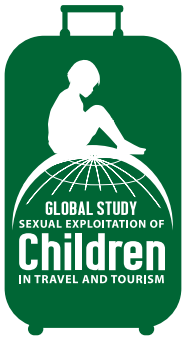
GLOBAL STUDY ON SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN IN TRAVEL AND TOURISM

REGIONAL REPORT

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

2016



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MAY 2016

This report was written by Vimala Crispin and Gillian Mann of Child Frontiers for ECPAT International and the Africa Child Policy Forum (ACPF). Findings presented are based, in part, on country-level research conducted by national partners in Ghana (Ghana NGO Coalition on the Rights of the Child - GNCRC), Kenya (African Network for the Prevention & Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect - ANPPCAN), South Africa (Fair Trade Tourism – FTT and Childline South Africa) and Zambia (Children in Need Network - CHIN). The opinions and statements presented here do not necessarily represent those of ECPAT International or the Africa Child Policy Forum.

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FOREWORD

More children than ever are at risk of being sexually exploited by travellers and tourists and no country is immune. Since the early 1990s when evidence came to light that travellers mainly from the West were sexually abusing and exploiting children in developing countries, sharp increases in travel and tourism have multiplied the opportunities and venues available to travelling child sex offenders worldwide.

According to the UN World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), tourism in Africa has more than tripled in the last 20 years. The continent experienced a 2% increase in international tourism in 2014 which amounts to one million arrivals, adding up to 56 million tourists in total, after the Americas, Asia and the Pacific, Middle East and Europe.[1] Tourism in the continent performed even more strongly in 2012, when the region presented the second highest growth in tourism in the world, following on the footsteps of Asia and the Pacific, with an annual growth rate of 6 % in arrivals and a total of 52 million tourists reported. This figure is predicted to climb to 134 million by 2030.[2]

Evidence gathered through the research indicates that sexual exploitation of children in travel and tourism is also on the rise in Africa. While tourism has historically been associated with North and West African countries (such as Morocco and Senegal) an influx of tourists seeking sex with children — including individuals from other African countries — is now being reported elsewhere in the continent.

The explosion of the internet and mobile technology has afforded perpetrators anonymity and hidden pathways to groom children and seduce them via social media and internet games. Likewise, new travel and tourism services like home-stays, volun-tourism and the shareconomy have increased this anonymity and heightened children's vulnerability.

However, progress has been made since the First World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) held in Stockholm in 1996. Twenty years later, world leaders from nearly every country in the world have approved global targets to end the sexual exploitation of children in the Sustainable Development Goals, which replace the Millennium Development Goals from 2016 onwards. The world has recognised that we cannot allow children to fall victim to this devastating experience, which has life-long consequences on their mental and physical well-being.

This report provides an updated picture of sexual exploitation of children in travel and tourism (SECTT) in Sub-Saharan Africa and proposes a set of recommendations to further improve government, non-government and private sector responses to prevent and combat this crime. As such, it will assist in the realisation of the Sustainable Development Goals related to children's right to live free from sexual exploitation.

After twenty five years of working on the issue, ECPAT cannot emphasise enough how important it is to join efforts and take advantage of multi-sector cooperation to fight this deplorable trend. This report is an open invitation to work with ECPAT and its partners and join the fight against sexual exploitation of children in travel and tourism because, together, we can eliminate this crime and make childhood safe again, not only in Africa, but in the world.

Ms. Justa Mwaituka
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[1] UNWTO (2015), "Tourism Highlights 2015 Edition", Madrid: UNWTO, 03, accessed 11 May 2016, http://www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/9789284416899

[2] UNWTO (2013), "Tourism Highlights 2013 Edition", Madrid: UNWTO, 12-4, http://www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/9789284415427

ACRONYMS

ACPF	African Child Policy Forum
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AMWCY	African Movement of Working Children and Youth
ANPPCAN	African Network for the Prevention & Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect
AU	African Union
CAR	Central African Republic
CHIN	Children in Need Network
CHRAJ	Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSA	Child sexual abuse
CSEC	Commercial sexual exploitation of children
CSECTT	Commercial sexual exploitation of children in travel and tourism
DSW	Department of Social Welfare
DOC	Department of Children
DOVVSU	Domestic Violence and Victim Support Unit
ECPAT	End Child Prostitution, Child
Pornography	& Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes
FDI	Foreign direct investment
FGD	Focus group discussion
FGM	Female genital mutilation
FSCE	Forum on Sustainable Child Empowerment- Ethiopia
FTT	Fair Trade Tourism
GDP	Gross domestic product
GNCRC	Ghana NGO Coalition on the Rights of the Child
GTA	Ghana Tourism Authority
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICT	Information and communications technology
LAPPSET	Lamu Port-South Sudan-Ethiopia Transport
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MINUSCA	United Nations Multidimensional
Integrated	Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic
NGO	Non-governmental organization
ODDP	Office of the Director of Public Prosecution
ODI	Overseas Development Institute (ODI)
OPSC	Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child
LRF	Life Relief Foundation
SAPS	South African Police Service
SECTT	Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism
SGR	Standard Gauge Railway
SSI	Semi-Structured Interview
STDs	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
TAMWA	Tanzania Media Women's Association
TBCSA	Tourism Business Council of South Africa
TCSO	Travelling Child Sex Offender
TIP	trafficking in persons
TSI	Tourism Safety Initiative
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNICEF WCARO	United Nations Children's Fund in West and Central Africa
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
ZINGO	Zambia Interfaith Networking Group
ZTP	Zero Tolerance Policy

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

BACKGROUND & RATIONALE

This regional report has been prepared as a contribution to the Global Study on the Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism conducted by ECPAT International in collaboration with numerous partners. In response to the need for more information on the extent and nature of this phenomenon, ECPAT, ACPF, ANPPCAN (Kenya), FTT (South Africa), Childline (South Africa), FSCE (Ethiopia), GNCRC (Ghana) and CHIN (Zambia) agreed to undertake research in five Sub-Saharan countries. The purpose of the research was to strengthen the evidence-base and to raise awareness and build consensus on priority actions needed in law and policy reform. While research was conducted in five countries, due to delays at the national level in Ethiopia, the findings from four countries are presented in this report.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES & STUDY SCOPE

Research was conducted in Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, South Africa and Zambia with different respondents, including those working in the field of child protection, representatives from the private tourism sector, government officials, police officers, children and youth at-risk of or involved in SECTT, and community leaders. Methods employed included group discussions, individual interviews, surveys and testimonies. Delays in the research process in Ethiopia mean that only findings from Ghana, Zambia, South Africa, and Kenya are included in this report. The small scale and largely qualitative nature of these studies enabled a number of themes to emerge; many of these were consistent across varied national and local contexts.

GLOBAL STUDY FINDINGS

The research conducted in Sub-Saharan Africa corroborated many of the key findings identified in ECPAT International's Global Study, indicating that the trends and manifestations of SECTT found in Africa are occurring in other countries around the world. The Sub-Saharan report is unique in comparison to other regional reports that are part of the Global Study in that it was produced after the Global Study had been analyzed by key experts in a meeting in Paris in 2015, in which the authors of this report participated. The Global Study found that despite a comprehensive, 20-year effort to end the sexual exploitation of children in travel and tourism, the available evidence indicates that more children than ever before are affected and that no country is immune. This was also found to be the case in the African countries studied, where SECTT in all countries was found to be a significant and growing challenge. The Global Study found that increases in travel and tourism worldwide have led to a vastly expanded and diversified tourism infrastructure, multiplying the opportunities and venues available to offenders. This reality is also true for Sub-Saharan Africa, where many countries have not until recently been known to be prime tourist destinations but which are now experiencing increased numbers of tourists and travellers, resulting in greater vulnerability of African children to SECTT.

The Global Study found weak legislation and lack of coordination among law enforcement agencies across the jurisdictions of different countries to be a key challenge in the fight against SECTT. While many of the African countries studied had strong laws in place to protect children, implementation is a serious challenge. The exploitation of inequality in comparative wealth and power by perpetrators to abuse children and evade justice was also identified in both the Global Study and the Sub-Saharan Africa research. That SECTT has become increasingly complex, involving not only tourists but also other types of travellers, was another common finding. This report identifies a number of non-traditional infrastructures where children are increasingly vulnerable, including the internet and mobile technology, which are becoming increasingly accessible in many African countries.

The Global Study found that a wide range of children may be vulnerable to SECTT and that children from minority groups, boys and young children are far more vulnerable than previously understood, along with girls and children living in poverty. As described in more detail below, the Sub-Saharan Africa research also found that is it virtually impossible to develop a profile of a typical SECTT victim and that children from a range of socio-economic and cultural groups can be vulnerable, along with children of both genders and different ages.

The reality that services and support for child victims appear to be inadequate was identified in both studies, along with the need to tailor services and response efforts to the perspectives and contexts of children and families involved. While tourism can bring financial gains to countries, and is viewed hopefully as a potential boon to African economies, it nonetheless presents inevitable risks to children when sufficient protection mechanisms are not in place. In Africa, while initial steps have been taken by organisations and private sector groups to ensure the

protection of children, much work remains to be done. Finally, the Global Study found that social tolerance of child sexual abuse and certain cultural norms are leading factors perpetuating SECTT. This finding also emerged in Sub-Saharan Africa and Section II of this report describes different informal cultural practices and norms in Africa that can contribute to the vulnerability of children.

SECTT IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Multiple Infrastructures

This research found that the traditional understanding of SECTT as a phenomenon that occurs predominantly within the international tourism sector is no longer sufficiently accurate. SECTT is a rapidly shifting and transforming phenomenon that has superseded boundaries of the tourism sector. Non-traditional tourism infrastructures identified in Africa where SECTT is reported to occur include arrangements and settings associated with volun-tourism and other child-contact and child care institutions; travel and road infrastructures linked to national and foreign direct investment (FDI); military bases and camps, refugee and migrant detention centres, policing infrastructures and peacekeeping missions; the adult sex trade and entertainment industry; and online platforms and electronic devices, among others.

Structural Inequalities

The analytical framework used in the Global Study identifies a series of structural inequalities embedded in interactions between travellers and locals that can facilitate SECTT. Wealth and social inequality, based on differences in age, gender, ethnicity and class can be exacerbated through travel. Social expectations, assigned roles and explicit and implicit norms regulating interactions within specific settings, such as employment in the service sector, can also potentially increase disparities and the vulnerability of local citizens, particularly children and adolescents, to SECTT. The African research found evidence of exploitation of children by nationals within their own country and from neighbouring countries, where similar inequalities may exist. Examples include some aspects related to child marriage, the inflow of tourists participating in traditional celebrations, and the migration of girls to urban areas to avoid being forced to undergo harmful rituals, such as female genital mutilation (FGM), making them vulnerable to exploitation in unfamiliar urban areas.

Another cultural factor influencing the vulnerability of children to SECTT is the perception in many African countries that girls and boys are adults once they have reached puberty. Sex in many traditional cultures in Africa has also historically had some component of transaction, especially in patriarchal societies. Some West African countries have a tradition of families putting their children in the care of relatives or caretakers in the hope that doing so will enable access to improved educational or work opportunities. Children living in the care of relatives or sent to far away locations to work and live with other families may be vulnerable to mistreatment, exploitation or may face risky situations by attempting to run away.

In the situations described above, offenders may initially follow traditionally scripted patterns of interaction and then use their position of privilege or power within these for the purposes of exploitation. Offenders can be adept at capitalising on these practices and the inherent power relationships and social dynamics upon which they are based.

Context of Children and Offenders

Children´s Context

The most striking finding of the four country case studies presented here is that there is no single victim profile. Boys and girls from diverse socioeconomic groups, from both urban and rural locations, are potentially vulnerable. This diversity complicates the analysis and refutes profiling and traditional understandings of a 'typical' SECTT victim. The studies show that there are often multiple and overlapping factors impacting the vulnerability of girls and boys to SECTT. In Ghana, Kenya, South Africa and Zambia, the context and potential vulnerability of SECTT victims appears to be influenced by age, consumerism, education, environment, family relationships, gender, location, income, and prior history of drug or physical abuse. Each of these factors works in concert with other influences to augment children's risk of SECTT.

The country level research in Africa found that one of the most critical factors influencing the vulnerability of children from all socioeconomic groups and backgrounds to SECTT is parental care and family relationships. In all four countries, family separation and/or the lack of parental care was identified as a leading factor heightening vulnerability. Conversely, family relationships and protective parenting were found to mitigate potential risk.

Another important finding from the research in Africa in relation to victims of SECTT is linked to concepts of agency and the motivations of children and youth. Studies conducted in all four countries found that growing social and economic inequality is increasing the vulnerability of children to SECTT and in some cases motivating boys and girls to find their own solutions, which may involve selling one of the few resources they have: their sexuality. This finding has important implications for the design of response strategies and services, as children involved may not perceive themselves as victims and therefore may not respond to traditional outreach or rescue efforts. To be effective and convincing, efforts to support these children to change their behaviour should be linked to the identification and provision of better and realistic alternatives; these can be challenging to design and offer.

Offenders' Context

Country level research in Ghana, Kenya, Zambia and South Africa corroborates the findings of the Global Study, which stress the impossibility of developing a profile of a SECTT perpetrator based on descriptive characteristics such as age, gender or nationality. These characteristics are neither easy to define, nor are they static. In fact, the Global Study found that there are great, and perhaps increasing, variations in the profiles of offenders.

The African research found that perpetrators can be anyone, including people in an established long-term relationship, as well as people who are married and have families. SECTT may thus be a problem at many levels of society. As a group that is neither specifically attracted to children, nor willing to engage in CSEC under every circumstance, there are aspects of their behaviour that cannot be explained. This reality, therefore, calls further into question the attempts to explain perpetrators' actions by defining their profiles.

The traditional profile of travelling child sex offenders (TCSOs) as older foreign tourist men from Western countries is challenged by the findings of the Africa studies, which found that potential perpetrators can come from a variety of locations and that these are most likely constantly shifting based on global socioeconomic and political dynamics. As a result, response strategies targeting perpetrators from a specific location are unlikely to be effective; efforts should assume that the offender may be from anywhere, with equivalent consequences for all individuals irrespective of origin.

RESPONSES TO SECTT IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Legislative Framework

The majority of African nations have signed and ratified the key international instruments which pledge commitments to the protection of children. Among signatory countries, a continuum exists with regard to the willingness and capacity of individual countries to fully uphold and implement such conventions. Although there has been significant international advocacy on the part of the United Nations and organisations such as ECPAT International and its member groups in Africa to encourage governments to sign and ratify these frameworks and agreements, these efforts have not always translated into meaningful action and change in the actual lives of children affected by SECTT. National level research found that while adequate child protection laws and policies have been enacted in most countries in the region, enforcement remains a huge challenge. Moreover, corruption in some settings compounds these difficulties and results in an environment where perpetrators can act with impunity.

SECTT Responses

In addition to international and national legislation, efforts have been made to address SECTT in different ways at global, regional and local levels. Some approaches to combating SECTT in Africa appear to have promise. Partnership with the private sector, particularly businesses and agencies involved in travel and tourism, including hotels, airlines, taxi and transportation services, among others, appears essential. Examples include the Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation in Travel and Tourism and the Tourism Safety Initiative. Innovative approaches with adult commercial sex workers' associations, as documented in Kenya, also merit further investigation.

SECTT Services for Victims

Efforts have been made to establish services for SECTT victims in many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, with varying degrees of success. Inaccessible or non-existent social services result in needs being left unaddressed, compelling children to seek assistance in other ways. A 2007 study on services for orphans and vulnerable children in Sub-Saharan Africa found that "support for some orphans is being provided by a variety of government, community and non-governmental organisations, but this assistance generally reaches only a small percentage of those who need it".[3] As more general services do not appear to be available to assist orphans and vulnerable children, it is unlikely that specialised services for children who have been abused or exploited are being provided.

[3] Stover, John et al. (2007), "Resource needs to support orphans and vulnerable children in sub-Saharan Africa," Health Policy Plan 22, no. 1 (2007): 21

CONCLUSION

Despite existing national laws and policies to protect children from SECTT and efforts by governments, NGOs and different public and private sector organisations, current responses remain inadequate. In the absence of effective policies and services, it is critical that the role of parents and families is strengthened and lies squarely at the centre of any strategy for addressing this issue.

A key conclusion is that there is unlikely to be a standardised strategy for combating SECTT that will be universally applicable in all contexts. It is hoped, however, that the information provided in this report will encourage governments, NGOs and other stakeholders to begin identifying practical opportunities and approaches for developing tailored services and support structures to strengthen the protection of children against SECTT in Sub-Saharan African and around the world.

RECOMMENDATIONS

This report recommends utilising the proposed framework to analyse the manifestations of SECTT in a particular country or location in order to develop tailored services and support structures. Given the complexity and evolving manifestations of the issue, a systems approach to designing programmes and responses that are tailored to the contexts where the crime occurs is likely to be more effective than standard issue-specific recommendations such as creating national plans of action against CSEC or building shelters.

The Sub-Saharan Africa research consistently identified the need to improve services for the protection of children against SECTT. Response efforts and services must be designed to meet the needs of families and child victims in a particular context. In order to do this, it is necessary to understand their perspective and the specific factors causing them to become involved in SECTT. A systems approach to child protection requires detailed information and evidence about the situation and vulnerabilities of children in the country or region, based on consultations with families and communities to understand their priorities and concerns, as well as engagement with government to ensure sustainability.

The research clearly identifies the paramount importance of parental care and family relationships for ensuring the protection of children against SECTT. Any approach to addressing this issue must involve identifying culturally relevant and effective ways to strengthen the capacity of families and communities to care for and protect children. Policymakers, child protection stakeholders and researchers are encouraged to seek innovative, contextually appropriate and more evidence-based policies and strategies for supporting vulnerable families and children. Further research in this direction can help channel interventions and resources more effectively. Additional specific country level recommendations based on the national level research conducted for this study are presented in the body of the report.

All of the country reports identified the importance of improving coordination between government, NGOs, donors and other stakeholders involved in the protection of children in order to ensure efficient use of resources and a coherent response. This should be led by the government agency mandated with responsibility for child welfare as part of an overall national child protection strategy encompassing all aspects of child wellbeing and involve both the formal government and traditional or community-based authorities in order to ensure effective implementation at the local level. The research highlighted the importance of engaging the private tourism and travel sector, as well as ICT, mining and construction companies where infrastructures facilitating SECTT have been identified.

In addition to the recommendations above, a series of country-specific recommendations generated from the national level research in Ghana, Kenya, Zambia and South Africa are presented in the report, along with key recommendations identified by the ECPAT Global Study for regional bodies and international organisations, national governments, NGOs and private sector firms.

CHAPTER 1
BACKGROUND & RATIONALE

BACKGROUND

This regional report has been prepared as a contribution to the Global Study on the Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism conducted by ECPAT International in collaboration with numerous partners. Despite a dearth of published data, anecdotal evidence and some small-scale studies suggest that the sexual exploitation of children in travel and tourism is a rapidly growing problem in many African countries. In response to the need for more information on the extent and nature of this phenomenon, ECPAT, African Child Policy Forum (ACPF), African Network for the Prevention & Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect (ANPPCAN) (Kenya), Fair Trade Tourism (FTT) (South Africa), Childline (South Africa), Forum on Sustainable Child Empowerment (FSCE, Ethiopia), Ghana NGO Coalition on the Rights of the Child GNCRC (Ghana) and Child in Need Network CHIN (Zambia) agreed to undertake research in five Sub-Saharan countries. While research was conducted in five countries, due to delays in the research process in Ethiopia, only findings from Ghana, Kenya, South Africa, and Zambia are included in this report. The purpose of the research was to strengthen the evidence-base and to raise awareness and build consensus on priority actions needed in law and policy reform. It also aimed to identify programmes and services that governments, the tourist industry and civil society organizations should implement in order to prevent and eliminate the sexual exploitation of children in travel and tourism.

The Sub-Saharan African Study is designed to serve as a stand-alone report, as well as a component of a Global Study consisting of one Global Study report, nine regional SECTT reports, 15 country-specific reports and 42 expert submissions. The Sub-Saharan report is unique in comparison to other regional reports that are part of the Global Study in that it was produced after the Global Study had been analyzed by key experts in a meeting in Paris in 2015, in which the authors of this report participated. The structure and approach of this report is based on the analytical framework developed by ECPAT to guide and provide a theoretical underpinning for the analysis of the global study findings.[4] The analytical framework approaches the analysis of SECTT from an institutional perspective, based on Ostrom's Institutional Analysis and Development Framework.[5] As explained in the framework, this approach facilitates an exploration of the drivers behind the decisions of offenders and an understanding of the role that context plays in enabling and creating the conditions for this crime to occur, moving away from a simplistic description of profiles of perpetrators and victims. The findings from Africa clearly indicate that this approach is necessary given the substantial diversity among those found to be committing this crime, the types of children who are vulnerable and the different manifestations of SECTT in the region. While the typical narrative of the deviant preferential or paedophile offender still carries significant weight in how SECTT is imagined and analysed, the research findings presented here indicate that the growing issue of situational offenders merits critical examination.

The analytical framework also proposes looking at the phenomenon of CSEC through the "lens" of travel and tourism in order to redefine SECTT and explore the scope of this manifestation. This perspective allows the study to respond to and explore conditions and forms of SEC that a strict focus on tourism would miss, such as the exploitation of children in construction sites, mining operations or other locations where travellers may be found. This broadening of scope was also found useful for the analysis of the Africa research findings where children were found to be vulnerable in a number of contexts not linked to the traditional concept of tourism.

The report is organised into a series of chapters. This introduction is followed by the research objectives and study scope. The key findings and body of the report consist of three sections inspired by the theoretical approach provided by the Global Study analytical framework: the Section I describes the multiple infrastructures that facilitate the exploitation of children, particularly those that are non-traditional, including volun-tourism; FDI; military bases / detention centres and peacekeeping missions; the adult sex trade and entertainment industry; and online platforms and electronic devices. Section II explores the different structural inequalities that contribute to SECTT, including informal practices and norms such as early

[4] ECPAT International (2015) "Global Report: Towards a new analytical framework for SECTT", (unpublished working paper, Bangkok: ECPAT International).

[5] Ostrom, Elinor (2005), "Understanding Institutional Diversity", Princeton: Princeton University Press.

and child marriage; festivals, traditional practices and inheritance; debt bondage, family ties and wealth / status differentials; and the care of children by relatives and child labour. This section then examines different aspects of the context of SECTT victims and offenders in an effort to understand the dynamics that may cause individuals to become vulnerable to or engage in this crime. Section III describes efforts to respond to the issue, including the legal framework and available services for SECTT in the countries studied. A series of recommendations for policy and strategies for combating this issue based on the Africa country level research and Global Study are then presented. Annexes present the ethical principles upon which the research was conducted, researcher code of conduct and a sample researcher ToR used for the study.

RATIONALE

As noted in the regional report of the Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism in Europe and Central Asia, the origins of SECTT can be traced to Asia during the Vietnam War period, when military presence in the region fuelled a high demand for prostitution services.[6] However, it was only in the early 1990s that the issue was brought to the world's attention. The First World Congress against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children, inspired and co-organised by ECPAT International in 1996, was the pioneering global effort toward eradicating this crime.

SECTT has evolved significantly since the First World Congress. Globally, the countries of origin and destination are shifting; modalities of offending have become increasingly sophisticated, greatly facilitated by the use of the Internet and other information and communication technologies (ICTs); the profile of the perpetrators has become more complex, facilitated by the increased mobility of the global population. The lack of comprehensive, national-level studies on the scope of SECTT and the absence of centralised data collection systems are major barriers to gauging how many children and adolescents have been victimised by TCSOs. In none of the African countries under review are such figures available. Quantitative analysis is complicated by the fact that children victimized by TCSOs may also be subject to other forms of commercial sexual exploitation and thus classified as victims of other offences in criminal statistics. The different linkages that connect SECTT with other forms of CSEC are evident: some children and adolescents abused by TCSOs are used to produce pornography or forced into marriage, while others are trafficked internally or across borders for prostitution, often to meet the demands of travellers, tourists and migrant workers. Clearly, all these manifestations of CSEC are strictly interconnected, as reflected in the increasing number of boys and girls exposed to multiple forms of victimisation.

According to UNWTO, Africa presented the second highest growth in tourism by region in the world in 2012, following on the footsteps of Asia and the Pacific, with an annual growth rate of 6 per cent in arrivals and a total of 52 million tourists reported. This figure is expected to climb to 134 million by 2030.[7] This trend, combined with a renewed focus on Africa from tourist-sending countries, has also led to an increase in the incidence of sexual exploitation of children. While tourism has historically been associated with West and North African countries such as Morocco and Senegal, other countries in the region appear to be experiencing an influx of tourists seeking sex with children, including travellers from neighbouring countries within the African continent itself. Country assessments conducted in The Gambia, Kenya, Madagascar, Senegal and South Africa in 2013 found SECTT to be a recognised problem by stakeholders in all five countries.[8]

The second edition of ECPAT country monitoring reports on CSEC and a review of the 2013 and 2014 Trafficking in Persons (TIP) reports released by the U.S. Department of State provide an updated picture of SECTT in Africa, indicating that while some countries remain particularly popular, others are emerging as new destinations for travelling sex offenders. According to ECPAT International's African network members, the following countries are most affected by child sex tourism: Benin, Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, The Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Madagascar, Mauritius, Morocco, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa and Tanzania. Of these, The Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, The Morocco and South Africa are considered the more popular SECTT destinations. Nigeria was identified more as a source of child sex tourists in other African countries rather than a destination for SECTT.

This report presents the findings of national level research conducted in Ghana, Kenya, South Africa and Zambia, along with evidence from elsewhere in the region, in an effort to shed further light on this issue, including the dynamics of and different ways SECTT is manifested in Sub-Saharan Africa. The implications of these findings and their relevance for designing strategies and services for strengthening the protection of children from this crime are also explored.

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[6] Altamura, Alessia (2015), "Regional Report – Europe", Global Study on Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism, Bangkok: ECPAT International.

[7] UNWTO (2013), "Tourism Highlights 2013 Edition", M adrid: UNWTO, 12-4, accessed 19 November 2015, http://www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/9789284415427.

[8] ECPAT Netherlands (2014), "Don't Look Away: Be aware and report sexual exploitation of children in travel and tourism. Assessment on sexual exploitation of children related to tourism and reporting mechanisms in Gambia, Kenya, Madagascar, Senegal and South Africa", Amsterdam: ECPAT Netherlands, accessed 19 November 2015, http://www.ecpat.net/sites/default/files/Overall%20report%20-%20Assessment%205%20African%20countries.pdf.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES & STUDY SCOPE

The overarching objective of the Global Study on Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism is to contribute to eradicating SECTT through the provision of region-specific, evidence-based knowledge that will underpin and guide effective decision-making. The Sub-Saharan African Study on Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism aims to:

- Provide a situation analysis of the status of the sexual exploitation of children in travel and tourism, including an analysis of emerging trends and new developments;
- Provide, where possible and available, statistical data and figures on child victims and relevant sex offenders, including quantitative trends;
- Map current responses to the sexual exploitation of children in travel and tourism, including legislation, policies, programmes and capacity development initiatives in place to address this challenge;
- Reflecting the analysis above, propose recommendations to improve government, non-government and private sector responses to the sexual exploitation of children in travel and tourism.

This report draws directly from data collected through national level research in four affected countries where national organisations agreed to lead research on this phenomenon: Ghana, Kenya, South Africa and Zambia. Child Frontiers developed a research guide to provide a general framework to support the studies carried out in each of the case study countries. ECPAT groups in each country adapted the research guide and tools to the national context in order to pursue country-specific questions and areas of inquiry. This process of contextualisation helped to ensure that sufficiently in-depth information was collected about the manifestations and dynamics of SECTT in different settings and circumstances. Research was conducted with different respondent groups (child protection sector representatives, private tourism sector representatives, government officials, police officers, children and youth involved in SECTT and at-risk, and community leaders) through group discussions, surveys and testimonies.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The country studies undertaken in this research was designed to be small and focused; while the aim was to acquire both quantitative and qualitative data, it is understood that sample sizes in each site will be insufficiently large to be statistically representative. The intention is to get a window into the issues at play in select countries in order to acquire a better understanding of the overall research questions.

Doing so involved exploring the different manifestations of SECTT in each country, which children are victims and the factors that render them especially vulnerable, how children become victims and who is exploiting them, which measures are in place to protect children and what more could be done to safeguard boys and girls in different contexts and circumstances.

A mixed methods approach was employed to investigate these questions. This methodology is appropriate for this study because of the variety of questions under investigation and because different methods and sources facilitated corroboration of participants' perspectives and data and research findings from other sources. By having a cumulative view of data from different contexts and different actors, the study aimed to acquire as valid, reliable and objective information as possible.

While both primary and secondary sources were used, the emphasis of this study is on country level primary data collection with individuals and groups of children and adults, including those employed with government, NGOs and other service providers.

The mixture of research methods includes:

1. Review of relevant documentary sources: NGO and Government assessments, reports, ethnographic and other academic research, project needs assessments and evaluations, and any other relevant archival material will be reviewed throughout the study and in the data analysis stage.

2. Semi-structured interviews with adults who work in the tourism industry (including hoteliers, tour guides, tour operators, taxi drivers, etc.); Ministry of Tourism officials; police and public security officers; and others, as appropriate.

3. Focus group discussions with children at risk of becoming involved in CSEC; adults who work as service providers to child victims of CSEC; community members (parents, local officials) in high-risk locations; and any others, as appropriate.

4. Online survey for tourist service providers, such as hoteliers, tour guides, tour operators, travel agents, transportation agencies, etc.

This mixed methods approach was designed to be adapted to the specific contexts in which the research took place in each of the case study countries. These methods were designed to be used alongside one another to help facilitate the full participation of different respondent groups, ensuring that respondents of different ages, education / literacy levels and experiences with SECTT had an opportunity to fully contribute to and participate in the research. After review by each of the country teams, the methods were revised, adapted and piloted in each country context.

The methodology developed to guide the country-level research focused on the following key questions:

1. Is SECTT an issue in the country? If so, where and in which contexts?
2. What are the manifestations of SECTT in the country?
3. Which children are victims of SECTT? What factors render them especially vulnerable? How do they get involved?
4. Who is organising and exploiting the victims of SECTT?
5. Who are the offenders? Who is else is involved?
6. Is foreign investment (e.g. mining, construction) contributing to SECTT?
7. What role, if any, does modern technology like internet, particularly social media play?
8. What services are available to help child victims of commercial sexual exploitation in travel and tourism? Who operates these (Government / NGOs/faith-based organisations)?
9. What legal protection from SECTT has been put in place for children? What are the challenges to implementation? What gaps remain?
10. What would be effective strategies to combat SECTT in the country?

In reviewing the country level findings, however, it quickly became apparent that while the majority of respondents felt that SECTT is a serious problem in their country, there are no simple or straightforward answers to the questions above. SECTT appears to be evolving rapidly into myriad manifestations that defy clear categorisation or generalised description. The data clearly and consistently indicates that it is not possible to rely on traditional stereotypes or assumptions about SECTT. This reality was also evidenced in other regional studies conducted as part of the global study; traditional assumptions about the dynamics of SECTT may no longer hold or have diminishing relevance. By continuing to narrowly frame research and analysis on the basis of out-dated modalities, such as the older European male sex tourist from a first world country travelling to impoverished locations to exploit very young children living in poverty, new and growing forms of this phenomenon may be overlooked and left unaddressed.[9]

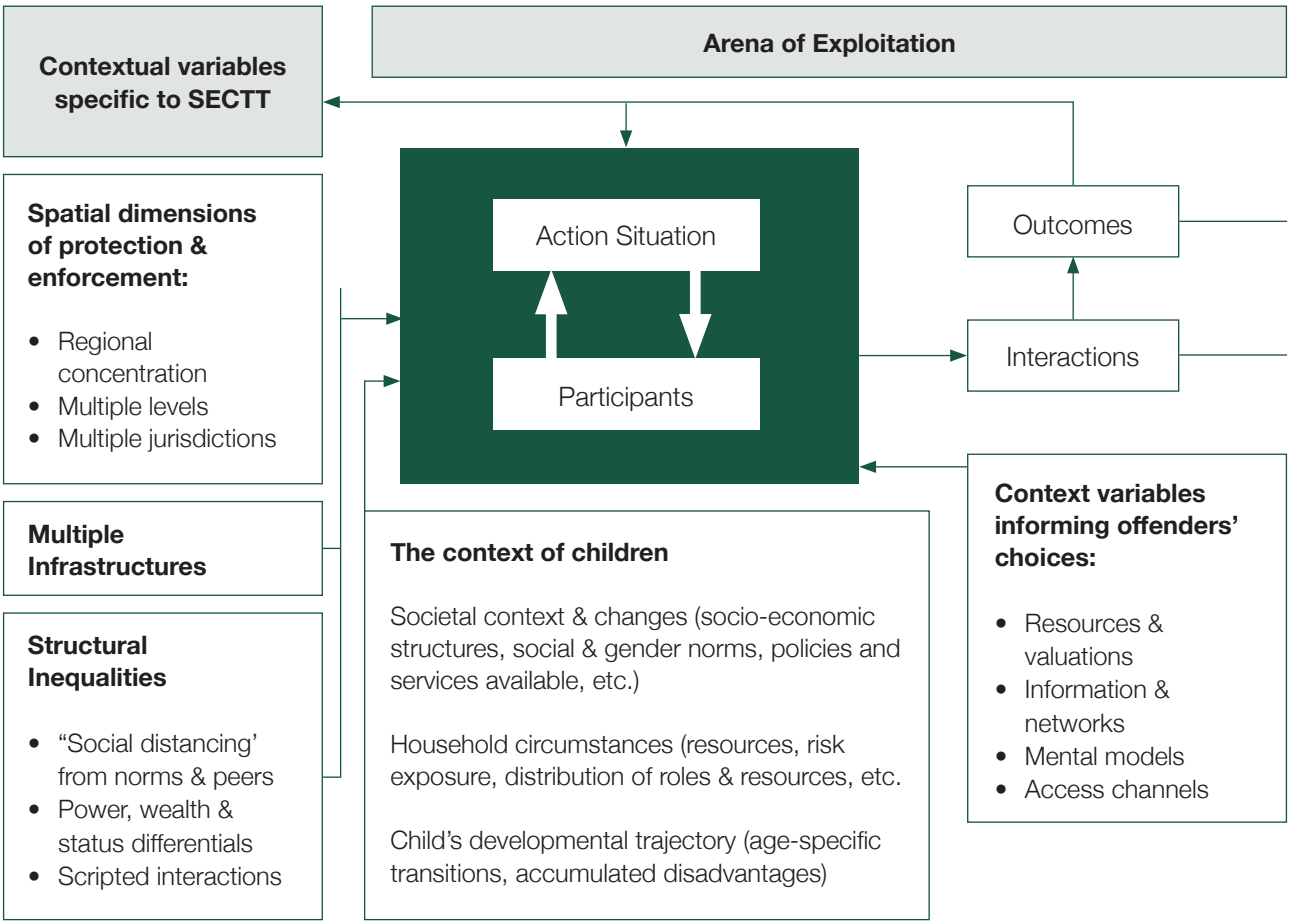
As noted in the Africa research guide, the clandestine and criminal nature of SECTT severely inhibits access to credible data on the nature and extent of the phenomenon. Cultural and social taboos associated with SECTT, and in many cases, justifiable fear of the repercussions of reporting – or even discussing SECTT – also serve to compromise the availability of data. Despite these challenges, the national research teams in Ghana, Kenya, South Africa and Zambia did a commendable job of researching and analysing the dynamics of SECTT in their respective countries to uncover a wealth of detailed information about the myriad manifestations of this phenomenon through interviews, surveys, and group discussions with communities, child protection service providers, boys and girls, and young people.

The intention of the country case studies was not to generate statistically significant data but instead to obtain as much in-depth information as possible about SECTT in different contexts. Much of the information obtained represents the views of individual respondents across a range of national and local settings. Despite the varied experiences and perspectives sought, a number of key themes emerged; these are outlined below.

The data revealed in the literature review and country studies was roughly organised along the approach proposed in ECPAT's analytical framework.[10] This framework identifies different contextual features that occur specifically in the context of travel and can facilitate SECTT, including the existence of multiple 'infrastructures' that can be 'co-opted' by travellers; different forms of 'social distancing', including the structural inequalities, social norms and dynamics that influence children's vulnerability to SECTT; as well as the dimensions of protection, enforcement of legislation and services to prevent and respond to cases of SECTT. The framework explains that "these three dimensions allow offenders to draw impunity, anonymity, power and access to children from travel. Through travel, offenders can situate themselves within the same context as vulnerable children, whilst assuming specific identities and roles – as tourists or pseudo-carers, for example – which facilitate exploitative interactions. At the same time, they face different incentives than at their places of origin, given the difficulties to enforce regulations within the jurisdiction of offense but also across jurisdictions, and due to their sense of anonymity and distance from their peers and from their social norms. Thus, travel creates contexts which can facilitate exploitation, of which offenders can then take advantage".[11]

[9] Altamura, Alessia (2015), "Regional Report – Europe".
[10] ECPAT International (2015), "Towards a new analytical framework for SECTT".
[11] Ibid. 09-10.

Figure 1: Preliminary Framework for an Institutional Analysis of SECTT[12]



Thus, travel creates contexts that can facilitate exploitation, which offenders use to their advantage. These situations and settings can be found beyond conventional tourism, and include interactions within other types of infrastructures, such as those catering for temporary workers and workers in transit, business people, and those aimed at providing services to children (schools, orphanages, etc.). This analytical approach makes it possible to explore how the different dimensions that enable exploitation to take place play out, as well as highlight the features of victims and offenders' contexts that are relevant for the analysis of SECTT.[13]

For child protection actors and stakeholders, it is important to note that this analysis framework is in line with the shift towards systems thinking that has taken place in the child protection sector. In recent years, there has been increasing global recognition that child welfare and protection agencies need to move towards more integrated and systems-based approaches to preventing and protecting children from all forms of violence, abuse, neglect and exploitation.

Rather than an exclusive focus on the child victim or specific types of harm, interventions are increasingly directed at the whole family, aiming to strengthen the social welfare and social protection systems that help parents and families to provide the best care possible and promoting positive community and kinship mechanisms. By framing the analysis around the causes, relationships and factors that contribute to vulnerability, as well as those that strengthen the protection of children, our understanding of SECTT broadens to include all children who are potentially vulnerable to this crime.

The first section of the report explores the different infrastructures that facilitate SECTT, including non-traditional settings. Section II looks at structural inequalities, including informal practices and norms that contribute to child vulnerability. The third analyses the context of victims and offenders to identify different factors that can motivate children and perpetrators to become involved in SECTT.

[12] Adapted from Emilia Poole Illsley for ECPAT International (2015), "Towards a new analytical framework for SECTT", 11 (unpublished)
[13] Ibid.

CHAPTER 4

ETHICAL PRINCIPLES & POTENTIAL RISKS

This study was designed to comply with internationally recognised research standards. This section addresses the possible risks and benefits of the study, the mechanisms in place to minimise these risks, and the ethical principles that underlie the study as a whole.

Overview of potential risks and benefits of participation in the study

Several potential risks to participants have been identified. These conceivable causes of concern are outlined below, along with the approaches that have been put in place to minimise the probability of harm or injury (physical, psychological, social or economic) that could occur as a result of participation in the research:

Exposure to negative repercussions from others: By discussing commercial SECTT, its causes and its impact, participants, particularly adolescents (12-17 years) and young adults (18-14 years), may be exposed to the risk of physical or emotional harm from others. Adults and parents/guardians may feel nervous or vulnerable to exposure as a result of the information that an individual may choose to share in the course of this research. Consequently, they may try to control the nature of the information the individual shares by threatening him or her in advance of his or her participation. After the data collection exercise has been undertaken, they may also feel angry towards those who participated and may behave violently or abusively, or try to exclude them socially, as a result.

Mitigation strategy: All participants in this study will be provided with detailed information about the study, its purpose, the means by which data will be collected, how the data will be used and any intended outcomes or consequences that may arise as a result of the study. All children who participate in the research will have done so on the basis of their assent and the consent of an adult responsible for them. During the process of obtaining assent and/or consent, potential respondents and, where appropriate, their parent/guardian/other responsible adult will be provided with an accurate and fair description of the potential risks or discomforts and the anticipated benefits (see attached consent and assent forms).

In an effort to limit the potential personalisation of research questions, general questions will be asked of groups about SECTT, its various manifestations in different settings, and the contextual features that promote and mitigate against the practice. Respondents will not be pressured or forced to provide comments or answers and they will be reminded that their participation in the study is entirely voluntary and they can stop at any time. The same protocol applies to testimonials and semi-structured interviews; assent and/or consent will be obtained and participants can choose to share or not share the amount or nature of the information they reveal to researchers.

Psychological harm: Participation in this study may result in adverse changes in thought processes and emotion, for example respondents may experience feelings of sadness and stress. These feelings may arise from thinking or talking about one's own circumstances or behaviour (or those of a loved one) or about attitudes to children, childhood and the commercial sexual exploitation of children. These feelings are likely to be temporary but may be provoked when an individual is being interviewed or participating in a group discussion or activity.

Mitigation strategy: As outlined above, the process of obtaining assent and consent involves describing the research process and the types of issues that it will explore. Research questions and methods for collecting data have been designed in such a way that participants are able to engage in the topic without having to make reference to their own personal experiences or those of loved ones. No one will be pushed to talk about their experiences, and will be supported to stop talking at any point if he or she does not want to continue. That having been said, if individual participants become upset in the course of an activity or after an activity has been completed, the research team will link them with someone to talk to privately who can help them to deal with their feelings of distress or sadness. This referral person will be identified during the development of each country research plan and reviewed in detail during the researcher training.

Invasion of privacy: In the context of this study, two main concerns arise. The first is how to protect the private concerns of individuals who participate in group discussions. The second is the need to ensure that each research question being asked is of sufficient importance to justify the potential for intrusion.

Mitigation strategy: This research is designed in a manner that addresses these concerns. In addition to the safeguards mentioned above, group discussions will focus on exploring general questions related to the commercial SECTT and not on individual children's or families' circumstances, experiences or practices. Participants can choose to share as much or as little as they are comfortable with. Participatory activities will be used to further de-personalise the issues under investigation. The research methods will be piloted and revised before they will be employed and in the process, their suitability, appropriateness and importance will be revisited and assessed accordingly.

Breach of confidentiality: This risk concerns a potential lack of safeguarding of information that has been given voluntarily by a participant to a member of the research team. Such a breach of confidentiality may result not only in an infringement of an individual's rights, but may also result in psychological harm (in the form of embarrassment, guilt or stress) or in social harm or exclusion (see below).

Mitigation strategy: All members of the research team for this study signed a code of conduct which stipulates and prohibits a series of behaviours and commits the researcher to abiding by a series of clearly delineated ethical principles. In addition, all researchers will participate in a mandatory training workshop in which the importance of confidentiality and its adherence will be explored in detail. Data protection measures have also been designed to minimise the ability to assign comments or experiences to specific individuals in particular communities.

Social and economic harm: Were the privacy of an individual participant to be invaded or their confidentiality to be breached, there is a risk of embarrassment for that individual, or for their family, social group or community. Moreover, participation in any kind of research may result in actual costs to individuals, either direct or opportunity (through time not spent working or performing other tasks).

Mitigation strategy: Strong confidentiality safeguards have been put in place for this study, as discussed above and outlined in greater detail below. Any and all anticipated costs to research participants will be described to prospective participants in the information sheet and during the process of obtaining assent and consent.

In addition to the procedures and ethical principles laid out below, these risks were further minimised by:

- Assembling – and then providing additional training to – a competent research team with an appropriate level of expertise and experience to conduct the research.
- Ensuring that the anticipated sample size is sufficient to yield valuable results.
- Incorporating safeguards into the research design, such as an appropriate data safety monitoring plan, the presence of trained personnel who can respond to issues as they arise (including child protection concerns), and procedures to protect the confidentiality of the data (i.e. not recording respondents' names in group discussions).

CHAPTER 5

SECTT IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

MULTIPLE INFRASTRUCTURES

A key finding of the current research is that the traditional understanding of SECTT as a phenomenon that occurs predominantly within the international tourism sector is no longer sufficiently accurate. As described in the analytical framework, "the tourism infrastructure involves a complex landscape formed by hotels and other types of lodging; restaurants, cafes and entertainment sites; landmark sights and museums; roads, transportation and connection services between locations within a destination; as well as multiple other sites for activities that range from shows and movies to shopping, markets and festivals, sports and recreational facilities, spas and treatment parlours, tour facilities, etc."[14] Despite this broad definition, these types of conventional tourism and travel venues do not appear to be the only relevant infrastructures for SECTT.

This finding was corroborated by the Africa research findings, which indicate SECTT is a rapidly shifting and transforming phenomenon that has superseded boundaries of the tourism sector. As the tourism industry itself undergoes dramatic change with the emergence of new and unregulated forms of accommodation such as AirBnB, transportation such as Uber and SnappCab, children's vulnerability is also changing. AirBnB is "an internet-based service that allows people to rent out spare rooms to strangers for short stays", while Uber and SnappCab are also internet-based transportation services that allow private individuals "to answer ride requests with their own cars".[15] These often unregulated service providers are not subjected to the usual obligations imposed on licensed operators in the accommodation and transportation industries, creating 'grey' areas that criminals and SECTT perpetrators can take advantage of. Independent service providers are also less likely to be involved in tourism industry efforts to combat exploitation of children in travel and tourism such as The Code, described later in this report. To overlook these manifestations of SECTT risks failure to address new arenas where children are increasingly exposed to potential harm.

It is important to add a note on gender; where information is available, the report specifies the gender of the children involved, as has important implications for services and response strategies. The research clearly indicates that the infrastructures identified, including volun-tourism FDI, camps, bases and detention centres and online platforms increase the vulnerability of both girls and boys to TCSOs. There is very little information available about the sexual exploitation of boys by tourists and travellers: however, apart from specific cases in The Gambia, Ghana and Kenya,[16] it appears that girls are more vulnerable in the adult sex industry, which typically caters to heterosexual male travellers.

This section of the report explores some of these newly identified infrastructures. However, it is also important to note that this broader look does not mean that more traditional forms of SECTT have disappeared. This research indicated that African children are perceived to be especially at risk in tourist destinations where there are high numbers of travellers, including beaches, historic sites or places of natural beauty. These tend to be places where "people can easily come in and out and do as they please without seeming suspicious, because they are seen as tourists bringing money to the country", creating a sense of anonymity and invulnerability to being caught. For example, in Kenya, "SECTT is reportedly common in major tourist destinations such as Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Kakamega, Nakuru, as well as other major towns".[17]

[14] Ibid. 18.
[15] Baker, Dean (2014), "Don't buy the 'sharing economy' hype: Airbnb and Uber are facilitating rip-offs", The Guardian, last modified 27 May 2014, accessed 21 March 2016, http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/may/27/airbnb-uber-taxes-regulation.
[16] These are described in more detail in Section III of the report and are quite visible and recognised.
[17] Otieno, Aggrey Willis (2015), "Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism in Kenya: A Case Study of Embakasi, Starehe, Kasarani and Kamukunji Sub Counties in Nairobi", Nairobi: ANPPCAN Regional Office, 11.

Non-traditional tourism infrastructures identified in Africa where SECTT is reported to occur include arrangements and settings associated with volun-tourism and other child-contact and child care institutions; travel and road infrastructures linked to national and foreign direct investment; military bases and camps, refugee and migrant detention centres, policing infrastructures and peacekeeping missions; the adult sex trade and entertainment industry; and online platforms and electronic devices, among others.

Volun-tourism

Volun-tourism is on the rise in Africa, driven by demand from tourists from higher income nations to engage in short-term volunteer work. Recent reports have indicated that the growing industry associated with this practice is placing boys and girls at increased risk. Companies have emerged marketing these types of packages, which often involve opportunities to work with children in orphanages or other settings such as schools or development projects. The work is typically temporary, does not require specific skills or experience and volunteers rarely undergo any type of screening process or background check, apart from their ability to finance the experience. The result is the opening of a new infrastructure that facilitates access to children in vulnerable situations by adult travellers and tourists.

While the majority of voluntourists may genuinely hope to contribute in some way, it is generally agreed that the potential negative consequences and significant risks to children of this practice are not justified. The mushrooming of child care institutions is exacerbated by the lack of regulation of orphanages and alternative care across Africa, allowing volun-tourism companies and residential homes to exploit misguided international sympathies to make profit at the expense of children's well-being. Around 140 of the 148 orphanages in Ghana, for example, were un-licensed in 2009, according to the Social Welfare Department study.[18] Concerns have also been raised regarding voluntourists displacing local workers and putting children at risk of forming unstable attachments bonding with short-term, foreign caregivers.[19] This new form of tourism is also susceptible to predators who may use these types of unregulated situations and the uneven power dynamic between the children involved and foreign tourists as opportunities to engage in SECTT.

To date, the growth of volun-tourism, led by the private sector, has outpaced efforts of governments and child protection agencies to monitor and develop guidelines to ensure the protection of children. Fair Trade Tourism, a partner agency in developing this report, has led the development of certification criteria for volun-tourism, focusing on the involvement of local communities, the fair share of benefits, adequate screening and training of volunteers, and preventing child labour.

Foreign Direct Investment

Foreign direct investment is contributing to increased mobility both within and across countries, bringing large groups of mostly unaccompanied males into developing regions of Africa. Chinese - Sub-Saharan Africa trade has grown over 100-fold since 1990 and Chinese investment increased to US$3.1 billion in 2013.[20] Key investment sectors include mining, finance, construction and manufacturing. Chinese banks are funding investment in railways and roads, as well as copper mines and oil rigs.[21] These industries typically require a local support infrastructure in order to function, bringing local communities and children in contact with foreign workers.

Services for migrant and travelling workers, including accommodation, food, entertainment, etc. for miners, manufacturing and construction workers, truck drivers, oil-rig workers, etc. provide opportunities for offenders to exploit children in both preferential or situational contexts. Migrant workers are often individuals travelling alone or in groups for extended periods of time in relative anonymity and impunity. As noted in the analytical framework, locations where large groups of migrant workers come together, such as construction sites, ports and mining zones, are often hotspots for sex trade and CSEC.[22] In such locations, accommodation, food, entertainment, etc. services are provided to these workers, who are working far away from family and friends. This confluence of factors contributes to the potential for SECTT, including the availability of discretionary income, uneven power dynamics, and anonymity, among others.

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[18] Ibid.

[19] Richter, Linda M. and Norman, Amy (2010), "AIDS orphan tourism: A threat to young children in residential care", Vulnerable Children and Youth Studies: An International Interdisciplinary Journal for Research, Policy and Care 05, issue 3 (2010): 217-29, http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17450128.2010.487124

[20] Chen, Wenjie, Dollar, David and Tang, Heiwei (2015), "China's direct investment in Africa: Reality versus myth", Brookings, http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/africa-in-focus/posts/2015/09/03-china-africa-investment-trade-myth-chen-dollar-tang; Brautigam, Deborah, Farole,Thomas and Xiaoyang, Tang (2010), "China's Investment in African Special Economic Zones: Prospects, Challenges, and Opportunities", World Bank, accessed 19 November 2015, https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/10202/536820BRI0EP50Box345623B001PUBLIC1.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

[21] The Economist (2015), "Not as easy as it looks", The Economist, accessed 22 March 2016. http://www.economist.com/news/middle-east-and-africa/21678777-western-worries-about-chinas-burgeoning-influence-africa-may-be-overblown-not.

[22] ECPAT International (2015), "Towards a new analytical framework for SECTT".

In Zambia, the development of a foreign-led mining industry has been linked with a rise in SECTT. Research respondents cited examples of children involved in prostitution travelling to the mining areas from distant provinces, especially around the period when employee salaries are paid. In both Solwezi and Livingstone, SECTT was reported in sites where there is infrastructure development[23]: temporary foreign workers were reported to engage in sex with children, primarily, but not exclusively, with girls. Access is apparently gained by visiting local communities and interacting with local people. Service providers stated that some investors 'host' young girls in their temporary camps. The young girls are expected to cook and have sex with the men. In comparison to other tourists, these types of investors tend to stay longer in a place due to the length of projects and consequently have more direct contact with local people, including children. Child protection service providers in Livingstone stated that "Chinese contractors are the main contributors to SECTT and there are some girls who have even been impregnated by contractors who were constructing roads." Other respondents reported that both local and foreign nationals working in the mines are involved in CSEC, particularly during periods when salaries are paid. These perpetrators appear to be predominantly situational, as children are often mixed up with adults involved in prostitution.[24]

The construction of roads and highways by foreigners was also identified as contributing to SECTT in Kenya. According to the report, "young girls are lured to these sites with promises of financial compensation and other incentives. A number of major development projects have been initiated across the country, including flagship projects such as the Thika super highway in Nairobi, SGR and LAPSSET in the coastal region, among others. These projects are heavily funded by foreign governments and with their implementation, increased numbers of foreigners now work and live in Kenyan communities. Exploitation of young girls is reportedly widespread in construction project sites and towns neighbouring the project areas. There have been a number of reports of young Kenyan girls who have become involved in sexual relationships with Chinese contractors".[25]

Military Bases / Camps, Detention Centres and Peacekeeping Missions

Military bases and camps, refugee and migrant detention centres, policing infrastructures and peacekeeping missions are additional settings where SECTT is taking place in Africa. This reality represents an important challenge for the UN system and the many African countries facing war, migration and refugee crises.

Despite the zero-tolerance policy (ZTP) against sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) by peacekeepers instituted by the UN, these types of violations continue.[26] A related challenge identified is that allegations of peacekeepers buying sex from an adult woman or man is reported and treated the same way as an allegation of sexual exploitation or rape of a child. Under-reporting of cases continues to be a significant challenge and little has been done to address its underlying causes, including "the UN's institutional deference to the rights of the accused over the rights of the accuser; racialised and gendered stereotypes of locals among peacekeepers, which are often reinforced by the in-mission training they received; and an entrenched 'boys will be boys' attitude among many within the UN system."[27]

In 2014, the Guardian newspaper reported allegations of sexual abuse of children by peacekeepers in the advanced phases of the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA).[28] According to the British paper, a report commissioned by the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), revealed cases of sexual abuse of male children by French peacekeeping troops at a centre for internally displaced people in the capital Bangui. This account was followed by a report that UN peacekeepers, also in the CAR, raped a 12-year-old girl, highlighting the continued vulnerability of children, especially girls, in these contexts.[29]

According to ECPAT International's 2007 Global monitoring report on the status of action against commercial sexual exploitation of children: Uganda, the conflict between the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and

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[23] Zambia is conducting a nation-wide development project to construct roads and other infrastructure.
[24] CHIN (2015), "Qualitative Study of Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel & Tourism in Two Selected Districts of Zambia".
[25] Otieno, Aggrey Willis (2015), "Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism in Kenya", 35-6.
[26] For instance, recent cases have been reported on sexual abuse of children by French UN peacekeeper troops in the Central African Republic, a sign that this problem is far from being resolved. See OHCHR (2016), "More allegations of sexual abuse of children by foreign soldiers in the Central African Republic", United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, accessed 22 March 2016, http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=16995&LangID=E.
[27] Jennings, Kathleen (2015), "The UN's Shame: Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in UN Peacekeeping", E-International Relations, http://www.e-ir.info/2015/10/21/the-uns-shame-sexual-exploitation-and-abuse-in-un-peacekeeping.
[28] Laville, Sandra (2015), "UN aid worker suspended for leaking report on child abuse by French troops", The Guardian, last modified 30 April 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/29/un-aid-worker-suspended-leaking-report-child-abuse-french-troops-car.
[29] Smith, David and Lewis, Paul (2015), "UN peacekeepers accused of killing and rape in Central African Republic", The Guardian, last modified 12 August 2015, accessed 22 March 2016, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/11/un-peacekeepers-accused-killing-rape-central-african-republic.

the government since 1986 has resulted in hundreds of unaccompanied children being exploited in transactional and organised commercial sex in refugee camps that have been set up for the displaced. The LRA also has been known to recruit child soldiers, including many girls who were subsequently sexually abused and used as servants.[30] The on-going instability and conflict in South Sudan has also reportedly contributed to a rise in child prostitution. In Juba, in 2014 it was reported that approximately "500 girls out of the capital's estimated 3,000 street children could be engaged in child prostitution."[31] This situation has been reportedly fuelled by the increased presence of soldiers in Juba, highlighting another dimension of SECTT threatening African children.[32]

The Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria has led to widespread insecurity, particularly in the north due to the frequent kidnappings and acts of violence perpetrated by the group. The April 2014 abduction of nearly 300 schoolgirls renewed international focus on the problem of human trafficking in Nigeria.[33] Boko Haram's threats to sell the kidnapped schoolgirls raised concerns that the children could have been smuggled into countries such as Chad and Cameroon in order to be abused by militants or sold as labourers, including for sexual purposes.[34]

Adult Sex Trade and Entertainment Industry

The adult sex trade and entertainment industry represents another important infrastructure that facilitates SECTT in Africa. As noted above in relation to the exploitation of children by migrant and travelling workers, children are often present in locations where adult prostitution is taking place and situational abusers may not distinguish between a child and an adult, particularly in the case of teenagers. Travellers who may not engage in prostitution in their home country may do so when in a foreign location, especially if this appears to be permissible or culturally accepted in a particular environment.

In Kenya, the country case study found that children are employed as waiters in massage parlours, strip clubs and bars, are in some instances made to provide additional sexual services to patrons.[35] These types of establishments were found to have been established within the periphery of poor neighbourhoods, both within the city centre and on the outskirts. Children are also often exploited in rented flats, which offer perpetrators additional anonymity. In some cases, sexual exploitation is hidden within legal businesses, including for example household help recruitment agencies. Video halls were identified as another location linked to SECTT; pornographic videos are used to groom children to be sexually exploited by adults.[36]

Online Platforms and Electronic Devices

Online platforms and electronic devices are another important and rapidly growing infrastructure facilitating the SECTT. ICTs can be used to connect offenders with victims, potential and actual. Among other characteristics, these platforms allow for a new type of organization of exploitation, offering offenders access to children in remote locations without requiring physical travel.

The African continent is currently experiencing one of the strongest upsurges in mobile data use in the world. As shown in the table below, the number of internet users has increased by 6,839% since 2000. Overall penetration, however, is the lowest of any region of the world, at 27% of the region's population.[37] Mobile internet traffic across Africa is anticipated to increase "20-fold ... by the end of the decade."[38]

Increasing access to the internet, smart-phones and the proliferation of Wi-Fi spots might be making children more vulnerable to be being subjected to SECTT. Research conducted by Plan International and CRADLE "showed that ... children are encountered or receiving sexually suggestive or pornographic materials" online. Based on a survey of the "online life of 135 children in Nairobi aged between 11 and 18 years, the researchers

[30] ECPAT International (2007)a, "Global monitoring report on the status of action against commercial sexual exploitation of children: Uganda", Bangkok: ECPAT International, 13.
[31] Foltyn, Simona (2014), "South Sudan child prostitution on the rise", AlJazeera, www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2014/06/south-sudan-child-prostitution-rise-201462881543120146.html.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Conant, Eve (2014), "Nigeria's Schoolgirl Kidnappings Cast Light on Child Trafficking," National Geographic, http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2014/05/140515-nigeria-girls-boko-haramchild-trafficking-World.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Otieno, Aggrey Willis (2015), "Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism in Kenya". 28.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Internet World Stats (2015), "Internet Usage Statistics - The Internet Big Picture - World Internet Users and 2015 Population Stats", Internet World Stats, http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm.
[38] Lange, Peter and Lancaster, Henry (2014), "2014 Africa - Mobile Broadband Market", Budde Comm, accessed 22 March 2016, http://www.budde.com.au/Research/2014-Africa-Mobile-Broadband-Market.html?r=51.

found out that children often accept friendship requests from strangers, who then make sexual advances."[39] Children, predominantly teenagers and both boys and girls, can become involved in CSEC through the internet and/or other fora or situations in which they may be persuaded and misled by sexual offenders. Traffickers may make contact with unsuspecting children using social media, such as Facebook. Children open links, accept invites and may compete to see who has the most friends, "likes" and followers, which provides predators with opportunities to identify and begin communicating with them. Loneliness, curiosity and the desire to travel abroad and experience new things were mentioned in country reports as potential risk factors causing children to be vulnerable to online perpetrators.

Country level research found that by using increasingly accessible smart phones, children are able to connect and meet new friends and potential SECTT predators through social media platforms. The "influx of counterfeit goods into Kenya, especially phones with enabled internet, has made online access cheap and easily available",[40] a phenomenon that has reportedly increased children's exposure to pornography sites. WhatsApp as a messaging tool was reported to be one of the "most effective means through which offenders target and recruit children into SECTT".[41] For example, specialised WhatsApp groups have reportedly been formed specifically for the purpose of recruiting Kenyan girls in sexual exploitation.[42]

STRUCTURAL INEQUALITIES

The analytical framework identifies "a series of structural inequalities embedded in interactions between travellers and locals that further facilitate SECTT. Analysing these dynamics can contribute to an understanding of the drivers that may cause children to be vulnerable to SECTT, potentially offering more effective strategies for reducing this vulnerability than efforts to profile typical offenders or victims, which, as noted earlier, has proven challenging. Further, in the context of tourism and travel, interactions are marked by multiple forms of 'social distancing'",[43] which can have a significant impact on behaviour and choices. For example, "travel creates a sense of anonymity amongst offenders, of 'freedom' from their peers, from their ethical and social norms, their formal and informal rules".[44]

It is important to recognise that this 'freedom' is "not exclusive" to those involved in international travel. In the African studies, there was evidence of exploitation of children by nationals within their own country and from neighbouring countries, where similar inequalities may exist. Moreover, "wealth differentials and unequal status, based on differences in age, gender, ethnicity and class, are often exacerbated through travel".[45] Social expectations, "assigned roles and explicit and implicit norms regulating interactions within specific settings, such as in interactive service sector employment, can also potentially increase disparities" and "the vulnerability of locals, particularly children and adolescents"[46], to SECTT. From a gender perspective, it was found that many of the structural inequalities identified here, particularly child marriage, festivals, traditional practices and inheritance, apply primarily to girls. Debt bondage, wealth / status inequality, child labour and care of children by relatives, however, can also potentially render boys vulnerable to predators, although there has been little research or analysis of the specific experience of boys in these contexts.

Co-opting traditional and local practices

Offenders can gain access to children by co-opting and taking part in existing institutionalized social and cultural practices that take place in specific locations, such as arranged marriages; ritualized gatherings, including pilgrimages and festivals; family ties and debt bondage; the care of children by relatives or caretakers; and the tradition of using children as domestic workers. In these situations, offenders may initially follow traditionally scripted patterns of interaction and then use their position of privilege or power within these for the purposes of exploitation.

Offenders can be adept at capitalising on these types of practices and the inherent power relationships and social dynamics upon which they are based. In so doing, children can become more vulnerable to SECTT. While the risks associated with certain cultural practices are highlighted here, it is important to note that there are also traditional and community practices that help to protect children from harm. Rather than assuming that all practices are harmful, qualitative research is needed to identify opportunities for building on the strengths of existing approaches and responses and community dynamics in different contexts in Africa to strengthen the protection of children from SECTT.

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[39] ECPAT Netherlands (2014), "Don't Look Away", 26.
[40] Otieno, Aggrey Willis (2015), "Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism in Kenya", 38.
[41] Ibid 33.
[42] Ibid.
[43] ECPAT International (2015), "Global Report: Towards a new analytical framework for SECTT", 22
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.

Early and Child Marriage

In Ghana, country-level research identified the use of child marriage as a strategy employed in some cases to gain access to girls for the purpose of exploitation. In communities where child marriages are permitted, girls may be married to travellers who have visited or stayed in those communities for relatively short periods of time. In some cases, girls are taken out of their communities under the pretext of marriage to other locations where they may be exploited for commercial gains. Some girls were reportedly never heard from again by their families after getting married to international tourists and leaving the country, causing their relatives to worry about their wellbeing.[47]

Payment of a bride price, a traditional and religious practice prevalent in many parts of Africa, has been linked to child marriage as a form of commercial sexual exploitation of children.[48] As defined by ECPAT, "bride price is the amount of money, property or wealth paid to the parents of a girl for the right to marry their daughter … this practice reduces the worth of the child to monetary or commercial value and in this way, access to the child for sex is negotiated, hidden under the practice of marriage."[49] In addition to the payment of a bride price, other financial factors may motivate child marriage, including parental need to free up resources to care for younger children. Some children may view marriage as a potential opportunity to escape poverty and to improve their economic circumstances.

It is important to note, however, that child marriage in Africa is not a monolithic practice and its dynamics may differ significantly from the traditional understanding of this issue in South Asia, for example. Research on child marriage in Zambia conducted by Child Frontiers indicated that there are different types of marriage involving girls and men, others women and boys.[50] Moreover, "agreements relating to marriage in Zambia traditionally involve some form of payment"[51] and "financial or material exchanges continue to serve important economic and symbolic functions" still today.[52] Further, the most common unions identified were between peers – girls (from age 12 or 13) and boys (from age 14).[53]

Child labour and the care of children by relatives or caretakers

In some West African countries, families have a tradition of putting their children in the care of relatives or caretakers in the hope that doing so will enable boys and girls to gain improved educational or work opportunities. As noted in the earlier discussion on volun-tourism, however, some orphanages and institutions exploit this tradition to fill beds with children who may in fact not be orphans. Numerous academic studies have shown that, except in the most extreme cases, children are better off living with their families rather than being removed and put into institutions.[54] Children living in the care of relatives or sent to far away locations to work and live with other families may be vulnerable to mistreatment, exploitation or may put themselves in risky situations by attempting to run away.

Social and economic practices that contribute to children's vulnerability include allowing girls to help in the homes of visitors, to accompany other women as helpers (i.e. fishers in Ghana) or to work as domestics. In Ghana, it is a common practice to allow children, mostly girls, to provide household services to visitors or migrant workers in rural communities.[55] Parents may allow their girls to visit male teachers or other migrant workers in their houses to perform household duties for them. This practice indirectly grants unsupervised access to the children by these adults, a situation that potentially leads to such children being sexually exploited in exchange for gifts or money. These practices reinforce the inferior social position of girls, who are expected to provide services to men.[56]

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[47] GNCRH (2015), "A Report on Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism in the Western, Central and Greater Accra Regions of Ghana", Accra: GNCRH, 26.

[48] ECPAT International (2007)b, "Confronting the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Africa", Bangkok: ECPAT International, 22.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Child Frontiers (2015), "Qualitative study of child marriage in six districts of Zambia", Hong Kong: Child Frontiers, http://www.unicef.org/zambia/Qualitative_study_of_child_marriage_in_six_districts_of_Zambia.pdf.

[51] Government of Zambia (2012), "Child protection system mapping and assessment report", Lusaka: Ministry of Gender and Child Development in ibid., 19.

[52] Child Frontiers (2015), "Qualitative study of child marriage in Zambia", 19.

[53] Ibid., 20.

[54] For instance, see Mann, Gillian (2002), "Family Matters: The Care And Protection of Children Affected By HIV/AIDS In Malawi", Stockholm: Save the Children Sweden, http://www.bettercarenetwork.org/term/regions-countries/malawi?page=3

[56] GNCRH (2015), "A Report on Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism in the Western, Central and Greater Accra Regions of Ghana", 26.

UNICEF's flagship report "The State of the World's Children", 2006 edition, indicated that "the number of children involved in domestic work around the world is unquantifiable because of the hidden nature of the work", but potentially includes millions, many of whom are girls.[57] According to the Ghana Living Standard Survey round 6, "almost a quarter (23.4%) of children between the ages of 5 to 14 exercise some kind of economic activity".[58] The transactional nature of this labour means that the child is often treated as the 'property' of the employer and seen in some cases as a 'commercial object'. Child domestic workers are therefore at high risk of sexual abuse and exploitation by men and boys living in or associated with the household, including relatives, neighbours and/or employers. In many countries, child domestic workers who are victims of sexual violence rarely report their abuse.

CONTEXT OF CHILDREN AND OFFENDERS

The sections above explored aspects of the different types of arenas where SECTT takes place. However, as noted in the analytical framework developed for this study, the circumstances and choices of the individuals who inhabit these arenas are a critical component of the analysis.[59] This section will look in more depth at the two main groups of actors that are present in these arenas of exploitation: children and offenders. The two groups will be analysed differently, however: in the case of victims, the focus is on how contexts help to explain how individuals enter or are forced into the arenas where exploitation takes place. In the case of abusers, attention is paid to decision-making processes and behaviour, including the different ways that they are able to gain access to children, the power and resource dynamics they may take advantage of, as well as the information and networks they rely upon to commit abuses.

Children´s Context

The most striking finding for the five country case studies regarding victims of SECTT in Africa is that there is no single victim profile. Boys and girls from diverse socioeconomic groups, from both urban and rural locations are potentially vulnerable. This diversity complicates the analysis and refutes profiling or and traditional understandings of a 'stereotypical' SECTT victim.

The studies show that there are often multiple and overlapping factors impacting the vulnerability of girls and boys to SECTT. While some factors appear to have a stronger influence on vulnerability than others, such as the impact of family and parental relationships, as described below, no single predominant factor or indicator can be said to accurately predict whether a child will or will not be involved in SECTT. Children appear to be more likely to be simultaneously affected by a range of factors which shape their vulnerability in different ways.

Victims of SECTT are created in the moment of abuse, by the actions of offenders and accomplices. There are multiple dimensions of children's contexts that are relevant to understanding what places them in the social arenas where abuse takes place. This section will consider some of the factors that put children at risk of exploitation, keeping in mind the overarching finding that it is not possible to develop a single profile of a typical SECTT victim. Instead of trying to derive specific criteria shared by all victims, different features of the environments in which children grow up may create the vulnerabilities that place them at risk.

The table below presents a series of risk factors identified in the case studies conducted in Ghana, Kenya, South Africa and Zambia that appear to influence the context and potential vulnerability of SECTT victims.

[57] UNICEF (2005), "The State of the World's Children 2006. Excluded and Invisible", New York: UNICEF, 51, accessed 24 March 2016, http://www.unicef.org/sowc06/pdfs/sowc06_fullreport.pdf.
[58] Government of Ghana (2014), "Child and Family Welfare Policy", Accra: Government of Ghana, Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, 02, accessed 24 March 2016, http://www.bettercarenetwork.org/sites/default/files/Child%20and%20Family%20Welfare%20Policy%20-%20Ghana.pdf.
[59] ECPAT International (2015), "Towards a new analytical framework for SECTT".

Table 1 - SECTT Risk Factors identified in Ghana, Kenya, South Africa and Zambia case studies

Age	SECTT victims were identified as young as age 9-10, although some may be younger. Teenagers appear particularly vulnerable, especially girls, who may be involved in the adult prostitution sector. While a small percentage of preferential paedophile abusers may deliberately seek out much younger children, the majority of perpetrators appear to be situational abusers who exploit older children. A major challenge in addressing the issue is that girls who have reached puberty are not considered children in many African societies and are treated as adults.
Consumerism	Through the internet, TV and films, children are being exposed to a world that is inaccessible yet strongly desired. Exposure to foreign lifestyles and wanting what others have were mentioned as risk factors for teenage middle class girls. Children may believe that the only way they can acquire funds to purchase material goods is by selling sex.
Education	Being out of school appears to put children at risk of SECTT, as they may have nothing to do and feel that they have no way to escape their situation except through earning money or by meeting a potential suitor. Education was generally viewed as a protective factor, as children were considered, for the most part, to be safer in a school environment. Research respondents agreed, however, that both school dropouts and in-school children are vulnerable to SECTT. In-school children are believed to use money received through their involvement in commercial sex to fund their education-related expenses while other victims support their family with money and materials received. through their involvement in commercial sex.
Environment	The country level research in Kenya found that slum environments, locations with dense populations and high levels of insecurity tend to increase the vulnerability of children.[60] Easy access to video halls and living in single-roomed houses were identified as additional risk factors.[61]
Family relationships	Parental and family relationships were identified as an extremely important factor influencing the vulnerability of children to SECTT. Children with poor or no parental relationships and those from dysfunctional families were found to be at significantly higher risk than those from secure and protective family environments. Responsibility to provide for siblings was also identified as a potential risk factor.
Gender	While the majority of SECTT victims appear to be girls, both men and women also sexually exploit boys. In Africa, teenage boys are frequently exploited by expatriates, such as those men and women who travel to The Gambia on package holiday tours for the specific purpose of having sexual relationships with Gambian boys. The boys involved in this form of SECTT are often older and may be viewed as adults, as they have reached puberty. Gender differences are important to recognise and have implications for the design of outreach services, as boys and girls require and respond to different types of messaging and approaches. It was found that boys involved in SECTT often do not view themselves as victims and may be more likely to proactively initiate relationships with foreign women as a source of income. Girls, too, were found to be actively engaging in prostitution. A different approach to helping these children and youth is therefore required.

[60] Otieno, Aggrey Willis (2015), "Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism in Kenya".
[61] Ibid.

Location	Children living in both urban and rural areas can be potentially vulnerable. In South Africa, several respondents stated that SECTT is increasing in urban areas, especially Cape Town and Johannesburg, where perpetrators have more anonymity than in small rural communities. Research respondents from all case studies suspected that SECTT may also be a problem in rural areas, but stated that this problem is often not identified or reported due to lack of understanding or awareness of the issue – this is an area that merits further research. Children involved in SECTT are not necessarily indigenous to the sites where the exploitation takes place. Some children travel from rural areas or neighbouring countries, including those in conflict, to urban areas in search of economic opportunities, but end up working on the street where they are extremely vulnerable to being lured and recruited by pimps.
Income	Poverty and a lack of resources were identified as significant risk factors increasing the vulnerability of children to SECTT for a variety of reasons, including the need to meet basic needs, both with or without knowledge of their parents. However, it was noted that victims may also come from middle-income or wealthy families, such as those children who engage in SECTT to acquire material goods; poverty may not be the primary or predominant risk factor determining vulnerability.
Prior history of physical or drug abuse	A prior history of sexual and/or physical abuse, including fleeing traditional practices such as genital cutting, appears to augment the vulnerability of both boys and girls. Drug use and the need to obtain funds to support addictions was also identified as putting children at risk of SECTT.

Each of the risks identified above works in concert with other factors to augment children's risk of SECTT. Nevertheless, a few key considerations may be useful for designing efforts to combat and protect boys and girls from this form of exploitation.

It is evident that children experiencing poverty may be faced with more precarious and risk-laden work environments, particularly those who are living or working directly on the street. In Ghana, for example, adolescent girls who migrate to the city in search of economic opportunities often face homelessness and sexual abuse, and have been reported to engage in transactional sex as a means of survival.[62] Additionally, many children living in extreme poverty are subject to strong expectations from family and household members to contribute economic support.[63] However, it is also important to note that boys and girls from middle class and wealthy families can also be vulnerable to SECTT because of consumerist ideology and exposure to predators online. Conversely, not all children experiencing poverty are vulnerable to SECTT.

The case studies in Africa found that one of the most critical factors influencing the vulnerability of children from all socio-economic groups and backgrounds to SECTT is parental care and family relationships. In all four countries, family separation and/or the lack of parental care was identified as a leading factor heightening vulnerability. The absence of someone to look out for the child or operate in her best interests appears to supersede most other risk factors. Weak extended family networks and failure of the community to protect children, such as ensuring that they receive assets in the instance of parental death, were identified related risk factors. In Kenya, the research indicated that orphans are perceived to be the children most vulnerable to commercial sexual exploitation. Conversely, family relationships and protective parenting were found to mitigate potential risk.

Single parent families, parents who work long hours and parental abandonment were also cited as important risk factors. In slum communities in Kenya, for example, children from single parent families may be more vulnerable to sexual exploitation due to challenges in providing adequate supervision and care[64]. Children of

[62] GNCRH (2015), "A Report on Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism in the Western, Central and Greater Accra Regions of Ghana".
[63] Ibid.
[64] Otieno, Aggrey Willis (2015), "Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism in Kenya", 31.

single mothers risk becoming even more vulnerable if their mothers die, as are those being cared for by grandparents because of the elderly's lack of knowledge of how to deal with teenagers in urban areas and the lack of a steady income to provide for children's basic needs. Those from wealthy families with limited parental supervision were also described as being potentially vulnerable.[65] Children without sufficient care may lack knowledge of what they are getting involved in and not have a trusted adult to ask for help to escape if they decide that they do not want to continue to be involved in SECTT.

Country-level research in Ghana highlighted the importance of the social support that the extended family system provides its members, particularly in periods of pronounced need. Modernisation and urbanisation are said to have undermined this important function; in many cases families are unable to meet the needs of their members, including children. The inability of state institutions to step in to provide support results in the heightened vulnerability of boys and girls. This finding was substantiated by a mid-term evaluation report from International Needs Ghana, which found that 51% of the child victims of CSEC participating in the organisation's work came from broken homes.[66]

As noted in the analytical framework, as social structures change due to different reasons, including those associated with development projects and the growth of tourism, the support systems of vulnerable children within their households and communities may be modified and undermined. In the Ghana case study, for example, it was suggested that the decreased levels of social cohesion and the weakening of support systems provided by extended families, combined with the lack of state provisions to care for children lacking support networks (in cases such as the imprisonment of their parents) and the poor quality of social services, has contributed to the vulnerability of children.[67]

Another important research finding in relation to victims of SECTT is linked to concepts of agency and the motivations of children and youth. Growing social and economic inequality is increasing the vulnerability of children to SECTT and in some cases motivating boys and girls to find their own solutions, which may involve selling one of the few resources they have, their sexuality. In Zambia, for example, some children involved were found to be engaging in both self-organized and managed forms of SECTT, through "handlers" that are paid to facilitate encounters with tourists.[68] Children rent rooms and find clients, or team up and rent houses together, run their own business and even recruit others, and hotel owners often provide accommodation and food to children, whose sexual services they sell to their guests in lodges and backpacker hostels.[69]

The research conducted in Ghana for this project indicates that some boys and girls "are influenced by the perceived fame that is associated with being in a relationship with a foreign national, especially nationals from the Americas and Europe… sexual relationships with these foreigners are seen as means of securing financial support or an opportunity to travel abroad (where the relationship leads to marriage). Therefore, some boys and girls desire friendships or romantic relationships with 'Europeans' and 'Asians' and may be willing to make themselves available to tourists and migrant workers from Western and Asian countries, resulting in their being exploited by their supposed partners or friends".[70]

These findings have important implications for the design of response strategies and services, as children involved in SECTT may not perceive themselves as victims and therefore may not respond to traditional outreach or rescue efforts. They may see themselves as taking a proactive role in shaping their life by trading sex for things they need or want such as money, food, goods, status, or future opportunities. These children are taking charge of their own lives in ways that adults may not approve of, including pimping for one another, organising their own 'relationships', and challenging understandings of the distinction – or lack thereof – between prostitution and transactional sex. To be effective, however, efforts to convince these children to change their behaviour should be linked to better and realistic alternatives, which can be challenging to design and offer. This is particularly difficult when children's involvement in SECTT, such as with foreign tourists, is relatively lucrative and allows access to material goods and a lifestyle that would otherwise be unattainable. While child protection stakeholders and service providers may disapprove of children's proactive involvement in SECTT, it is necessary to recognise that the refusal to perceive themselves as victims may help to contribute to their resilience and their ability to endure otherwise unbearable experiences. It is therefore important to carefully consider how outreach is portrayed and ensure that the approach utilised does not further victimise or destroy the confidence of children.

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[65] Ibid 31-2.
[66] Ibid 25.
[67] GNCRH (2015), "A Report on Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism in the Western, Central and Greater Accra Regions of Ghana", 24-5.
[68] CHIN (2015), "Qualitative Study of Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel & Tourism in Two Selected Districts of Zambia", 12-3.
[69] Ibid.
[70] GNCRH (2015), "A Report on Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism in the Western, Central and Greater Accra Regions of Ghana", 28-9.

The Context of Offenders

Country level research in Ghana, Kenya, South Africa and Zambia corroborates the findings of the Global Study, which stress the impossibility of developing a profile of a SECTT perpetrator based on descriptive characteristics such as age, gender or nationality. These characteristics are neither easy to define, nor are they static. In fact, the Global Study found that there are great, and perhaps increasing, variations in the profiles of offenders.[71] As with victims of SECTT, it is therefore not especially helpful and potentially misleading to continue to try to profile SECTT perpetrators. While identifying different aspects of what we do know about these individuals based on the Africa research, this section will attempt to explore the dynamics of the relationships between offenders and victims that allow SECTT to occur and the implications for policy and response services.

National and regional contributions to the Global Study reflect that a large number of perpetrators fall under the category of "situational offenders", and some research asserts that the majority of sex offences by international tourists fall into this category.[72] Perpetrators described as situational offenders do not necessarily travel with the specific intent of engaging in SECTT but discover that it is readily available so take the opportunity. Those involved may include tourists, businessmen, workers and men and women who cross borders frequently for work such as truckers. National and international businessmen, wealthy or influential people, government officials and other people in positions of power were also identified as potential perpetrators. According to the US Department of State, "male tourists from East Africa and the Middle East, as well as Burundian government employees including teachers, police officers and gendarmes, military, and prison officials", were identified "among the clients of Burundian girls in prostitution".[73]

The African research found that perpetrators may come from a diverse range of backgrounds, including people who are married and have families. SECTT may thus be a problem at many levels of society. As a group that is neither specifically attracted to children, nor willing to engage in CSEC under every circumstance, there are aspects of their behaviour that cannot be explained by these relatively stable personal traits. This reality, therefore, calls further into question the attempts to explain the perpetrators' actions by defining their profiles. Research conducted for this study in Kenya, for example, identified perpetrators of SECTT "included people known to the children, such as parents, guardians/relatives, peers/friends, neighbours, preachers/priests and missionaries. Others included intermediaries such as recruitment agencies/agents, travel agencies, sex workers, taxi drivers, motorbike (popularly known as boda boda) riders, hawkers, bar owners/managers, criminal gang leaders such as Gaza, mungiki and siafu (underground groups of criminals found in the slums of Nairobi who extort other community members)".[74] SECTT is often facilitated by intermediaries, including people working within the tourism industry and police officers.

The research in South Africa, for example, provided evidence indicating that "travel agents in countries of origin discreetly coordinate with pimps and travel agencies, as well as tourist guides, taxi drivers, landlords and car guards", who "help to identify victims and know where to find them".[75] In The Gambia, observers suggest that "organized sex trafficking networks use both European and Gambian travel agencies to promote child sex tourism", and that girls and boys "from West African countries—mainly Benin, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Nigeria, Senegal and Sierra Leone—are recruited for commercial sexual exploitation in The Gambia. The majority of these victims are subjected to sexual exploitation by European child sex tourists".[76] Research in South Africa found that SECTT facilitators may "offer children money, drugs, clothes and other material goods to encourage them to become involved in CSEC".[77] Children may also be tricked by being offered modelling jobs and the opportunity to participate in competitions that do not exist.[78] Pimps often recruit children to exploit by contacting a prominent person in the community under the guise of wanting to help children.[79] They show vulnerable children how nice their life and home are and may encourage children to use drugs. These boys and girls may become dependent on the pimp for drugs, food, money and all of their basic needs, which can be difficult to escape.

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[71] Hawke, Angela (2016), "False Assumptions & Myths. Experts' Consultation Issue Paper 1", Offenders on the Move: Global Study on Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism, Bangkok: ECPAT International.

[72] O'Briain, Muireann, Grillo, Milena and Barbosa, Helia (2008), Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents in Tourism. A contribution of ECPAT International to the World Congress III against Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil 25-28 November 2008", (thematic paper for the World Congress III against Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents), Rio de Janeiro, Brazil 25-28 November 2008, 11, http://www.ecpat.net/sites/default/files/Thematic_Paper_CST_ENG.pdf.

[73] U.S. Department of State (2015). "Trafficking in persons report July 2015", Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of State, 07, http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/245365.pdf

[74] Otieno, Aggrey Willis (2015) "Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism in Kenya", 12.

[75] FTT (2015), "Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in South African Travel and Tourism — Lessons Going Forward", Pretoria: Fair Trade Tourism, 19.

[76] U.S. Department of State (2014). "Trafficking in persons report June 2014", Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of State, 180-1, http://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2014/.

[77] FTT (2015), "Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in South African Travel and Tourism", 14.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Ibid.

Research respondents consistently stated that children usually get involved in CSEC through people they know. Children or their families may be promised money or a better life and agree to leave their home in search of these opportunities. In some instances, the pimps send a payment or donation, which leads the community to think they have good intentions and encourages families to agree to send their children with them. Once in their care, pimps deduct everything that they provide from the child's pay, including food, board, drugs and clothes, so the children are left with nothing. Child victims may keep quiet and not try to escape to ask for help due to shame and because they do not want their family back home to know.

In Ghana, the practice of university students using money and gifts to involve girls in communities around their institutions in SECTT was identified. Students "would give false room numbers or halls of residence so when issues such as pregnancy comes up", the girls' families are unable to find them. One key informant "gave examples where some vulnerable girls have given birth to four or more children each from a different past or present university student who cannot be traced".[80]

The traditional profile of TCSOs as older foreign tourist men from Western countries has been challenged by the present research. Perpetrators were found to include national citizens, persons from neighbouring African countries, as well as from Europe and other regions including North America, Japan, Korea, China. In Kenya, "offenders were identified as originating from the USA, UK, Italy, Germany, Canada, Korea, China, among other developed nations". African nations "identified included South Africa, Nigeria and Eastern African countries, namely Ethiopia, Somalia, Uganda, Tanzania, including Kenya. Others include Rwanda and Sudan".[81] It was clear from the research that potential perpetrators can come from a diverse variety of locations and that these are most likely constantly shifting based on global socio-economic and political dynamics. As a result, response strategies targeting perpetrators from a specific location are unlikely to be effective; efforts should assume that the offender may be from anywhere, with equivalent consequences for all individuals irrespective of origin.

In The Gambia, for example, Gambian men are also reportedly responsible for sexually exploiting children, according to a UNICEF report.[82] While The Gambia has historically been linked with sex tourism, the study found that the main abusers of local children were male Gambian "Sugar Daddies". As noted above, the assumption that abusers are always male has also been disproven: female TCSOs have been identified as travelling to The Gambia and other African countries, such as Kenya, to exploit boys. In addition to acting as exploiters themselves, women most often tend to be involved in SECTT as middle-persons or pimps. Children interviewed in Kenya stated that peers/friends and business persons, especially bar owners and managers, are among the main organisers of children for SECTT.

Table 2 - Approaches used by offenders to lure children in Kenya[83]

Approaches	Likely meeting places
• Luring children using money, food, promises of an educational sponsorship, lucrative job offers and gifts, promises of a better life (especially for girls) • Use of intermediaries, such as recruitment agencies/agents, travel agencies, people known to the children e.g. relatives, neighbours, missionaries, "pimps", taxi drivers, motorbike riders, hawkers, bar owners/managers, etc. • Child trafficking, hijacking or kidnapping • Using children already inculcated into the practice to lure and influence their peers to meet and engage with the offenders • Getting into conversation with unsuspecting children through the pretence of asking for directions	• Transport hubs such as bus stops / car parks • Leisure or social spots such bars, night clubs, house parties • Social media, online dating sites, mobile phones / WhatsApp • Schools, domestic help agencies • Sports events and public parks

[80] GNCRH (2015), "A Report on Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism in the Western, Central and Greater Accra Regions of Ghana", 33-4.
[81] Otieno, Aggrey Willis (2015), "Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism in Kenya", 11.
[82] Government of The Gambia and UNICEF (2003), "Study on the Sexual Abuse and Exploitation of Children in The Gambia", Banjul: Government of The Gambia, accessed 29 March 2016, http://www.childtrafficking.com/Docs/childreninthegambia_1007.pdf.
[83] Otieno, Aggrey Willis (2015), "Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism in Kenya", 33.

Economic and power differentials are critical in creating the conditions for SECTT to occur, as sexual offenders require sufficient funds to pay the children or their intermediaries, as well as to afford transport (whether international or domestic) to where the children are located. Abusers leverage their advantageous position of greater wealth or power, combined with the anonymity of being away from their home or community, to commit offenses against children perceived to be is a weaker position. Child victims, however, do not always perceive this dynamic and in some cases feel that they are taking economic advantage of the tourists and travellers by profiting from selling sex.

In Kenya, identified perpetrators of commercial sexual exploitation of children included "well-known and highly influential people".[84] According to the Kenya country-level study which provided subsidy to this report, "testimonies from victims of commercial exploitation documented names of politicians and businessmen who are powerful and unlikely to be prosecuted. Law enforcement agencies face the challenge of bribery and the resulting reluctance to prosecute cases, particularly when the perpetrator is wealthy or has an influential social or political position".[85] This situation is compounded by the reality that perpetrators who are "reported to the police are often never arrested, while those who have been arrested are released immediately after he/she is presented to the police and other law enforcement agencies".[86] These types of outcomes and responses by authorities create disincentives for community members to report powerful persons who commit these crimes against children, as they do not believe that doing so will have an impact.

[84] Ibid 45.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.

CHAPTER 6

RESPONSES TO SECTT IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Impunity and lack of legislative enforcement have been identified globally as primary drivers for SECTT. Research indicates that "an environment where corruption is the rule and offenders go unpunished creates the favourable conditions for SECTT to flourish, even when child sexual exploitation is not the primary purpose of travelling".[87] Existing literature on CSEC has identified a series of causes that help to explain the impunity of offenders, such as the absence of comprehensive legal frameworks, failure to enforce laws that do exist, overlaps and gaps in jurisdictions, ineffective protection and prosecution mechanisms, corruption, and the involvement of officials in exploitation, as well as the general lack of services for SECTT victims. These factors contribute to SECTT in the African countries studied.

LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK

International Instruments and Conventions

The majority of African nations have signed and ratified the key international instruments which pledge commitments to the protection of children as a matter of the highest priority including:

- The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989)[88] and the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography (2000);[89]
- The United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime (2000)[90] and the Optional Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (2000);[91] and
- The International Labour Organisation's (ILO) Convention concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (1999).[92]

Among signatory countries, a continuum exists with regard to the willingness and capacity of individual countries to fully uphold and implement such conventions. Although there has been significant international advocacy on the part of the United Nations and organisations such as ECPAT International and its member groups in Africa to encourage governments to sign and ratify these frameworks and agreements, these efforts have not always translated into meaningful action and change in the actual lives of children affected by SECTT. While it is possible to list the legislation passed and conventions ratified, it is infinitely more difficult to assess the impact of these efforts. A 2013 five-country assessment conducted by ECPAT Netherlands noted that while The Gambia, Kenya, Madagascar, Senegal and South Africa "have progressive laws and policies in place to protect children against sexual exploitation", these "laws and policies are considered 'paper tigers'", as they appear "powerful" on paper but have "little impact due to lack of practical implementation".[93]

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87 Altamura, Alessia (2015), "Regional Report – Europe", 81.
88 OHCHR (n.d.)b, "Convention on the Rights of the Child", United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, accessed 29 March 2016, http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx.
89 OHCHR (n.d.)c, "Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography", United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, accessed 29 March 2016, http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/OPSCCRC.aspx.
90 UNODC (2016), "United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and the Protocols Thereto", UNODC United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, accessed 29 March 2016, https://www.unodc.org/unodc/treaties/CTOC/.
91 Ibid.
92 ILO (n.d.), "C182 - Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182)", ILO International Labour Organization, accessed 29 March 2016, http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C182.
93 ECPAT Netherlands (2014), "Don't Look Away", ii.

The legal framework and ratification of different articles and conventions are well documented in ECPAT's Agenda for Action country reports, the annual US Department of State's Trafficking in Persons reports (TIP), as well as reports to and by the Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC) on both the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography.[94] Almost all of the countries in Africa are either state parties or signatories to this latter protocol, yet SECTT continues to grow and evolve in the region.

As presented below, national level research found that while adequate child protection laws and policies have been enacted in most countries in the region, enforcement remains a huge challenge. Moreover, corruption in some settings compounds these difficulties and results in an environment where perpetrators can act with impunity.

National Legal Frameworks for SECTT by Country

The following section of the report describing the legal framework for SECTT in each country is taken directly from the country reports, as referenced below.

Ghana [95]

Ghana has embarked on a series of law reforms aimed at protecting the rights of the child and strengthening the legal and policy framework concerning children. These include the promulgation of the Children's Act 1998 (Act 560), Juvenile Justice Act 2003 (Act 653), Child Rights Regulations 2003 (LI1705), Human Trafficking Act 2005 (Act 694), Domestic Violence Act 2007 (Act 732) among others.

While laws exist in Ghana to protect the welfare of children, country level research participants expressed the concern SECTT is not sufficiently addressed. A DOVVSU representative further reiterated this view, explaining that the police classify sexual offences against children into three main categories: 1) defilement (where the child involved is less than 16 years), 2) rape (where the child is 16 years and above but did not consent to the sexual act) and 3) solicitation of a minor for immoral purpose (where the child is 16 years and above and consented to sexual act with the adult). The issue of SECTT is subsumed under this broad categorisation of sexual offences and not isolated for any intervention by the law enforcement agencies. Therefore, while there is general consensus that Ghana has a relatively strong legal framework to protect children, there is serious concern regarding the weak enforcement of these laws

Quotation from Ghana NGO respondent[96]

> *"One of our projects seeks justice for children through the provision of support for victims of sexual abuse to report to DOVVSU. We have encountered so many challenges with the system and the process can be very frustrating, victims are expected to pay for the medical examination that prove the abuse to support prosecution and the cost is enough to stop victims from reporting. Secondly, victims and their families are sometimes expected to bear the cost of transportation for the arrest of the suspect. This is further compounded by the cost of transportation throughout the investigation and to court as well. It took us almost 18 months of trial before the judgment was passed on one of the cases we supported. You can imagine how many people would be able to afford the cost and time to go through such a process. The reality is that sometimes the victims give up along the way truncating the entire process. Besides, majority of the cases go unreported and some offenders go on to abuse other children with all impunity. The laws are there beautifully but it cannot be enforced to the latter because the institutions with that mandate do not have what it takes to do so effectively."*

Weak enforcement of child protection laws and policies in Ghana is attributed largely to lack of resources (both human and logistics) for agencies to effectively discharge their duties. For instance, a respondent from DOVVSU Domestic Violence and Victim Support Unit said that the Unit has only one clinical psychologist for the whole of the Central region. He also referred to lack of transport to visit hotspots and make arrest if necessary, lack of temporary accommodation or shelter if the Unit even decides to remove child prostitutes from some of the hotspots.

An officer from CHRAJ the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice said that at the moment Ghana does not have any proper structures to deal with known foreign child sex offenders coming into

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[94] See: ECPAT International (n.d.), "ECPAT International releases its 2nd Edition of Agenda for Action", accessed 31 March 2016, http://resources.ecpat.net/EI/index_A4A.asp; U.S. Department of State (2015), "Trafficking in persons report July 2015", as well as reports to and by the Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC), Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR): OHCHR (n.d.)a, "Committee on the Rights of the Child", United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, accessed 31 March 2016, http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/CRC/Pages/CRCIntro.aspx.

[95] Legal framework information reproduced here has been adapted from the Kenya country report. Please see: GNCRH (2015), "A Report on Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism in the Western, Central and Greater Accra Regions of Ghana", 18-23, 43-4

[96] GNCRH (2015), "A Report on Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism in the Western, Central and Greater Accra Regions of Ghana", 22-3

the country. However, a respondent from the Police said that Interpol Ghana is usually alerted by the coming of known child sex offenders into the country and they in turn relay the alerts to local security officers at tourism destinations to monitor such person. Unfortunately, it appears that no serious monitoring or follow up is usually done.

Alleged corruption among some officers of law enforcement agencies is reportedly another factor contributing to the failure of law enforcement. Many respondents stated that perpetrators of sexual abuse against children were in a position to bribe themselves out of trouble when cases are reported to some of the law enforcement officers. After payment of such bribes, offenders often are neither traced nor prosecuted. In other circumstances, victims may recant their statement as a result of poor, inappropriate practices. These practices include questioning the victim and the offender in the same room together and telling the perpetrator's family the identity of the victim leading to some victims to be threatened into silence.

Kenya [97]

The Constitution of Kenya has a comprehensive Bill of Rights, which sets out both the general rights extending to citizens in general and those of specific vulnerable groups, including children. The Bill of Rights for children is set out in Article 53.[98] In tandem with international children's rights, the Constitution establishes in Kenyan law internationally acclaimed principles on the rights of children, such as best interests of the child. Kenya's commitment to investing in children has therefore been demonstrated through legal and policy instruments.

The research conducted in Kenya found that the majority of respondents were not aware of existing legislation and policies that address SECTT. However, respondents took issue with the reluctance of law enforcement agencies in dealing with the perpetrators of such crimes, as well as the coping strategies adopted by communities to address the issue, as significant challenges for ensuring the protection of children against SECTT. In the Borana community, for example, cases are solved by elders based on cultural laws, which often favour the perpetrator. ... If a perpetrator is found guilty, they may be asked to marry the girl or pay a small fine in terms of goats. Additional challenges to the implementation of laws and policies identified against SECTT in Kenya are presented in the table below.

Respondents also highlighted the culture of silence within the community, where people see crimes happen and do not report or take action. This is reportedly because offenders often bribe the police or get bailed out when the cases are taken to Kenyan courts. The offenders then usually go back to the communities where they sexually exploited the child to harass the family or those who reported them to the authorities. In most instances, community members usually blame the victims rather than empathizing with them. As a result, victims of sexual exploitation usually do not want to share their experiences, which can obstruct justice.

Table 3 - Challenges to implementation of laws and policies in Kenya[99]

- Lack of allocation of adequate resources to enforce laws and policies
- Victims fear of speaking up, resulting in offenders not being apprehended
- Corruption of law enforcement officers, enabling offenders to avoid arrest
- Poor prosecutorial procedures
- Poor legislation and enforcement of the laws
- Low level of awareness of Child Rights among adults
- Poor implementation of the Children's Act
- Lack of resources to carry out interventions
- Ineffective child protective units at the community level
- Fear of offender reprisal, especially those released by the police or judiciary
- Complacency in the legal system
- Poor capacity of service providers, including the police, in handling cases of commercial sexual exploitation
- Lack of cooperation and sustained coordination between different stakeholders
- Reluctant law enforcement officers due to lack of willing witnesses and proper evidence gathering
- Few referral hospitals available, and those that are available are very far away from the slum communities
- Settlement of court cases between offenders and parents of victims of sexual exploitation

[97] Legal framework information reproduced here has been adapted from the Kenya country report. Please see: Otieno, Aggrey Willis (2015), "Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism in Kenya", 13-5.
[98] Otieno, Aggrey Willis (2015), "Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism in Kenya", 23.
[99] Ibid., 46

Another challenge is the reality that those who engage in SECTT may be among the well-known and highly influential people in Kenya. Testimonies from victims documented names of politicians and businessmen who are powerful and unlikely to be prosecuted. Law enforcement agencies face the challenge of bribery and the resulting reluctance to prosecute cases. Perpetrators of sexual exploitation reported to the police are often not arrested, while those who have been arrested are released immediately after he/she is presented to the police and other law enforcement agencies.

The study findings thus indicate that while there are good laws and policies in place geared towards protecting children from commercial sexual exploitation in Kenya, in reality these laws and policies are not properly enforced. In many cases, inadequate resources, including human and financial resources that are vital in law enforcement, further exacerbate the challenges identified above.

South Africa [100]

While South Africa has progressive laws and policies in place to protect children, implementation of these legal frameworks remains a significant challenge. Research respondents acknowledged the importance of the criminal justice system in preventing and responding to cases of SECTT; however virtually all respondents were of the opinion that the system is failing to fulfil its role. A respondent from the tourism sector stated that the Government has strict rules and regulations, as well as a policy in place to prevent this, but execution of the laws and prosecution of perpetrators does not have a high priority. Overall, respondents were of the opinion that effective law enforcement in South Africa is critical to addressing SECTT. Most believed cases are underreported, that few cases reach the court and, in the rare instances that cases do result in convictions, the sentences issued are not harsh. As highlighted in 2013 research conducted by the Helen Suzman Foundation: Conviction rates need to be improved, prosecution needs to be stream-lined, and sentencing should be dispensed appropriately.

In South Africa, police were identified by respondents, including police officers themselves, as being involved in facilitating SECTT. The lack of prosecution of SECTT cases is attributed to the corruption of some officials as well as refusal of victims to testify. Respondents reported that many children think that they are to blame and are scared to talk in court. Some fear that if they do testify, they will be killed and therefore refuse to testify. Sexual offenders may expose children to substance abuse, which can affect their memory.

Furthermore, the act of testimony requires the child to identify themselves as a victim, which is a common argument for not legally processing cases of CSEC. This is compounded by the fact that the South African legal system places the responsibility on the child or their family to report the crime — not on the legal institutions that should be responsible for investigating cases and holding offenders accountable.

Zambia [101]

Chapter 81 of Zambian Penal Code criminalises various forms of child sexual abuse. Other legislation like the Anti-trafficking Act also criminalises CSEC-related actions against children like the sale and trafficking of children. The gaps that exist in the law have to do with specific acts of sexual exploitation which are not specifically mentioned or which are criminalised using other terminology which may not be child friendly, for example ‘prostitution’.

Another weakness of Zambian law is the failure to criminalise all sexual offences committed against children up to the age of 18 years, as a child is defined as any person below the age of 16 years. As a result, older children are not effectively protected from SECTT. Moreover, a child who has attained the age of 16 is seen as capable of making informed decisions about sex and thus can be prosecuted for engaging in transactional sex.

The Anti-Gender Based Violence Act attempts to fill these identified gaps, however this legislation is not sufficiently comprehensive. The absence of a legislative framework to comprehensively address CSEC can also be attributed to lack of adequate knowledge on the particular prevalence of these crimes. There has been limited research on legislative gaps in CSEC in Zambia, as well as the specific consequences on these legislative gaps for the protection of children in the country. This is complicated by the reality that the terminology of CSEC is still not that widely known and some definitions are still under debate.

[100] Legal framework information reproduced here has been adapted from the South Africa country report. Please see: FTT (2015), “Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in South African Travel and Tourism”, 39-40.

[101] These recommendations reproduced here have been adapted from the Zambia country report. Please see: CHIN (2015), “Qualitative Study of Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel & Tourism in Two Selected Districts of Zambia”, 20-1.

SECTT RESPONSES & SERVICES

In addition to international and national legislation, efforts have been made to address SECTT in different ways at global, regional and local levels. As noted above, a critical challenge for designing effective strategies to combat this crime is the inability to define a typical profile of a SECTT offender or victim. Efforts to address this issue in the past have relied on stereotypes or assumptions that have proven to be false. It is hoped that this research provides insight into the complex dynamics of this crime that can inform innovative approaches to more effectively protect children. This section looks at examples of different efforts to respond to SECTT in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Some approaches to combating SECTT in Africa appear to have promise. Effectively addressing this crime cannot be done by governments and civil society organisations alone. Partnership with the private sector, particularly businesses and agencies involved in travel and tourism, including hotels, airlines, taxi and transportation services, among others, is essential for meaningful progress to be made. An example of this is the Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation in Travel and Tourism, an "industry-driven" responsible tourism initiative in South Africa with "a mission to provide awareness, tools and support to the tourism industry"[102] in order to prevent the sexual exploitation of children.

"The Code"

The Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation in Travel and Tourism or "The Code", as it is known, was established in 1998 by ECPAT Sweden with the assistance of the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO). The Code is an international "industry-driven ... initiative with the mission to provide awareness, tools and support to the tourism industry" to prevent the sexual exploitation of children.[103] The goal of The Code is to work with travel and tourism companies to combat child sex crimes within the sector. The Code has to date been quite successful in targeting primarily larger businesses in the travel and tourism sector and has a number of active members in Sub-Saharan Africa, either operating hotels or arranging trips for customers. In The Gambia, the most active country in the region in implementation of The Code, there are five members operating. In Africa overall, The Code has members based in Egypt, Kenya, Madagascar, Mauritius, Mozambique and South Africa, with a total of 24 member companies based in African countries.[104]

According to an assessment of the Code conducted by UNICEF's Innocenti Research Centre in 2012, the "simplicity" of these six criteria "has allowed the criteria to become well known, and the messaging to be relatively consistent". Yet the assessment "identified that not all the criteria are consistently implemented. While most signatories have a policy and have conducted some training, only a few provide information to tourists and report on their Code-related activities. Very few actively address the issue of suppliers and key persons".[105] Another identified challenge is related to the perception that sexual exploitation of children is now taking place "in smaller guesthouses and more remote areas"[106]. It is therefore necessary to expand efforts beyond the large international hotel and tourism companies and chains to begin working with the different types of operators and smaller, informal establishments now identified more likely to be at risk as venues for SECTT. Doing so is obviously a huge task that will require a great deal of effort and investment of resources in the years to come in order to make progress.

Fair Trade Tourism (FTT), the national counterpart agency for this study in South Africa, is the officially appointed local Code Representative for South Africa. "FTT has been mandated by local and international stakeholders to drive the Code's implementation in South Africa. ... with support from the tourism private sector, public sector and civil society, FTT has been using a collaborative approach to raise awareness on the imperative to combat SECTT in South Africa"[107] by leading a "responsible tourism certification scheme that helps enterprises, including community-owned ventures, meet required national and international standards in relation to business compliance and sustainable operations". Moreover,"during 2014–2015, FTT made significant strides in securing commitment of leading South African tourism associations ... to mobilise the travel and tourism industry to proactively combat SECTT".[108]

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[102] FTT (2015), "Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in South African Travel and Tourism", 31.
[103] ECPAT Netherlands (2014), "Don't Look Away", 01.
[104] Brosnan, Damien, e-mail communication to the authors, 17 December 2015.
[105] UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre (2012), "Assessing The Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation in Travel and Tourism: Discussion Paper", Florence, Italy: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, 26, accessed 04 April 2016, http://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/ids_codeofconduct2.pdf.
[106] Ibid., 1-2.
[107] FTT (2015), "Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in South African Travel and Tourism", 31.
[108] Ibid., 30-1.

Tourism Safety Initiative

The Tourism Business Council of South Africa (TBCSA) brings together tourism associations and travel and tourism businesses that acts as an "umbrella body for leading tourism associations in South Africa". The TBCSA "seeks to ensure that the industry is unified and speaks with one voice when engaging relevant stakeholders on macro-economic issues affecting the sector".[109] In simple terms, the Tourism Safety Initiative is: "an established project of the TBCSA. It serves as a tourism safety information portal and trade support programme for the travel and tourism industry. It is a private sector initiative and a vehicle through which TBCSA aims to address safety and security challenges affecting the South African travel and tourism industry. The main objectives of the TSI are to empower business to prevent and manage issues of safety and security, to apply pressure on government and law enforcement agencies to address crime in the tourism industry and to provide a national safety advisory and support service for tourists.

TSI has two main focal areas:
(i) Preventative measures
Use of statistical data and reports to inform the travel and tourism industry of identified risks and trends, with the objective of preventing potential crimes from occurring.

(ii) Reactive measures
This relates to crisis management in response to reports received from the travel and tourism industry on a case-by-case basis."[110]

The research in South Africa found that "the majority of interviewees, however, demonstrated limited knowledge about TSI when questioned further about the themes and key findings emerging from reports made to the TSI database; concrete steps that should be taken to ensure that TSI can effectively handle commercial sexual exploitation of children in travel and tourism (CSECTT) reports; or what additional tools and training are required". Only one respondent "expressed the need for ongoing training and the importance of maintaining contact with people who deal with CSECTT nationwide". Others "recommended that the tourism industry would benefit from more awareness on TSI initiatives". These comments "may indicate that the tourism industry is open to improving efforts on child protection, and thus raising awareness within the sector is critical".[111]

Adult Commercial Sex Worker Associations

An innovative approach was documented in Kenya involving adult commercial sex workers. According to a respondent, adult sex workers have established informal associations known as chamas. These groups offer opportunities for women to present grievances, such as being exploited by agents or arrested by police, which are addressed by peers. Women in prostitution collect protection fees to protect one another and ensure rescue and release from detention. The study found that, if their capacity were improved, these information organisations could potentially contribute to protecting children from SECTT. According to another respondent, "most sex workers register with these associations for protection purposes", which can be leveraged to prevent children from becoming involved in SECTT, as these women are often on the front lines of the issue and have a unique insight into the exploitation of children in travel and tourism as part of the adult sex industry.[112]

Availability & access to services

Efforts have been made to establish services for SECTT victims in many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, with varying degrees of success. Inaccessible or non-existent social services result in needs being left unaddressed, compelling children to seek assistance in other ways.

A 2007 study on services for orphans and vulnerable children in Sub-Saharan Africa found that "support for some orphans is being provided by a variety of government, community and non-governmental organisations, but this assistance generally reaches only a small percentage of those who need it".[113] As more general services do not appear to be available to assist orphans and vulnerable children, it is unlikely that specialised services for children who have been abused or exploited are being provided. A 2009 study on synergies between social and child protection conducted by the UNICEF Regional Office for West and Central Africa (WCARO) and the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) found public services in the region to be "under-resourced" and have "limited geographical coverage".[114]

[109] TBCSA (n.d.), "The TBCSA", TBCSA Tourism Business Council of South Africa, accessed 04 April 2016, http://www.tbcsa.travel/about-tbcsa.
[110] FTT (2015), "Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in South African Travel and Tourism", 31-2.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Otieno, Aggrey Willis (2015), "Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism in Kenya", 41.
[113] Stover, John et al. (2007), "Resource needs to support orphans and vulnerable children in sub-Saharan Africa", 21.
[114] ODI and UNICEF (2009), "Promoting Synergies Between Child Protection And Social Protection West And Central Africa", Dakar: UNICEF, 30 .

It is evident from the research conducted in Ghana, Kenya, South Africa and Zambia that while efforts are being made to improve SECTT prevention and response services in the countries studied, significant gaps and challenges remain. There was a general consensus among respondents from all countries that current service provision is far from comprehensive and more information is needed about the dynamics and manifestations of the commercial SECTT in Africa in order to tailor effective strategies to combat this threat to the wellbeing of children.

Services for SECTT Victims by Country

The following section of the report describing SECTT responses and services in each country is taken directly from the country reports, as referenced below.

Ghana[115]

Poor access to social services was also identified as a factor contributing to the vulnerability of children to SECTT in Ghana. Research respondents acknowledged the existence of social services for the protection of children supported by institutions such as the Department of Social Welfare (DSW), DOVVSU and CHRAJ; however, these social services do not appear to be adequately resourced. Service provision is therefore generally of poor quality, not available for hard to reach children in rural communities, with limited logistical capacity and social mobilization. Research respondents from the Ghanaian social service sector explained that they are unable to fulfil their mandated responsibilities due to these challenges.

Participants at the stakeholders' forum conducted as part of the case study research and other respondents identified the following support services for victims or children at risk of SECTT: counselling, social protection, social integration, skills training, advocacy and referral. Yet stakeholders and other respondents agreed that while these support services are available in theory, in practice some are virtually non-existent or woefully inadequate. Social protection, integration and skills training were among the support services identified as particularly problematic. Key support services providers such as the DSW, Department of Children (DOC), CHRAJ and DOVVSU lack the necessary resources and logistics to better protect children from prostitution and other forms of sexual exploitation. The lack of facilities including temporary accommodation or shelters, medical care and transport services are some of the challenges these service providers are confronted with.

Country research in Ghana indicated that the majority of employers in the travel and tourism sector in the cities visited for data collection either do not have official policies that seek to protect children from sexual exploitation in their business operations or do not display their child protection policies in places that are clearly visible to their customers or clients. There is no 'visual' campaign against child sex tourism in most hotels, beach resorts, restaurants and other entertainment centres. A few operators interviewed however said that they do make their child protection policies known to the customers verbally. Doing so involves prohibiting children less than 18 years from being accepted as customers and requesting adults accompanied by children to complete forms as evidence that they came in accompanied by a child. A few respondents reported to have seen an official child protection policy on displayed in some of the large international hotels, such as the Novotel in Accra; in smaller establishments, however, this was not the case (and these latter places are understood to be increasingly the sites of SECTT). This finding corroborates the evidence from elsewhere on the continent that SECTT may be shifting away from large corporate-run business that may be involved in initiatives such as The Code and towards smaller locally- run establishments where there is less awareness of and attention paid to this type of criminal behaviour.

Kenya[116]

In Kenya, while some research respondents were aware of services aimed at helping SECTT victims, the actual boys and girls involved did not appear to be able to access support services. This is reportedly due to the fact that Government and the majority of NGOs and faith-based organisations are focused primarily on conducting awareness raising activities, rather than on direct service provision. Adults and children interviewed identified the following measures that have been put in place to respond to SECTT in Kenya:

- Reporting offenders to the authorities for apprehension
- Training meetings and seminars by churches and CSOs e.g. through barazas (public meetings) where people are sensitized on child rights, etc.
- Engagement of youth in gainful employment programmes, such as National Youth Service community service projects
- Establishment of rescue homes in all 47 counties in Kenya
- Community Policing Initiative
- The government Nyumba Kumi (Ten Households) initiative to counter terrorism. As part of this initiative, families within a neighbourhood are organized into groups of ten households that are required to elect a chairperson and ensure that all suspicious behaviour is reported to law enforcement authorities

[115] Please see: GNCRH (2015), "A Report on Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism in the Western, Central and Greater Accra Regions of Ghana", 25, 44.
[116] Please see: Otieno, Aggrey Willis (2015), "Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism in Kenya", 13, 39-41

- Awareness campaigns organised by provincial authorities
- Establishment of a children's help desk at the police post by the ANPPCAN Regional Office.
- Volunteer Children Officers at the Sub-County District Children's offices.
- Revoking licenses of business enterprises that encourage child trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation of children, especially agents who lure children from the slums with offers of employment to countries such as Lebanon and Saudi Arabia.
- Children interviewed identified awareness creation, arrest of offenders and lobbying as the most frequently implemented actions taken to combat SECTT within the study sites. However, 25% of children interviewed felt that nothing has been done to combat SECTT in Kenya to date.

South Africa[117]

In South Africa, while the majority of respondents indicated knowledge of legislative provisions, few respondents could specify any services available for SECTT victims. In theory, the police (SAPS), could protect child victims and prosecute offenders, but who in reality were also identified as SECTT facilitators and perpetrators in some instances. The few strengths identified in relation to the responses currently available were mostly contradictory. For instance, some respondents stated that services to report cases are available to anyone, including children, while others indicated a general lack of awareness of reporting mechanisms among the general public. Child protection organisation respondents stated that they were reporting cases and receiving support from stakeholders, but they also highlighted the challenge of inefficient collaboration to respond to SECTT cases. Respondents noted the availability of professionals to assist with reported cases while also flagging concerns about the limited resources within institutions to enable action to be taken. The general lack of resources to provide adequate services was identified as a key weakness in South Africa. Inefficiencies in the justice system were also noted as a challenge.

Table 4 - Weakness in relation to current responses to reports of SECTT in South Africa

Lack of resources	• Insufficient workforce for the volume of cases—cases without feedback. • Insufficient state resources to deliver child protection services. • Absence of structures to deliver effective services to victims • Absence of proper rehabilitation services for CSEC victims. • Absence of specialized units to deal with cases of CSECTT.
Inefficient justice system	• Ineffective state policies resulting in poor implementation by stakeholders. • CSEC cases not always given continuity. • Offenders not prosecuted due to corruption from public officials. • Lack of regular police raids.
Lack of awareness of CSEC	• Insufficient recognition of the complexities and difficulties of dealing with CSEC by the relevant stakeholders. • Lack of awareness among the general public with regard to the manifestations of CSEC and how to report cases.
Lack of reporting	• General unawareness of the available reporting systems. • Manipulation of victims to prevent them from reporting by offenders. • Inadequate referral of cases from service providers and incorrect recording.
Lack of training	• Insufficient training for nurses, social workers, teachers and tourism stakeholders. • Recognised lack of training of police officers to differentiate CSEC cases, treat cases as urgent (SAPS are slow to respond) and on awareness of procedures for providing services to CSEC victims.

[117] Please see: FTT (2015), "Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in South African Travel and Tourism", 24-34.

Childline South Africa is a national, non-profit organisation that aims to uphold the rights of all children and to respond appropriately in situations where children's rights are violated. The hotline is a 24-hour service that operates seven days a week, 365 days a year to people who have concerns about children. According to the latest Childline annual report, "it is often the first place children in need and adults who require assistance with children's issues, including those related with CSEC, turn to".[118] The toll-free crisis telephone counselling line receives calls relating to a variety of issues and problems, dealing with approximately 60,000-90,000 queries per month across all the provinces.[119]

In spite of the impression that Childline is efficient in dealing with calls, other country-level research in South Africa conducted by Childline indicates that the organisation faces a number of serious challenges in fulfilling their mandate. Community members are sometimes reluctant to give their details, and even though counsellors explain the 'confidentiality' clause and encourage them to make themselves available to the statutory social worker, they are fearful".[120] Other challenges include the lack of monitoring and evaluation systems to assess outcomes of referrals, a limited number of phone lines and human resource limitations, as Childline does not currently have a sufficient number of trained volunteer crisis counsellors.[121]

Zambia[122]

In Zambia, interventions aimed at mitigating SECTT appear to be limited. This finding was partially attributed to the fact that there is currently very little information regarding CSEC and SECTT in the country and few organisations are involved in direct service delivery or implementation of CSEC programmes". Those "organisations that work with victims of SECTT generally deal with issues of child sexual abuse or adult prostitution. Some organisations like CHIN the national partner for this research provide interventions such as rehabilitation and alternative skills development and awareness raising in relation to SECTT. CHIN works in collaboration with its member organisations that deliver these services directly to affected children. Other services offered by institutions that work with CSEC victims that were highlighted include: counselling, provision of temporary shelter for victims, rehabilitation, survival skills development and reintegration into society. Social welfare officers were identified as being in a position to offer support to children engaged in SECTT. Available services reportedly include sensitization of young people, community leaders and promotion of CSEC education in schools.

[118] Childline South Africa (n.d.), "Childline SA Annual General Report 2013/2014 - 2015 Calendar", http://www.childlinesa.org.za/about/agm-reports/, in FTT (2015), "Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in South African Travel and Tourism", 26
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid 26-7
[121] Ibid.
[122] Please see: CHIN (2015), "Qualitative Study of Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel & Tourism in Two Selected Districts of Zambia", 16-7

CHAPTER 7
CONCLUSION

This report presents an analysis of the manifestations and dynamics of SECTT in Sub-Saharan Africa, including the different infrastructures and structural inequalities that facilitate SECTT, the interactions between them, and the specific contextual factors influencing the behaviour of offenders and child victims. It presents an overview and analysis of the legal framework for SECTT and different strategies and services available to address it in each of the countries where research was conducted. A number of non-traditional infrastructures facilitating the exploitation of children are identified, including the phenomenon of volun-tourism; the impact of foreign direct investment in Africa; military bases, camps, detention centres and peacekeeping missions; the adult sex trade and entertainment industry; as well as the rapidly expanding role of online platforms, internet communication technology and electronic devices.

Structural inequalities, including social and economic inequalities and their power dynamics, also have an important impact on the vulnerability of children. Informal cultural practices and norms, such as child marriage; festivals and inheritance practices; debt bondage, family ties and wealth / status inequality as well as child labour and the care of children by relatives or caretakers were identified as potentially exposing children to SECTT. The framework used to structure the analysis strives to capture this complexity in an effort to move beyond simplistic and potentially misleading profiles of victims and abusers.

While all of the countries studied have a framework of national laws and policies in place designed to protect children from SECTT and other violations, research respondents in all locations consistently confirmed that these are not working and children continue to be exploited by travellers and tourists for a number of different reasons outlined in the report. Lack of resources, capacity and corruption, incompetence and indifference of responsible officials were identified as leading common factors. Unfortunately, in many locations in the countries studied, commercial exploitation of children by travellers and tourists is not considered to be a serious crime and, in some cases, participating children themselves are identified and punished for their involvement.

Efforts have been made by governments, NGOs and different public and private sector organisations to take action against SECTT in Sub-Saharan Africa. While the sentiment behind these actions is positive, in reality the current response and services available for child victims remain inadequate. Research with SECTT victims conducted for this study indicates that the few services that do exist are often inaccessible or unknown by children. In the rare instances in which perpetrators are reported and prosecuted, sentences are light and children are often forced to testify in court, which can be traumatic and psychologically damaging. Greater effort is clearly required on the part of all stakeholders, particularly government, to more effectively combat and enforce existing legislation against this crime.

Given these challenges, the paramount importance of parental care and family relationships for ensuring the protection of children against SECTT cannot be overlooked. In the absence of effective polices and services, it is critical that the role of parents and families is emphasised and placed squarely at the centre of any strategy for addressing this issue. Doing so requires identifying culturally appropriate and effective ways to strengthen their capacity to care for and protect children.

A key conclusion from this research in Sub-Saharan Africa is that there is unlikely to be a single strategy for combating SECTT that will be universally applicable in all contexts. Rather, a framework is proposed for analysing the specific dynamics of this phenomenon in a particular country or location in order to identify the most appropriate strategies for prevention and response. It is hoped that the information provided in this report will encourage governments, NGOs and other stakeholders to begin identifying opportunities and approaches for developing tailored services and support structures to strengthen the protection of children against SECTT in Sub-Saharan Africa and around the world.

CHAPTER 8
RECOMMENDATIONS

This report recommends using the framework established in the Global Study to analyse the manifestations of SECTT in a particular country or location in order to develop contextually tailored services and support structures. The different infrastructures and interactions identified provide insights into potential policy recommendations and strategies.[123]

Given the evident complexity and evolving dynamics of the issue, ensuring programmes and responses are designed specifically for contexts where the crime occurs is likely to be more effective than relying on generic recommendations such as creating national plans of action against CSEC or building shelters. The analytical framework also proposes considering alternatives to the "demand and supply model",[124] which does not always sufficiently or accurately describe SECTT dynamics and relationships. This approach can be used to unpack the different perspectives and motivations of actors. For example, if tourists exploit children in another location due to a sense of impunity, the government and agencies should work towards removing this perception and communicating to travellers that they will be prosecuted for crimes committed against children in all locations, whether at home or away.

The research conducted in Sub-Saharan Africa consistently identified the need to improve services for the protection of children against SECTT. To be effective, response efforts and services must be designed to meet the needs of child victims. In order to do this, it is necessary to understand their perspectives and the specific reasons why they have become involved in SECTT. If children are becoming involved in SECTT because they cannot access school or do not have other economic opportunities, it will be critical to work with the education sector and look at ways of creating better economic options for children so that they are not compelled to generate income in this way. If a child does not perceive him or herself to be a victim, outreach services designed based on this assumption are unlikely to succeed. If agencies cannot offer children and families better alternatives or solutions to the social and economic challenges they are facing, they are unlikely to turn to the offered services for assistance. A systems approach to child protection requires detailed information about the situation and vulnerabilities of children in a particular location, consultations with families and communities to understand their priorities and concerns, as well as engagement with government to ensure sustainability.

As noted above, the research identifies the paramount importance of parental care and family relationships for ensuring the protection of children against SECTT. Therefore, any approach to addressing this issue must involve identifying culturally appropriate and effective ways to strengthen the capacity of families and communities to care for and protect children. By highlighting and educating parents about the different factors that can cause children to be exposed to SECTT, prevention may be possible. It is also critical to question traditional assumptions about how SECTT happens and to whom in order to raise awareness of the diverse new ways that this type of CSEC can occur and the wide range of children who may be subsequently vulnerable.

All of the country reports identified the importance of improving coordination between government, NGOs, donors and other stakeholders involved in the protection of children in order to ensure efficient use of resources and a coherent response. Coordinated action should be led by the government agency mandated with responsibility for child welfare as part of an overall national child protection strategy encompassing all aspects of child wellbeing and involve both the formal government and traditional or community-based authorities in order to ensure effective implementation at the local level. It is critical to involve the private tourism and travel sector in combating SECTT, as well as ICT, mining and construction companies, where new infrastructures facilitating exploitation of children have been identified.

[123] ECPAT International (2015), "Global Report: Towards a new analytical framework for SECTT", 40.
[124] Ibid. 41.

Policymakers, child protection stakeholders and researchers are therefore encouraged to seek innovative, contextually appropriate and more comprehensive evidence-based solutions and policies. Further research in this direction can help channel interventions and resources more effectively. The country level research conducted in Ghana, Kenya, South Africa and Zambia generated a series of specific recommendations for combating SECTT; these are presented below. Moreover, many of the recommendations made in the Global Study are also relevant to Sub Saharan Africa, specifically:

Regional Bodies and International Organisations

Regional and international bodies must address SECTT as part of a comprehensive approach to promote the well-being of all children and "ensure that international commitments are met".[125]

National Governments

National governments are directly responsible for protecting children from SECTT, whether they are countries of demand, supply, or victimisation. This includes ensuring implementation of existing legislation and polices, strengthening "law enforcement and international cooperation to combat SECTT", and investing in quality prevention, rehabilitation and reintegration programmes for children, tailoring services to the specific needs and perspectives of families, children and youth.[126]

Non-governmental Organisations

"NGOs can play a key role by monitoring SECTT and bridging gaps left by national governments" by researching and monitoring trends, raising "public awareness and the role citizens, including children, can play in prevention", as well as supporting governments to provide high quality and contextually appropriate prevention and response services to families and children based on a needs assessment.[127]

Private Sector Firms

"Companies active in sectors that play a role in SECTT", including travel, tourism, mining and construction firms, are uniquely positioned to have "a direct impact on protecting children". Private companies should be actively involved in protecting children's rights by "adopting and enforcing explicit corporate policies against SECTT", [128] ensuring volunteer-receiving organisations have "adequate child protection systems in place to guarantee the safety of children",[129] and raising "awareness about SECTT among travellers and tourists".[130]

SECTT RECOMMENDATIONS BY COUNTRY

The following section of this report presenting has been adapted from the country-level reports, as referenced below.

Ghana[131]

General Recommendations

Empower parents and families to be able to support their children. Unemployed parents, especially women, should be supported to engage in sustainable economic activities through skills training and provision of capital and resources. Related to this, the government should make adequate budget and resource allocations for the implementation of the newly approved Child and Family Welfare policy.

Awareness raising and sensitisation on SECTT should be intensified among key stakeholders, including parents. The donor community should prioritise SECTT related activities and channel resources, including funding, to local actors to help combat this threat.

Local actors (child protection agencies and NGOs) must be supported to form or align the objectives of existing children's clubs (or peer educator clubs) in schools and communities to engage and empower them to be active in the prevention of all forms of CSEC.

[125] ECPAT International (2016), "Offenders on the Move: Global Study on Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism", 141.
[126] Ibid 142-3.
[127] Ibid 143.
[128] Ibid 143-4.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid.
[131] These recommendations have been adapted from the Kenya country report. Please see: GNCRH (2015), "A Report on Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism in the Western, Central and Greater Accra Regions of Ghana", 02, 47-9,

Social services for victims should be scaled up and improved across the country.

Existing child protection laws and policies should to be amended to make specific references to SECTT. The government should adequately resource law enforcement agencies to fully protect children from sexual exploitation by tourists and travellers.

On-going collaboration by key stakeholders should be strengthened to enhance all aspects of child protection. Traditional authorities should be involved in the fight against SECTT, as they wield a great deal of power in formulating rules and regulations and command a high level of respect in their communities.

Recommendations from Stakeholders' Forum, Key Informants & the Research Team

Support to families to enable them to protect their children

1. Social service providers need to be resourced to enable them to assist families to better care for their children. Enacted policies, such as the Child and Family Welfare Policy, need to be allocated the necessary resources to ensure implementation.

2. Efforts must be made to economically empower parents to be able to support their children. Unemployed parents, especially women, should be supported to engage in sustainable economic activities through skills training and the provision of resources to help them adequately provide for their children.

Prevention

1. There should be more awareness creation, education and sensitization on SECTT among stakeholders and the general public. This should include messages such as: children who are involved in SECTT are not at fault or bad, but should be protected by adults. The public should also be educated to make them aware of the immediate or first points of call when issues of child protection arise.

   Parents need to be educated on parenting skills and the need to be responsible for the welfare and protection of their children. They should be sensitised about children's need for parental support and supervision and the fact that the family offers the best protection for children.
2. Revenue from tourism received from regions with a concentration of tourism sites and tourism-related activities should be allocated to service providers (such as DSW, DOVVSU, CHRAJ, etc.) in those regions to enable these agencies to effectively protect children from potential negative consequences of the associated influx of tourists to these areas.
3. The international donor community needs to be made aware of SECTT and make resources or logistics available to local actors to help combat SECTT effectively.

4. Priority should be placed on the establishment of children's clubs, peer educators' clubs, etc. in schools, churches/mosques and communities to engage boys and girls and empower them to be active in their own protection.

Recovery & Reintegration

1. Social services for victims should be scaled up and improved across the country.

2. Child protection service providers need to sensitise well-meaning citizens, including churches/mosques to support children who are vulnerable to commercial sexual exploitation through sponsorship or foster parenting.

3. A professional association of social workers should be formed to bring together persons involved in the provision of social services within the formal and informal sectors. Further, there is the need to help design or propose proper training programmes for social workers to ensure uniformity, efficiency and better services to children and families.

Protection, Legal and Policy Frameworks

1. Amend existing child protection laws to target SECTT issues. Stiffer punishment should be given to perpetrators of SECTT offences to warn or serve as deterrent to both domestic and foreign tourists.

2. Enforcement of child protection laws and policies should be strengthened and law enforcement officers involved in corruption, bribery or unprofessional attitudes towards children should be severely sanctioned to serve as a deterrent to others. The Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition should direct its focus to the numerous corruption allegations against the Police in order to pressure the Police Council to root out corruption among service personnel

3. The National Media Commission needs to work to ensure that the media, particularly the national media, prioritize the welfare of children and children related issues by blocking adverts that are not child-friendly, especially during times of the day when children are around to watch TV broadcasts.

4. Given that Ghana has ratified international conventions such as CRC and its Optional Protocols,

the government should fulfil its commitment through effective implementation of child rights and protection issues enshrined in these documents or conventions.

Coordination and Cooperation

1. On-going collaboration among stakeholders should be strengthened to improve coordination in the provision of child protection services to better protect children from all forms of sexual exploitation. The M-Friend[132] (Most-at-Risk Friend) concept should be adopted by stakeholders to help deliver prompt services to victims and children at risk.

2. DOVVSU and similar institutions should disaggregate data on child sexual abuse to give better picture to cases of CSEC/SECTT instead of their normal general classification into defilement and rape cases only.

3. Traditional authorities must be involved to strengthen protection of children at the community level and review the practice of exposing children to visitors without adequate monitoring, as well as plan for the protection of children from SECTT during celebration of cultural festivals.

Kenya[133]

Prevention recommendations:

- Strengthen coordination by mandating the Department of Children Services to take the leading role in preventing SECTT
- Initiate community level dialogue and work with informal and formal groups to identify, prevent and respond to SECTT cases at the local level.
- Initiate programs targeting parents / guardians to educate them on their roles and responsibilities in raising children, as poor parental care has been established as a push factor at the family level.
- Engage the corporate / private sector in child protection, particularly in enhancing internet safety and cooperation with the travel and tourism sector.
- Train police officers on child rights and the value they can add to effectively combat child trafficking and SECTT in Kenya.

Protection recommendations:

- The Government, through the Department of Children Services, should carry out social audit and accreditation of charitable children's institutions in the country as a means of minimizing child trafficking for sexual exploitation.
- Through the Public Private Partnership, Internet safety programmes for children and engagement with the travel and tourism sector should be initiated to better protect children from SECTT.
- Establish different avenues for children/ adults to confidentially report — including child help desks in police stations, hospitals and schools — as well as reporting boxes where victims can report cases anonymously.
- Ensure accessible and wide ranging referral services for immediate support for child victims, such as rescue centres, help lines, counselling, legal and medical aid.
- Revoke licenses of business enterprises that facilitate child trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation of children, especially agents luring children from urban slums with the hope of employment in Middle Eastern countries.

Prosecution recommendations:

- Increase awareness among the public on how to document and report Child Sexual Offenders and prosecution procedures.
- Curb laxity in the enforcement of policies and procedures and strengthen linkages amongst various institutions involved by refining partnerships and raising awareness amongst the professional bodies.
- Establish child friendly courts to protect children from perpetrators and help them in giving testimonies in a friendly and confidential environment. Child representatives should also be included in the formation of court users committees.
- Explore capacity of traditional justice systems to handle criminal cases and, where possible, engage the traditional justice system to advocate for improved protection of children and their rights.
- Improve implementation of the Witness Protection Act, including strengthening of the unit under the Office of the Director of Public Prosecution (ODPP).

[132] M-Friend is a network of personnel in key service provider or stakeholder institutions who have been trained or sensitised on child-friendly issues and the need to work to ensure that cases involving children are not overly delayed. For instance, if there is a need to refer case to another service provider institution, you can inform the M-Friend partner there so that even if he/she is not in charge or the boss, he/she can still push for the case to be dealt with as soon as possible.

[133] These recommendations have been adapted from the Kenya country report. Please see: Otieno, Aggrey Willis (2015), "Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism in Kenya", 13-5.

Policy recommendations:

- Stakeholders should work towards creating child protection networks at the community level for identification, prevention and response to SECTT cases.
- The immigration department should take the lead in screening of tourists and travellers during entry into the country as a way of flagging perpetrators of SECTT at the port of entry.
- Encourage and reinforce community policing, including the Nyumba Kumi initiative and other types of community associations.
- Widen welfare programmes beyond supporting OVCs to include street families and children and youth from low-income households.
- Enforce national laws and policies that have been legislated to protect children.

Partnership recommendations:

- The Children's Department should take the lead in the development, implementation, monitoring and resource mobilization for an all-inclusive National Action Plan aimed at addressing the sexual exploitation of children in Kenya.
- Establish an inter-agency forum to improve coordination of agencies involved in child protection, including the community structures.
- Conduct a mapping exercise of existing service providers, including the religious sector, available from the community to national level to address SECTT.
- Ensure availability of services to genuinely assist victims of SECTT and their families / guardians to secure evidence and ensure that victims obtain justice.
- Strengthen community child protection systems to be capable of preventing and responding to issues related to at the SECTT community level.

South Africa[134]

Table 5 - Recommendations for South Africa

Develop a risk factor document	Draft a short and succinct document outlining SECTT risk factors based on the research findings and existing information that can be used as a preventive measure for awareness-raising and capacity-building interventions for all stakeholder groups.[135]
Raise awareness among children about online safety and potential dangers of ICT	Roll out awareness-raising campaigns that engage children and build their capacity to protect themselves from SECTT when using ICT, including on social media platforms.
Improve communication and collaboration between the child protection and tourism sectors	Utilise a collaborative approach to enhance and improve collaboration between the child protection and tourism sectors, with the overall objective of enhancing capacity to combat SECTT.

[134] These recommendations have been adapted from the South Africa country report. Please see: FTT (2015), "Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in South African Travel and Tourism", 39-40.
[135] Including public, private sector and civil society, as well as TSI and Childline 24/7 hotline call centre agents.

Build capacity of Childline's 24/7 hotline to identify SECTT cases	Encompassing the various forms of CSEC in travel and tourism, including child sex tourism, child prostitution, child trafficking, child pornography and early marriage. This will support generation of essential SECTT-specific data and evidence. Once a sufficient sample of statistics (over a 12-month period) have been collected: (i) Conduct research to analyse Childline's capacity to appropriately follow up on and handle reported cases. (ii) Analyse the level of engagement and collaboration between Childline and SAPS. (iii) Conduct research to establish new information on victims and offender contexts based on the Childline reports received and processed. (iv) Develop case studies to identify what is needed and how cases can be reported and handled more effectively. Analyse case studies for evidence that SECTT exists in South Africa and its links with the tourism industry to demonstrably establish the tourism private sector as a critical stakeholder in preventing, reporting and convicting offenders.
Build the capacity of TSI to identify & refer SECTT cases to Childline	A collaborative approach should be undertaken to build the capacity of TSI to appropriately handle and refer SECTT cases to Childline.
Increase awareness of Childline's Crisis Line among travel and tourism stakeholders	A collaborative effort should be undertaken involving TSI, Childline, Molo Songololo and FTT to raise awareness of Childline's 24/7 hotline as the primary hotline to be used by tourism industry stakeholders and community members to report suspected SECTT cases.
Awareness raising and capacity building of the tourism and child protection sectors on SECTT in tourism	Awareness raising and capacity building on SECTT should be facilitated for key stakeholder groups, including the tourism private sector and the child protection sector.
Enforcement of harsher penalties for SECTT offences	Advocacy efforts are required to support the establishment of harsher penalties for SECTT offenders.
Review functionality of existing reporting mechanisms to inform the development of new functionalities and reporting mechanisms for SECTT	Research has identified clear and available data on child pornography. There appear be functional reporting, referrals and convictions for child pornography. Research could be conducted to identify why and how the system functions in order to improve reporting and referral mechanisms for other forms of SECTT.

Zambia[136]

Research participants in Zambia made the following recommendations for preventing and responding to SECTT:

1. **Improve the capacity of law enforcement officers:**
   Respondents suggested that the there was need to build the capacity of the law enforcement officers including the police and immigration officers to be able to identify and respond to SECTT cases effectively. It was noted that this support should also be extended to municipal councils, who have the mandate to monitor the conduct of local business, so that they can be able to investigate cases.

2. **Conduct awareness raising campaigns among all communities:**
   All stakeholders should be given the knowledge and capacity to take deliberate measures to prevent and respond to SECTT. SECTT should be widely publicised to get all stakeholders involved. NGOs/ Government should strengthen the capacity of local groups within communities to increase the awareness of SECTT. Communities need to understand its risks, as well as opportunities to prevent and mitigate against SECTT and the actions needed to respond to cases of abuse. Radio and television programs could be used to sensitize the population more broadly as these are effective media for sending a message. Traditional leaders should be involved in the communication campaign as they have a significant influence on community practices. Campaigns should aim to target primary and secondary schools so that children are made aware of the dangers of SECTT.

3. **Involvement of parents & families in protection of children against SECTT:**
   Parents should be encouraged to take keen interest in their children's activities including after school, on social media, etc. Once parents have a greater awareness of the risks of SECTT, they can discuss these risks with their children and be more observant of any risky and abnormal behaviour, such as children having unexplained expensive things and coming home intoxicated or late at night.

4. **Put in place measures to provide vocational training and survival skills for children who are school drop-outs:**
   National and local government needs to provide second-chance school opportunities, vocational training or other skills training for the youth who drop out of school, especially girls. These types of interventions will allow children greater opportunity to gain skills and engage in decent employment opportunities, hence potentially preventing them from engaging in SECTT.

5. **Strengthen laws to regulate tourist accommodations including lodges, hotels and guest houses:**
   Government officials stated that there is a need to strengthen the laws that govern the operation of lodges, guest houses and hotels including ensuring that employees are more aware of SECTT, that they do not engage and facilitate SECTT and are knowledgeable about ways to prevent it. Guest houses and lodges must introduce comprehensive visitor registration with sufficient details to keep track of and follow-up of offenders.

6. **Conduct national baseline study on SECTT in Zambia:**
   Due to the lack of information on SECTT in Zambia, a national survey should be conducted under the leadership of Government. A baseline study would provide information that would inform the development of more comprehensive laws, policies and programmes that would be prevent and respond to and help curtail the incidence of SECTT.

7. **Implementation and enforcement of existing legislation:**
   While there are some gaps in the law, some laws that do exist such as the Anti-trafficking Act, the Anti-GBV Act and the Penal Code should be effectively implemented to reduce the incidence of SECTT.

[136] These recommendations have been adapted from the Kenya country report. Please see: CHIN (2015), "Qualitative Study of Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel & Tourism in Two Selected Districts of Zambia", 20-1.

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ANNEX I:
Code of Conduct for Researchers

Code of Conduct for Researchers: Statement of Commitment

I hereby declare that I have read and understood the ethical protocol for this research and the child protection policy of ECPAT and that I will comply with the guidelines therein for the duration of this research project.

I have a duty to ensure that no one is put at risk of harm as a result of their participation in this research. I have a responsibility to respect participants' views and experiences and to ensure that participation in the research is in every individual's best interest. I will do my utmost to ensure that participation in this study is a positive experience for all.

While associated with this research, I will never:

1. Share the information acquired from any specific individuals who participated in this study with anyone outside the research team.
2. Hit or physically assault any participant.
3. Behave physically in a manner that is inappropriate or sexually provocative.
4. Use language or offer advice that is inappropriate, offensive or abusive.
5. Act in ways intended to shame, humiliate, belittle or degrade participants.
6. Act in ways that may place a participant at risk of danger, abuse or exploitation.
7. Act in ways that could be deemed coercive, exploitative or abusive.
8. Encourage children to act in ways that are illegal, unsafe or abusive.
9. Develop intimate physical/sexual relationships with participants.
10. Invite a child participant to my room or to stay overnight at my home unsupervised, or sleep in the same room or bed as a child participant.
11. Do things for children of a personal nature that they can do for themselves.

I understand that failure to comply with this Code of Conduct may result in disciplinary action, including termination of my contract.

Print full name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

ANNEX II:
Sample Researcher ToR

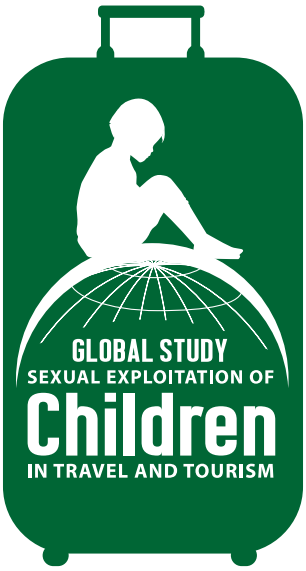
Background:
For the Study on the Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism in Africa, it is anticipated that there will be one data collection team assembled per country, each composed of X national researchers (x male and x female). National researchers will be responsible for the primary data collection with key informants, in accordance with the protocols and methodology to be developed and will report to name of ECPAT Group. Where possible and appropriate, members of the travel and tourism industry should be recruited to work as researchers in order to conduct industry interviews.

Location: Based in X

Duration: 1 month (approximately X working days)

Key tasks:
- Participate in research planning meetings held during the process
- Participate in the training for the research team;
- Conduct part of the data collection according to the plan, protocols, methodology, and tools
- Clearly and accurately document the data collected and analyse findings;
- Report shortcomings or challenges to the name of ECPAT Group coordinator in a timely manner;
- Participate in and provide input to the research team debriefing meeting following completion of the research process;
- Provide recommendations for implementation of the research methodology and tools, where appropriate;
- Researchers may also be asked to:
  - o Assist in the development and preparation of the final report in order to ensure the accuracy and appropriateness;
  - o Conduct secondary research as required to support the analysis process.

Experience and Skills:
- Native X speaker, as well as spoken and written fluency in English
- Proven ability to interview key informants utilizing participatory approaches;
- Excellent verbal communication and strong writing skills;
- Must be able to take initiative, be proactive, flexible, reliable, and solution focused.
- Experience of working with child protection / welfare issues, knowledge of issues related to the SECTT beneficial;
- Experience in research and data collection (in the child protection sector preferred);
- Demonstrated capacity to use common communication technology, word processing software and spread sheets;
- Familiarity with government officials at the local level



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