

SEX TOURISM IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC AND OTHER DEVELOPING
COUNTRIES: A STUDY OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC
AND SOCIAL DETERMINANTS

by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Sex Tourism in the Dominican Republic and Other Developing Countries: A Study of Political, Economic, and Social Determinants

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Dr. Gregg G. Van Ryzin

Over the past half-century, the process globalization has contributed to an increase in tourist travel from developed countries to less developed countries, with an increased dependency on this revenue. An understudied and unintended consequence of increased tourism is the phenomenon of sex tourism, travel whose purpose is seeking sexual activity. Sex tourism may cause a number of unintended consequences such as an increase in venereal diseases, child prostitution, crime, drug use and an increase of “underground” revenue. Sex tourism can also contribute to overall economic development through the subsidization of tourist-related industries and can be a source of income for unemployed women. Not surprisingly, a country’s reputation as a destination for sex tourist can aid its competitive advantage against other countries.

Sex tourism has often been linked to sex trafficking; the coercion and exploitation of women and children. While literature exists on trafficking, very little is known about sex tourism per se. This research aims to understand the political, economic and social factors associated with sex tourism in the Dominican Republic and other developing countries. To address these questions, this study will include a series of qualitative interviews with citizens and experts involved in addressing the problem of sex tourism in the Dominican Republic. This study also includes a broader statistical analysis of secondary data on sex tourism in developing countries around the world, which aimed at identifying the main political, economic and social determinants. Findings from both the qualitative and quantitative arms of this research will shed light on this important social problem and can help governments, nongovernmental organizations and law enforcement agencies formulate policies and legislation to address the issue. Findings from this study can also be used to create better economic opportunities and options for women in the Dominican Republic and other developing countries.

To my children, Nicholas Justin & Alexis Melanie, you are the reason I strive to be a better person.....mom te quiere mucho.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Globalization has contributed to an increase in travel from developed to less developed countries (Wonders and Michalowski, 2001, Clancy, 2002; Cabezas, 2004; 2008). In the last couple of decades, through encouragement from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, tourism has been used by developing countries as an alternative economic strategy (Kempadoo, 2003; Babb, 2010; Cabezas, 2008; 2011). Governments believe neoliberal globalization¹ is the best means of encouraging more economic productivity while also bringing prosperity to a country (Benn and Hall, 2000). Tourism is used as a mechanism to attract direct foreign investment and currency into a country (Harrison, 1992; Clancy, 2002). Tourism evokes different emotions within a country “whereby some locals express their disenchantment and others their appreciation” (Hume, 2011, p. 155).

In particular, Latin American and Caribbean countries benefit from tourism as a result of the “opening up of new markets [...] the creation of employment” (Wilson and Ypeij, 2012, p. 6), and an increase in foreign development and income (Babb, 2010; Wilson and Ypeij, 2012). Tourism does not only impact a country economically but according to Wilson & Ypeji (2012) it also creates “profound economic, cultural, political, and social changes” within a country (p. 9). The tourism industry has grown to become the principal industry that sustains many Caribbean and developing countries,

¹ Clancy (2002) states “the globalization hypothesis, [is] borders between nations have become permeable, with the results being a world that has become smaller, more closely knit, and more economically independent” (p. 65).

such as the Dominican Republic which results in a dependency on this industry (Harrison, 1992; Clancy, 2002; Kempadoo, 2003). Thus, to remain economically viable, governments must try to protect their share of the global market and ensure there is a continued influx of tourists.

In *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases*, Cynthia Enloe (1989), the author argues that governments have become dependent on the tourism industry in five ways: First, tourism is viewed as a means of diversifying reliance on just one economy. Second, it creates an influx of foreign currency constantly circulating within a country (Enloe, 1989). Third, it increases the “social development” of a country through interaction with foreign travelers (Enloe, 1989, p. 40). Fourth, political entities use tourism to “secure the political loyalty of local elites” (Enloe, 1989, p. 40). Fifth, tourism adds to the economic and social positioning of the country (Enloe, 1989). Unfortunately, the opportunities and financial gains brought about by corporate and government investment in tourism is not equally shared by all constituents in developing countries.

Women in many less developed countries rely on the sexual commerce industry as a means of economic survival and social mobility. As a result, women migrate to tourist areas to participate in the sex tourism industry to balance the economic disparity created by neoliberal globalization. The selling of sex continues to be used by women in countries with limited opportunities for them, to attain economic independence and advancement.

Few studies exist on sex tourism. Interestingly enough, these studies give the views of participants-the sex worker and sex tourist-and are qualitative and focus on the commercial exchanges that occur between the two (Brennan, 2001; Cabezas, 2004). In an

effort to fill a void in current literature, the purpose of this research is two-fold. The first part describes the social, political, and economic factors associated with sex tourism in the Dominican Republic. The second part describes how local government, non-governmental participants and stakeholders interpret and respond to this problem in the Dominican Republic. My overall objective for the second part is to address and understand, what do these agents perceive as the causes, consequences and solutions if any to these problems? In order to address the methodological gap that exists in previous research, this dissertation examines sex tourism by using various data sources and analysis to merge the findings through the use of triangulation.

The Dominican Republic makes a good case study because, despite a stabilized economy during the last 20 years, the country is still suffering from high unemployment rates, large disparities among the rich and the poor, increase gender inequality, large amount of government debt, and lack of investment in education and health. In addition, at least 40 percent of its population lives below the national poverty line (World Bank, 2014). These inequalities, lack of opportunities and social programs results in women creating economic means for themselves.

In the Dominican Republic the exchange of money for sex by a person over the age of 18 is not an illegal activity in the Dominican Republic (Cabezas, 2004)². Sexual commerce is prevalent in the coastlines tourist areas of the Dominican Republic. Sexual

² “the laws that address prostitution include Articles 334, 334-1, and 335 of the penal code [...] These articles seek to punish those who benefit from the earning of sex workers and who facilitate the practice of prostitution. Although the intent is to prosecute international trafficking, the laws also penalize the families of sex workers who live off the prostitution and the female relatives who commonly facilitate sex workers’ entry into the sex trade” (Cabezas, 2004, p. 1003)

commerce operates within the legal entertainment industry and consists of strip clubs, brothels, bars, and night clubs (Kerrigan et. al, 2004). There are women in the Dominican Republic that are highly dependent on the tourism industry as a main source of economic income and opportunity. In order to understand the political, economic and social reasons women enter the sex tourism industry in the Dominican Republic, the qualitative portion of this study was conducted in various parts of the island with the intent of providing a complete understanding of the factors associated with sex tourism in the Dominican Republic. Specifically, the field work research was performed in Puerto Plata, Santiago, and Santo Domingo.

Figure 1.1 Map of the Dominican Republic



Source adopted from Dominican Republic: Global Health Initiative Strategy.

Location, Geography and Population

Figure 1.1 is a map of the Dominican Republic. The Dominican Republic occupies 48,670 square kilometers, making up the eastern two thirds of the island of Hispaniola, with the country of Haiti comprising the western third of the island (CIA World Factbook, 2013-14). "It is the only Caribbean island divided between two nations, Haiti and the Dominican Republic" (Moya Pons, 1995, p. 13). The population is estimated at 11 million people, it is estimated that 1.2 million are illegal undocumented Haitians or of Haitian origin. Population density is estimated at 215.31 persons per square kilometer in comparison to its neighbor Cuba at 105.84 (World Bank, 2015). The island of Hispaniola is the 2nd largest Caribbean country. It sits more or less in the center of the Caribbean Islands with Turks and Caicos and the Bahamas to the North, Cuba and Jamaica to the west, Puerto Rico and the Leeward Islands to the east, and South America to the south. The north coast gives way to the Atlantic Ocean and the south coast gives way to the Caribbean Sea (CIA World Factbook, 2013-14). The Dominican Republic's climate is typically tropical maritime, average temperature is 77°F, there are slight variations during the winter months (CIA World Factbook, 2014). The great weather and location make it a mass tourist location for Americans and Europeans.

Socio-Cultural Situation

There exists racial and ethnic tension between the Haitian and Dominican population. Haitians or Haitian descendants account for the majority of the poorest people on the island. In addition, dark skinned Dominicans face discrimination and lack

of opportunities compared to their lighter skinned counterparts (Haggerty, 1989). The government of the Dominican Republic in recent years has enforced citizenship legislation which prohibits the hiring of illegal immigrants by businesses (Downs, 2015). This further deepens the deprivation experienced by women especially Haitian women seeking economic relief from the traditional employment sector.

Ethnicity

The ethnic composition of the population is 73 percent mixed or commonly called mulatto³, 16 percent white and 11 percent black (CIA World Factbook, 2014). The Dominican people are a combination of Taino Indians, Europeans from Spain, and Africans (Haggerty, 1989). Dobal (2007) on the other hand states that Dominicans “are mixed people of Spanish and African Descent with a drop of indigenous blood as a distinguishing feature of their race” (Dobal, 2007, p. 37). While the percentage of their ancestry's influence might differ slightly between researchers “Dominicans traditionally prefer to think of themselves as descendants of the island’s Indians and the Spanish, ignoring their African heritage” (Haggerty, 1989, p. 71). This might be due to the perception that “[i]n general, skin color determines placement in the social hierarchy: lighter skin is associated with higher social and economic status. European immigrants and their offspring find more ready acceptance at the upper reaches of society than to do darker-skinned Dominicans” (Haggerty, 1989, p. 57).

Migration

³ *Mulatto is a person of mixed ancestry. In the Dominican Republic a person that is mulatto is the result of African and European decedents.*

Internal and external migration is very common for Dominican society (Castro and Boswell, 2002; Brennan, 2004). Dominicans internally migrate to other parts of the country to find employment and better opportunities. A person that migrates to another area is more likely to attain a higher income and is able to increase their employment possibilities (Haggerty, 1989). In addition, there are many Dominicans' that migrate internationally, primarily to New York City (Haggerty, 1989).

Socio-Economic Perspective

The Dominican Republic has the largest economy in the Caribbean and Central American region (World Bank, 2015). The Dominican Republic is considered an upper middle income country. They shares this category with 45 other countries like Brazil, Cuba, Jamaica, St. Lucia, and South Africa (World Bank, 2015). The Dominican Republic has had moderate growth throughout the years since the introduction of tourism to its economy in the 1960's. Tourism and other industries were introduced in order to diversify their economy (Haggerty, 1989). As a result, GDP has risen from 23 trillion in 2000 to 61 trillion in 2013 (World Bank, 2015). GDP per capita has risen from 2,769.88 in 2000 to 5,879 in 2013 (World Bank, 2015). According to 2013 figures from the World Bank (2015), this growth is concentrated primarily in the service sector. The service sector accounts for 64.9% of GDP, tourism is the main contributor of employment accounting for 176,500 jobs directly being supported by the tourism industries and 590,500 jobs indirectly supported (World FactBook, 2014; World Travel and Tourism Council, 2014). Leisure spending by tourist accounts for US \$281 billion dollars (World

Travel and Tourism Council, 2014). The primary employees of the service sector are females which contribute to 88 percent of the working force (World Bank, 2015).

The composition of the employed sector consists of 15 percent in agriculture, 18 percent in industry, and 68 percent in the service industry (World Bank, 2015). The economy of the Dominican Republic turned negative in 2003 due to corruption and a reduction in tourism. However, in 2004-2006, the country stabilized and has grown at decent rates. The growth experienced in the country is not shared by all, resulting in a large degree of inequality and high unemployment rates within the population. According to the World Bank (2015) estimates for 2012 reveal that the top 20 percent of the population earns 51.6 percent of the country's total earnings and the bottom 20 percent of the population earns only 5 percent of these earnings. Additional estimates from the World Bank (2015) state there are 4.2 million people living in poverty in the Dominican Republic, this number has grown considerably since 2000 at which point it was estimated that 2.8 million people were living in poverty (World Bank, 2015). Thus, the poverty headcount is estimated at 41.3 percent of the population (World Bank, 2015). One can only assume that a high unemployment rate contributes to the increase in the poverty headcount. The unemployment rate for the Dominican Republic remained constant in the last couple of years (World Bank, 2015). Despite the increase in GDP, the unemployment rate in 2013 was 14.9 percent compared to 14.20 percent for 2000 (World Bank, 2015).

According to the Ministry of Tourism in the Dominican Republic, the Ministry “invests over 45 million dollars yearly in promoting [Dominican Republic] this destination internationally in the principal tourism originating markets and other emerging markets” (Ministry of Tourism, 2012, p. 12). The tourism industry has grown

to be the main contributor to GDP and since 1995 has become the largest recipient of foreign exchange (World Bank, 2015). The tourism industry has other multiplier effects on other economies "such as construction, transportation, and commerce as well as hotels, bars and restaurants" (p. 151). The tourism industry receivable amounts to 4.7 billion dollars in 2012 (World Bank, 2015). In particular, in 2014 there were 5.1 million tourist that arrived to the Dominican Republic (DR Banco Central, 2015). This number has grown 57.92 percent from 2000 at which point the tourist arrivals were 3 million (DR Banco Central, 2015). The majority of the tourist that arrive in the Dominican Republic come from North America and Europe (Banco Central, 2015). In particular, the United States accounts for the largest number of travelers to the Dominican Republic at 32 percent (DR Banco Central, 2015).

The Global Gender Gap Report (2013) indicates that Dominican Republic ranks 72nd among 136 countries in regards to economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health survival and political empowerment. This is an increase from 2012's rank however, this is the same rank they received in 2010. Among Latin American and Caribbean Countries the Dominican Republic ranks 17 out of 26 countries (World Economic Forum, 2013). The increase of gender based inequality and the oppression of women in the Dominican Republic adds to increase of women participating in the unconventional employment sectors.

Religion and Language

The official language spoken in the Dominican Republic is Spanish. The dominant and official religion is Roman Catholic. The Roman Catholic faith was introduced by European settlers in the Dominican Republic by request of the Queen (Moya Pons, 1995). The Queen of Spain requested that in exchange for the Indians working as slaves in the mines the Spaniard slave owners were required to teach them “the catholic faith” (Moya Pons, 1995, p. 33). In 2014, it was estimated that 95% of the population is Catholic (CIA Fact Book, 2014). While many Dominicans may profess to be 'Catholic' there still exists religious influences from their African roots in the country. In particular, “African deities-[L]uás and [O]rishas” are often prayed to in order to solve problems and ask for protection from their enemies (Deive as cited in Vega, 2007, p. 115). In the next section of this chapter I will discuss the overview of the dissertation.

Dissertation Overview

Chapter one of the dissertation provides an overview of the chapters in the dissertation and information on the Dominican Republic. The second chapter describes sex tourism, sex tourist, and sex workers within the sexual tourism industry. The third chapter discusses the research methodology used in order to answer the propositions in the study. In this chapter, I also describe the methodology used to collect and analyze the data. The fourth chapter consists of the qualitative in-depth interviews performed in the Dominican Republic. Specifically, this section provides the themes that emerged from the

interviews. Chapter six consists of the quantitative data analysis and results. Chapter seven discusses the conclusion, implications and limitations of the study.

CHAPTER II

RELEVANT LITERATURE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This chapter of the dissertation introduces the key concepts and provides an overview of the existing literature on sex tourism.

Sex Tourism

The intersection of sex, tourism and the voluntary migration of women into areas primarily visited by tourists create a term scholars and researchers in the field call “sex tourism” (Ryan & Kinder, 1996; Oppermann, 1999; Kempadoo 1999; Wonders & Michalowski, 2001; Herold et al., 2001; Sanchez Taylor, 2001; Plasencia, 2009; Cabezas, 2011). Clancy (2002) purports “the development of the sex tourism industry began to take the shape as a global industry beginning in the 1960’s” (Clancy, 2002, p. 73). Very little is known about sex tourism and as a result there does not exist a universally accepted definition. According to Yeoman and Mars (2010), sex tourism “is an extremely problematic area to define” (p. 366). Sex tourism can consist of heterosexual male tourism (Brennan, 1998, Cabezas, 2004), female sex tourism often called romance tourism (Pruitt and LaFont, 1995), child sex tourism (O’Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor, 1996), gay sex tourism (Padilla, 2008) and within each of these areas there exists different experiences, expectations and motivations that occurs between the individuals involved. According to Hall (1992),

Sex tourism also occurs in two different forms, a casual type in which travelers arrange for their own sexual services, and a packaged form, in which services have been pre-booked with hotel agencies” (Hall, as cited in Harrison, 1992, p.65).

There also lacks a consensus between scholars that can often result in sex tourism and sex trafficking being categorized as the same coercive activity (Oppermann, 1999; Farley, 2003). The combining of these two different areas of the sexual commerce industry as the same activity creates a precarious environment for the women and the men that participate in the sex tourism industry.

Sex tourism can be succinctly defined as travel to procure commercialized sexual services with a local (Herold et. al, 2001; Sanchez Taylor, 2001; Wonders and Michalowski, 2001; Clancy, 2002; Carr and Poria, 2010; Vejar and Quach, 2013; Bauer, 2014). Wonders and Michalowski (2001) assert,

Sex tourism highlights the convergence between prostitution and tourism, links the global and the local, and draws attention to both the production and consumption of sexual services (p. 545).

Sex tourism is an activity that exists virtually in every part of the world (Oppermann, 1999). The activities and networks of the participants within this industry differ between societies and geographic areas (Oppermann, 1999; Brennan, 2004). Since there does not exist a generally accepted paradigm or a clear universal definition of sex tourism, the study of sex tourism is largely dependent on the ideological perspectives or theories utilized to study its phenomenon. The complexity of the study of sex tourism in research

has resulted in a lack of consensus in the field on the subject (Hall, 1996). Hall (1996) states,

1. The seeming blindness of many tourism researchers to actually acknowledge that a link exists between sex and the tourism industry, particularly in respect of sex as a motivating factor for travel...
2. The extreme difficulties to be had in conducting research on tourism prostitution, which is typically an illegal informal activity, often with substantial crime connections....
3. The lack of common methodological and philosophical frameworks with which to explain the complex web of gender, productive, reproductive and social relations which surround sex tourism (Hall (1996) as cited in Carter and Clift, 2000, p.8).

The exact reasons why sex tourism exists within a country is another area of contention between scholars and front-line workers in this field that draws differences of options and justifications. One theory into explaining this phenomenon can be understood using the push-pull factors of the country. As such, Davidson (2012) states that sex tourism is an activity that takes place “in countries where a large percentage of the population lives in poverty and where there is high unemployment and no welfare system to support those who are excluded from the formal economy” (Davidson as cited in Wilson & Ypeji, 2012, p. 10). The welfare systems in less developed countries are often inadequate and can lead to a person finding alternative options to fulfill basic necessities (Babb, 2010). Alternatively, Parada et al. (2007) adds that women enter the sex tourism industry as a result of “gender inequality, poverty, demands for sexual services, misuse of the internet, family breakdown and the lure of easy money” (p. 758).

Pritchard and Morgan (2001) state that in order for sex tourism to take place three factors need to exist within a country: poverty, supply of women willing to participate in the industry, and political and economic support to encourage the traveling of men to sex tourism destinations (Prichard & Morgan, 2001, p. 5).

Another varied perspective to explain why sex tourism exists in a country is provided by Bindel (2013). Bindel (2013) states “sex tourism operates have fractured or unstable economies and often have histories of slavery and colonialism (sic)” (p. 37). Enloe (1989) on the other hand summarizes the reasons why sex tourism exist within a country as,

To succeed sex tourism requires Third World women to be economically desperate enough to enter prostitution; having done so it is made difficult to leave. The other side of the equation requires men from affluent societies to imagine certain women, usually women of color, to be more submissive than the women in their own countries. Finally, the industry depends on an alliance between local government in search of foreign currency and local and foreign businesses willing to invest in sexualized travel (p. 36-37).

Sex tourism does not only take place in countries that are less developed but as noted by Matheson and Finkel (2013) sex tourism takes place in developed countries such as “New Zealand [...] the Netherlands [...] and Australia” (p. 614). Technological advancements that have evolved as a result of globalization have allowed people the ability to travel around the world easier, faster and inexpensively (Clancy, 2002). In addition, the Internet (Ward, 2010), word of mouth, and the migration of women to other countries to sell sex has also contributed to the expansion of the sexual commerce industry and the association of a location/country as a sex tourism destination (Brennan, 2004). As such, participants

in the sexual commerce industry will use technology to promote and encourage the continuance of this industry.

To conclude, the study of sex tourism is a difficult area to study since there does not exist a clear paradigm or a universally agreed upon definition. In order for sex tourism to exist exchanges between a foreigner and a local need to occur. The exchanges between the two differ and depend on the agreement and the desires of the parties involved. Sex tourism is more common in developing countries but it can also exist in developed countries. Some of the characteristics of countries that have a sex tourism industry consists of a lack of opportunities for its people, a large percentage of the population living in poverty, and a demand of sexual services from locals. A country may become known as a sex tourism destination as a result of technology. Technological advancements allow information about sex tourism destinations to spread fairly easily and quickly and allow for foreigners seeking such entertainment to constantly visit its borders. In the next section, I will discuss sex tourists.

Sex Tourists

There exists a lack of consensus on who would be identified as a sex tourist. Generally, a man that travels to procure sexual services would be considered a sex tourist (Bauer, 2014). Brennan (2004) calls the areas where sex tourist travel to “sexscapes” because of the ability to purchase sexual services at a lesser expense (p. 709). There are a variety of explanations that can be given to explain the motivations and reasons why men travel to these destinations. Generally, sex tourists (male travelers) travel for the

exclusive purpose of seeking sexual services from a sex worker, obtaining companionship, intimacy or looking for love (Oppermann, 1999; Nagel, 2000; Brennan, 2001; 2004). There are even men that participate in the sex tourism industry as an afterthought to their original motivation for travel (Oppermann, 1999; Cabezas, 2004). Oppermann (1999) contends that tourists generally travel for a variety of reasons and end up participating in the sex tourism industry as a “by-product” simply because the opportunity presented itself (p. 252).

Tourism is the mechanism in which men travel to be able to procure and act out sexualized fantasies. The sex tourism industry is a by-product of the general tourism industry and it provides the venue for foreigners to participate in sexual activities not conducive to the way of life (Bauer and McKercher, 2003; Plasencia, 2009; Carr and Poria, 2010; Rivers-Moore, 2012). For tourists, the escape of the rigors of daily life invigorates the senses and allows them to be more in tune with their desires and wants. Tourists feel a sense of freedom and expression while on travel and go through a process in which the way they perceive their surroundings change. Tourists will tend to participate in experiences they would otherwise not have participated in if they were in their home country (Plasencia, 2009). Carr and Poria (2010) insists,

The sexual nature of the leisure and tourism experiences will always be open to negotiation and hence in a constant state of evolution as the behaviors of the individual influence the sexual images associated with specific environments and experiences (p. 3).

There are scholars that purport that tourists visit sex tourism areas in order to participate in sexual experiences with a person from a different cultural or ethnic background

(Brennan, 2004; Rivers-Moore, 2012). Historically, travel for sex has been a gendered activity primarily participated in by men (Pritchard and Morgan, 2001; Ourhamoune, 2013). Pritchard and Morgan (2001) add that the “sex tourism industry is one outcome of a gendered industry and a gendered international system” in which power and inequality differences come into effect (p. 5). As such, the marketing messages constructed have been primarily catered for men portraying images of masculinity with “ideas about adventure, pleasure and the exotic” sensual woman (Pritchard and Morgan, 2001, p. 3). Marketing messages often portray women from less developed countries as sexual passive images where the body is portrayed as a commodity that can be purchased at any price. Marketing messages also mold "perceptions and understanding of a wide range of personal and public issues" (Jagesic, 2014, p. 73). The sexual inhibition of the individual as well as the sexual imagery depicted by advertisements adds to the desire of a tourist to participate in the sex tourism industry (Ryan and Kinder, 1996; Cabezas, 2004; Plasencia, 2009).

The men that participate as sex tourists come from different levels of socio-economic status and regions from around the world. In particular, in *Tourism in Transnational Places: Dominican Sex Workers and German Sex Tourists Imagine One Another*, Brennan (2001) states that the predominant type of man that travels to Sosúa, Dominican Republic “is comprised of white, working class, and lower-middle and middle class males” (p. 622). A man who is of middle class or working class that travels to a less developed country is able to attain more power and respect due to the economic advantage and the economic inequality they have over the natives of that country (Hall, 1992; Clancy, 2002; Brennan, 2010; Rivers-Moore, 2012).

As stated, there lacks a consensus among scholars and professionals who work and write about sex tourism as to what characteristics would define a sex tourist (Ward, 2010; Rivers-Moore, 2012). Due to these complexities, Oppermann (1999) has created five identifiers to use in order to define sex tourism. The first is, “travel purpose, intentions, and opportunities” (Oppermann, 1999, p. 257). Oppermann (1999) asserts purpose should not be used to identify someone who participates in the sex tourism industry because many tourists travel for varied reasons. A tourist’s initial intention might not have been to have contact with a sex worker, but the opportunity arose and they decided to participate (Oppermann, 1999). Brennan (2001) agrees with Oppermann (1999) and states,

The inexpensive prices (compared to red-light districts in Europe) often help them make up their minds. Since these women work “freelance,” the clients do not pay any middlemen (such as pimps or bar owners). Accessibility to sex workers also makes it easy for men to decide to buy sex. Sex tourists do not have to look very far to find the women (p. 643).

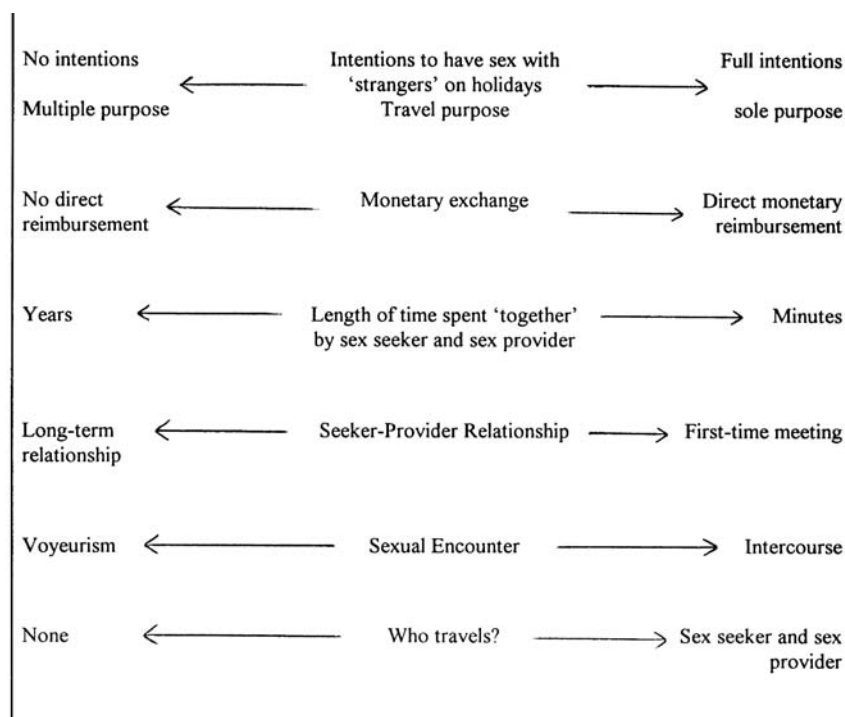
The second parameter according to Oppermann (1999) to identify sex tourism is “monetary exchange” (p. 257-258). The relationship between a tourist and a sex worker may go beyond an initial exchange of money. Oppermann (1999) affirms that interactions between the two might not involve a direct exchange of money; instead some sex workers are in search of establishing long-term arrangements with tourists that can lead to bettering their economic situation in the long-run. Third is the “relationship between Sex Seekers and Providers” (Oppermann, 1999, p. 258). This relationship varies and evolves overtime. The exchanges that occur between the two might or might not begin as a

monetary exchange at first, but over a period of time it can evolve into a relationship that may even result in marriage (Oppermann, 1999). Sex tourists and sex workers are often seeking to fulfill a particular void in their lives and go searching within the sexual commerce industry to satisfy those needs (Wonders and Michalowski, 2001). This void can be in the form of companionship, love or money (Brennan, 2001) and can consist of long or short periods of interaction and exchanges (Oppermann, 1999; Babb, 2010). In particular, Brennan (2001) describes German sex tourists who visit Sosúa, Dominican Republic identify “Dominican women as more sexual, more compliant, and having fewer commodity needs and desires” than the women in their home country (p. 642). For this reason, many of the German men that visit Sosúa try to develop long-term relationships with the women in the Dominican Republic. There have been instances where tourist end-up marrying Dominican women (Brennan, 2001).

The fourth identifier is “sexual encounter” (Oppermann, 1999, p. 258). “Sexual encounters” can encompass acts that are not traditionally seen as sexual (Oppermann, 1999, p. 259). Sexual encounters vary from an actual intercourse to stimulation arising from an internet site or cybersex (Oppermann, 1999). The last identifier is “the question of who travels” (Oppermann, 1999, p. 260). The traveling can be done by the tourist and or by the sex worker. Sex workers may travel to another country to participate in the sex tourism industry in that country. The five parameters just outlined reveal the complexity involved in trying to label the relationships that transpire in the sex tourism industry. As noted, this complexity exists when trying to determine what settings should be identified and labeled as sex tourism. As just discussed, Oppermann (1999) argues that there exists different types and levels of relationships that can occur between a sex worker and a sex

tourist. These relationships shift like a pendulum and change depending on a number of factors and the stage of the relationship (Oppermann, 1999). For example, the length of time a woman spends with a tourist can be minutes or can even last years. These types of relationships, Oppermann (1999) terms, “open ended” and can change at various points throughout the period of interaction (p. 255). These parameters are depicted in **figure 2.1** below.

Figure 2.1: Sex Tourism Framework



Source adopted from Oppermann, 1999, p. 255.

In conclusion, identification of participants in the sex tourism industry is not simple, resulting in disagreement among scholars on what characteristics and actions would label

someone a sex tourist. Sex tourists can participate in a variety of behaviors, activities and exchanges with sex workers, and these exchanges transcend over the course of the relationship. A simple definition of a sex tourist is a man who travels to a foreign place to exchange sexual acts with a local. Sex tourist consist of an array of men from different ethnic and racial backgrounds, young or old, married or single. These men can be looking for love, a wife or simply sexual pleasure. These exchanges can consist of monitorial for sexual pleasure or can involve different levels of interactions and exchanges. The next section of the dissertation will focus on sex work and the sexual commerce industry.

Sex Work and the Sex Tourism Industry

We know very little about the reality of the lives of prostitutes. Whether prostitutes are more often sexual slaves than liberated women is not just a matter of perception, but depends on the fact of their daily existence (Law, 2000, p. 534).

The activities associated with the selling of sexual services can consist of legal/illegal components, voluntary/exploited and commercial and non-commercial activities.

Governments may tolerate the selling of sex in tourist areas because of the economic benefit it brings a country, directly or indirectly (Ward, 2010). In the Dominican Republic, the selling of sex is “concentrated in particular areas known as zones of tolerance, including tourist areas and ports along the coastal areas of the country” (Parada et al., 2007, p. 758). While Parada et al. (2007) specifically refers to the Dominican Republic, this observation of where sex is traditionally sold is consistent with other countries with a sex tourism industry.

The sexual commerce industry can create a substantial impact on a country's economic, social, and political environment (Hall, 1992; Cabezas, 2004). The selling of sex has become an integral component of Caribbean society and culture and a lucrative business endeavor for many countries (Cabezas, 2004; Wilson and Ypeij, 2012). Specifically, Cabezas (2004) posits "[f]or more than five hundred years, the sexual labor of women has been embedded in the normal operation of political and economic structures in this [Caribbean countries] part of the world" (2004, p. 987). Economically, the sex industry is big business not only contributing to real profitable economic gain for a country but also for travel and tourism agents, restaurants, bars and hotels (Dunbar, 1999-2000; Babb, 2010; Ward, 2010). As such, Wonders and Michalowski (2001) estimate the "sex tourism industry is a multi-billion dollar industry" (p. 549). Thus, Ward (2010) states that it is "rational for governments and government officials to support sex tourism" due to its ability to generate growth towards its economy (p. 3).

Recipients of the sex tourism industry receive their share of the profits through formal and informal avenues. O'Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor (1996) assert that the sexual commerce industry beneficiaries are not only the sex workers, but also include an indirect market where hotel workers informally receive monetary benefit. Since "[hotel] workers are accessible and in constant and intimate contact with tourists" they may also participate in the sexual commerce industry (Cabezas, 2004, p. 991, Cabezas, 2011). An example of this is when tourists seek to have sex workers return with them to their all-inclusive hotel resorts. A tourist must pay the staff in order for an individual not staying at the hotel to be allowed on its premises. This is a result of all-inclusive hotels requiring hotel guests to wear an identifying band.

Scholars purport that the sex tourism industry can secure the economic means and mobility a woman needs in order to increase her social and economic status (Harrison, 1992; Overall, 1992; Brennan, 2004; Kemapdoo, 2007; Cabezas, 2004; 2011). Brennan (2004) describes,

The growth of the sex trade in the developing world and poor women's participation in it are consequences of not only the restructuring of the global economy, but also of women's central role in the service sector of tourism, a hospitality industry (p. 710).

Sex work has become an integral part of the lives of women in a variety of Latin American and Caribbean countries (Brennan, 2001; Cabezas, 2004; 2011). The sex tourism industry has contributed to a trend of women traveling to areas where their opportunities may increase from their participation in the sex tourism industry (Cabezas, 2004; Brennan, 2010). A variety of explanations can be used to justify a woman's reason to migrate and enter the sex tourism industry. Scholars state the majority of women do so because of the lack of opportunities that exists in their home environment (Brennan, 2001; Cabezas, 2004). Kempadoo (1996) states "[t]he most common reasons cited by women are: to obtain extra income for the household, to accumulate capital to establish a small enterprise, and the need to meet child-care and education costs" (p. 76). To most women, sex work in tourist areas affords them the ability to obtain easy and fast money and increases their chances of emigrating (Brennan, 2001; Cabezas, 2004).

It can be argued that women capitalize on the availability of tourists and participate in the sex tourism industry because it is convenient, provides income, and thus is one of the most effective means of survival (Brennan, 2004; Cabezas, 2004).

Opponents of sex work consider it a violation of basic human rights and a system in which power dynamics are enforced due to the economic disparity between the tourist and the local (Farley, 2005; O'Connor and Healy, 2006; Kempadoo, 2007). There are also scholars who link the selling of sexual services regardless of it being voluntary, to sex trafficking (Farley, 2005; O'Connor and Healy, 2006; Kempadoo, 2007). Critics' state prostitution is "a source of danger, disease, mistreatment, insecurity, psychological abuse, and emotional pain" (Overall, 1992, p. 710). Parada et al. (2007) states that,

With the increase in tourism there has been an increase in the sexual exploitation of women and children. At the same time, global economic influences have resulted in the migration of women and children to urban areas where they may be exploited for their labor (p.756).

While sex tourism is noticeable in many countries there does not exist formal data to draw on to understand its magnitude and depth (Harrison, 1992; Oppermann, 1999; Clancy, 2002; Kempadoo, 2003). To add to this complexity, the women who participate in this profession might not necessarily perceive themselves or their actions as sex work (Cabezas, 2004). Cabezas (2001) purports "[i]n a tourist setting, it is difficult to discern who is a prostitute and what counts as prostitution. [...] the new patterns of sexual commerce [...] are opportunistic, fluid and ambiguous" (p. 996-997). Sex worker's may also view the exchanges with a tourist as something normal associating it to a traditional courtship (Sanchez Taylor, 2001; Cabezas, 2011). Sex work, coined in the 1970's by feminist theory, is a broad term used to describe the work component involved in the exchanges that occur between consenting adults who receive money or goods in

exchange for sexual services (Overall, 1992). Oppermann (1999) however contends that the exchanges in tourist areas should not be viewed as solely prostitution since the exchanges do not always involve a financial exchange of money for sex. While the women that work in sex tourism destinations may receive money for their services they seek to develop long-lasting relationships with tourists (Brennan, 2001; 2004).

As stated, the selling of sexual services can occur through formal and informal establishments. Formal establishments can take the form of brothels, cabarets, massage parlors and bars (Kerrigan et al., 2004) and informal establishments might consist of street prostitution, nightclubs and call girls. Another factor that varies in the sexual commerce industry is the venue in which the women work. Scholars and activists call the women that work in the formal establishments "dependents," and the women that work in the informal industry are considered "independents" (Brennan, 2001, p. 624). The conditions and experiences of the women working in the formal and informal industry differs depending on the demographics, ethnicity, laws, and conditions of the country they are working in (Kempadoo, 1996; Brennan, 2001; Cabezas, 2010). Brennan (2001) adds that "[f]antasy might draw a woman to [...] sell sex, but her choices and experiences [...] depend on her class, gender, race, and nationality" (p. 651). The women that decide to enter sex work must also decide whether they will engage in sexual exchanges with local men, a tourist or both (Brennan, 2001). The types of exchanges and the services being offered to a sex tourist and a local man differ. Sexual exchanges with local men generally involve a monetary exchange for sexual services and it usually does not require travel by any of the parties involved (Oppermann 1999; Weatherall and Priestley, 2001; Sanchez Taylor, 2001). Services offered to local men would simply be considered

traditional prostitution since it does not involve travel, a tourist or a sex tourism location (Oppermann 1999). Ambrosie (1985) borrows from Perkins and Bernnett (1985) and states,

Prostitution is a business transaction understood as such by the parties involved and in the nature of a short term contract in which one or more people pay an agreed price to one or more other people for helping them attain a sexual gratification by various methods (Ambrosie cited in Carr & Poria 2010, p. 86).

Perkins and Bernnett (1985) view sexual exchanges as brief encounters involving money for sex. The exchanges that occur in sex tourism areas according to scholars are not simple exchanges of money for sex, but can entail complex arrangements between a tourist and a sex worker (Oppermann, 1999; Cabezas, 2004). As such, Cabezas (2004) states,

Sex tourism, is more than an illicit activity; it involves socially acceptable behaviors and values. It is contingent and open-ended activity whose blurred boundaries are intertwined with elements of romance, leisure, consumption, travel, and marriage. While many of the participants in the sexual economy trade sexual services for cash, many others do not (2004, p. 993).

The relationship between a tourist and a local might not necessarily involve an initial monetary exchange but may result in different exchanges of goods and benefits throughout the course of the relationship (Kempadoo, 1998; Oppermann, 1999; Nagel, 2000; Sanchez Taylor, 2001; Weatherall, 2001; Babb, 2010). Sex worker's initially will not ask for money since they do not want to see their exchanges with tourists as one-time

sexual encounters (Wilson and Ypeji, 2012). Instead, sex workers seek to create an emotional connection with tourists so that their encounter can evolve and become a long-term relationship (Cabezas, 2011). Cabezas (2004) states that,

Emotional labor is used to break down the boundaries of commercial exchanges or at least to blur down the lines between intimacy and labor and to preserve the dignity of the local participant. This liminal space is marked by fluidity, ambiguity, and heterogeneity and provides opportunities that direct commercial transactions cannot (p. 1000).

As stated, sex workers aspire to have longer-lasting relationships with tourists instead of brief encounters (Cabezas, 2011). Brennan (2001) states that sex workers “fantasies are generally about resources and an easier life, rather than romantic bliss” (Brennan, 2001, p. 623). Scholars observe that participants of the sex tourism industry do so with the desire that the interaction with the tourist will lead to money, migration, travel, enjoyment of recreational opportunities, and a means of social mobility and economic advancement (Kempadoo, 1995; Herold et al., 2001; Brennan, 2001; Cabezas, 2004; 2011; Babb, 2010; Wilson and Ypeji, 2012; Bauer, 2014).

In a survey performed on 240 women travelers to the Dominican Republic and Jamaica, Sanchez Taylor (2001) reported that “beach boys [men sex workers]” try to enter into as many relationships as they can in order to attain the most “material economic benefit” from them (p. 757). While her survey was specific to women tourists and male sex workers, the results are revealing and seemingly consistent with the motivations and sentiments of female sex workers (Wilson and Ypeji, 2012). Brennan (2001) agrees with Sanchez Taylor (2001) and adds that sex workers in Sosúa try to

“transform the brief encounters with European clients into marriage proposals and visa sponsorships” (p. 653). It is apparent that sex workers seek to derive the most possible benefit from the relationships they create with tourists and will try to create emotional bonds with them.

Women enter the sex tourism industry for a variety of reasons, one of them is the prospect of marriage. It can be argued that women who work in the sex tourism industry in pursuit of marriage will view a tourist as a more suitable marriage partner than an individual from their own country. These women may use the sex tourism industry as a "marriage market" where their chances to obtain a more viable candidate increases. While the specific importance of a marriage market varies, Jagesic (2014) states that "[w]omen and men of all races are interested in pursuing partners who will be able to procure a desirable future income" (p. 74).

In summary, the selling of sex in many countries has become a means and an everyday occurrence for its inhabitants. Like any commodity that can be purchased, if there is a demand for these types of services, there will be a supply. Scholars, advocates, non-governmental organizations, and governments argue on whether the selling of sexual services is a profession chosen by individuals, or an act of coercion like sex trafficking. Though, the perception of sex work differs drastically advocates consider it a profession that gives women social mobility, flexibility and independence. Sex work can function through legal and illegal markets and can provide its citizens with economic recourse unattainable through traditional employment avenues. The women involved in the sex tourism industry are able to increase their social and economic status because of the earnings and goods they receive. Women in this industry can benefit by receiving money

or other goods from the tourist. The intent of many of the women participating in this industry is often to create long-term relationships with the tourist so that the exchanges can continue far beyond the short visit to the country. Adversely, the women that participate in this industry often will not identify themselves or their activities as sex workers and will normally see their interactions and exchanges with a tourist as common exchanges one has with their lover or partner. While sex tourism is easily seen in many tourist areas around the world there lacks quantifiable data of its breath and magnitude. In the next chapter of this dissertation, I will discuss the methods used in order to measure sex tourism. Chapter III of this dissertation discusses the research and methodology utilized in this research.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

This chapter of the dissertation discusses the research design and data collection methods used to examine the social, political and economic determinants associated with sex tourism in the Dominican Republic and other developing countries.

A Mixed Methodological Approach to Examining Sex Tourism

Research is conducted in order to understand a phenomenon, to understand why something around us is happening the way it is (Berg, 2007). When I returned from the Dominican Republic in the summer of 2010, I came back with a desire to understand why were the women that I observed seeking to attract the attention of tourists. This quest has led me to conduct research on the Dominican Republic and the sex tourism industry.

Thus, the purpose of this research is two-fold. The first part of this study describes the social, political, and economic factors associated with sex tourism in the Dominican Republic. The second part describes how local government, non-governmental actors and stakeholders interpret and respond to the problem of sex tourism in the Dominican Republic. My overall objective for the second part is to address and understand, what do these agents perceive as the causes, consequences, and solutions if any, to these problems? In order to address the methodological gap that exists in previous research conducted, this dissertation examines sex tourism with the use of various data sources and analysis, with the intent of seeking convergence of findings through the use of

triangulation. This chapter will address the methodological data collection procedures and analysis that were used to answer the propositions set forth in this dissertation.

In order to answer the studies' research questions, the content analysis method chosen was a mixed methodological design. Mixed methods became a prominent area of research around the twentieth century (Cresswell and Plano and Clark, 2011; Lund, 2012). Mixed methodology combines the use of both qualitative and quantitative data into a single study in an effort to gain a deeper understanding of the propositions set forth during the research process (Cresswell, 2009; Cresswell and Plano and Clark, 2011; Caruth, 2013). Mixed-method studies allow the researcher the ability to use a diverse group of material and techniques in order to understand the phenomena being examined. Creswell (2009) purports that the use of collecting both quantitative and qualitative information increases the "strength" of the study versus using just one method (p. 4). In particular, Lund (2012) states that the use of qualitative methods provides the researcher "greater depth than by quantitative ones, while qualitative methods often result in better objectivity and generalizability than quantitative ones" (p. 156). Denzin and Lincoln (2011) add that the use of both methods increases the level of rigor and validity in a study. However, in order to qualify as a mixed method study, the researcher has to ensure that data is collected and integrated during the different phases of the research process (Cresswell, 2009; Lund, 2012; Caruth, 2013). Caruth (2013) nicely summarizes Venkatesh et al. (2013) seven reasons for conducting mixed method research in *Diversifying Mixed Method Research Design* as follows,

1. Complementarily-to obtain mutual viewpoints about similar experiences or associations.

2. Completeness-to ensure total representation of experiences or association is attained.
3. Developmental-to build questions from one method that materialize from the implications of a prior method or one method presents hypotheses to be tested in a subsequent method.
4. Expansion-to clarify or elaborate on the knowledge gained from a prior method.
5. Corroboration-to evaluate the trustworthiness of inferences gained from one method.
6. Compensation-to counter the weaknesses of one method by employing the other.
7. Diversity-to obtain opposing viewpoints of the same expressions or associations (Venkatesh et al., cited in Caruth, 2013, p. 113).

The use of the methods stated above allowed the researcher the ability to understand the propositions set forth in the study from the perspective of the people that live in the country and who experience on a day-to-day basis the questions raised by the study.

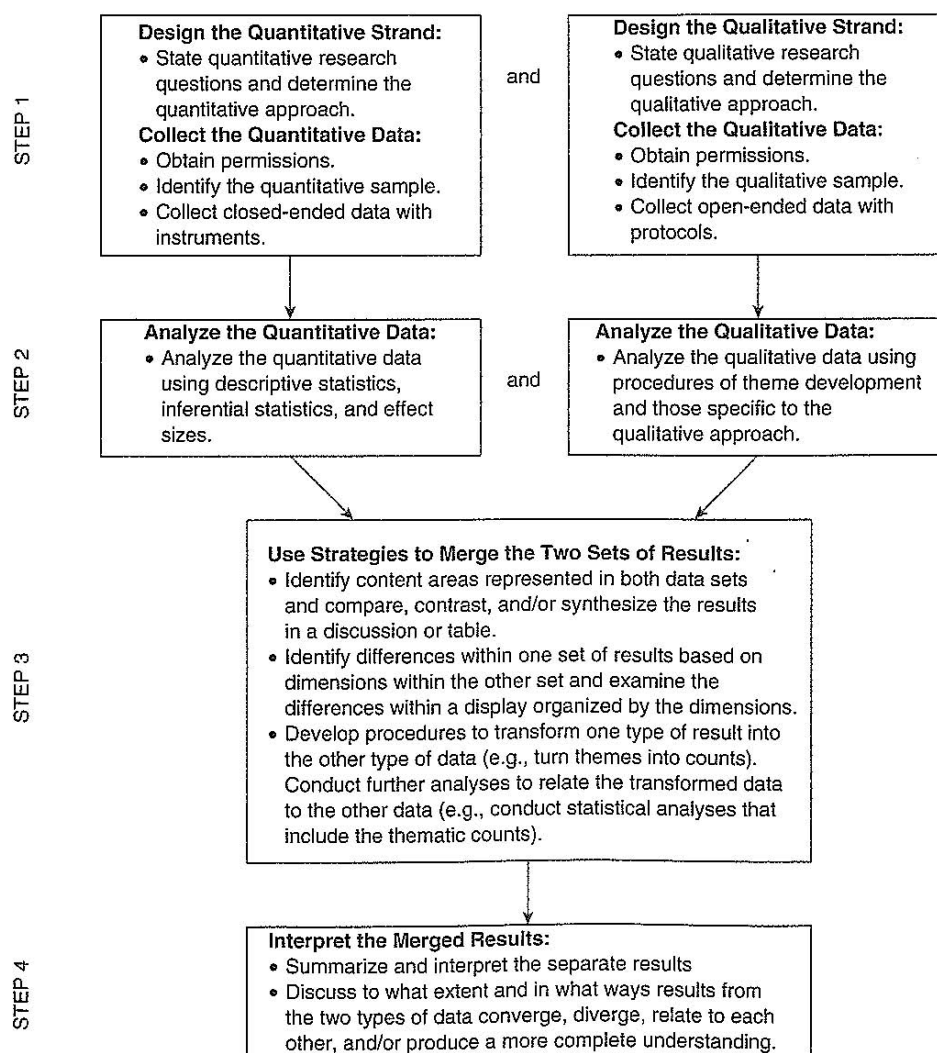
Triangulation was used in order to synthesize the qualitative and quantitative data for this study. The use of triangulation evolved from the seminal work of Campbell and Fiske (1959) who at the time called the mixing of these methodologies, “multimethod-multitrait matrix” (Campbell and Fiske, 1959 as noted in Creswell and Plano Clark, 2008, p. 21). Despite the name changing over the years, its meaning has remained somewhat constant; triangulation is defined as the use of combining different methodologies into a single study (Berg, 2007; Creswell and Plano Clark, 2008). Triangulation uses multiple sources of information and methods in order to augment the propositions in a study (Berg, 2007). Through the use of triangulation, the researcher’s findings can be corroborated and verified (Creswell, 2009). The use of triangulation increases the validity

of the study, decreases any biases that might exist and adds to the reliability of the study (Berg, 2007; Creswell and Plano Clark, 2008; Creswell, 2009; Watters and Biernacki, 1989). Greene et al. (1989) adds, “when two or more methods that have offsetting biases are used to assess a given phenomenon, and the results of these methods converge or corroborate one another, then the validity of inquiry finding is enhanced” (p. 123). The use of triangulation allows the researcher the ability to obtain a more holistic understanding of the phenomena and it provides a different perspective other than that of the researcher (Pluye and Hong, 2014).

In particular, this study utilized concurrent triangulation, which required the researcher to perform the collection of qualitative and quantitative data concurrently throughout the research. Despite the data being collected concurrently the two collection methods occurred independently from each other. The use of this approach increases the validity of the study and decreases any biases that may exist (Cresswell and Plano and Clark, 2011). The collection of data concurrently is performed in order to ascertain if the information collected is sufficient in order to answer the propositions set forth in the study or if additional data may still be needed (Morse et al, 2000, Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2006; Cresswell and Plano Clark, 2011). The use of a convergent design method in a study is depicted figuratively in **figure 3.1**. As depicted in figure 3.1, once the collection of data is completed the researcher must merge the results to understand the similar relationships between the qualitative and quantitative data. Lastly, according to Cresswell and Plano Clark (2011) “the researcher interprets to what extent and in what ways the two sets of results converge, diverge from each other, and/or combine to create

a better understanding in response to the study's overall purpose" (p. 78). Cresswell and Plano Clark (2011) depict the convergent process as,

Figure 3.1: Convergent Design



Source: Adopted from Cresswell and Plano Clark, 2011, p. 79.

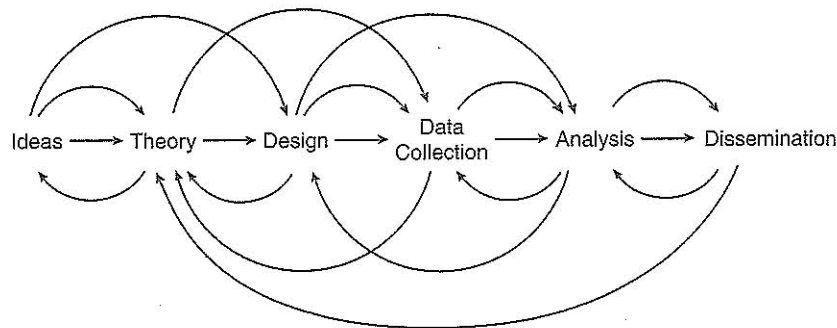
Qualitative Data Collection and Methods

Qualitative method design uses words to explain the behavior or events that occur in a particular setting. Qualitative research reviews various factors that can affect these behaviors / settings. According to Berg (2007) the use of qualitative research methods,

[P]rovide a means of accessing unquantifiable facts about the actual people researchers observe and talk to or to people represented by their personal traces [...] qualitative techniques allow researchers to share in the understanding and perceptions of others and to explore how people structure and give meaning to their daily lives (p. 8-9).

Qualitative research is a “[non]linear” process that requires the researcher to constantly jump between the different stages in the research process (Berg, 2007, p. 24; Morse et al., 2002, p. 10). As such, Berg (2007) depicts this process with the following diagram,

Figure 3.2: Qualitative Research Process



Source: Adopted from Berg, 2007, p. 24.

On the other hand, Reid and Gough (2000) argue that the use of the word "qualitative research" is a poor label to describe an area of research which encompasses a vast array of ways to relay information. Reid and Gough (2000) reiterate a qualitative study performed by Zaruba et al. (1996), which indicates that "good qualitative research is thorough; informed; well written; balanced; useful; and educative" (Zaruba et al., 1996; as cited in Reid and Gough, 2000, p. 64). Thus, the qualitative component of this dissertation focused on the Dominican Republic as a case study and involved conducting qualitative interviews with local government, non-governmental / non-profit participants and stakeholders who have a direct knowledge and understanding of the sex tourism industry in the Dominican Republic. The aim of this research was to create a framework to understand what leads women into working in the sex tourism industry.

As noted, the Dominican Republic was used as the case study in this dissertation. Case study research involves conducting research of a setting or a group using a variety of methods in order to understand and or explain the given phenomena (Hancock and Algozzine, 2011; Berg, 2007). In order for a study to satisfy the conditions of being categorized as a case study, Hancock and Algozzine (2011) state that it must be representative of the group or phenomenon; the research must take place at a particular time and in its natural environment; and use of a variety of instruments are needed to answer the phenomenon (Hancock and Algozzine. 2011, p. 15-16). Berg (2007) furthers this notion by restating Yin's (1998) five skills in conducting good case study research and states that the researcher needs to have an "inquiring mind" to be able to ask questions throughout the interview process; the ability to be able to be unbiased with

different sources of information; the ability to adapt and be flexible; that ability to understand the issue; and be unbiased when interpreting the results (p. 288-289).

Data Sources

The existing literature on sex tourism does not discuss in detail if there exists a connection with the factors in a country that might lead women into the sex tourism industry. Thus, interviews were the selected method chosen to obtain participants' viewpoints and knowledge. Scholars describe interviews as being an effective method to collect the information needed to answer the research propositions. Interviews are used as a means to obtain firsthand "knowledge and opinions [... and] important insights" on a particular subject (Hancock and Algozzine, 2011, p. 44). Remler and Van Ryzin (2011) posits "in-person interviews are generally favored as they show respect, establish rapport, allow for visuals or hand-outs, and capture body language and voice tone" (p. 66). Thus, the interviews conducted for this study took place in person in the Dominican Republic. In particular, a semi-structured interview survey method was selected for this study. An open-ended interview structure allowed the researcher the opportunity to ask follow-up questions to obtain clarification and further information (Turner, 2010). Appendix 9 at the end of the dissertation shows the survey instrument used during the interviews. Participants in the study were asked the same 10 identical open-ended questions during the interview process. The first part of the interview consisted of collecting basic information about the participant and his/her-profession. The primary questions of the interview were geared to specifically answer the study's research questions. The interview times ranged from 30 minutes to 75 minutes for each interview.

Field Work

The fieldwork portion of this study consisted of spending three weeks in the Dominican Republic in the summer of 2014 conducting interviews. The researcher traveled along the Northern Coast of the island, holding interviews with constituents from Puerto Plata, Santiago, and Santo Domingo.

Protection of Participants in Study

This study utilized original interviews in order to gather the data needed for the qualitative portion of the dissertation. In order to perform the interviews for the qualitative section of this research, an application was submitted and approved by the Rutgers Institutional Review Board (IRB) on July 20, 2014. See appendix 4 at the end of the dissertation showing Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval. IRB approval is required for studies that involve research on human subjects. A semi-structured interview guide that includes a list of questions that were asked during the interview process can be found in Appendix 9.

Sample Method and Participant Selection

The sample size of the study consisted of 25 residents of the Dominican Republic with a knowledge and an understanding of sex work and the country's tourism industry. The participants interviewed consisted of employees from non-governmental / non-profit organizations, entrepreneurs, tourism and education. Appendix 2 contains a full detailed

listing of the type of participants interviewed. The goal of the interviews was to obtain information from people who lived and worked in the Dominican Republic. The interviewees on a daily basis deal with the social, political and economic factors of the country. Thus, they offer the best source for obtaining the information needed and answering the propositions in the study.

Initially, the interview process was very challenging. I was nervous reading the questions very carefully word for word, and even stuttering at times. However, by the third or fourth interview, I became more comfortable. I began asking certain follow-up questions when needed for clarification, and or to have a better understanding of the participant's response. Berg (2007) accurately states that "being a good interviewer is described as an innate ability or quality possessed only by certain people. [It], has been described as an art rather than a skill or a science" (Berg, 2007, p. 89). While, I will not say I am an experienced interviewer, I did develop better abilities and skills as the interviews progressed.

Due to the nature and content of the study, it was impossible to generate a random sample of participants to interview. Therefore, to obtain the respondents needed, the two non-probability samples selected for the study were: purposive and snowball. First, organizations were selected using a purposeful or voluntary sample collection method (Remler and Van Ryzin, 2011). A purposeful, or sometimes called "judgmental," sample is the selection of particular respondents due to their "knowledge or expertise about some group" (Berg, 2007, p. 44). The organizations targeted were chosen due to the interaction and the services they provide to sex workers and / or the tourism industry. The other

participants targeted were due to their familiarity of sex work and the sex tourism industry in the Dominican Republic.

The second method chosen to recruit respondents was a snowball technique. Berg (2007) states that snowball sampling is best utilized when there is a need to “locate subjects with certain attributes or characteristics necessary in the study” (p. 44). Berg (2007) goes on to say that snowball samples are common in studies in which there are “sensitive topics, or difficult-to-reach populations” (p. 44). Thus, initial respondents of the study were asked to recommend organizations and or other respondents who have similar knowledge of the study area. Respondents were more than willing to recommend other participants to be part of the study. Unfortunately, due to time constraints, I was not able to interview everyone recommended. However, it became apparent while conducting the final interviews that the information started to become saturated. Morse et al. (2000), describes that “saturating data ensures replication in categories; replication verifies, and ensure comprehension and completeness” (p. 12). Saturation of data became apparent as the interview process continued and the information being relayed by the respondents was similar to previous responses (Guest et al., 2006).

Interview and Data Collection Process

Handcock and Algozinne (2011) state that interviews should be conducted in a “natural setting” as a means of attaining accurate and truthful responses (p. 45). As a result, the setting of the interviews varied from offices, business, to private residences. The variation in the interview setting was purposely done with the intent of ensuring that

each participant felt relaxed enough to openly and honestly answer the questions (Turner, 2010). The interviews were conducted during the day and at night. Interviews conducted in an organization took place during normal business hours in a private office. Each of the participants were explained the topic of the research, the purpose, format of the interview, the estimated duration of the interview, and asked if they had any questions. The interviewees were advised that their participation is completely voluntary and thus given the opportunity to decline to participate in the study. None of the subjects approached declined to participate in the study. Each of the participants were asked permission to audio record the interview. The majority of the participants approved to be recorded. The data of the recordings was stored on the researcher's computer in an electronic format in a password-protected file. Appendix 5 (English version) and 6 (Spanish version) contains the script orally given to the participants in the study.

As indicated, the selected method used to collect the qualitative data was semi-structured interviews. In an effort to protect the identity of the respondents and ensure the anonymity of the participants in the study, each of the participants was assigned a pseudonym. The pseudonyms were used in the survey questionnaire and throughout the coding process. Identifying information of each of the respondents was kept confidential and separate from the questionnaire.

While the intent was to interview the participants without interruptions to ensure their attention, there were times when they were interrupted and asked questions pertaining to their work duties. When such instances took place, I quickly either reread the question or reminded the participant where they left off prior to the interruption. After each interview, I reviewed and summarized my hand-written notes. Once all the

interviews were conducted using the interview protocol the researcher returned to the United States, listened to each of the recordings, typing up additional notes, quotes, and information. Once this was completed, I began extracting themes from the questionnaire, notes and summaries (Cresswell and Plano Clark, 2011).

The method used to analyze the information collected from the interviews in order to build the theory was content analysis. Content analysis is defined as the “careful, systematic examination and interpretation of a particular body of material in an effort to identify patterns, themes, biases, and meanings” (Berg, 2007, p. 303-304). The use of this approach allows the researcher to identify themes to ascertain the messages being portrayed. Turner (2010) posits, “themes or codes are consistent phrases, expressions, or ideas that were common among research participants” (p. 759).

Understanding a phenomenon requires that clear and definable concepts need to be identified and created. Therefore, the initial stages of analyzing the interviews consisted of creating and defining the concepts that were used to create the theme of the interviews and their respective definitions (Berg, 2007; Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011). Appendix 1 contains a table detailing the themes extracted from the interviews and their respective definitions. Turner (2010) states that one of the difficulties in open-ended interview questions is the ability to code the data since responses vary from each of the participants, and it might be difficult to put together common themes. Turner (2010) goes on to say that, “[a]lthough the data provided by participants are rich and thick with qualitative data, it can be a more cumbersome process for the researcher to extract similar themes or codes from the interview transcripts as they would with less open-ended responses” (p. 756).

Quantitative Data Analysis and Results

Quantitative research design utilizes specific instruments to answer the propositions set forth in a study. Researchers use quantitative methods to give validity to proposed theories in a particular study. Berg (2007) states quantitative “strategies [...] provid[e] rigorous, reliable, and verifiably large aggregates of data and the statistical testing of empirical hypotheses” (p. 14). For the quantitative analysis section of this dissertation, this study utilized existing secondary data extracted from various governmental, non-governmental / non-profit organizations and private websites. Quantitative research allows the researcher the ability to generate and test hypotheses through the use of descriptive and inferential statistics and it allows the researcher the ability to measure if a causal relationship exists between variables (Berg, 2007; Creswell, 2009). Generally, this process is depicted visually through the use of “charts and graphs” (Golafshani, 2003, p. 587). Creswell et al., (2003) states,

In quantitative research, investigators ask questions that try to confirm hypotheses or research questions, with a focus on assessing the relationship or association among variables or testing a treatment variable. These questions or hypotheses are assessed using instruments, observations, or documents that yield numerical data. These data are, in turn, analyzed descriptively or inferentially so as to generate interpretations that are generalizable to a population (p. 173-174).

For this exploratory research, several techniques were used to gather the required data needed for the quantitative analysis section of this study.

Dependent Variables

There does not exist a comprehensive listing of sex tourism destinations. In the absence of this data, the researcher created a composite measure of sex tourism destinations in order to test the propositions in the study. The dependent or experimental variable, sex tourism, is defined as a country classified as a sex tourism destination. Since, the dependent variable is a dichotomous variable, which can only take the form of two possible outcomes this variable was coded as “1” for a country identified as a sex tourism destination and “0” for a country not identified as a sex tourism destination. In addition, two dependent variables were created for this study, a comprehensive long list and a short list of sex tourism destinations.

In order to gather the data needed to create the composite measure and scale of sex tourism destinations the researcher reviewed various publicly available web pages and articles for any mention of a sex tourism destination. This process was performed in three different methods. First, the following search phrases were entered into www.google.com (Google hereon after) on January 12-13, 2015,

- 1) “sex tourism destinations”
- 2) “places to visit for sex tourism”
- 3) “best locations for prostitution”
- 4) “where to go for sex tourism”

Once each of the search terms were entered into Google the top five websites related to sex tourism destinations were entered in an Excel spreadsheet. Appendix 13 contains a

detailed list of websites and country listing for each search term entered into Google. Once this method was completed for each of the four search terms, each listing was further divided into two categories; a short list and a long list. Countries mentioned by more than one source were believed to be a more reliable indicator that the country is a sex tourism destination. Thus, the countries that appeared consistently and more than once from each Google search summary were entered on the short list while all of the countries were included on the long list. The summary results of the long and short list can be found in appendix 13.

The second method used to develop the composite measure of sex tourism destinations was conducted by reviewing 25 articles published from the year 2010 to 2015 regarding sex tourism. Each article was read and any mention of a country as being a sex tourism destination was entered into Excel. The top three articles that mentioned sex tourism destinations the most were selected to be included in the summary listing of countries. These countries were also ranked and entered on the long list and short list as previously performed in the other method. See appendix 13 for a listing of the countries extracted from the articles.

The final method was conducted by entering "sex tourism" in the search box in Wikipedia. Wikipedia (2015) is an online encyclopedia which provides free open access information that can be edited by anyone. Wikipedia (2015) states that there are "500 million unique visitors each month" on its website (Wikipedia, 2015). According to Wikipedia's article traffic statistics, their sex tourism page "has been viewed 15,152 times in the last 30 days" (Wikipedia, 2015). Countries listed as sex tourism destinations were entered and ranked on the long and short sex tourism lists. A country was entered on the

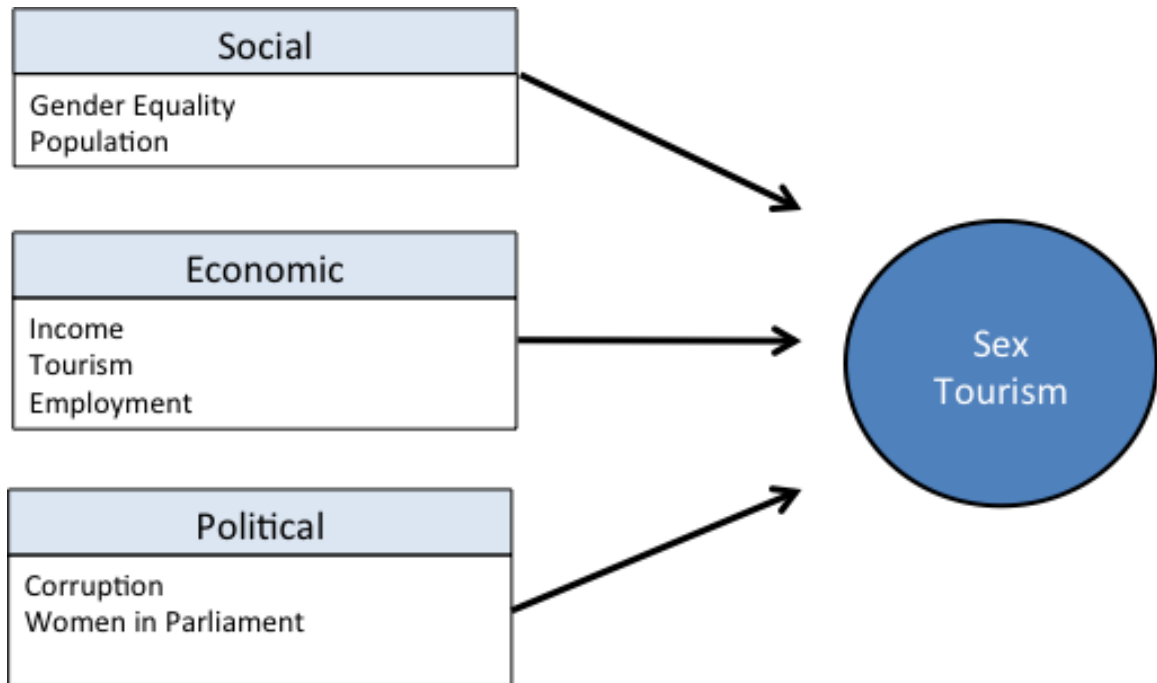
short list if it was mentioned more than once. Appendix 13 contains the listing of the countries extracted from Wikipedia.

Once each of the three composite measures of sex tourism was performed, the results from the Google search, Wikipedia and the article query were then merged and compiled into one summary table, which included a short and long listing of countries identified as sex tourism destinations. As previously indicated, since the dependent variable is a dichotomous variable, the summary listing of countries were coded as “1” for being a sex tourism destination. Countries not appearing on the list were coded as “0” for not being a sex tourism destination. Each country was then entered into Stata/MP 13 using a categorical method of 0 or 1.

Independent Variables

Several independent variables were identified as potentially contributing factors that cause women to enter the sex tourism industry. These variables were developed considering the push factors mentioned in the literature review in Chapter 2. Such factors consists of high unemployment, gender inequality and poverty. These factors contributed to the development of the conceptual model depicted in figure 3.3.

Figure 3.3: Conceptual Model of Independent Variables



The majority of the data needed for the independent variables was obtained from the World Bank Group. The mission of the World Bank is to reduce poverty and increase the overall development of a country. The World Bank collects, maintains and manages a variety of data on countries. Through the use of its Open Data portal some of the data indicators extracted were: gross domestic product, population total, unemployment rate, rate of females in the population, tourist, inbound tourist arrivals, tourist receipts, world governance indicators, and women in parliament. The data was divided into the three determinants depicted in the conceptual logic model reported in figure 3.3.

Social Variables

The data needed for the social variables was obtained from the World Bank. In particular, three variables were extracted to be included: population, population density and female labor force participation rate for women 15 and older were obtained from the World Bank. The World Bank defined total population as all residents of a country regardless of citizenship (World Bank, 2015). Population density per square mile is defined as the midyear population divided by the area of land in square kilometers (World Bank, 2015). Female labor force participation rate is defined as the percentage of the female population that contributes to the “production of goods and services” (World Bank, 2015).

Political Variables

The data needed for the political variables were extracted from The World Bank’s Worldwide Governance Indicator Project.

Worldwide Governance Indicator Project (WGI) is a subsidiary project of the World Bank. This entity measures the quality of governance in a country. WGI measures six areas of governance on a scale of -2.5 (weak) to 2.5 (strong). According to WGI,

Governance consists of the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. This includes the process by which governments are selected, monitored and replaced; the capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies; and the respect of citizens and the state for the

institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them (Worldwide Governance Indicators, 2015).

The Worldwide Governance Indicator project compiled thirty-two survey instruments in order to provide the scales of governance (WGI, 2015). For this study, two of the six areas of governance were used. They were "Political Stability and Absence of Violence" and "Control of Corruption" (WGI, 2015). Political stability and absence of violence measures the "perception of the likelihood that the government will be destabilized or overthrown" (WGI, 2015). Control of Corruption reflects the "perceptions of the extent to which public power is exercised for private gain" (WGI, 2015). The variable scales originally were measured as "-2.5," a weak government and "2.5" a strong government. For the purpose of this study, these variables were rescaled so that "5" indicates a weak governance measure and "0" a strong governance measure. Women in parliament measures the percentage of women that hold parliamentary seats in a single or lower chamber (World Bank, 2015). The data for this variable was extracted from the World Bank (2015).

Economic Variables

Three economic variables were selected to be included in the study. Gross Domestic Product per Capita, International Tourism Receipts and International Inbound Tourists. The secondary data for the economic variables was obtained from the World Bank. As previously stated, the World Bank Open Data Portal contains an enormous amount "free and open access" data on a variety of topics ranging from education to

poverty (World Bank, 2015). Through the use of the Open Data portal the following data was extracted.

Specifically, Gross Domestic Product Per Capita (in current US \$) represents the value of the goods produced for each individual in the country divided by the midyear population (World Bank, 2015). GDP, pp is a valuable measure of the economic position of a country in the global economy. The GDP pp was downloaded for each country.

International Inbound Tourist (overnight visitors) represents the number of foreigners that visit a particular country for a duration of less than a year (World Bank, 2015). The number of tourist is a good measure to use in order to ascertain the attractiveness of a particular destination.

International Tourism, Receipts (current US \$) measures the amount of expenditures made by tourists in a particular country (World Bank, 2015). This measure is a good indicator for assessing tourism's contribution to the economy of a country. As stated, the variables above were created by reviewing the relevant literature relating to sex tourism and the conceptual logic model depicted in figure 3.3.

Data

The data study year used for the independent variables was 2010. In reviewing the data it was uncovered prior to the analysis instances where there was missing data for several of the variables in the study. The missing data was addressed by replacing the missing data values with data from a previous year. Replacing the missing data values ensured the inclusion of that country in the analysis. It was believed that the replacement

of missing data values with the data from a previous year was not going to jeopardize the reliability of the data. It is assumed that country data only adjusts slightly from year to year. Appendix 11 contains a detailed listing of the data that was replaced for each country.

In addition, in reviewing the data it became apparent that the distribution of the data for international tourism receipts, international tourist arrivals, total population, population density and gross domestic product were not equally disbursed. Therefore, in order to resolve the skewness of the data, the natural log form of the variables were computed.

Once the data was gathered for all the variables in this study they were entered into STATA/MP 13. Utilizing STATA, the data was cleaned, recoded, and variables were created. In order to ensure the quality of the data, the data was reviewed prior to the analysis. Once this step was completed, statistical analysis was performed in order to examine patterns and or relationships that exist in the data. The data collected from these sources will serve to augment the primary data collected in the qualitative section of this dissertation.

This chapter of the dissertation outlines the research methodology approach used to conduct this exploratory study. The use of various research methods was used to provide a comprehensive framework of the analysis and responses to the studies research questions. The next chapter will discuss the qualitative method results and analysis.

CHAPTER IV

QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS ABOUT THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

In this chapter the information gathered from semi-structured interviews are compiled to explore and analyze possible answers to the propositions set forth in this dissertation. The data was collected by using information from 25 semi-structured interviews which took place during a three-week visit to the Dominican Republic in the summer of 2014. The interviews were conducted in different locations to accommodate the participants in the study. The locations where the interviews took place varied greatly. Some respondents were interviewed at their place of work, some preferred the comfort of their home and there were even some that were comfortable being interviewed on the street. The goal of conducting the interviews was to obtain a first-hand detailed account and an expert perception of sex tourism and sex work in the Dominican Republic.

Participants in the Study

The interviews were conducted with experts who have first-hand knowledge of sex tourism and sex work in the Dominican Republic. The respondents of the study varied from top ranking officials within the organization to entry-level and front-line workers. There were a total of 25 interviews conducted and all but one was performed in Spanish. The gender of the respondents consisted of 10 males and 15 females. The industry breakdown consisted of 13 representatives from non-profit/non-governmental representatives, 7 from state/government, 3 from the education sector and 2 from the

tourism sector. Appendix 2 contains a table which depicts the breakdown of the respondents noting their gender, job title and industry.

The personalities and experiences of each the respondents regarding life in the Dominican Republic varied in some respects, yet the majority of the respondents discussed similar issues and concerns in the country. The most surprising of the interviews were with the clergymen. The clergymen understood and sympathized with the women involved in sex work. They believed that condemning prostitution was not going to solve the problem nor stop women from participating in it. For me, this was surprising because the clergymen that I have encountered in my life prior to these interviews would have a very close-minded view of the problem and would instead try to prevent or stop women from participating in sex work.

This chapter of the dissertation will first discuss the perception of tourism on the economy of the Dominican Republic. Second, the views of sex work and sex workers within the Dominican Republic will be discussed. Third, a discussion of the social conditions that contribute to sex work. Fourth, is a discussion of the different views on education and socio-economic status. Last, is a discussion of the government's role in promoting sexual tourism in the Dominican Republic.

The Perception of Tourism on the Economy of the Dominican Republic

Tourism plays a key role in the economy of the Dominican Republic. The effects of overall tourism have been both positive and negative for the country. According to some of the respondents, through the promotion of tourism, the country's exposure to different

customs and modes of life has increased. I interviewed respondent #4 in his home where he told me stories about life in the Dominican Republic before the introduction of tourism. The respondent remembers it being a simple life, a life full of tradition and values. Respondent #4 states,

We were accustomed to a lifestyle very different [...] because of the arrival of all these people well, a number of [new] things have also come.⁴

The perception described by some of the respondents was that the lifestyle and the way of life for the people of the Dominican Republic was different prior to the introduction of globalization and the promotion of tourism. It was clear from their responses that tourism has had a profound impact on the culture and customs of the country. Nearly all of the respondents interviewed stated that the primary positive effect of tourism has been the stimulation it brings to the economy. The majority of the respondents interviewed recognize tourism as being the main industry that supports economic growth in the Dominican Republic. It was mentioned that tourism also increases development within the country. Specifically, it was pointed out that tourism contributes to the development of areas which would otherwise have been left abandoned if it was not for the tourism industry. It was the consensus of the respondents that tourism also provides employment, an increase in foreign currency and the promotion of human and personal development for the country and its people. The negative consequence most mentioned by the respondents was prostitution or sex work in tourist areas. Most respondents feel

⁴ “*Nosotros estábamos acostumbrado a un tipo de vida muy diferente [...] por la llegada de todo esta gente pues viene una serie de cosas.*”

that sex work has become a lucrative mode of life for women in the Dominican Republic. According to the respondents, sex work also contributes to a host of other negative effects. Such effects are a degradation of family structure, an increase in the number of pedophiles, drug consumption, sexually transmitted diseases, human trafficking, a loss of culture and an abandonment of country life and agriculture.

Tourists travel to the Dominican Republic for many different reasons. Tourists may visit the Dominican Republic for the scenery and the beaches or they may visit for the culture and the history but some tourists come mainly to engage in sexual exchanges with local women. Scholars call the tourists that travel specifically to engage in sexual activities with women, sex tourists. These tourists are in search of full service vacations where not only are they able to enjoy sun and sand, but also have the opportunity to engage in some type of sexual activity. The majority of the hotels in the Dominican Republic are all-inclusive resorts and normally only accessible to guests wearing a hotel wristband. The tourists that are in search of other forms of entertainment such as sexual entertainment and pleasure will have to go searching beyond the hotel walls. Yet, once they are outside the hotel, sex becomes prevalent and accessible. Respondent #20 has been a pastor for 40 years who lives and works on the border of the Dominican Republic and Haiti. He is a cheerful pastor with a deep and insightful knowledge of the history of the island. Respondent #20 describes,

[It] is not that tourism promotes sexual degeneration, it is that the promotion of Dominican tourism is the basis of sex here. They unite beaches with nude women. The promotion is a woman on the beach in bikini but women naked on the beach that's the promotion. They sell the beach and they sell the women.⁵

Some of the interviewees mentioned that the effect that tourism has had on the country is a result of the type of tourism that is marketed and sold around the world of the Dominican Republic. According to respondent #20, if the marketing messages conveyed to prospective tourists consist of nude women on the beach then most likely the type of tourist that will arrive on the island will be in search of such experiences. According to respondent #2, the tourism that is marketed about the Dominican Republic is a tourism filled with diversion and casinos. In his view, if the tourism promoted does not focus on aspects of culture and ecology, it will be a tourism that will encourage what he identifies as prostitution. Respondent #22 also shared similar sentiments and states that the tourism marketed of the Dominican Republic should be “sustainable tourism.” These respondents loosely defined sustainable tourism as a tourism that is not able to be replicated by any other Caribbean country because it is a tourism that is based solely on the culture, society and the history of the Dominican Republic. “Sustainable tourism” seems to be an ideal for most of the respondents, yet this is seemingly not the tourism that has developed in the Dominican Republic. Respondent #22 a gringo, which is what the Dominicans traditionally call a foreigner, visited Dominican Republic during a study-abroad program and fell in love with the country. When the respondent graduated he quickly returned and

⁵ “No es que el turismo fomenta la degeneración sexual si no es que la promoción del el turismo Dominicano se hace al partir de lo sexual. Aquí se unen playa con mujeres desnuda, la promoción es playa y mujer en bikini pero playa desnuda eso es la promoción. Se vende la playa y se venda la mujer.”

started a business in the country. My interview with respondent was conducted in Santo Domingo on the main strip where merchants market tourism items to gringos.

Respondent # 22 states,

The kind of tourism that I am more interested in is sustainable in the fact that there is no competition that can take it away. For example tourism based solely on Dominican culture, or on Dominican geography or in biodiversity. These forms of tourism are sustainable as long as we are protecting our culture our biodiversity [...] no other country can compete with that because it is truly ours [...] mass tourism does not work in that.⁶

It is believed among the respondents that changes to the sexual imagery sold via the marketing messages distributed may result in a tourism that could be sustainable and not dependent on tourist just seeking fun, sun and sand. The marketing messages portrayed throughout different points in the history of the Dominican Republic have also developed and encouraged *el turismo sexual*, sex tourism. There was overwhelming agreement between the respondents that sex tourism is visible in the Dominican Republic. The majority of the respondents stated that the number of sex workers is noticeable and known not only at the local level but also at the international level. This visibility has resulted in an influx of sex tourists from around the world visiting the Dominican Republic in search of sexual exchanges with locals. While in the country I visited a few establishments and it was interesting to observe the interaction between tourists and the local women. A common scene in a nightclub in Sosúa during the summer months will be five men to every one female. It is not uncommon to see attractive young women with overweight old men. However, the opposite was also observed, young men maybe in

⁶ *Interview conducted in English.*

their mid 20's looking for women. It was also interesting to observe that the older men are generally traveling alone and the younger men are usually in groups. Coincidentally, I even met a doctor from New Jersey who openly stated his purpose for visiting the country. The unbridled visibility of sex tourism in tourist areas and especially in areas like Sosúa is so prevalent that it is not considered unusual.

My interview with respondent #15 took place in his office that is located within a school. Since our interview took place during the summer, school was not in session, but respondent showed me the different classrooms and the children's play area. Respondent #15 states that the tourism industry has not been developed properly within the country and has contributed to a decrease in tourists who are not interested in participating in this type of entertainment. According to the respondents, tourists do not return or visit the country due to the exposure they experienced while there. There was also consensus among the respondents that the Dominican Republic is a country viewed internationally as a "sex town" as some describe it. The origins of this view can be traced to around the year 2000 according to respondent #24. During that time the country was marketed in the "international pages [...] as a sex paradise" (R#24). My interview with respondent # 24 occurred in her office in Santo Domingo. When I interviewed respondent # 24 she did not want me to make reference to a sex tourism industry in the Dominican Republic. It was her sentiments that it carries a negative social stigma for the country. She stated, that this perception was not indicative of the people and it was not the image that she wanted to portray of the Dominican Republic, the country according to her that has a lot more to promote than just sex. While it may be true that the Dominican Republic has a lot more to offer than just sex, some use sex as a lucrative financial business opportunity to attract

merchants to their doors. Respondent #2 states that prostitution is something quick to develop within the tourism industry as it increases the revenue of the country through different mechanisms. Respondent #2 was referring to the income the bars and the businesses receive from tourist patronizing their business in search of sex workers and a good time. For example, there is a street in Sosúa called Pedro Clisante where sex tourism is highly visible and in demand. So much so that the police block off the street to cars and motorcycles and it is only accessible on foot. Figure 4.1 is a bar on Pedro Clisante which is patronized by sex workers and tourist.

Figure 4.1 Distorted picture of two sex workers next to a gringo.



As stated, a “gringo” is a term used by locals to describe tourists. These images are included in order to provide you with a visual of the activities and the environment in this area. When I visited the establishment in the picture it was interesting to observe the women around the bar waiting for the men to approach them. Occasionally, I would see some of the women walking around and flirting with the tourists to see if they would be able to catch their attention. Respondent #19 was interviewed in his home in Sosúa. He lives a couple of steps away from his church and half-a-block away from the beach. Respondent has been working as a clergyman in Sosúa for over 7 years. Respondent is a slow-spoken man with non-traditional views on prostitution for a catholic pastor. It was my perception that his views of prostitution were very liberal and open. Respondent #19 discusses visibility and states,

Yes [...] in all [...] in one part more exposed and in other parts more sophisticated because what you don't see is greater than what you do see. The ones who exhibit themselves are seen and the ones that don't exhibit themselves you don't see.⁷

He describes that sex work in the Dominican Republic is easy to attain since there isn't a law that regulates its activity and or its procurement. The respondent's sentiments are consistent with other respondents in that sex work is found in all areas but there are areas where sex work is more obvious and more visible than others. Respondent #22 explains

⁷ “Si [...] en todas [...] en una parte más al descubierto y en otra más sofisticado, porque que no se ve es más mayor de lo que se ve. Las que se exhiben se ven, las que no se exhiben no se ven.”

that sex work is found not only in tourist areas but it is available all over the country, a tourist just needs to know what they are looking for in order to see it. Respondent #22 goes on to say there are physical cues that a local might give a tourist to let them know what is for sale. However, according to respondents in tourist areas, sex work becomes very noticeable and a person does not need any cue; a tourist instantly is aware of what is available. On the other hand, respondent #8 states that prostitution is visible, attainable and accessible anywhere if there is money. My interview with respondent #8 was conducted in her office in Santiago. It was particularly warm that day and I recall the one fan that serviced the room where the interview was conducted. It was alarming to learn that the city shuts off the water once a week. While I was surprised, to the respondent it was just a part of daily life in the Dominican Republic. In order to use the restroom on these particular days you need to retrieve water from a *jarron*, a jug of water. Respondent #8 states,

[I]f there is money, they give it all [...] Dominican Republic, oh good women, dark skin [...] great ass, nice breasts [...] and they are good in bed [...] we have this bad reputation, even though there are good women [...] that want to be quiet with a person [...] depending on the place you live you have that mentality that you need a foreigner to get you out of here.⁸

⁸ “Si hay dinero, ella dan todo [...] Republica Dominicana, o buena mujeres, morenas [...] buenas nalgas, buenos senos, [...] y son buena en la cama [...] tenemos esa mala fama a pesar de que hay mujeres buenas [...] y desean estar tranquila con una persona [...] dependiendo el lugar adonde vive también esta esa mentalidad que necesito un extranjero para yo poder salir de aquí.”

Broadly speaking, supply and demand allow for sex work to continue in the Dominican Republic. According to respondent #8, women feel that it is essential for them to find a man to take them out of the country and leave the poverty they know behind.

To conclude, tourism plays a pivotal role in the economy of the Dominican Republic in many different ways. Overall, tourism benefits the people of the country by being a source of employment and providing growth in human and personal development. Tourism also fosters the development of areas that otherwise would be left abandoned if it was not for the tourism industry. Tourism has also provided people the opportunity to earn income through unconventional methods. This method has contributed to a social trend of women entering the sex industry for financial benefit and economic gain. This trend is recognized at an international level and has attracted tourists from around the world to visit the Dominican Republic. The view of sex work and sex workers within the Dominican Republic is discussed in the following section.

Views of Sex Work and Sex Workers within the Dominican Republic

What is a sex worker? What is a prostitute? Respondents and the natives use the terms prostitution and sex work interchangeably. The women that participate in activities traditionally viewed as prostitution has changed over the years, as expressed by many of the respondents. The preconceived notion of sex for money can no longer be strictly viewed as prostitution or what many respondents call sex work. It became apparent from the responses of the interviewees that the majority of *las trabajadoras sexual* (sex workers), in the Dominican Republic cannot be classified by any specific

characteristics. The respondents interviewed noted that sex workers vary in every aspect. The respondents stated that sex workers could be educated women, mothers, wives, teachers, and even women with full or part-time jobs. Sex workers could also be women that do it as their main source of income or to supplement their income from their current employment. In addition, as mentioned by respondent #2, some women involved in the sex industry may not be easily identifiable among others that work within the tourism industry or in the community. Prostitution in the Dominican Republic occurs through different channels in particular, respondent #2 stated that prostitution is sometimes disguised in certain areas and the focus should not only be on the woman standing on a street corner. Respondent #2 states,

I'm not only going to focus on the woman prostitute who is on the corner with her wallet in her jacket with her short skirt waiting for someone to pass, not here, that is disguised.⁹

Since sex work is sometimes disguised and not definable, it can become difficult to recognize it and who would be considered a sex worker. Due to the diversity that exist among female sex workers, categories have been created by organizations to identify the different types of sex workers. Respondent #8, a woman who works for a non-profit that provides programs to sex workers, identifies one type as a “transactional sex worker.” According to this respondent, a “transactional sex” worker can encompass many different characteristics. She can be a woman that is involved seasonally in sex work or just on the

⁹ “Yo no te voy enfocar en que solamente la mujer prostituta es que esta en la esquina con su cartera en el chaco con su faldita corta esperando que pase alguien, no aquí eso se disfraza.”

weekends. She can also be the youth that works in the streets who does not identify herself as a sex worker, but may perform sexual services in exchange for some type of economic benefit. The exchange between the two also differs as it does not necessarily have to be cash for sexual services. The exchanges, according to the respondent, can vary from a cell phone payment, payment of an educational term bill or dinner at a fancy restaurant. Respondent #8 describes the category as follows,

There are different categories, as to what is sex work we call it triple X, what is a transactional sex worker is the youth of the communities that do not identify as a sex worker but they solicit or ask for economic remuneration for sexual services, to pay for college, to pay for their rent and to purchase cell phones, a car, clothes, that is what we call transactional sex, so there are different aspects we see today that they are in the community and they come out temporarily for the weekend [...] and they get paid for those services.¹⁰

Another category identified by the respondents is called “independents.” It was common knowledge among many of the respondents that many of the women who work in the streets are called “independents.” Respondent #17 was one of the busiest and hardest interviews to obtain. I visited the office two times prior to our interview but she was either busy or at a meeting out of the office. It was important for me to interview this respondent because she has worked as a front-line worker and is very knowledgeable of

¹⁰ “Ay diferente categorías, lo que es el trabajo sexual, le llamamos tres exis, en lo que sexo transaccional, que son la jóvenes de las comunidades las que no se identifican como trabajadora sexual pero ellas solicitan o piden alguna remuneración económica que sea por servicios sexuales, que sea pago de la universidad, pago de la renta y compra de celulares, compra de un vehículo, ropa. A eso le llamamos sexo transaccional entonces ay nuevo modalidades que estamos viendo hoy en día lo estamos viendo en la comunidades y salen por temporales fin de semana [...] y le pagan por eso servicios.”

the sex tourism industry and sex workers in the Dominican Republic. Respondent #17

states,

The majority of the traditional sex workers of businesses are going to the street but we are seeing a lot of youth who are prostituting themselves in these zones and they do not consider themselves a sex worker, which is a major problem.

Interviewer: And [...] what do they consider themselves?”

They still have the belief that sexual workers are those in the cabaret, in a business of diversion, and it is not like that. When you accept a cell because you had sex, you are prostituting yourself [...]. In all the parts that you see coffee with milk, it's a sex worker [...] coffee with milk is a dark skinned girl with a tourist.¹¹

Many of the interviewees that work directly with sex workers stated the “independents” are difficult to track because they do not consider what they are doing as sex work. I was advised that the 'independents' are able to set their rate, their hours and their limits. The women that work in the businesses and identify as sex workers can receive free health

¹¹ “la mayoría son trabajadoras sexual tradicional de negocia que se van a la calle pero estamos viendo mucha juventud que están prostituyendo en esa zona y no se consideran trabajadoras sexual esa es la problemática mayor”

Me: “¿Y [...] que se consideran?”

“Todavía tienen la convicción de que las trabajadoras sexual son las que están en un cabaret terminado, en un negocia de diversión, y no es así. Cuando tu acepta un celular por tener relaciones sexuales ya tú te esta prostituyendo [...] En toda las partes que tú ves café con leche, es trabajadoras sexual [...] café con leche es una morena, morena con un gringo”

and support services from many non-profit and non-governmental organizations. If a woman does not consider what she is doing as sex work, she often will not take advantage of the programs and the services being offered. The various entities that serve the sex worker population state that some of these services include health checks, free condoms and health education. In an attempt to reach the women that do not consider themselves sex workers, various organizations have developed educational material and programs to identify, target, and serve this population.

There is also another category of women that do not consider themselves sex workers because they are employed, according to respondent #2. An example would be women who work in hotels but have sex with tourists for money. Respondent #2 asserts that hotel workers have the advantage of being able to develop relationships and opportunities with tourists due to their daily interactions with them. This may result in a hotel worker exchanging sexual services or some other type of exchange with tourists to supplement their income. Respondent #19 agrees with respondent #2 and states,

In the hotels, the higher-up employees, the women and the ladies are prostitutes as well [...] prostitution is a case where we cannot focus and think that it is only the one that is in street waiting to be solicited.¹²

It would be unfair for me to conclude that most hotel workers are also sex workers. This is definitely not the case. However, according to these respondents there is a large group

¹² “*En los moteles, las grandes empleadas, y donas y señoras son prostitutas también [...] la prostitución es un caso donde no podemos enfocarnos y crear que solo es la que están en la calle esperando que la soliciten.*”

within the tourism industry that act in a discrete manner but perform activities traditionally defined and viewed as sex work.

Some additional differing factors mentioned by the respondents were the venue and the amount of money that is earned by a sex worker. It was mentioned that these factors are dependent on a sex worker's ethnicity and beauty. It is not surprising to learn from the interviews that the majority of the women that participate in sex work are Dominican. What was surprising was that the ethnicity of the women changes depending on the venue and the location within the country. It was noted that Dominican women have the most options on the location where they sell sex. Dominican women are found in the streets, businesses and/or in the houses or cabarets. Haitian women, however are traditionally seen on the streets but rarely seen in the businesses. Respondent #22 a Caucasian tourism operator notes,

There are more Dominicans [...] in the houses you are going to find Dominicans, rarely you see a Haitian in the houses, on the streets, the independents, then you will see the mix but I still think there are more Dominicans than Haitians [...] the Dominicans are in the houses because it is international and national but also those women have to get along, on a certain level it is hard enough for women competing in that kind of industry to get along without even adding the whole Haitian Dominican dynamic [...] there is an eastern European population that cannot be ignored of Eastern Europeans that are mostly run out of the North Coast [...] that is where you'd see more institutional abuses of those girls even though they are a much higher ticket item from \$500 to a \$1000 for a night [...] \$300-\$500 is an upscale, educated likely professional Dominican or Venezuelan [...] she is not doing it for need, she is probably in school and then in a house the going rate is \$150 and then on the streets it is whatever they can get let's say \$50-\$75 and even less if its oral sex and it depends if it is all night.

Interviewer: Explain [...] the houses?

The house worker is more of a career-oriented move because you are going there and you are based out of there be it for a week, a month, six months or a year you are there. You live there the majority of the time and you have an obligation, you have to be there at 5:00pm you can do whatever you want during the day but you have to be there at 5:00pm you are based out of that house. They may or may not sleep there, generally they do. It's like you've signed up for a job. The independents on the street I think that there is a huge percentage that are just taking advantage of an opportunity that is not necessarily part of a long-term career decision. A lot of it is feels good, and its easy, and its fast money and if it is on their terms which it usually is on the streets [...] they are pulling the strings, they are deciding.¹³

The actual reasons why Haitian women do not work in the businesses is unknown and wasn't clear from the responses of the interviewees. However, respondent #22 alludes to the long-standing historical tension that goes back hundreds of years between the Dominican Republic and Haiti. Respondent #22 posits that the lack of Haitian women in the houses is attributed to making sure that the women “get along.” The respondent goes on to say that the estimated price a woman can charge depends on the venue. Respondent #22 states that a professional Dominican woman, a woman that is educated, that works in the houses is able to earn substantially more than an “independent” woman working in the streets. The “house” however dictates the woman’s work schedule. A woman that works in the “house” has to report to work at a particular time and day and is not able to dictate the price of her services. Respondent #22 mentions the ethnicity also changes depending on the venue; respondent #6 adds,

It will depend on where they are, for example, if they are on the street, the Haitians, we see them more independent on the street, in

¹³ *Interview conducted in English.*

businesses, no, we have found Haitians but in the nightclub but are under contract [...] but very few, you can find one or two in the businesses but no, they are more in the street.¹⁴

While it is noted that the women's ethnicity changes depending on the location, what also differs is the venue in which they elect to sell sex. Respondent #23 states,

Sex work has its different categories, here we have companions [...] we have the one that work at the carnival, we have the ones of the houses, [...] those who work in the businesses, that has already fallen sharply because this category has now been converted to [...], liquor store [...] I mean sex work has varied [...] the modality has varied.¹⁵

It was evident from the interviewees that different categories of sex work exist and these categories will change and become contingent on the person that you are speaking to and or the agency which is providing the assistance programs to the sex workers. While a sex worker's ethnicity differs according to the location, her ethnicity can also dictate the amount of money that can be earned.

Another theme discussed by the participants was the stigmatization of sex workers. It was stated that society stigmatizes the women involved in sex work, no matter what ethnicity they are. Respondent #25, a young, beautiful lawyer who works for the government of Santo Domingo states that society rejects sex workers. She argues that if

¹⁴ *"Va a depender de el lugar donde este, por ejemplo, si están en la calle, las Haitianas, las vemos más independiente en la calle, en los negocios, no, hemos encontradas Haitianas pero en los nightclub pero son ya por contrato [...] pero muy pocas se puede contar una o dos en los negocios no, están más en la calle."*

¹⁵ *"El trabajo sexual tiene sus diferentes categorías, aquí tenemos compañeras [...] tenemos de la feria, tenemos de casa de cita, [...] las que trabajan en negocios, que ya bajado mucho esa categoría porque ahora se a convertido en drenes, liquor store [...] ósea el trabajo sexual a variado [...] la modalidad a variado."*

society sees you as a sex worker, even if that was something that you did in the past that perception will always continue in society's mind. The perplexing part about the respondent's comments is that society might reject or look down upon a prostitute, yet society also seems to tolerate its behavior and for its continuance.

It was my observation that society's tolerance of sex work varies. Respondent #16 stated that the people within the country are tolerant because of the dire economic conditions of the country. On the other hand, respondent #22 simply puts it "it is tolerated because it exists." There are respondents that stated the behavior is tolerated if it is done in areas where tourists internally migrate, and as long as it does not involve a minor. The social stigma of being a sex worker might explain why sex workers may internally migrate to other areas of the country to engage in sex work. Respondent #17 touches on migration and states, sex workers also migrate to areas where tourists are visiting and where the possibility of receiving foreign currency increases. Respondent #17 notes,

[S]ex workers are migrants, you can have 50 today and tomorrow they have gone to another area where there's money and things are happening.¹⁶

Sex workers migrate to increase their chances of obtaining a client and or money. The respondents were asked whether they felt there existed a connection between sex work and sex trafficking. The majority of the respondents felt that there did exist a connection.

¹⁶ "Las trabajadoras sexual son muy inmigrantes, se trasladan, tu puedes estar hoy con 50 y mañana se han ido para otro lado adonde haya dinero adonde se esté moviendo algo."

However, the majority of them acknowledge that women in the Dominican Republic are participating in sex work on their own accord. Respondent #12 states,

Trafficking is when you are obligated. The tourist come and buy a service, the women are doing it [sex work] willingly.¹⁷

The few respondents that stated there are women in the Dominican Republic being trafficked were a result of the women being deceived into thinking they would be working in a different position. Respondent #7 comments that there are classified ads in the newspapers looking for women to travel. These ads state the women have to be between the ages of 18-25 with good presence and must be willing to travel and to work as waitresses or dancers. Below you will find a copy of an ad similar to the one the respondent is referring to.

Figure 4.2: Sample solicitation from newspaper.

Se solicitan 25 muchachas de 18 a 25 años p/ trabajar en CHICHI BAR detrás comedor economico
849-868-0258/829-435-9057

Se solicitan 25 muchachas de 18 a 25 años p/trabajar en THUNER SPORT Bar Av. S Vicente de Paul
849-868-0258 809-354-8156

Source: "El Dia" Santo Domingo printed on 7/16/2014.

¹⁷ *La trata es cuando usted está obligado. El turista vienen a comprar un servicio, las mujeres lo hacen de buena gana.*

Sadly enough, the respondent stated the women most of the time end up being deceived and trafficked as sexual labor to other countries. Respondent states, the women think that they will be able to continue the same form of sex work they did in the Dominican Republic, unfortunately this is not the case. Respondent goes on to say, there have been cases where their documents are taken away and they are forced to become sex slaves.

Vulnerability was another interesting theme that emerged from the interviews. Respondent #14 works for the tourism industry and stated that a Haitian woman is more vulnerable and more susceptible to being trafficked than Dominican women. Some of the respondents stated that if a woman were given the option to leave the country she would take advantage of the opportunity and migrate. There is a perception among sex workers and Dominicans that life outside of the Dominican Republic has more opportunities and better living conditions (R#11). Another reason for the desire to migrate is due to the loss of confidence people have in the government (R#9).

To conclude, sex work and prostitute are terms that are used interchangeably by the people in the Dominican Republic. The women that participate in these activities do not fit any specific criteria and instead consist of a diverse group of women from different socio-economic and educational backgrounds. Dominican women are the predominant sellers of sex in the Dominican Republic and can be found selling sex in various locations. Haitian women are found mainly on the streets selling sex. In addition, the venue and the location where a woman sells sex can dictate the amount of earnings she is able to receive. It was mentioned by the respondent's that while a connection does seem to exist between sex trafficking and sex work, the women that participate in the sex

tourism industry are doing it because they want to, not because they are being coerced. There are women that do not consider what they are doing as sex work because they have a preconceived notion that a prostitute is a woman that works in the cabarets or in the 'houses'. A woman that works at a hotel at times may supplement her income by performing sexual services with a tourist. The young woman that meets a man off the street and receives a new cell phone or clothing for sexual services may not perceive herself as a sex worker. However, according to many of the respondents a woman that is receiving money or some other type of benefit in exchange for sex should be identified a sex worker.

In the next section, I will explore the social conditions that contribute to sex work in the Dominican Republic.

Social Conditions that Contribute to Sex Work

There are a multitude of explanations as to why women choose to participate in sex work in the Dominican Republic. Some of the respondents commented that it was due to the economy while others attributed it to irresponsible parenting. Respondent #4, an older man with very thought-out responses, summarizes the reasons for participation as follows,

Low education, lack of employment, lack of development in the areas where they live, little economic development of the country,

the economic dependency of the country, [...] international loans.¹⁸

Respondent #4's sentiments are consistent with the majority of the respondents interviewed. The only point of division was the mention of the dependency of the Dominican Republic on international aid and its large international debt.

As to why women enter sex work, the number one reason cited by the respondents is due to the lack of opportunities in the country. This lack ranges from viable employment options to a lack of ability to pursue quality and higher education. In regards to education, there is no law in the Dominican Republic that requires children to go to school. Therefore as posited by respondent #2, a parent has to encourage their child to attend school. Unfortunately, even if a parent wants to send their children to school they sometimes are not able to afford the basic items needed, such as uniforms, notebooks and pens. While I was in Santo Domingo I met a young man who was polishing shoes. He carried a wooden basket with shoe polish, sponges and cloths. We spoke for a while and he told me that he was 14 years old and that he was shining shoes in order to buy his items for school. His personal story is a good example of the inability of families to purchase the items needed for their children to attend school. This unfortunate fact results in a percentage of the population being illiterate. Respondents #1 and #4 mention that the government offers free technical training programs to educate women. However, respondent #4 states there is not enough demand for women to find employment once they complete these programs.

¹⁸ "bajo nivel educativo, la falta de empleo, poco desarrollo en las zonas donde viven, poco desarrollo económico del país, la dependencia económica del país, [...] préstamos internacionales"

Lack of opportunities was a common theme among the respondents. It was mentioned by nearly all of the respondents that the opportunities that arise for people and in particular for women in the Dominican Republic are minimal. Respondents stated that the people do not have enough employment opportunities. This results in the people creating opportunities for themselves through whatever means they can use. Respondent #19 a pastor, describes the creation of opportunities as being a mechanism of survival,

[There is a] survival factor, because you have to survive, you have to survive, if I'm between a plantation that isn't mine and I don't have a way out, I am going to eat from that plantation although it is not mine and not that I have intentions on being a thief. We have to survive, and these women have to survive.¹⁹

According to respondent #19, people have to figure out ways to survive. If people have no viable choices or options they have to do what they need to do in order to maintain and meet daily demands. The lack of available options unfortunately may result in a woman entering the sex tourism industry in order to obtain the income and the financial means needed in order to support herself and her family. It is not uncommon to find a family, mother, children and grandparents cohabitating in the same home. This is more common in poor families. Many parents in the Dominican Republic rely on their children to support and maintain the house. The reality is, according respondent #23, is that a person who does not have a certificate, diploma or a friend that can help them network to find a job they have very little possibility of finding employment in a respectable field.

¹⁹ “[Hay] factor de sobrevivencia, porque hay que sobrevivir, hay que sobrevivir, si yo estoy entre un platáneo ajeno y no tengo salida, yo voy a comer plátano en ese platáneo aunque no es mío y no que yo tengo intención de ser ladrón. Hay que sobrevivir, y estas mujeres tienen que sobrevivir.”

Respondent #23 was a previous sex worker who now works for a non-profit/non-governmental agency in Santo Domingo. The respondent, an assistant that educates sex workers, told me throughout our interview of stories of her life as a sex worker. She stated that she went into sex work because she had a son to take care of and at the time she didn't have any education so she wasn't able to find employment. For her, sex work created an opportunity to educate herself and gain employment. Though, respondent #23 describes somewhat cynically,

The businesses [sex establishments] are open. There, they do not ask for a curriculum or a certificate.²⁰

The businesses the respondent is referring to are the sex establishments, the sex houses, or the cabarets. The respondent states that in order for a woman to work in any of these establishments, a woman has to be physically attractive and be willing to exchange sexual services with “clients.”

Another contributing factor to the entry of women into sex work mentioned by some of the respondents is the closing of the *zona franca*, free trade zone. Respondent #2 states that a number of the factories closed down in Puerto Plata and moved to Central America due to the increase in the costs of running these factories. I was advised that the *zona franca* employed a large percentage of the population, which might not have had a high level of education and/or were illiterate. Thus, the respondent states that the majority of the women that worked in these zones became unemployed, vulnerable and in dire financial need once the factories closed. Thus, women might have had to resort to any

²⁰ “*Los negocios están abierto. A hi no piden currículo ni certificado.*”

means necessary in order to sustain themselves. Respondent #7 a doctor and director of a government-supported hospital describes,

The one that does not have a job, that does not have any protection [...] everyone needs an opportunity, the one that only has their hands to work, but the work does not appear, and they have another part of the body that produces money, they will devote themselves to various things, a pretty person has the advantage of selling her body and another path is delinquent crime and organized crime.²¹

While employment issues are something that every country faces, the low employment rate and the lack of social programs adds to the desperation of the people in the Dominican Republic. Respondent #7 describes that a pretty woman can and will use her body if no other options become viable. It became apparent while interviewing the respondents that the lack of economic freedom that is present is not discriminatory and exists for women in all educational levels. There were respondents who mentioned that there are women with a college degree that are unable to find employment that provides enough wages to sustain their living expenses. Respondent #20 told me of a story about his niece who has a college degree and has struggled to find employment. Respondent goes on to say there also exists an income earning disparity between men and women in the Dominican Republic. Respondent #19 also shares the same position on wages and states that a woman with a job is able to earn more money as a sex worker that she can earn in a month working 10 hours a day in a traditional job. Interestingly enough, the

²¹ *“El que no tiene un empleo, que no tiene protección [...] todo necesitamos oportunidad, el que solamente tiene sus manos para trabajar, pero no aparece el trabajo, y tiene otra parte del cuerpo por la que produce dinero, se va a dedicar a varias cosas, una bella es la venta de su cuerpo y otro carril es la delincuencia común y la delincuencia organizada.”*

respondent states that sex workers are able to earn a better salary than some women working as secretary in an office. Respondent describes the earnings from a job are meager in comparison to the money that a person can potentially make from a couple of nights of working as a sex worker. This sentiment is expressed in respondent #19's statement,

The misery of wages, the low salaries, and then a girl says in one night I can take home 2000 pesos in prostitution, and when they calculate they have a salary of about 900 dollars.²²

Respondent #19 goes on to say that we can try to eradicate the situation but prostitution is something that will accompany us and always be present. Respondent #19 also states that sex work provides a higher salary than some forms of regular employment in Dominican Republic. This might be the reason why a good number of the respondents state that the women who participate in sex work do it because the money is easy and fast. In addition, nearly all of the respondents stated that women who participate in sex work are not doing it for sexual pleasure but for financial economic reasons, more specifically, "to resolve family matters" (R#23). Respondent #23 states,

Yes, I would say yes, because I am an example of that [...] the majority of sex workers do not do work because they like it [...] the majority use it to resolve family matters.²³

²² *"la miseria de los sueldos, el bajo salario, entonces una muchacha dice bueno en una noche yo me llevo 2000 pesos, en la prostitución. Y cuando calcula tiene un sueldo de 40 o 50 mil pesos"*

Respondent #24 shares the same sentiments with respondent #23 and states,

Recall that previously they used to call them prostitutes, they called them sluts, and through the years we started to understand that what they are doing is a job, they are not engaging in sex work for pleasure, they are engaging in sex work as a mechanism for economic recourse, they do it so that they could maintain [...] a large percentage 99.9, 99.5 of them do it for economic reasons, they do it because they have not found any other option and if they do find another option it is too precarious (R#24).²⁴

Respondent #23 and #24 both agree the basis of women becoming sex workers is due to economic reasons and not for sexual gratification. They both agree that the women who participate in sex work see it as a job, a means to make money.

While the majority of the respondents state that sex work is done to survive, there are some that see society pushing women to want material things. These respondents stated there are women who are not doing it out of economic necessity but for "bubbles and trinkets,"-basically to attain superficial material things (R#22). Respondent #22 describes this further,

It is more tied to [...] financial economic need or a perception of that need [...] more than anyone looking for a visa [...] but across

²³ "si, te dijera que sí, porque yo soy un ejemplo de eso [...] la mayoría de las trabajadoras sexual no hacen el trabajo porque le gustan [...] la mayoría los usan por resolver asuntos familiares"

²⁴ "recuerda que anteriormente le decían prostituta, le decían cuero, y a través de los años se ha visto que ella lo que están haciendo es un trabajo, ella no está ejerciendo el trabajo sexual por placer, están ejerciendo el trabajo sexual como un mecanismo como un recursos para ella general ingreso para ella cubrir [...] un gran porcentaje 99.9, 99.5 de ellas lo hacen por asunto económico, los hace porque no encontrado otra opción y si ha encontrado otra opción es muy precaria"

the board in all of them what I see is the attraction to bubbles and trinkets, you know, shiny things, new cell phones. That's part of it but that is somewhat human nature and I think it is also an integral part of this kind of business because what you are selling is very much based on what you look like. So, there is a very big focus on physical shit. Do I have a cell phone? Are my clothes nice? And without a doubt that is what I meant the perception of need and without the doubt the vast majority of them do have kids that they are taking care of.

Unfortunately, according to respondent, there is a desire to follow the trends of the tourist and to want material items. This desire leads them to want the latest cell phones and clothing styles and brands. This results in women entering sex work to obtain the money needed. Another reason cited was irresponsible parenting.

There were also a couple of respondents that attributed women entering sex work to the lack of oversight of the parents. According to respondent #1, women and/ or children would not participate in this type of activity if parents were more involved and protective of their children. The respondent stated the way in which the parent raises their child will affect them when they become adults. Respondent #1 runs a women's technical training center that trains women in various capacities like sewing and cosmetology. The interview with the respondent centered on the social responsibility of the parent in ensuring their child does not enter prostitution. Respondent #1 states,

If you have irresponsible parents for example [...] if you have parents who have girls who don't have 18 years but we allow them to walk like dogs in the street [...] there the girl starts having sex outside the home without any formality, without any responsibility, then what comes is pregnancy.²⁵

²⁵ *"Si ha vemos padres irresponsable por ejemplo [...] si ha vemos padres que tenemos chicas que no tienen los 18 años y la dejamos que ya anden cómo pero por su casa [...]"*

The respondent goes on to say that as a parent you need to ensure that your child does not roam or be allowed to hang out in the streets at all hours of the night. Allowing your children to be out late unsupervised might allow them to become involved in inappropriate activities. Respondent #18, a previous sex worker now a health educator, affirms this sentiment by stating,

The same parents do not let us help them because some parents are the irresponsible that allow our children to be in the streets, and it is sometimes two and three o'clock in the morning and a girl 8 and 9 years old in the streets asking for money in the batey (sic), what is it that she is looking for?²⁶

Figure 4.3: Picture of a *batey* in the Dominican Republic.



ay la muchachita comienza a tener relaciones sexuales fuera del hogar sin una formalidad, sin ningún tipo de responsabilidad, entonces llega lo que es el embarazo.”

²⁶ *“los mismos padres no los dejan que lo ayuden porque algunos padres somos los irresponsable que dejamos que nuestros hijos salen a la calle y son algunas veces las dos y tres de la mañana y una niña de 8 y 9 años en la calle una niña pidiendo en la calle de él batey ¿qué es lo que ella está buscando?”*

The respondent mentions the *batey* in her statement. I was advised that the *batey* is an area that was developed during the sugar cane industry days to house the slaves that worked on the sugar cane plantations. Today the *batey* is one of the most impoverished areas within the country and houses both Haitian and non-Haitians. In the Dominican Republic, I was able to walk through a couple of *batey*'s. Figure 4.3 is a picture of a *batey* mostly occupied by Haitian and Haitian-Dominican Families. In the *batey*, there are a fair number of houses that have metal walls and roofs and a lack of running water.

According to respondent #1 and #18 it is the responsibility of the parent when it comes to raising, protecting and providing a future for their children. These respondents mention parents send their children into the street to ask tourists for money, instead of the child begging for money they end up engaging in sexual exchanges with a tourist. The respondent points out that the majority of the parents are aware that their children are involved in sex work but they do not intervene because of the economic benefit they receive. The parents, according to the respondents, either turn a blind eye or do not get involved because they need the money. The one thing that was consistent among the respondents was that the government does not condone or allow child sexual exploitation. It was mentioned by several respondents that if the government becomes aware of a business with underage children being exploited, they would close the business down and prosecute all responsible parties. Despite this being the case, while I was in Sosúa I noticed women in the bars and nightclubs that looked questionably young. Therefore, this leads me to assume child exploitation overlooks teenagers.

To sum up, there is not one specific, identifiable reason why women enter into the sex tourism industry. However, the underlying reason stated by the interviewees why

majority of women enter sex work is due to the lack of opportunities within the country. It was the consensus among the respondents that women enter the sex industry not for pleasure but for financial reasons. Unfortunately, there are not enough opportunities for well-paying jobs in the Dominican Republic so women see sex work as a means to make money to meet the daily demands of life. In addition, sex work is believed to be easy and quick money. In the next section I will discuss the differing views on education and socio-economic status of a sex worker.

Differing views on Education and Socio-Economic Status of Sex Workers

Another aspect that varied among sex workers is their level of education and their socio-economic status. The perception of what is a sex worker's level of education and her socio-economic status varied among the respondents, resulting in a lack of consensus. About half of the respondents stated that a sex worker comes from a low level of education and socio-economic status, and the other half stated that the education and the socio-economic level varied. The respondents mention that there are women in sex work who are illiterate, while there are others who hold a college degree. The same can be said in regards to the socio-economic status. According to the respondents, there are women involved in sex work who come from a high level of economic status and there are women who come from poverty ranks. This lack of consensus leads me to conclude that a sex worker's level of education and/or her socio-economic status cannot solely be used to create identifying characteristics about the 'type' of women in sex work. A perfect example of this is respondent #18 who informed me that she entered sex work at a very young age. I interviewed respondent in her home in the *batey*. Respondent said through

advocacy from the organization in which she now works, enabled her to leave sex work.

Respondent states,

We have of all ages [...] I have girls who are of a certain level, I have girls who are daughters of pastors.²⁷

Respondent stated that she has seen a wide range of women involved in sex work. One point that was not clear among the respondents was if the women participating in sex work are able to increase their socio-economic status in the long run--essentially are the women better off by entering sex work. Some of the respondents said yes, the women are able to reach a better status. Other respondents stated the women are only able to attain short-term gain and sometimes end up in a more deteriorated state than before.

Respondent #17 states,

Better economic status they don't find, they find for the moment. But when you have to buy to be in the latest fashion, you have to buy jewelry, good clothing, be in the salon, fixing your nails that money ends right away.²⁸

This leads me to conclude that the outcome of a sex worker's economic status is dependent on the choices she makes. Since there exists a range of women from all economic and educational backgrounds, this diversity adds to the complexity of their

²⁷ “Tenemos de todas las edades, [...] Tengo muchachas que son de un nivel bueno, tengo muchachas que son hijas de pastores.”

²⁸ “Estado económico no consiguen, ellas consiguen para ese momento. Pero cuando tú tienes que comprar para estar en la moda, tienes que comprar prenda, ropa buena, estar en el salón, arreglarte las unas ese dinerito se acaba de una vez.”

outcome. For instance, many of the respondents stated that there are many women that go to school during the day and participate as sex workers at night. One can only assume that these women are developing themselves academically and are doing something that will hopefully better their future and lead to a better socio-economic status. One can also assume that if a woman finds a tourist who supports her by sending her money from abroad, or takes her out of the country, it is assumed that her status will be better. On the other hand, if a woman is using her money for material things and is not saving or not using it for educational advancement, then most likely she will be worse off.

To conclude, the women involved in sex work do not fit the traditional categories of education and social status. The women involved in sex work range from holding a college degree to not being able to read. The other varying factor is age, there are women from all age groups involved in sex work. The women can also range from being of high social status to being poor. Thus, resulting in no attributable characteristics that can be used to identify a sex worker. In the last section of this chapter, I will discuss if the government plays a role in promoting sexual tourism in the Dominican Republic.

Is the government promoting sexual tourism in the country?

The respondents interviewed were asked whether they felt the government of the Dominican Republic was promoting sexual tourism. The majority of the respondents felt that the government was not promoting sex tourism. However, some of the respondents added that the government was indirectly promoting it through a lack of action and preventative measures to ensure that the people within the country have options and ways

to earn money. Most of the respondents criticized the government's lack of action on the inability to create viable employment opportunities. This is expressed by respondent #9's statement below,

The state has a lot of responsibility in promoting sex work, because there is not a lot of employment opportunities here.²⁹

The sentiments expressed by respondent #9 is affirmed by respondent #10's comments,

The government acts blind [...] they turn a blind eye, they know about the problems that are going on and they do not take action to solve the problem or to mitigate this problem.³⁰

In addition, it was the sentiment of some of the participants that indirectly, the government may be promoting and endorsing the activity without realizing it (R#3; #4; and #9). These respondents believe that since the government is the one that implements the laws, creates the opportunities and is responsible for the welfare of its citizens, it is culpable as well. It was stated that the lack of laws pertaining to the procurement of sex allow for the legitimacy of the sex tourism industry to continue. These respondents blame the government is not being proactive enough to deal with the selling of sex. Respondent #7 states,

²⁹ *"el estado tiene mucha responsabilidad en el fomento hacia el trabajo sexual, porque no hay muchas oportunidades de empleo aquí"*

³⁰ *"El gobierno se hacen lo siego[...] se hacen de la vista gorda, saben del problema que están pasando y no toma acción para resolver ese problema o para mitigar ese problema"*

I think you cannot blame the state, however, the rules, the laws are permissive, even though the government [...] is permissive and allow for these types of things to happen [...] it becomes a certified legal assistance in this sense the state is a party [...] it is a business, maintain interest, the people who are involved in that business, I'm not involved and that is the reason that I do not have money[...] the people who have money influence all sectors of the political, social, laws, military, unions, the ones who have money influences thing to happen and to stop things from happening. It is a business that produces a lot of money and there are many people of power involved [...] corruption is power [...] poverty is a consequence of corruption.³¹

Respondent #7 associates the government's inability to act with money. Respondent believes it is not politically beneficial for the government to take action against something that is economically tied to the country's economic survival. The sex tourism industry, according to respondent, is embedded within a host of other businesses that allow for its continuance.

The government of the Dominican Republic has been faced with many trials and tribulations along the years. According to respondent #7, corruption has plagued the country in many instances; there have even been presidents who have stolen money from the country and nepotism is a common occurrence. Respondent states, the people with the

³¹ "creo que no, no se puede acusar al estado, sin embargo las reglas, las leyes, son permisiva, por más que el gobierno[...] son permisiva y permiten que este tipo de cosas pasen [...] se convierte en una asistencia legalizada, en ese sentido el estado es parte, [...] el estado como general somos todos parte de eso somos cómplice [...] es un negocio, mantiene interés, quien están medito en ese negocio, yo no estoy metido por eso no tengo cuarto, mucha gente que tiene dinero, [...] el que tiene dinero influye en todo lo sectores, en el político, en el social, en el de la leyes, en el de los militares, en el sindicalismo, pues el que tiene dinero, influye para caminar y para parar cosas por hacer como es un negocio que produce mucho dinero, pues hay muchas personas de poder envuelta [...] la corrupción es de el poder [...] pobreza en una secuencia de la corrupción"

money are the ones that are able to influence many aspects of the country's social, political, and economic affairs.

One might think that the government would take steps to ensure that sex tourism is not as prevalent and visible as it is. Respondent #15 was the most vocal among the respondents regarding his position and sentiments about the government of the Dominican Republic, and discussed the lack of action to prevent sex work from occurring.

As stated previously, it was discussed by the respondents that the government of the Dominican Republic has not directly promoted sex tourism. The interviewees purport that the government promotes sex tourism indirectly by not providing opportunities for its people. The government's inability to create employment indirectly leads women to enter sex work. In addition, the lack of government action in creating laws to prohibit sex work has led to a movement of women entering sex for fast money. The respondents stated government needs to create opportunities and options for its people that might prevent women from entering sex work.

Conclusion

Tourism is the main economic industry that sustains the economy of the Dominican Republic, its people and many public and private entities. Tourism is received with mixed feelings by the inhabitants because it produces both negative and positive effects. The most prominent negative effect of tourism has been the sex tourism industry. Women in the Dominican Republic have resorted to entering the sex industry as a form of work and a way of obtaining earnings. The women see sex work as an easy and fast

way to secure money for a variety of expenses and needs. Trying to identify or quantify the type of women who participate as sex workers cannot easily be done-since there was no clear consistent theme and attributable characteristics of a sex worker. The lack of consensus results in being unable to definitively identify the women. The women involved in sex work vary in age, education, socio-economic status, and ethnicity. In fact, there exists such a diversity of women entering sex work from different backgrounds and for different reasons that it is difficult to discern who they are.

There also exists a lack of consistency on which term to use to identify women that provide sexual services in exchange for economic remuneration. Another factor that was not consistent was the venue in which the women elected to sell sex. A woman's ethnicity impacts the location in which the sex worker is able to work. In all, in the Dominican Republic, I was not able to equivocally determine the type of person and the reasons for being a sex worker. In the next chapter, I will discuss the quantitative analysis of the country level data.

CHAPTER V

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF COUNTRY-LEVEL DATA

Literature on sex tourism fails to measure the influence of a country's societal conditions on the probability of whether a country has a sex tourism industry. Existing literature solely discusses the relationships that exist between a sex worker and a sex tourists and fails to examine if societal determinants exist that contribute to women entering the sex tourism industry. As such, the goal of quantitative research is to be able to create consistencies in the research that can be generalizable (Remler and Van Ryzin, 2011). Thus, the quantitative methods chapter of this dissertation was conducted in order to augment the qualitative finding in Chapter 4. Quantitative research allows for a better understanding of a phenomena and how it relates to our everyday world. Remler and Van Ryzin (2011) state that "[i]n an important sense, good quantitative research is based on good qualitative research. The two perspectives enhance each other" (p. 12). This chapter aims to describe the social, political, and economic factors associated with sex tourism destinations. This chapter of the dissertation also discusses the quantitative findings and analysis of the data.

Dependent Variables

As discussed in Chapter 3 there does not exist a comprehensive listing of sex tourism destinations. Thus, the researcher created a composite measure of sex tourism destinations in order to test the propositions in the study. The dependent variable of 'sex

tourism' is defined as a country being identified or known as a sex tourism destination, based on published lists as well key word searches (as explained in Chapter 3). Using this approach, there were a total of 52 countries categorized as sex tourism destinations on the long list out of a total of 211 countries. On the short list there were 22 countries identified as sex tourism destinations out of 177. Again, refer to Chapter 3 for the methodology and definition used to identify the long and short lists of sex tourism destinations. Table 5.1 lists the sex tourism destinations that were coded "1" on the long list. Figure 5.1 is a map of all of the countries identified as sex tourism destinations.

Figure 5.1: Map of all of the countries identified as sex tourism destinations.

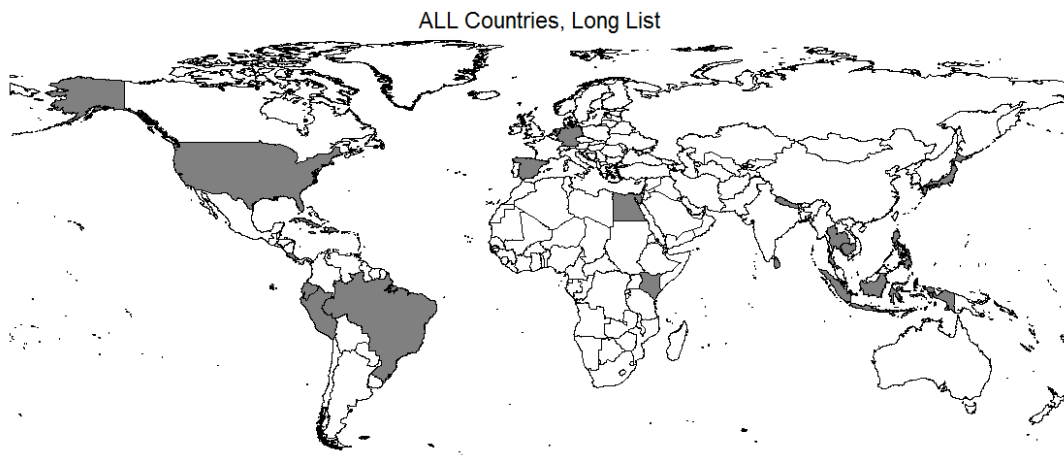


Table 5.1: Sex Tourism Destinations, Long List

Australia	Cuba	Greece	Mexico	Switzerland
Bahrain	Czech Republic	Indonesia	Nepal	Tanzania
Barbados	Dominican Republic	Ireland	Netherlands	Thailand
Belgium	Ecuador	Israel	New Zealand	Trinidad & Tobago
Brazil	Egypt, Arab Rep.	Italy	Peru	Tunisia
Cambodia	El Salvador	Jamaica	Philippines	Turkey
Canada	Estonia	Japan	Portugal	United Kingdom
China	Fiji	Kenya	Russian Federation	United States
Colombia	France	Latvia	Spain	
Costa Rica	Gambia, The	Lithuania	Sri Lanka	
Croatia	Germany	Malaysia	Sweden	

Table 5.2 lists the sex tourism destinations that were coded "1" on the short list.

Table 5.2 Sex Tourism Destinations, Short List

Barbados	Dominican Republic	Jamaica	Peru	Trinidad & Tobago
Brazil	Ecuador	Japan	Philippines	United States
Cambodia	Egypt, Arab Rep.	Kenya	Spain	
Costa Rica	Germany	Nepal	Sri Lanka	
Cuba	Indonesia	Netherlands	Thailand	

Country Data and Descriptive Statistics

Countries differ in terms of their political, social and economic environments. Therefore, in order to test these differences, the countries were divided into two categories, an *ALL Country* list and a *NonOECD country* list. *ALL countries* is defined as all of the countries in which data was available. As noted from the descriptive statistics in table 5.3, there are 211 countries in the *ALL country* list.

NonOECD countries, are countries that are not members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). OECD provides information to assist governments in attaining economic growth and fiscal soundness (OECD, 2015). The majority of the countries that belong to the OECD are countries that are economically advanced in comparison to the other countries. There are currently 34 countries that are part of the Convention for Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development. By removing the 34 member countries from the *ALL country* list, 177 countries remain in the *NonOECD country* list.

Table 5.3 shows a summary of the descriptive statistics for all of the independent variables that were used in the study. More specifically, table 5.3 shows the results for the *ALL country* data.

Table 5.3 Descriptive Statistics for ALL Country Variables.

Variable Names	Obs.	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max
<i>Dependent Variables</i>					
Sex Tourism (Long List)	211	0.246	0.432	0	1
Sex Tourism (Short List)	211	0.104	0.306	0	1
<i>Independent Variables</i>					
Gross Domestic Product (logged, per capita)	193	8.575	1.538	5.3915	11.886
Tourism Receipts (US \$, logged, per capita)	184	4.977	2.288	-1.76	10.874
Tourist (Overnight Visitors, logged, per capita)	192	-1.632	1.985	-6.644	3.144
Female Labor Force Participation Rate	192	49.990	3.022	24.260	54.311
Total Population (logged)	205	15.332	2.270	9.193	21.016
Population Density per km ² (logged)	205	4.329	1.569	-1.976	9.857
Political Instability	209	2.499	0.979	0.870	5.000
Increase in Corruption	207	2.500	1.007	0.090	4.240
Women in Parliament	183	17.560	11.051	0	56.3

Table 5.4 shows a summary of the descriptive statistics for all of the independent variables that were used in the study. More specifically, table 5.4 shows the results of the *NonOECD country* data.

Table 5.4 Descriptive Statistics for NonOECD Country Variables.

Variable Names	Obs.	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max
<i>Dependent Variables</i>					
Sex Tourism (Long List)	177	0.096	0.295	0	1
Sex Tourism (Short List)	177	0.153	0.361	0	1
<i>Independent Variables</i>					
Gross Domestic Product (logged, per capita)	159	8.189	1.395	5.391	11.886
Tourism Receipts (US \$, logged, per capita)	151	4.571	2.340	-1.760	10.874
Tourist (Overnight Visitors, logged, per capita)	158	-1.882	2.073	-6.644	3.144
Female Labor Force Participation Rate	158	49.789	3.281	24.260	54.311
Total Population (logged)	171	15.112	2.329	9.192	21.016
Population Density per km ² (logged)	171	4.331	1.608	-1.976	9.857
Political Instability	175	2.594	.985	0.870	5.000
Increase in Corruption	173	2.709	0.859	0.180	4.240
Women in Parliament	149	15.875	10.504	0	56.3

Logistic Regression Model

The use of a logistic regression model is commonly used for models in which the dependent variable is not a continuous variable (Gujarati, 1999; Hoffman, 2004; Remler

and Van Ryzin, 2011). According to Hoffman (2004) logit models are used instead of "modeling the dependent variable directly [...] we estimate the probability that $Y=1$ " (p. 47). The use of a logistic regression in this study will estimate the probability whether a country has sex tourism. Logistic regression model is used when the dependent variable is a binary variable. Binary form variables only take the form of 0 or 1. Since the dependent variable in this study is a binary form, a country that was identified as a sex tourism destination was coded as 1; otherwise, 0. Since the logit model reports the coefficient of the variables, marginal effects probability was used. Marginal effects provide the researcher with the probability of the value of change in the dependent variable given a change in the independent variable.

The logistic regression models were analyzed using Stata 13. Models were created for each determinant that predicts whether a country is a sex tourism destination. These models seek to identify the determinants that impact whether a country is identified or known as a sex tourism destination. The details of all of the variables are provided in Chapter 3. The first model tests social determinants.

Societal Determinants

This section of the dissertation discusses whether societal determinants increase the likelihood of a country being a sex tourism destination. Based on the literature relating to sex tourism and the researcher's hypotheses, social factors were determined as having an impact on sex tourism. Therefore, the variables selected for this model were: population density per square kilometer (logged), total population (logged) and the rate of

the female in the labor force. These variables were used in order to measure the impact social factors of a country contribute to sex tourism.

The population and the population density of a country affect its citizens in a multitude of ways. It is hypothesized that these variables contribute to the lack of availability and accessibility of opportunities and resources creating a substantial impact on the employment rate, amount of state-sponsored assistance programs, access to quality education and health services. In order to evaluate the statistical significance of the model the likelihood ratios are shown in table 5.5.

Table 5.5. Logit Regression Analysis on the Impact of Social Factors on Sex Tourism.

	Sex Tour Long List		Sex Tour Short List	
	NonOECD	ALL	NonOECD	ALL
Total Population (logged)	0.049 ***	0.077 ***	0.029 ***	0.035 ***
Population Density per km ² (logged)	0.037 *	0.038 *	0.026 *	0.028 **
Female Labor Force Rate	0.012	0.030	0.006	0.005
Constant	-12.379 **	-17.381 ***	-13.735 *	-14.752 **
Log Likelihood	-63.725	-97.265	-47.974	-58.674 ***
Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square	15.92 **	27.850 ***	11.260 **	18.620
Pseudo R-Squared	0.111	0.125	0.105	0.137
N	155	189	155	189

Note: Weighted Results; significance tests are based on robust errors;

*p < .10 ** p < .05 *** p < .01

NonOECD Countries are countries that are not members of the OECD.

Marginal effects are reported.

On the long list of sex tourism destinations for *NonOECD countries*, total population (logged) and population density per square kilometer (logged) both have a strong positive association with sex tourism. Specifically the results reveal, a one unit increase in the total population (logged) will increase the probability that a *NonOECD country* will have sex tourism by 4.87 % (p-value=.002). In regards to population density per square kilometer (logged), a one unit increase in population density per km² (logged) will increase the probability that a *NonOECD country* as sex tourism by 3.77 % (p-value=.064). Alternatively, female participation in the labor does not show any clear significant impact with sex tourism.

On the short list of sex tourism destinations for *NonOECD countries*, total population (logged) and population density per square kilometer (logged) both have a strong positive association with sex tourism. Specifically the results the reveal, a one unit increase in the total population (logged) will increase the probability that a *NonOECD country* has sex tourism by 2.90 % (p-value=.008). In regards to population density per km² (logged), a one unit increase in population density per km² (logged) will increase the probability that a *NonOECD country* has sex tourism by 2.57 % (p-value=.062). Alternatively, female participation in the labor force does not show any clear significant impact with sex tourism.

On the long list of sex tourism destinations for *ALL countries*, total population (logged) and population density per square kilometer (logged) both have a strong positive association with sex tourism. From the results, a one unit increase in total population (logged) will increase the probability that a country has sex tourism by 7.71 % (p-value=.000). In regards to population density per square kilometer (logged), a one unit

increase in population density per km² (logged) will increase the probability that a country has sex tourism by 3.79 % (p-value=.094). Alternatively, female participation in the labor force does not show any clear significant impact with sex tourism.

On the short list of sex tourism destinations for *ALL countries*, total population (logged) and population density per square kilometer (logged) both have a strong positive association with sex tourism. From the results, a one unit increase in the total population (logged) will increase the probability that a country has sex tourism by 3.48 % (p-value=.001). In regards to population density per square kilometer (logged), a one unit increase in population density per km² (logged) will increase the probability that a country has sex tourism by 2.85 % (p-value=.026). Alternatively, female participation in the labor force does not show any clear statistically significant impact with sex tourism.

To conclude, as hypothesized by the researcher social factors can potentially increase the likelihood that a country has sex tourism. However, based on the model the social factors that contribute to this increased probability are total population (logged) and population density per km² (logged). Total population (logged) and population density per km² (logged) in all of the four models-*NonOECD; long and short list; ALL countries on the long and short list*- results in a positive significant relationship with sex tourism. As a result, a one unit increase in either total population (logged) or population density per square kilometer (logged) in a country will increase the probability that a country has sex tourism. The results show that despite the data being either from *NonOECD* or *ALL Country, long or short list* the same social determinants were statistically significant in the models. Resulting in a significant relationship to either total

population (logged) and or population density per square kilometer (logged) will increase the probability that a country has sex tourism. Alternatively, female participation in the labor force does not show any clear significant impact with sex tourism in any of the four models. The next model tests political determinants.

Political Determinants

This section of the dissertation discusses whether political determinants best explain if a country is a sex tourism destination. Based on the literature relating to sex tourism and the researcher's hypotheses, selected political factors were viewed as potentially having an impact on a country's status as a sex tourism destination. Political factors were viewed as having an impact on where sex tourist can be found and a country being viewed as a sex tourism destination. Therefore, the independent variables selected for this model were as follows: the World Bank Governance Indicator of political stability, world governance indicator of control of corruption and the World Bank measure of women in parliament. These variables were used in order to measure the impact political factors may have on the probability of a being a sex tourism destination.

Political factors affect a country in a multitude of ways. To name a few, political factors can affect citizen's trust in government, citizen's perception of corruption and government effectiveness. Therefore, it is hypothesized that ineffective, corrupt and politically unstable governments will have a higher likelihood of having sex tourism. In addition, it is believed that an increase of women in parliament will lead to a decrease in gender inequality and an increased representation of women's rights in a country.

In order to access the statistical significance of the model the likelihood ratios are depicted in table 5.6.

Table 5.6. Logit Regression Analysis on the Impact of Political Factors on Sex Tourism.

	Sex Tour Long List		Sex Tour Short List	
	NonOECD	ALL	NonOECD	ALL
Political Instability	.100 **	.176 ***	.068 *	.068 *
Increase in Corruption	-.129 **	-.206 ***	-.0711 *	-.053
Women in Parliament	.005 *	.006 **	.004 **	.004 *
Constant	-1.478 *	-1.327 **	-2.840 ***	-3.267 ***
Log Likelihood	-66.478	-92.57	-48.134	-62.231
Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square	9.34	26.92	8.54	8.95
Pseudo R-Squared	.066 **	.127 ***	.081 **	.067 **
N	145	179	145	179

Note: Weighted Results; significance tests are based on robust errors;

*p < .10 ** p < .05 *** p < .01

NonOECD Countries are countries that are not listed as members of the OECD.

Marginal effects are reported.

On the long list of sex tourism destinations for *NonOECD countries*, political instability, an increase in corruption, and an increase of women in parliament all have a statistical association with sex tourism. However, the association for corruption is negative and the probability reported for women in parliament is minimal. Specifically from the results, a one unit increase in corruption will decrease the probability that a

NonOECD country has sex tourism by 12.89 % (p-value=.024). In regards to women in parliament, a one unit increase in women in parliament will increase the probability that a *NonOECD country* has sex tourism by .51 % (p-value=.078). For political instability, a one unit increase in political instability will increase the probability that a *NonOECD country* has sex tourism by 10.04 % (p-value=.046). All three of the independent variables from the *NonOECD long list* model were statistically significant.

On the short list of sex tourism destinations for *NonOECD countries*, political instability, an increase in corruption, and women in parliament all have a statistical association with sex tourism. However, the association for an increase in corruption is negative and the probability for women in parliament is minimal. Specifically from the results, a one unit increase in political instability will increase the probability that a *NonOECD country* has sex tourism by 6.85 % (p-value=.067). In regards to an increase in corruption, a one unit increase in corruption will decrease the probability that a *NonOECD country* has sex tourism by 7.12 % (p-value=.098). In regards to an increase in women in parliament, a one unit increase in women in parliament will increase the probability that a *NonOECD country* has sex tourism by .43 % (p-value=.036). All three of the independent variables in the *NonOECD countries short list* model were statistically significant.

On the *long list* of sex tourism destinations for *ALL countries*, an increase in corruption, political instability and women in parliament all have a strong association with sex tourism. However, the association for an increase in corruption is negative and the probability for women in parliament is minimal. Specifically from the results, a one unit increase in political instability will increase the probability that a country has sex

tourism by 17.62 % (p-value=.002). In regards to an increase in corruption, a one unit increase in corruption will decrease the probability that a country has sex tourism by 20.60 % (p-value=.000). For women in parliament, a one unit increase in women in parliament will increase the probability that a country has sex tourism by .65 % (p-value=.040). All three of the independent variables in the *ALL countries long list* model were statistically significant.

On the *short list* of sex tourism destinations for *ALL countries*, political instability and women in parliament both have a strong association with sex tourism. Specifically, a one unit increase in political instability will increase the probability that a country has sex tourism by 6.82 % (p-value=.055). In regards to women in parliament, a one unit increase in women in parliament will increase the probability that a country has sex tourism by .38 % (p-value=.059). On the short list of sex tourism destinations, an increase in corruption does not show any clear statistically significant impact with sex tourism.

To conclude, as hypothesized by the researcher political factors can potentially increase the likelihood that a country has sex tourism. Based on the models all of the political factors contribute in some magnitude to this. Specifically, political instability and an increase of women in parliament in all four models-*NonOECD; long and short list; ALL countries* on the *long and short list*-shows a statistically significant association with sex tourism. While an increase in corruption is statistically significant in *NonOECD; long and short list; ALL countries only the long list*, the directional relationship based on the results is contrary to the researcher's original hypotheses. An increase in corruption has an inverse relationship with sex tourism. While it is known that data is not perfect in order to ensure that the relationship between sex tourism and corruption was not due to

an error in the coding of the data, the correlation of the political variables were analyzed. The results show a positive relationship between the variables. These results prove that the coding and the scale of the data was correct. Thus, further research and data is needed in order to understand the reason for the inverse relationship between these variables. The next model tests economic determinants.

Economic Determinants

Based on the literature relating to sex tourism and the researcher's hypotheses, selected economic factors were viewed as potentially having an impact on a country's status as a sex tourism destination. Therefore for the economic model, international tourism receipts (per capita), international tourist arrivals (per capita) and per capita GDP were selected as independent variables in order to measure the impact these economic factors of a country may have on the probability of being a sex tourism destination.

Economic factors greatly impact the wellbeing of a country. Economic factors affect the unemployment rate, foreign direct investment, strength of the currency in a country, lending and borrowing interest rates and the amount of goods and services that can be exported and imported. Therefore, it is hypothesized that the economy of a country will potentially impact the likelihood of a country having sex tourism.

In order to access the statistical significance of the model the likelihood ratios are depicted in table 5.7.

Table 5.7. Logit Regression Analysis on the Impact of Economic Factors on Sex Tourism.

	Sex Tour Long List		Sex Tour Short List	
	NonOECD	ALL	NonOECD	ALL
Tourism Receipts (logged, per capita)	0.038	0.041	0.037	0.037
Tourist (logged, per capita)	-0.034	-0.063	-0.044	-0.055 **
GDP (logged, per capita)	0.024	0.107 ***	0.012	0.023
Constant	-3.97 **	-7.089 ***	-5.507 **	-6.572 ***
Log Likelihood	-70.998	-96.259	-50.333	-63.522
Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square	3.00	19.01 ***	2.61	4.770
Pseudo R-Squared	0.021	0.090	0.025	0.036
N	139	173	139	173

Note: Weighted Results; significance tests are based on robust errors;

*p < .10 ** p < .05 *** p < .01

NonOECD Countries are countries that are not listed as members of the OECD.

Marginal effects are reported.

On the long list of sex tourism destinations for *NonOECD countries*, international tourism receipts (logged, per capita) international tourist arrivals (logged, per capita) and per capita GDP from the results does not show to have a significant impact on sex tourism. The results reveal that none of the independent variables chosen for the model impacts the likelihood that a country has sex tourism on the *NonOECD countries, long list*.

On the short list of sex tourism destinations for *NonOECD countries*, international tourism receipts (logged, per capita), international tourist arrivals (logged, per capita) and per capita GDP from the results does not show any clear significant

impact on sex tourism. None of the independent variable's chosen for the model impacts the likelihood that a country has sex tourism in the *NonOECD countries, short list*.

On the long list of sex tourism destinations for *ALL countries*, international tourism receipts (logged, capita) and international tourist arrivals (logged, per capita) do not show a clear statistically significant impact on sex tourism. In regards to per capita GDP, a one unit increase in per capita GDP will increase the probability that a country has sex tourism by 10.72 % (p-value=.006). Which means, as the per capita GDP of the country increases, the likelihood of the country having sex tourism also increases when considering *ALL Countries* on the *short list*.

On the short list of sex tourism destinations for *ALL countries*, international tourist arrivals (logged, per capita) is the only independent variable that has a statistically significant relationship with sex tourism. Per capita GDP and international tourism receipts (logged, per capita) do not show any clear statistical significance on sex tourism. Thus, a one unit increase in international tourist arrivals (logged, per capita) will decrease the probability that a country has sex tourism by 5.33 % (p-value=.049).

To conclude, as hypothesized by the researcher economic factors may impact the likelihood that a country has sex tourism. However, based on the results just presented there were only two instances where economic determinants result in significant findings. In particular, in the *ALL countries long list*, per capita GDP provides a statistically significant relationship with sex tourism. For the *ALL countries short list*, international tourist arrivals (logged, per capita) does result in significant findings. International tourism receipts (logged, per capita) did not result in any statistical findings in any of the four models. For the *NonOECD countries*, there was no statistical relevance for any of

the economic independent variables. While some economic factors were significant, the overall impact was modest in comparison to the researcher's original hypotheses. Further research and data is needed in order to understand how economic factors impact the likelihood that a country has sex tourism. The next model tests the combined impact of economic, social and political determinants.

Combined Model: Economic, Social and Political Determinants

This section looks at whether a combination of economic, social and political factors best explain the likelihood that a country is identified as a sex tourism destination. In order to create the last logit model, each of the variables used in the social, political and economic models above were used in developing the combined model.

The independent variables used were: total population (logged), population density per square kilometer (logged), female participation rate in the labor force (social determinants), women in parliament, political instability, increase in corruption (political determinants), international tourism receipts (logged, per capita), international tourist arrivals (logged, per capita) and per capita GDP (economic determinants). In each of the combined models, a stepwise backward selection procedure was used in order to analyze the combined variables. The purpose of this model is to eliminate the variables that are not significant nor improve the model. The use of this model is useful in identifying which variables estimate the likelihood that a country has sex tourism. Specifically, the procedure used in the stepwise regression model was to remove any variables with a p-value greater than .20.

In order to access the statistical significance of the model the likelihood ratios are depicted in table 5.9.

Table 5.9. Stepwise Logit Regression Analysis on the impact of Economic, Social and Political Factors on Sex Tourism for *NonOECD Countries* on the Long List.

Total Population (logged)	.099	***
Women in Parliament	.004	
International Tourism Receipts (logged, per capita)	.088	***
Increase in Corruption	.066	
Constant	-17.589	***
Log Likelihood	-48.578	
Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square	34.80	***
Pseudo R-Squared	0.264	
N	123	

Note: Weighted Results; significance tests are based on robust errors;

*p< .10 ** p< .05 *** p<.01

NonOECD Countries are countries that are not listed as members of the OECD.

Marginal effects are reported.

The variables that remained in the model were: total population (logged) increase in corruption, women in parliament and international tourism receipts (logged, per capita). For this model, one variable from the social, two from the political and one from the economic determinants remained in the model. The variables dropped were: population density per square kilometer (logged), female participation rate in the labor

force, political instability, international tourist arrivals (logged, per capita) and per capita GDP.

On the *long list* of sex tourism destinations for *NonOECD countries*, international tourism receipts (logged, per capita) and international tourism arrivals (logged, per capita) both have a strong significant relationship on sex tourism. In terms of total population (logged), a one unit increase in total population (logged) will increase the probability that a *NonOECD country* has sex tourism by 9.92 % (p-value=.000). For international tourism receipts, a one unit increase in international tourism receipts (logged, per capita) will increase the probability that a *NonOECD country* has sex tourism by 8.82 % (p-value=.000).

In conclusion for *NonOECD countries*, international tourism receipts (logged, per capita) and total population (logged) were statistically significant on the *long list*. Based on the results just presented, the combination of both of these factors in a county can potentially increase the likelihood that a country has sex tourism. The next model to be tested using the stepwise logistic regression is *NonOECD countries* on the *short list*.

Table 5.10. Logit regression analysis on the impact of Economic, Social and Political Factors on Sex Tourism for *NonOECD Countries* on the Short List

Women in Parliament	.004	**
Total Population (logged)	.048	***
International Tourism Receipts (logged, per capita)	.046	***
Constant	-16.188	***
Log Likelihood	-40.176	
Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square	18.47	
Pseudo R-Squared	.187	***
N	123	

Note: Weighted Results; significance tests are based on robust errors;

* $p < .10$ ** $p < .05$ *** $p < .01$

NonOECD Countries are countries that are not listed as members of the OECD.

Marginal effects are reported.

The variables that remained in the model as a result of the stepwise backward selection procedure were women in parliament, total population (logged) and an international tourism receipts (logged, per capita). For this model, one variable of each of the social, political and economic determinants remained in the model. The variables dropped were: population density per square kilometer (logged), female participation rate in the labor force, political instability, increase in corruption, international tourist arrival (logged, per capita) and per capita GDP.

On the *short list* of sex tourism destinations for *NonOECD countries*, women in parliament has a statistically significant impact on sex tourism. The results show, a one unit increase in women in parliament will increase the probability that a *NonOECD*

country has sex tourism by .04 % (p-value=.040). In regards to total population (logged), a one unit increase in total population (logged) will increase the probability that a *NonOECD country* has sex tourism by 4.80 % (p-value=.002). The results for international tourism receipts (logged, per capita) show, a one unit increase in international tourism receipts (logged, per capita) will increase the probability that a *NonOECD country* has sex tourism by 4.62 % (p-value=.006).

In conclusion, as hypothesized by the researcher a combination of economic, political and social determinants can impact the likelihood that a country has sex tourism. Specifically, the variables of interest that were significant in *NonOECD countries* were: women in parliament, international tourism receipts (logged, per capita) and total population (logged). These variables were statistically significant for *NonOECD countries* on the *short list*. A combination of these determinants in a county can best explain the probability that a country is identified as a sex tourism destination.

In both of the models, *NonOECD country-long* and *short list*, international tourism receipts (logged, per capita) and total population were statistically significant. The results show the number of people in the population (logged) and the amount of tourism receipts (logged, per capita) a country receives increases the probability of a country's status as a sex tourism destination. For the *NonOECD country short list*, women in parliament was also significant. The next model to be tested using the stepwise backward procedure was the *ALL country, long list*.

Table 5.11. Logit regression analysis on the impact of Economic, Social and Political Factors on Sex Tourism on *ALL Countries* Long List.

Total Population (logged)	.144 ***
Women in Parliament	.005
International Tourist Receipts (logged, per capita)	.137 ***
Constant	-19.40 ***
Log Likelihood	-66.640
Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square	63.20 ***
Pseudo R-Squared	0.322
N	157

Note: Weighted Results; significance tests are based on robust errors;

*p< .10 ** p< .05 *** p<.01

Marginal effects are reported.

Table 5.11 shows the variables that remained in the model were: total population (logged), women in parliament, and international tourism receipts (logged, per capita). For this model, one variable of each of the determinants remained in the model. The variables dropped from the model were: population density per square kilometer (logged), female participation rate in the labor force, political instability, increase in corruption, international tourism arrivals (logged, per capita) and per capita GDP

On the *long list* of sex tourism destinations for *ALL countries*, total population (logged) has a statistically significant impact on sex tourism. Thus, a one unit increase in total population (logged) will increase the probability that a country has sex tourism by 14.39 % (p-value=.000). In regards to international tourism receipts (logged, per capita), a one unit increase in international tourism receipts (logged, per capita) will increase the probability that a country has sex tourism by 13.70 % (p-value=.000). Despite the fact

that women in parliament remained in the model. The results do not show any clear statistical significance.

In conclusion, total population (logged) and international tourism receipts (logged, per capita) were both statistically significant for *ALL countries* on the *long list*. An increase to either of these independent variables will increase the likelihood that a country is identified as a sex tourism destination.

The next model to be tested using the stepwise backward selection procedure is the *ALL country, short list*.

Table 5.12. Logit regression analysis on the impact of Economic, Social and Political Factors on Sex Tourism for *ALL Countries* on the Short List.

Women in Parliament	.003	
Population Density per km ²	.032	**
International Tourism Receipts (logged, per capita)	.021	*
Total Population (logged)	.044	***
Constant	-14.41	***
Log Likelihood	-52.390	
Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square	22.45	
Pseudo R-Squared	.176	***
N	157	

Note: Weighted Results; significance tests are based on robust errors;

*p < .10 ** p< .05 *** p<.01

Marginal effects are reported.

Table 5.12 shows the variables that remained in the model were: women in parliament, population density per square kilometer (logged), total population (logged) international tourism receipts (logged, per capita), and total population (logged). For this model, two variables from the social variables remained in the model, one for political, and one for economic. The variables dropped from the model were: female participation rate in the labor force, political instability, increase in corruption, international tourist arrivals (logged, per capita) and per capita GDP.

On the short list of sex tourism destinations for *ALL countries*, population density per square kilometer (logged), total population (logged) and international tourism receipts (logged, per capita) all have a statistically significant impact on sex tourism. Specifically, a one unit increase in population density per square kilometer (logged) will increase the probability that a country has sex tourism by 3.20 % (p-value=.049). For total population (logged), a one unit increase in total population (logged) will increase the probability that a country has sex tourism by 4.36 % (p-value=.001). In terms of international tourism receipts (logged, per capita), a one unit increase in international tourism receipts (logged, per capita) will increase the probability that a country has sex tourism by 2.05 % (p-value=.078).

Thus, population density per square kilometer (logged), international tourism receipts (logged, per capita) and total population (logged) were statistically significant for *ALL countries* on the *short list*. The variable, women in parliament does not result in any statistical significance. In both of the models, *ALL countries-long* and *short list*, the same two identical variables remained in the model, international tourism receipts (logged, per capita) and total population (logged). The results provide support that for *ALL countries*

the number of people in the population (logged) and the density of the population (logged) can increase the probability that a country is identified as a sex tourism destination.

To conclude, this section of the dissertation sought to understand whether a combination of economic, social and political determinants explain the likelihood that a country is identified as a sex tourism destination. In the *NonOECD* and *ALL Countries-long* and *short list*, the same independent variables remained in all four of the models and were statistically significant. For *NonOECD countries on the long list*, total population (logged) and international tourism receipts (logged, per capita) were statistically significant. For *NonOECD countries on the short list*, women in parliament, total population (logged), and international tourism receipts (logged, per capita) were statistically significant. For *ALL countries on the long list*, total population (logged) and international tourism receipts (logged, per capita) were statistically significant. For *ALL countries on the short list*, total population (logged), population density per square kilometer (logged) and international tourism receipts (logged, per capita) were statistically significant.

Based on the results of the combined models, the number of people in the population (logged) and the amount of tourism receipts (logged, per capita) a country receives explains the likelihood a country is a sex tourism destination. It is believed that an increase to the total population decreases the amount of available resources and employment opportunities. Thus, citizens need to find other options to secure their financial responsibilities. This may result in women entering the tourism industry in order to obtain the means needed to support themselves, attain the economic remuneration

needed and an indirect means for citizen's to attain money. In addition, countries with an influx of tourism receipts may become highly dependent on the tourism industry and may become tolerant of the sex tourism industry.

Summary and Discussions

The results of the models above provide at least some support for the idea that political, economic and social determinants contribute to a country having a sex tourism industry. In order to assess the probability that a country has sex tourism, three separate models were created for each of the determinants-social, political and economic-and then a combined model using a stepwise backwards selection procedure.

First, in the social model, the results provide some evidence that there is a positive and statistically significant association with total population (logged) and population density per square kilometer (logged). The findings suggest an increase to a country's population (logged) and / or population density per square kilometer (logged) increases the probability that a country has sex tourism. The independent variable, female labor force participation rate did not result in any significant association with sex tourism.

Second, in the political model, the findings were mixed. The results provide evidence that there is a statistical association with political instability, an increase in corruption and women in parliament. The variables, political instability and women in parliament were consistently significant throughout all of the models-*NonOECD* and *ALL Countries-long* and *short*. Thus, resulting in a positive association with sex tourism. The variable, an increase in corruption on the other hand while statistically significant in three

of the four models, *NonOECD-long* and *short list*, *ALL countries-only* on the *long list*, was contradictory to the researcher's original hypotheses. The results show that an increase in corruption has an inverse relationship to sex tourism. It was interesting that the results show that an increase in corruption in all of the four models results in a negative association with sex tourism destinations. Therefore, we can conclude that regardless of a country being developed or less developed the association would remain the same. Further quantitative research needs to be conducted in order to determine the causal relationship that corruption has on sex tourism.

Third, in the economic models, the findings suggest that there does exist a relationship with sex tourism. However, the findings were not consistent throughout all of the models and only show a significant association in the *ALL countries-long* and *short list*. Additionally, further quantitative research is needed in order to determine the casual relationship economic determinants has on sex tourism.

Last, in order to create the combined model, all of the variables were entered into a stepwise backward selection procedure in order to measure the impact social, political and economic determinants explain the likelihood a country is a sex tourism destination. The findings suggest there is a positive and statistically significant association between economic and social determinants on sex tourism. Specifically, international tourism receipts and total population were both positively associated. As such, an increase in either of these factors will increase the likelihood that a country is identified as a sex tourism destination.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In this chapter of the dissertation I discuss the conclusion and the implications of the sex tourism industry in the Dominican Republic and other developing countries. I begin with restating the research purpose of this dissertation, providing an overview of the qualitative and quantitative results and the findings and implications.

Research Purpose

The dissertation employed to main approaches for examining the phenomenon of sex tourism, particularly in developing countries. The first part of the dissertation described the social, political, and economic factors associated with the sex tourism industry in the Dominican Republic. The second part described how local government, non-governmental participants and stakeholders interpret and respond to this problem in the Dominican Republic. My overall objective for the second part was to address and understand, what do these agents perceive as the causes, consequences and solutions if any to these problems? In order to address the methodological gap that exists in previous research, this dissertation examined sex tourism by using various data sources and analysis in order to merge the findings through the use of triangulation.

The results suggest that social, political and economic factors do play a role in the likelihood that a country has sex tourism. But before drawing conclusions from the results of this dissertation and discussing the policy implications, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of this study.

Limitation of Research

Several limitations exist in this dissertation. First, this study only utilized one country in the case-study research. The use of one country provides the perspective of interviewees only from that one country. While general statements can be made about the sex tourism industry from this single case-study, better comparisons could have been made if a multi case-study was conducted.

Second, due to time limitations, the information for both the qualitative and quantitative research was gathered using cross-sectional data. It is unknown if conducting a longitudinal study would have resulted with the same findings and results.

Third, it is very difficult to understand singlehandedly the core issues that leads women into sex work in the tourism industry. There are a combination of issues perceived to explain their entry into sex work, such as male dominance in society, domestic violence, low education and a lack of development in a country. In addition, it is unknown if sex workers and or sex tourists are being truthful in the responses and the information they provide researchers in terms of their reason for entry and participation in this industry. The only way to truly understand their motivations is to immerse oneself into their life-become them, live with them and be them.

Fourth, limitations exist in the data collection method used to compile the list of sex tourism destinations. The countries were compiled using three methods-Google, articles, and Wikipedia. It is unknown if conducting a search in different parts of the world would result in the same countries listed as sex tourism destinations.

Fifth, availability of data was an inherent problem during the quantitative data collection process. It became apparent that advanced countries had better and more reliable data than less developed countries. In this study, OECD countries had better data availability than *NonOECD* countries. It was difficult at times to obtain the necessary data needed for *NonOECD* countries. Due to these limitations, the logit regression model could not explore the details of politics and socio-demographics which could have enabled the researcher to better understand the impact of country conditions on sex tourism.

Last, this study only discussed women sex workers and male sex tourists. As discussed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, there exists many different types of relationships and exchanges that can occur between local and tourists. To name a few, sex tourism can consist of female sex tourism often defined as romance tourism (Pruitt and LaFont, 1995), child sex tourism (O'Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor, 1996) and gay sex tourism (Padilla, 2008). The exchanges and the reasons for entry can be immensely different.

Research Results-Qualitative and Quantitative

For the qualitative portion of this dissertation the researcher conducted in-person interviews with constituents in the Dominican Republic. Specifically, interviews were conducted with 25 experts who have first-hand knowledge of the sex tourism industry and sex work in tourist areas in the Dominican Republic. The composition of the

participants varied from people who work with sex workers to business owners and educators and the interviews varied in-time from 30 minutes to 75 minutes.

The Tourism Industry in the Dominican Republic

In order for developing countries to integrate themselves into the global world market they sought to stimulate their economy through the tourism industry (Kempadoo, 2003; Babb, 2010; Cabezas, 2011). Based on the findings from the qualitative interviews, the perception of the tourism industry in the Dominican Republic is mixed. Some of the interviewees express their appreciation and others their disenchantment. Where there is consensus among the interviewees however, is that the tourism industry has produced profound changes to how people live in the Dominican Republic. It was stated by one of the respondents that the tourism industry has developed areas that would have been left abandoned if it was not for the industry. It is also believed by some of the respondents that the tourism industry has contributed to an increase in economic and human development, provided an increase of employment opportunities, and human development through exposure to a diverse group of beings and behaviors.

It is perceived among some of the respondents that one of the unintended consequences of the tourism industry has been the development of a sexual commerce industry in the tourism areas of the country. The development of this industry has produced a movement of women entering the sexual commerce industry primarily for economic reasons. The interviewees understand that women use sex work for a variety of purposes. In particular, the women that are employed use sex work as a mechanism to

supplement their salary other women use it as a way to attain quick and fast money. As discussed by one of the interviewees, the women who are employed are not able to earn enough money to meet their monthly expenses and use sex work as a means to augment their salary. Based on the qualitative interviews, the women that participate in sex work come from all economic, social and educational backgrounds. Therefore, as stated by one of the interviewees, we cannot assume that sex workers are only the women standing on a street corner. Based on the findings from the qualitative interviews, there does not exist any attributable characteristics that can identify the women that participate in this industry.

In addition, as understood from the interviewees, some of the women in this industry do not perceive themselves as sex workers, instead, they view the exchanges they have with a tourist as a traditional courtship that can lead to different exchanges and benefits throughout the course of the relationship. Women in the Dominican Republic try to secure long-distance relationships in order to receive different goods and benefits from tourist.

To conclude, the tourism industry has been a mixed bag for the country and the people in the Dominican Republic. On one side of the spectrum, the tourism industry has provided the country with the economic income it needs in order to participate in the global market. On the other side, it has created the development of a sex tourism industry.

Future Implications for the Dominican Republic

The slogan used by the Ministry of Tourism in the Dominican Republic is “*Dominican Republic Has it All*” (Ministry of Tourism, 2015). It is perceived by the interviewees, that tourist visit the Dominican Republic with that perception. The perception that a tourist can have it all, and that includes the women on the island. Based on the qualitative findings, the marketing campaigns conducted by the tourism industry in the Dominican Republic has started to shift the way it markets the Dominican Republic to the international community. It is understood by one of the interviewees, that the current campaigns aim to sell culture, history, society and the mountainous areas instead of a tourism that is derived on the nightlight and sexual imagery.

While efforts will consists of changing the perception of the Dominican Republic as a sex tourism destination, this outlook for many will still be embedded in the minds of thousands of tourist who have continuously visited its borders in order to participate or have participated in the sex tourism industry. Additionally, due to the financial gains received from this industry many constituents and operates within this industry will continue to promote and encourage its continuance.

It is understood that the selling of sex that takes place in the tourist areas of the Dominican Republic do not involve coerced activity. The women in the Dominican Republic that participate in the sex tourism industry are conscious of their decision and are doing it at their discretion, not because anyone is forcing them. Additionally, if a fundamental understanding why women enter the sex tourism industry is not understood and rectified, the industry will continue to exist in the Dominican Republic. The Dominican Republic is a Catholic country which means that culturally they will probably

never legalize prostitution. Instead, the government will continue to turn a blind eye to its activity and or will try to make halfhearted attempts to curtail its activity from spreading.

Environmental Determinants

Using the existing original qualitative interviews and the quantitative data collected, this dissertation seeks to answer if social, political and economic factors of a country increase the likelihood of sex tourism within that country. A logistic regression model was created for each of the determinants-social, political and economic-identified in the study. In addition, in order to further test the hypotheses in the dissertation further a combined model was tested which includes each of the determinants identified in each of the social, political and economic models. Each of these models estimate the probability that a country has sex tourism.

First, based on the findings, it is understood that societal determinants do contribute to a lack of availability and accessibility of opportunities and resources in a country. According to the participants interviewed there exists a lack of employment opportunities and quality education for the women in the Dominican Republic. The lack of these resources has led to women seeking other alternative options for economic attainment. Thus, in order to measure if social determinants significantly increase the likelihood that a country has sex tourism three societal independent variables were selected to be included in the model: total population (logged), population density per square kilometer (logged) and the female labor force participation rate. These variables were used in order to measure the social impact on sex tourism. In all of the models,

NonOECD; *long* and *short list*; *ALL countries* on the *long* and *short list*-two of the social variables were identified as positive statistically significant indicators. The evidence suggests that social determinants are a significant contributor to the likelihood that a country has sex tourism.

Second, political influences and the lack of policies and regulations in a country is believed by the interviewees to impact the continuance or the development of a sex tourism industry. According to the participants interviewed, money and power influence the activities of a government and ensures that the sex tourism industry continues in the Dominican Republic. In order to measure if political determinant's significantly increase the likelihood that a country has sex tourism three political independent variables were selected for the model: a measure of corruption, women in parliament and political stability. These variables were used in order to measure the political impact on sex tourism. Based on the results, the findings show that the variables selected were statistically relevant in three of the four models. Specifically, for *NonOECD countries*, political determinants were statistically significant in both the *long* and the *short list*. The evidence suggests that in countries that are less economically advanced than member OECD countries, political influence is a significant contributor to the increased likelihood that a country has sex tourism. The results of the combined logistic regression model shows evidence that environmental factors in a country increases the likelihood that a country has a sex tourism industry.

Third, economic pressure is perceived by the interviewees as the number one reason women in the Dominican Republic migrate to tourist areas in order to participate in the sexual tourism industry. According to the participants interviewed, a dependency

on international tourism receipts contributes to an increased level of tolerance by the government and the people of the Dominican Republic. In order to measure if economic pressure increases the likelihood that a country has sex tourism, three independent variables were selected for the economic model: international tourism receipts (logged, per capita), international tourist arrivals (logged, per capita) and per capita GDP. The results show there is some evidence to suggest that economic determinants do increase the likelihood that a country has sex tourism. Based on the results, economic variables were statistically significant in the *ALL country model*, *long* and *short list*. There results show no statistical support on the *NonOECD country* in either the *long* or *short list*. As a single determinant, economic factors do not provide enough evidence to support a significant contributor to the sex tourism industry.

The last model tested was the combined model. The use of the combined model allows for a more holistic understanding of this impact of sex tourism destinations. In order to test this model, a stepwise logistic regression model was used. The combined model consisted of the three economic variables, three political variables and three economic variables. The results show that in *NonOECD countries* when the economic variable international tourism receipts (logged, per capita) is combined with the other determinant's the results show stronger statistical support that economic factors does increase sex tourism. Specifically, this significance is at the 99 percent confidence level with a p-value less than .01. Thus, the researcher can safely conclude the combination of political and social determinants in a country impact the economic determinants.

Findings and Implications

Based on my experience from conducting the research for this dissertation, the existing way in which countries choose to deal with sex work within the sex tourism industry needs to be reconsidered. The development of better policies need to be created in order to address the concerns of the various constituents and participants not only at a national but an international level.

To begin, a change in policies in this industry needs to occur to better inform the participants, tourist and citizens. Second, clear definitions need to define who is considered a sex tourist. Third, a review of the social, political and economic determinants of a country need to be analyzed in order to perceive why there is an increased likelihood that a country has sex tourism. These three measures and implications will be discussed below.

Policy Implications

The sexual commerce industry has been in existence in one form or another before the days of Christopher Columbus. While attempts are made to end its activity by many entities like nongovernmental agencies, international organizations and governments, this industry continues to operate through different modes and venues and through legal and illegal markets. The closing of businesses or arresting the participants in this industry should not be viewed as a form of ending the development of the sex tourism industry. The ramification of these actions create an underground market. This policy action creates a worse-off situation for the women in the industry.

A more informed policy solution would be to better advise the participants in this industry of their rights within the law. The lack of information, knowledge and understanding of the participants involved in the sex tourism industry creates an unjust and abusive working environment for the women involved in this industry. Thus, a standardization and protection of the industry participants would allow them not to have to fear being detained or abused by authorities. It would also decrease the amount of women that are believed to be coerced and it would provide a level of protection for the participants.

The women involved in sex work use it as a means to be financial contributors to their household and it create a mechanism where they are able to take care of their children, pay for school, save for a home, and or a business. It is a form of economic livelihood and independence from oppressive conditions. Sex work within the tourism industry in many countries is visible, attainable and accessible if there is a supply there will be a continued demand. Economic policy changes if there continues to be a lack of viable employment and opportunities for women within the country women will continue to participate in this industry.

In addition, the sexual commerce industry is big business for a country and its businesses. The beneficiaries are not only be the businesses and the country but the women that can and will make money from their participation. Therefore, less developed countries that are dependent on the tourism industry need to take advantage of this opportunity and allow for the continuance of the sex industry to occur within its borders in contained areas.

Sex Tourists

Based on the interviews and the literature review, it is clear that a consistent understanding of the sex tourism industry needs to be established in order to understand the participants of this industry and the breadth of its reach. Clarity and organization among scholars in terms of definitions and views on what and who are considered sex tourists need to be created so there is consistency among scholars and governmental units. Traditional views that take into consideration money for sex among two people should solely be viewed as sex tourism and not other types of relationships that transcend throughout the period of interaction.

What is a sex tourist? A sex tourist can consist of 1) A person that is not a citizen of a country and travels for the exclusive purpose of having sex with a woman from the country being traveled to 2) A person that is not a citizen of a country, visits the country and has sex with a local. The initial purpose for visiting the country should not be taken into consideration. If the exchanges between the participants consist of simple one-time exchanges in tourist areas, this is sex tourism. This can include exchanges that are for an extended period of time; but do not evolve into anything more significant or deeper emotional bond. However, once a person develops a different type of relationship, exchange and understanding with the woman that lives in the country which involves emotions and sentiments this should no longer be considered sex tourism. These exchanges are not different than normal traditional relationships that someone would have within their borders.

What is not a sex tourists? 1) A person that visits a country and develops an emotional relationship with a local 2) A person that develops a relationship with a local

and travels back and forth visiting and exchanging with that person 3) A person from a foreign country that maintains a level of communication with a local. This can involve extended periods and exchanges of money and goods with the local.

There is a fine line between what is considered sex tourism and what is not. What might have begun as a person being viewed as a sex tourist can develop into a relationship of love and commitment at which point the person should no longer be considered a sex tourist. It can be argued that the motivations of the women involved might have ulterior motives but such arguments can be made from both ends. Both parties might have had ulterior motives but affection and love could have developed for each other and can change the dynamics of the situation.

Review of Environmental Determinants

Countries need to better understand how their environmental conditions contribute to the development and creation of a sex tourism industry. Chapter 5 of this dissertation provides a framework in order to assess the impact environmental factors have on sex tourism. Since, the findings from the literature review in Chapter 2 of this dissertation suggest the number one reason stated by scholars as to why women enter the sex tourism industry is due to economic reasons. Country specific environmental determinants need to be reviewed in order to fully understand the implications and ramifications of the actions taken to hinder the development of this industry. Thus, in order to decrease the amount of women that resort to sex work better policies and economic actions need to be developed so that employment opportunities and salaries

that are reflective of the cost of living need to be materialized. It is believed that such actions can decrease the amount of women that resort to sex work for economic reasons. A plan of action needs to be created in an effort to deal with the current conditions of the suffrage of the people within a country.

Last, based on the interviews conducted in the Dominican Republic, women perceive sex work within the tourism industry as a mechanism that can provide them with a variety of benefits and opportunities. Thus, development of programs that change the mindset of the women involved in sex work should to be developed so that they do not only view sex work as their only option for financial means and opportunity. Programs that provide not only educational training opportunities or scholarships to college but opportunities for small business development loans that allow women to start businesses and provide a better mode of living for themselves in the Dominican Republic.

Future Research

Given the limitations stated above, several opportunities for future research exist. First, the review of the literature shows that women who participate in the sex tourism industry often will not take money from tourists since they would prefer to have their brief encounters with a tourist turn into a long-term relationship with various opportunities and exchanges. The human motivations of the particular needs of the participants needs to be analyzed in order to fully understand at what point in time during the course of the relationship the women receive money or goods from the tourists. Second, a better understanding if these relationships transpire into something more or are

they just brief encounters? Third, do these brief encounters ever turn into long-term relationships, marriage and or migration opportunity? In addition, it was also unclear from the interviews conducted if the women involved in the sex tourism industry increase their socio-economic position due to their participation in the sex tourism industry. Therefore, conducting a longitudinal study that would track the progress or derailment of the women in this industry would provide useful information in order to understand the motivations of women in entering this industry.

This information would be valuable in developing policy implications. It would also be beneficial in order to better inform the women of the realistic expectations of their participation in the sex tourism industry. Last, a better understanding of the implications that social media and the internet play in promoting the availability of sex for sale in countries.

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Appendix 1. Themes extracted from semi-structured interviews.

Social Context

Sub Themes	Definition
Educational Level	The educational level of a sex worker varies from educated to illiterate.
Parental Role	The level of responsibility the parent has from protecting their child from entering prostitution.
Society's Tolerance	The acceptance of the selling of sex by society, government and the state.
Sex Worker	A woman who receives goods and services from a tourist.
Visibility of Sex	The visibility of sex work in the Dominican Republic varies. There are some areas that sex work is more visible than others.

Economic Pressures

Sub Themes	Definition
Socio-Economic Level	The socio-economic position held by sex workers.
Economic Opportunity	The ability to obtain income for financial stability.
Migration	Movement of bodies to attain better economic position
Tourism Industry	Main economic industry in the Dominican Republic.
Marketing Messages	Efforts made to promote sex imagery and sex tourism in the Dominican Republic and around the world.

Political Influences

Sub Themes	Definition
Political Impact	The politics and regulations made by the governing body, which can affect the lives of the inhabitants in a country. (Government activity and administrative policies).
Policies / Laws Regulations	Government's effectiveness on implementing policies and laws.

Appendix 2. Breakdown of the participants in the study.

Identification Number	Gender of Respondent	Job Title	Industry
1	Female	Director	Education
2	Male	Lawyer / Entrepreneur	Education and Business
3	Male	Professor	Education
4	Male	Tourism Operator	Tourism
5	Male	Health Educator	Nongovernment / Nonprofit
6	Female	Health Worker	Nongovernment / Nonprofit
7	Male	Doctor	Government / State
8	Female	Coordinator	Nongovernment / Nonprofit
9	Male	Health Educator	Nongovernment / Nonprofit
10	Female	Clinician	Government / State
11	Female	Psychologist	Government / State
12	Female	Psychologist	Government / State
13	Female	Social Worker	Government / State
14	Female	Supervisor	Government/ State
15	Male	Psychologist	Nongovernment / Nonprofit
16	Female	Coordinator	Nongovernment / Nonprofit
17	Female	Coordinator	Nongovernment / Nonprofit
18	Female	Health Educator	Nongovernment / Nonprofit
19	Male	Pastor	Nongovernment / Nonprofit
20	Male	Pastor	Nongovernment / Nonprofit
21	Female	Coordinator	Nongovernment / Nonprofit
22	Male	Tourist Operator	Business
23	Female	Social Assistant	Nongovernment / Nonprofit
24	Female	Technical Coordinator	Nongovernment / Nonprofit
25	Female	Lawyer	Government / State

Appendix 3. IRB Compliance letter.

Office of Research and Sponsored Programs

Administrative Services Building III ♦Cook Campus

3 Rutgers Way ♦New Brunswick ♦New Jersey 08901

848/932-0150 ♦fax : 732/932-0163 ♦web: <http://orsp.rutgers.edu>

06/13/2014

Dear Melissa Rivera:

I am pleased to inform you that you have successfully completed the Rutgers University Human Subjects Compliance Program. This educational program includes information on the regulations, history, policies, procedures and ethical practices pertaining to research involving human subjects, which will be helpful to you as you conduct your research.

Your approval date is 01/05/2008. Under current federal regulations, this approval does not expire. If you or any other personnel will need a copy of the Rutgers' Human Subject Certification Test (HSCP) certificate, a copy can be obtained online. A Rutgers Net-id is needed to log in.

Information regarding HSCP is located online at: Additional Human Subject Research information can be found on the IRB's website: <http://orsp.rutgers.edu/humans/>

Please retain this letter of certification. It will be required for submitting human subjects protocols, and continuing review forms or when submitting a funding request. If there are any questions, please contact an IRB Administrator, by email at humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu or by phone at (848) 932-0150.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "László M. Szabó". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first letters of the first and last names being capitalized and prominent.

László M. Szabó Esq.

Director of Regulatory Affairs

Office of Research and Sponsored Programs

Appendix 4. IRB approval to conduct study.

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY
Office of Research and Sponsored Programs
ASB III, 3 Rutgers Plaza, Cook Campus
New Brunswick, NJ 08901

August 1, 2014

P.I. Name: Rivera
Protocol #: 14-791M

Melissa Rivera
175 University Avenue, Room 22A
Newark NJ 07102

Dear Melissa Rivera:

(Initial / Amendment / Continuation / Continuation w/ Amendment)

Protocol Title: "Political, Economic and Social Factors Associate with Sex Tourism in Dominican Republic and other Developing Countries."

This is to advise you that the above-referenced study has been presented to the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research, and the following action was taken subject to the conditions and explanations provided below:

Approval Date:	7/20/2014	Expiration Date:	7/19/2015
Expedited Category(s):	6,7	Approved # of Subject(s):	30

This approval is based on the assumption that the materials you submitted to the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs (ORSP) contain a complete and accurate description of the ways in which human subjects are involved in your research. The following conditions apply:

- **This Approval-**The research will be conducted according to the most recent version of the protocol that was submitted. **This approval is valid ONLY for the dates listed above;**
- **Reporting-**ORSP must be immediately informed of any injuries to subjects that occur and/or problems that arise, in the course of your research;
- **Modifications-**Any proposed changes **MUST** be submitted to the IRB as an amendment for review and approval prior to implementation;
- **Consent Form(s)-**Each person who signs a consent document will be given a copy of that document, if you are using such documents in your research. The Principal Investigator must retain all signed documents for at least three years after the conclusion of the research;
- **Continuing Review-**You should receive a courtesy e-mail renewal notice for a Request for Continuing Review before the expiration of this project's approval. However, it is your responsibility to ensure that an application for continuing review has been submitted to the IRB for review and approval prior to the expiration date to extend the approval period;

Additional Notes: Expedited Approval per 45 CFR 46.110;

Failure to comply with these conditions will result in withdrawal of this approval.

Please note that the IRB has the authority to observe, or have a third party observe, the consent process or the research itself. The Federal-wide Assurance (FWA) number for the Rutgers University IRB is FWA00003913; this number may be requested on funding applications or by collaborators.

Respectfully yours,



Acting For--
Dr. Beverly Tepper, Ph.D.
Professor
Chair, Rutgers University Institutional Review Board

cc: Gregg Van Ryzin

(MW:bk)

Appendix 5. English version of oral consent.

Hi,

My name is Melissa Rivera, I am a Ph.D. student at Rutgers University in Newark, NJ. Thank you for taking the time out to speak with me today. I would like to discuss with you a research study that I am conducting for my dissertation. I am talking to people like yourself, who have a perspective of sex tourism in the Dominican Republic and similar developing countries.

The aim of the research is to explore the political, economic and social aspects of this issue. In addition, I would like to understand how local governments, non-governmental actors and stakeholders interpret the problem of sex tourism?

This research is confidential. This means that your gender, job title and organization will be recorded, but no other identifying information will be collected. Any information collected will only be for research purposes and you will not be directly identified or linked to any of the responses in the study. Only I will have access to the research data and all documents and records will be kept in a secure cabinet and on a password-protected computer. If you agree to take part in the study, you will be assigned a code number that will be used on the interview form and material collected. There will be no way to link your responses back to you. Therefore, the data collection is confidential.

I am asking for your permission to allow me to audiotape the interview as part of the research study. The recording(s) will be used for transcribing and analyzing the interview. If for any reason, you do not wish to be audiotaped, you will still be able to participate in the study. The researcher will utilize handwritten notes to facilitate with the transcription and analysis of the interview. Once the analysis of the interview has been completed, all pertinent data will be immediately destroyed.

Approximately 20-30 subjects will be interviewed in this study. This interview should take approximately 45-60 minutes. I have several questions that I would like to cover.

Your participation is voluntary and you may end your participation at any time during the study without penalty. If you decide to withdraw from the study, it will not affect you in any way. You can request that any of your data, which has been collected be destroyed. You will not receive any type of compensation for participating in this phase of the study. If you have questions about the interview or the procedures involved, please feel free to ask me at any time.

If you have any questions regarding the research, you may contact the Principal Investigator, Melissa Rivera at 201-344-2033 or email at melar@rutgers.edu. You may also contact my faculty advisor, Dr. Gregg Van Ryzin (vanryzin@rutgers.edu) if you have any additional questions.

If you have any questions about your rights as a study participant or are dissatisfied at any time with the aspect of this study, you may contact the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects, Office of Research and Sponsored Programs at Rutgers, The State University of NJ, located at 3 Rutgers Plaza, New Brunswick, NJ 08901 (Cook Campus). They can also be reached at 848-932-0150 or humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu.

This informed consent form was approved by the Rutgers University Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects on 7/20/2014; approval of this form expires on 7/19/2015.

You will be given a copy of this consent form for your records.

Do you have any questions regarding any aspect of this study or what I have said to you? Do I have your permission to start the interview?

Great! Let's begin.

At the end of the interview I thanked the participant for taking the time out to do the interview.

Appendix 6. Spanish Version of oral consent (Formulario de consentimiento oral).

Hola,

Mi nombre es Melissa Rivera, yo soy un estudiante de doctorado en la Universidad de Rutgers en Newark, NJ. Gracias por tomar este tiempo para hablar conmigo. Me gustaría discutir con usted un estudio de investigación que estoy conduciendo para mi tesis. Yo estoy hablando con personas como usted, que tienen un punto de vista hacia el turismo sexual en la República Dominicana y los países en vías de desarrollo similares.

El objetivo de la investigación es para explorar los aspectos políticos, económicos y sociales de este problema. Además, me gustaría entender cómo los gobiernos locales, los actores no gubernamentales y actores interpretan el problema del turismo sexual?

Esta investigación es confidencial. Esto significa que su, género, título del trabajo y organización serán registrados, pero ninguna otra información de identificación serán recogidos. Toda la información recogida será sólo para fines de investigación y no se verá directamente identificados o vinculados a alguna de las respuestas en el estudio. Sólo yo voy a tener acceso a los datos de investigación y todos los documentos y registros se mantendrán en un gabinete seguro y en un equipo protegido con contraseña. Si usted acepta participar en el estudio, se le asignará un número de código que se utilizará en el formulario de entrevista y material recogido. No habrá manera de ligar sus respuestas de nuevo a usted. Por lo tanto, la recolección de datos es confidencial.

Yo estoy pidiendo su permiso para que me permita grabar la entrevista como parte del estudio de investigación. La grabación (s) se puede utilizar para la transcripción y el análisis de la entrevista. Si por alguna razón, usted no desea que se grabaron, usted todavía será capaz de participar en el estudio. El investigador utilizará notas escritas a mano para facilitar la transcripción y análisis de la entrevista. Una vez que el análisis de la entrevista se ha completado, todos los datos pertinentes serán destruidos inmediatamente.

Aproximadamente 20 a 30 persona serán entrevistados en este estudio. Esta entrevista dura unos 45-60 minutos. Tengo varias preguntas que me gustaría cubrir.

Su participación es voluntaria y usted puede parar su participación en cualquier momento durante el estudio sin penalización. Si decide retirarse del estudio, no le afectará en ningún modo. Usted puede solicitar que ninguno de sus datos, que se ha recogido será destruido. Usted no recibirá ningún tipo de compensación por su participación en este estudio. Si usted tiene preguntas acerca de la entrevista o los procedimientos involucrados, por favor no dude en preguntarme en cualquier momento.

Si usted tiene alguna pregunta con respecto a la investigación, puede comunicarse con la investigador principal, Melissa Rivera al 201-344-2033 o al correo electrónico melar@rutgers.edu. También puede comunicarse con mi consejero de la facultad, el Dr. Gregg Van Ryzin (vanryzin@rutgers.edu) si tiene alguna pregunta adicional.

Si usted tiene alguna pregunta sobre sus derechos como participante en este estudio o no está satisfecho en cualquier momento con el aspecto de este estudio, puede comunicarse con la Junta de Revisión Institucional para la Protección de Sujetos Humanos, Oficina de Programas de Investigación y de Patrocinio en Rutgers, Estado Universidad de Nueva Jersey, ubicado a 3 Rutgers Plaza, New Brunswick, NJ 08901 (Cook Campus). También puede llamar al 848-932-0150 o humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu.

Este formulario de consentimiento informado fue aprobado por la Junta de Revisión Institucional de la Universidad de Rutgers para la Protección de Sujetos Humanos sobre 7/20/2015; la aprobación de este formulario vence el 7/19/2015.

Se le dará una copia de este formulario de consentimiento para sus archivos.

¿Tiene usted alguna pregunta con respecto a cualquier aspecto de este estudio o lo que he dicho? ¿Tengo su permiso para empezar la entrevista?

Muy Bien, Comencemos.

Al final de la entrevista agradecer el participante por tomarse el tiempo para hacer la entrevista.

Appendix 7. Audio Consent Form, English Version.

You have agreed to participate in a research study entitled: Political, Economic and Social Factors Associate with Sex Tourism in the Dominican Republic and other Developing Countries conducted by Melissa Rivera, a doctoral candidate, in the Division of Global Affairs. I am asking for your permission to allow me to audiotape the interview as part of the research study.

The recording(s) will be used for transcribing and analyzing the interview. The audio consent is optional. If for any reason, you do not wish to be audiotaped, you will still be able to participate in the study. The researcher will utilize handwritten notes to facilitate with the transcription and analysis of the interview. Once the analysis of the interview has been completed, all pertinent data will be immediately destroyed.

The recording(s) will included the number assigned to you and your voice. No other identifying information will be used.

The recording(s) will be stored in a locked filed cabinet and linked with a code to subjects' identity where I only have access. The audiotape will be destroyed as soon as the transcription is complete. The transcription; however, will be retained for a period not to exceed three (3) years after the final analysis has been conducted.

Your agreement allows the investigator, Melissa Rivera permission to record you as described above during participation in the above-referenced study. The investigator will not use the recording(s) for any other reason than those stated in the consent form without your written permission.

If you have any questions about the study procedures, you may contact Melissa Rivera at 201-344-2033 or by email at melar@rutgers.edu. If there are any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact the Sponsored Programs Administrator at Rutgers University at:

Rutgers University Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects

Office of Resarch and Sponsored Programs

3 Rutgers Plaza

New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8559

Telephone: 848-932-4058

Email: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu

You will be given a copy of this consent form for your records.

Participant # ____: recorded ____ YES ____ NO.

Appendix 8. Audio Consent Form, Spanish Version

Usted ha aceptado participar en un estudio de investigación titulado: Política, Económica y Social Factores Asociados con el turismo sexual en la República Dominicana y otros países en desarrollo realizadas por Melissa Rivera, candidato doctoral, en la División de Asuntos Globales. Yo estoy pidiendo su permiso para que me permita grabar la entrevista como parte del estudio de investigación.

La grabación (s) se puede utilizar para la transcripción y el análisis de la entrevista. El consentimiento de audio es opcional. Si por alguna razón, usted no desea que se grabaron, usted todavía será capaz de participar en el estudio. El investigador utilizará notas escritas a mano para facilitar la transcripción y análisis de la entrevista. Una vez que el análisis de la entrevista se ha completado, todos los datos pertinentes serán destruidos inmediatamente.

La grabación (s) voluntad incluido el número asignado a usted y su voz. Ninguna otra información de identificación se utilizará.

La grabación (s) se almacenará en un armario bajo llave presentada y vinculado con un código a la identidad de los sujetos en la que sólo tienen acceso. La cinta de audio será destruida tan pronto como la transcripción es completa. La transcripción; sin embargo, se retendrá por un período no mayor de tres (3) años después de que se ha realizado el análisis final.

Su contrato le permite al investigador, el permiso Melissa Rivera para grabar usted como se describe anteriormente durante la participación en el estudio antes mencionado. El investigador no utilizará la grabación (s) por cualquier otro motivo de los indicados en el formulario de consentimiento y sin su permiso por escrito.

Si usted tiene alguna pregunta acerca de los procedimientos del estudio, puede comunicarse con Melissa Rivera al 201-344-2033 o por correo electrónico a melar@rutgers.edu. Si hay alguna pregunta sobre sus derechos como sujeto de investigación, puede comunicarse con el Administrador de Programas Patrocinados por la Universidad de Rutgers en:

Universidad Rutgers Junta de Revisión Institucional para la Protección de Sujetos Humanos

Oficina de Programas de Investigación y de Patrocinio

3 Rutgers Plaza

New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8559

Teléfono: 848-932-4058

Email: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu

Se le dará una copia de este formulario de consentimiento para sus archivos.

Participante # ____: Grabado ____ Si ____ No.

Appendix 9. Interview Guide.

Date of Interview: _____

Identification Number: _____

Gender: _____

Job Title: _____

Organization: _____

Tell me a bit about the organization and the work that you do?

TOURISM

1. What has been some of the negative / positive consequences of the tourism industry in the Dominican Republic?
2. Does the tourism industry encourage sexual tourism in the Dominican Republic? In what ways?
3. Do you believe it is the goal of sex workers to migrate off the island in order to attain economic social mobility?

SEX TOURISM

4. How visible is sex tourism in the Dominican Republic?
5. Is the Dominican Republic a country with a reputation as an international sex town?
6. What are the political, economic or social factors that lead women to participate in the sexual tourism industry?
7. Are most of the women that participate in the sex tourism industry from the Dominican Republic? Are they migrants from other areas? Haiti?
8. Is there a link between sex tourism and sex trafficking? If so, why?

GOVERNMENT

9. Is there cultural and or social tolerance from the government and the people of the Dominican Republic on sex work?
10. Is there cultural and or social tolerance from the government of the Dominican Republic on sex work?
11. What role if any does the government play in sex tourism? Does the government encourage it, prohibit it, or what? If so, how?

Appendix 10. Interview Guide, Spanish Version.

Fecha de la entrevista: _____

Identificación: _____

Sexo: _____

Título del trabajo: _____

Organización: _____

Cuéntame un poquito hacia la organización y el trabajo que tú haces.

TURISMO

1. ¿Cuál ha sido algunas de las consecuencias negativas / positivas de la industria del turismo en la República Dominicana?
2. ¿La industria del turismo fomentar el turismo sexual en la República Dominicana?
¿De qué manera?
3. ¿Cree usted que es el objetivo de los profesionales del sexo a emigrar fuera de la isla con el fin de alcanzar la movilidad social y económica?

TURISMO SEXUAL

2. ¿Es el turismo sexual en la República Dominicana visible?
3. ¿Es la República Dominicana un país con una reputación de ser una ciudad internacional del sexo?
4. ¿Cuáles son los factores políticos, económicos o sociales que llevan a las mujeres a participar en la industria del turismo sexual?
5. ¿Son la mayoría de las mujeres que participan en la industria del turismo sexual de la República Dominicana? ¿Son emigrantes de otras zonas? Haitiano?
6. ¿Existe una conexión entre el turismo sexual y el tráfico sexual? Si es así, ¿por qué?

GOBIERNO

7. ¿Hay tolerancia cultural o social por parte del gobierno y el pueblo de la República Dominicana en el trabajo sexual?
8. ¿Hay tolerancia cultural o social por parte del gobierno de la República Dominicana en el trabajo sexual?
9. ¿Cuál es el papel, que desempeña el gobierno en el turismo sexual? ¿Esta el gobierno fomentando, prohibiendo, o qué?

Appendix 11. Data supplement for missing data.

Country	Variable	Replacement Year
Andora	Gross Domestic Product, pp.	2009
Belize	Corruption Perception Index	2008
Brunei Darussalam	Gender Inequality	2009
Central Africa	Gender Inequality	2009
Congo, Rep.	Tourism Receivables	2007
Congo, Rep.	Corruption Perception Index	2008
Djibouti	Tourist	2008
Egypt, Arab Rep.	Gender Inequality	2009
Eritrea	Tourist	2009
Fiji	Gender Inequality	2009
Greenland	Gross Domestic Product, pp.	2009
Guinea	Women in Parliament	2007
Guinea	Tourist	2007
Guinea-Bissau	Tourist	2007
Kiribati	Tourism Receivables	2009
Libya	Tourist	2008
Liechtenstein	Gross Domestic Product, pp.	2009
Micronesia	Tourist	2008
Niger	Gender Inequality	2009
San Marino	Gross Domestic Product, pp.	2008
Tunisia	Gender Inequality	2009
Turkmenistan	Tourist	2008
Uganda	Gender Inequality	2009

Appendix 12. Source and Independent variable Data.

Variable Name	Description	Source
Control Corruption	Control Corruption: “reflects perceptions of the extent to which public power is exercised for private gain, including both petty and grand forms of corruption, as well as capture of the state by elites and private interest” (World Bank, 2015).	World Bank, 2015
Increase in Corruption	cont_corr variable rescaled: 0 to 5. 5 ~ countries with a high level of corruption.	World Bank, 2015
Per capita GDP	“GDP per capita is gross domestic product divided by midyear population. GDP is the sum of gross value added by all resident producers in the economy plus any product taxes and minus any subsidies not included in the value of the products. It is calculated without making deductions for depreciation of fabricated assets or for depletion and degradation of natural resources. Data are in current U.S. dollars” (World Bank, 2015).	World Bank, 2015
Population density per square kilometer	Population Density: “Population density is midyear population divided by land area in square kilometers. Population is based on the de facto definition of population, which counts all residents regardless of legal status or citizenship--except for refugees not permanently settled in the country of asylum, who are generally considered part of the population of their country of origin. Land area is a country's total area, excluding area under inland water bodies, national claims to continental shelf, and exclusive economic zones. In most cases the definition of inland water bodies includes major rivers and lakes”	World Bank, 2015
Population density per square kilometer (log)	Population density per square kilometer in the natural log form.	World Bank, 2015
Total Population	Population, Total: “Total population is based on the de facto definition of population, which counts all residents regardless of legal status or citizenship--except for refugees not permanently settled in the country of asylum, who are generally considered part of the population of their country of origin. The values shown are midyear estimates”	World Bank, 2015

	(World Bank, 2015).	
Total Population (log)	Population in the natural log form.	World Bank, 2015
Political Stability	Political Stability and Absence of Violence / Terrorism: “Reflects perceptions of the likelihood that the government will be destabilized or overthrown by unconstitutional or violent means, including politically-motivated violence terrorism” (World Bank, 2015).	World Bank, 2015
Political Instability	Political Stability variable rescaled: 0 to 5. 5 ~ countries with a high level of political instability.	World Bank, 2015
Female Labor Force Participation Rate	Labor force participation rate, female (% of female population ages 15+) (modeled ILO estimate): “Labor force participation rate is the proportion of the population ages 15 and older that is economically active: all people who supply labor for the production of goods and services during a specified period” (World Bank, 2015).	World Bank, 2015
International Tourism Arrivals	International inbound tourists (overnight visitors) are the number of tourists who travel to a country other than that in which they have their usual residence, but outside their usual environment, for a period not exceeding 12 months and whose main purpose in visiting is other than an activity remunerated from within the country visited.	World Bank, 2015
International Tourist Arrivals (log)	International Tourist Arrivals in the natural log form.	
International Tourist (per capita)	International Tourist Arrivals per person.	
International Tourist Arrivals (log, per capita)	International Tourist Arrivals, natural log form and per person.	
International Tourism Receipts	International tourism, receipts (current US\$): International tourism receipts are expenditures by international inbound visitors, including payments to national carriers	World Bank, 2015

	for international transport.	
International Tourism Receipts (log)	International Tourism Receipts in the natural log form.	
International Tourism Receipts (log, per capita)	International Tourism Receipts in the natural log form and per person.	
Women in Parliament	Proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments (%): “Women in parliaments are the percentage of parliamentary seats in a single or lower chamber held by women”	World Bank, 2015

Appendix 13. Combined Web and Article Search List.

Combined Web and Article Search List		
Long List		Short List
Australia	Russia	Barbados
Bahrain	Spain	Brazil
Barbados	Sri Lanka	Cambodia
Belgium	Sweden	Costa Rica
Brazil	Switzerland	Cuba
Cambodia	Tanzania	Dominican Republic
Canada	Thailand	Ecuador
China	Trinidad and Tobago	Egypt
Columbia	Turkey	Germany
Costa Rica	Tunisia	Indonesia
Croatia	United Kingdom	Jamaica
Cuba	United States	Japan
Czech Republic		Kenya
Dominican Republic		Nepal
Ecuador		Netherlands, The
Egypt		Peru
El Salvador		Philippines
Estonia		Spain
Fiji		Sri Lanka
France		Thailand
Gambia, The		Trinidad and Tobago
Germany		United States
Greece		
Indonesia		
Ireland		
Israel		
Italy		
Jamaica		
Japan		
Kenya		
Latvia		
Lithuania		
Malaysia		
Mexico		
Nepal		
Netherlands, The		
New Zealand		
Peru		
Philippines		
Portugal		

Appendix 13a. Article list search results.

Article Search results for "Sex Tourism Destination"	
Long List	Short List
Barbados	Barbados
Brazil	Costa Rica
Costa Rica	Cuba
Cuba	Peru
Dominican Republic	Dominican Republic
Ecuador	Ecuador
Egypt	Egypt
Gambia	Indonesia
Indonesia	Jamaica
Jamaica	Kenya
Kenya	Nepal
Nepal	Sri Lanka
Peru	Trinidad and Tobago
Spain	
Sri Lanka	
Tanzania	
Thailand	
Trinidad and Tobago	

Appendix 13b. Summary of web search composite.

Summary of web search composite.		
Long List		Short List
Australia	Russian Federation	Brazil
Bahrain	Spain	Barbados
Barbados	Sweden	Brazil
Belgium	Switzerland	Cambodia
Brazil	Thailand	Costa Rica
Cambodia	Turkey	Dominican Republic
Canada	Tunisia	Germany
China	United Kingdom	Japan
Columbia	United States	Kenya
Costa Rica		Netherlands, The
Croatia		Philippines
Cuba		Spain
Czech Republic		Thailand
Dominican Republic		United States
El Salvador		
Estonia		
Fiji		
France		
Gambia, The		
Germany		
Greece		
Indonesia		
Ireland		
Israel		
Italy		
Jamaica		
Japan		
Kenya		
Latvia		
Lithuania		
Malaysia		
Mexico		
Netherlands, The		
New Zealand		
Peru		
Philippines		
Portugal		

Appendix 13c. Google search "*where to go for sex tourism.*"

Google search on 1/13/2015 using the words "where to go for sex tourism"

Website 1:	Countries	Results	
http://www.therichest.com/rich-list/most-popular/10-of-the-most-popular-destinations-for-sex-tourism/	Brazil	Long List	Short List
	Cambodia	Australia	Brazil
	Columbia	Belgium	Dominican
	Dominican Republic	Brazil	Japan
	Indonesia	Cambodia	Netherlands,
	Kenya	Canada	Thailand
	Netherlands, The	Columbia	
	Philippines	Costa Rica	
	Spain	Czech Republic	
	Thailand	Dominican	
Website 2:	Countries	England	
http://www.mensxp.com/sexuality/sexual/1941-top-5-sex-tourism-destinations-p1.html	Costa Rica	Estonia	
	Japan	France	
	Kenya	Germany	
	Netherlands, The	Indonesia	
	Thailand	Ireland	
		Israel	
Website 3:	Countries	Japan	
http://www.sextourismguide.info	Costa Rica	Kenya	
	Dominican Republic	Latvia	
	Estonia	Lithuania	
	Latvia	Netherlands, The	
	Lithuania	New Zealand	
	Philippines	Philippines	
	Thailand	Spain	
Website 4:	Countries	Sweden	
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fr6u3mTTwAg	Brazil	Thailand	
	Canada	United States	
	Dominican Republic		
	Ireland		
	Israel		
	Japan		
	Netherlands, The		
	New Zealand		
	Sweden		
	United States		

Table continued from above.

Website 5:	Countries
http://drprem.com/travel/top-10-destinations-sex-tourists-across-world/	Australia
	Belgium
	Brazil
	Czech Republic
	England
	France
	Germany
	Indonesia
	Israel
	Japan
	Netherlands, The
	New Zealand
	Spain
	Thailand

Appendix 13d. Google search for "best locations for prostitution."

Google search on 1/13/2015 using the words "best locations for prostitution"

Website 1:	Countries	Results	
http://www.thrillist.com/travel/nation/de-wallen-amsterdam-patpong-thailand-pascha-cologne-are-among-the-world-s-8-best-red-light-districts	Belgium France Germany Japan Netherlands, The Thailand	Long List Australia Bahrain Belgium Brazil Canada China Czech Republic Dominican England France Germany Indonesia Ireland Israel Japan Mexico Netherlands, The New Zealand Philippines Russia Spain Sweden Switzerland Thailand United States	Short List Brazil Germany Japan Netherlands, The Thailand United States
Website 2:	Countries		
http://mancationadvisor.com/Top10Citiesaroundtheworld.html	Bahrain Brazil China Germany Louisiana Mexico Russia Thailand Netherlands, The United States		
Website 3:	Countries		
http://www.mademan.com/mm/10-best-places-travel-hobbyists-sex.html	Australia Canada Czech Republic Netherlands, The Philippines Switzerland Thailand United States		
Website 4:	Countries		
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fr6u3mTTwAg	Brazil Canada Dominican Republic Ireland Israel Japan Netherlands, The New Zealand Sweden United States		

Website 5:	Countries
http://drprem.com/travel/top-10-destinations-sex-tourists-across-world/	Australia
	Belgium
	Brazil
	Czech Republic
	England
	France
	Germany
	Indonesia
	Israel
	Japan
	Netherlands, The
	New Zealand
	Spain
	Thailand

Appendix 13e. Google search for "places to visit for sex tourism."

Google search on 1/13/2015 using the words "places to visit for sex tourism"

Website 1:	Countries	Results	
http://www.therichest.com/rich-list/most-popular/10-of-the-most-popular-destinations-for-sex-tourism/	Brazil	Long List	Short List
	Cambodia	Brazil	Brazil
	Columbia	Cambodia	Cambodia
	Dominican	Columbia	Costa Rica
	Indonesia	Costa Rica	Dominican
	Kenya	Dominican	Kenya
	Netherlands, The	Estonia	Netherlands, The
	Philippines	Indonesia	Philippines
	Spain	Japan	Thailand
	Thailand	Kenya	
Website 2:	Countries	Latvia	
http://www.mensxp.com/sexuality/sexual/11941-top-5-sex-tourism-destinations-p1.html	Costa Rica	Lithuania	
	Japan	Mexico	
	Kenya	Netherlands, The	
	Netherlands, The	Philippines	
	Thailand	Spain	
Website 3:	Countries	Thailand	
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n-M-00KcypU	Brazil		
	Costa Rica		
	Dominican		
	Philippines		
Website 4:	Countries		
http://www.sextourismg	Costa Rica		
	Dominican		
	Estonia		
	Latvia		
	Lithuania		
	Philippines		
	Thailand		

Table continued from previous page

Website 5:	Countries
http://www.quora.com/ What-is-the-best-sex- tourism-destination-in- the-world	Brazil
	Cambodia
	Dominican
	Mexico
	Netherlands, The Thailand

Appendix 13f. Google search for "Sex Tourism Destination."

Google Search on 1/12/2015 using the words "Sex Tourism Destination"

Website 1:	Countries	Results	
http://www.therichest.com/rich-list/most-popular/10-of-the-most-popular-destinations-for-sex-tourism/	Brazil	Long List	Short List
	Cambodia	Australia	Brazil
	Columbia	Belgium	Dominican
	Dominican Republic	Brazil	Kenya
	Indonesia	Cambodia	Netherlands,
	Kenya	Columbia	Philippines
	Netherlands, the	Costa Rica	Spain
	Philippines	Czech Republic	Thailand
	Spain	Dominican	
	Thailand	England	
Website 2:	Countries	Estonia	
http://www.mensxp.com/sexuality/sexual/11941-top-5-sex-tourism-destinations-p1.html	Costa Rica	France	
	Japan	Germany	
	Kenya	Indonesia	
	Netherlands, the	Israel	
	Thailand	Italy	
Website 3:	Countries	Japan	
http://www.sextourismguide.info	Costa Rica	Kenya	
	Dominican Republic	Latvia	
	Estonia	Lithuania	
	Latvia	Malaysia	
	Lithuania	Netherlands, The	
	Philippines	New Zealand	
	Thailand	Philippines	
		Spain	
Website 4:	Countries	Thailand	
https://www.euroweeklynews.com/news/world-news/item/121635-revealed-top-ten-biggest-sex-tourism-destinations	Brazil		
	Columbia		
	Dominican Republic		
	Germany		
	Kenya		
	Malaysia		
	Netherlands, the		
	Philippines		
	Spain		
	Thailand		

Table continued from previous page

Website 5:	Countries
http://drprem.com/travel/top-10-destinations-sex-tourists-across-world/	Australia
	Belgium
	Brazil
	Czech Republic
	England
	France
	Germany
	Indonesia
	Israel
	Italy
	Japan
	Netherlands, the
	New Zealand
	Spain
	Thailand