Jamaica did not support the view that ALL children involved in prostitution or related activities were forced to do so. In several instances, children of their own free will, opted to engage in these activities because they wanted to have a more sophisticated lifestyle than that afforded them by their parents or guardians. As such their involvement was not considered 'forced labour' although they were 'exploited' in many ways. Their value system was sufficiently distorted to make them justify their involvement in sexual activities for gain.

Sexual Activity: This includes all forms of sexual relations (oral, anal, vaginal, verbal, sensual massage, straight sex, and what the children described as ‘kinky’ and ‘all inclusive’ sex as well as pornography).

Street Children/Street and Working Children

The terms ‘street children’ and ‘street and working children’ are widely used in Jamaica and are included in the mandate and Mission Statement of some well-respected child advocacy agencies. These terms are used to describe children in four sub-groups:

- a) children who work in the street;
- b) children who live on the street;
- c) children who are on the street but live at home; and
- d) potential street children who spend a lot of time on the street in game shops, at bus stops, food courts and generally linger on the street.

To comply with the terminology in place for the project of which this study is a part of, however, the draft text of this manuscript was edited to minimize references to ‘street children’ or ‘street and working children.’ Instead, the term ‘children working on the street’ has been used in order to emphasize the investigation’s focus on assessing the work situation of the children.

Appendix 2: Detailed Terms of Reference

Research Coordinator: Dr. Leith Dunn

- ❑ Review secondary literature dealing with the social situation of children and their families, incidents of child labour and educational attainment in Jamaica;
- ❑ Analyze relevant policy documents and the existing legal framework, while incorporating socio-economic data on the key locations in the analysis;
- ❑ Organize focus group meetings, undertake targeted observations and conduct semi-structured interviews in selected key locations;
- ❑ Collect new qualitative and quantitative data in selected areas of Kingston, Portmore, Spanish Town, Savannah-la-Mar, Negril and Montego Bay that should be based on information from group discussions with children involved in prostitution or related economic activities;
- ❑ Compile and analyze the data and include a) assessments provided by key informants, b) information by and about families or guardians of children engaged in prostitution, c) the analysis of existing primary data bases, d) other case studies and e) interviews with representatives of institutions dealing with children involved in or at risk of entering prostitution;
- ❑ Prepare and submit draft report by the first week of July;
- ❑ Finalize and submit report by the end of July that includes a) data base in electronic format, b) a detailed description of findings and the research methodology used, and c) recommendations for policy development and improvements in the research methodology;
- ❑ Present findings at an ILO workshop.

Caribbean Centre for Child Development (CCDC)

Research Assistance: Sian Williams

- ❑ Assist in the overall coordination of research activities to be undertaken within the context of the Rapid Assessment, especially the collection of data and its tabulation;
- ❑ Provide assistance in the training and recruitment of local researchers and other interview partners, as well as in the identification of key informants;
- ❑ Consult with relevant governmental and non-governmental organisations as well as facilitate their interaction for the purpose of the research;
- ❑ Coordinate workplan elements and design interview guideline (questionnaire) for focus group discussions and data collection;
- ❑ Organize focus group meetings, undertake targeted observations and assist in conducting semi-structured interviews in selected key locations;
- ❑ Oversee data collection, data entry/transcript of interviews and the organisation of consultative meetings etc.;
- ❑ Supply stationery, photocopies and other administrative services as necessary;
- ❑ Cover all expenses in connection with the recruitment, transport and training of research assistants.

Appendix 3: Research Instruments

HANDOUT #1: LIST FOR INTERVIEWS WITH KEY INFORMANTS

Children in prostitution	
Parents/guardians of children in prostitution	
Bus conductors /drivers	(sample from each location)
Owners of Go Go Clubs	
Patrons of Go Go Clubs	
hotel owners/staff	
brothel clients/owners	
Children's services/officers	(sample from each parish)
Police	(1 from each of 6 sample parishes and Police Rape Unit Coordinator-HQ)
Schools: Guidance Counselors	(1 in each parish)
SDC Officers/Social Workers	(1 from each parish)
Health Personnel	(Health clinics: General; HIV/AIDS; Family Planning; Hospital)
Others	

HANDOUT # 2: DATA COLLECTION GUIDE

Below are some guidelines on the kind of information needed for the report. The notes of each researcher should reflect these areas as far as possible.

Name of Researcher:

Date of Observation or interview

Background information:

Parish

Location and geographic areas studied

Physical description of workplaces (e.g brothel, go-go club, street) (**paint a picture**)

Information on Children involved in Prostitution and other Sexual Activities:

- First Name : (**use fictitious name**)
- Sex
- Age
- Education level
- Descriptions of the occupation/Occupation: (type of sexual activity)
- Physical appearance of children
- Estimate of their numbers
- Roles played by the children
- Health information: Common types of illnesses including HIV/AIDS
- Remuneration received:
 - Income from this kind of work
- Average earnings and sources of these earnings
- Funds given or sent to parents/family?
- Leisure hours
- Living conditions
- Contact with family: do they maintain contact with the family?

- Contact with school/training institution: currently attending school, finished school (age?); number of years of schooling?
- Institutions they have contact with (e.g. health, police, ANY)

Life History

- Any history of exposure to violence? (physical, emotional, verbal, sexual abuse, rape, incest, other form of abuse?)

Initiation into Sex Work/prostitution

- Main factors motivating children to enter into sex work
- Initiation into prostitution (incest, rape, encouragement, other). How did they first get involved?
- Inter-generational issues (were parents/older relatives in the business?)
- Support networks of children involved in prostitution- do they have support networks?
- Roles of children involved in sexual activities (actors? Initiators? Negotiators?)
- Trends observed.

Lifestyle issues of children involved in prostitution and related activities:

- Treatment by clients (respectful, inconsiderate, cruel, other).
- What are the conditions like?
- Income sexual activities.
- Working hours/ Average working day (# hours).
- Encounters and pick-ups – level of power and control.
- Are they able to negotiate with clients, club owners etc?
- What risks are they exposed to?
- Do they operate on their own or with a pimp?
- If yes, what is the relationship with person.

Other

- Life Goals
- Personal aspirations for the future
- Physical and psychological consequences on children.

HANDOUT # 3 GUIDELINES FOR OBSERVATIONS

Type of Locations

- Go Go clubs (compile list of possible locations to visit at workshop)
- Brothels
- Children's Homes
- Communities
- Streets
- Buses/Bus stops
- School gates
- Brothels
- Parks
- St William Grant
- Mandela
- National Heroes
- Others
- Malls

Please check the following:

- How does the sector operate?

- What type of people /clients exploit children sexually ?
- Distinguishing characteristics (e.g. flashy cars, dress, male/female, other)
- Seasonality of prostitution: Is this prostitution seasonal or cyclical? (e.g. Spring Break, special events, month-end, weekends only.
- Estimated numbers of children involved in prostitution observed in a location

Children involved in sexual activities for gain

- Estimated age of children
- Sex of children
- Socio-economic status

Forms/types of commercial sex work:

- prostitution sex on the streets, brothels, other and age, sex of clients vs workers)
- pornography
- acts in clubs
- videos
- literature
- telephone sex
- massage
- sex with locals
- sex with tourists
- lesbians
- homosexuals
- bisexual

Range of Focus Groups

1. Children involved in prostitution and related activities- 6 groups x 4 (minimum) (one per parish)
2. Child rights agencies/social workers 1 (Coalition on the Rights of the Child)