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Child Sexual Exploitation in East African Orphanages

An Analysis of Causes, Effects, Needs and a Child Protection Response

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I. DESCRIPTION OF THE PROBLEM

A. Type of Exploitation

In East Africa, there is a population of children that have been systematically excluded from their indigenous communities. Ironically, this exclusion takes place in the name of child welfare and protection, but in fact heightens the children's risk of abuse and exploitation. The practice of placing children in long-term residential care facilities (commonly known as orphanages) increases a child's vulnerability to abuse as their first natural protection (having parents) is removed. In this paper, I will discuss the specific risk that voluntourism broadly and child sex tourism specifically subjects children in East Africa to sexual exploitation.

B. Location, Background and Context

Though present in many contexts, this case study is focused on East Africa and instances where would-be volunteers or missionaries from western countries used the orphanage setting and operations to gain access to vulnerable children and abuse them. Being the victim of abuse damages a child's development and well-being and increases their risk of future vulnerability. "Orphanage care can make children vulnerable to sexual abuse and sexual exploitation, both in the institution and upon ageing out" (Greenfield 326).

The modern vulnerability of African children, especially in regards to alternative care, has grown from a historical background of colonialism. "The meaning of childhood and children's experiences are inseparable from the ways that colonial rule was established over African territory" (Wells 9). From colonists that treated children according to their capacity for work to contemporary neo-colonial forms of paternalism and child saving, the common approach has devalued the personhood of African children and their agency. In modern forms, orphanage tourism presents opportunities for westerners to "play the hero" in the lives of children and exposes profound cracks in child protection systems. "Orphanage tourism is a form of voluntourism and is particularly popular among faith-based organizations, education providers, young people on gap years, employees of businesses that encourage participation in corporate social responsibility initiatives, and people wanting to help developing and disadvantaged communities" (Lyneham and Facchini 4).

C. Definitions, Categories and Conceptual Frameworks

The content of this paper focuses on a subset of Child Sexual Exploitation (CSE). "Sexual exploitation of children in travel and tourism (SECTT; also known as child sex tourism) refers to child sex offenders and accomplices seeking to sexually exploit children in the context of travel and tourism" (Lyneham and Facchini 4).

Regarding orphanage tourism as a whole, the presence of children within orphanages presents a supply and demand market dynamic rather than a child welfare intervention. My framework in this case study examines that dynamic on multiple levels with an eye towards recommending family based and community based solutions that encourage a child's development, and of equal importance, their protection.

D. Biblical/Theological Framework and Mandate

Based in both scripture and centuries of Christian practice, the family is the central place for a child's upbringing and discipleship. We learn that children are the inheritance of their parents (Psalm 127:3) which should not be taken lightly when considering family separation. Furthermore, a true Christian community is also marked by inclusion. God's heart is for children to understand their worth and be loved and that impulse informs this approach.

II. EXPLORATION OF THE PROBLEM

A. Spiritual-Level Causes, Effects and Needs

Scripture speaks widely to the church's role "to look after orphans" (James 1:27) and to many Christians, working or volunteering at an orphanage is an outworking of their religion. As the foremost scripture used by ministries focused on orphaned and vulnerable children (OVC), James 1:27 has been used to paint a very broad stroke of what acceptable engagement looks like and in the majority world, much engagement has centered around residential care facilities. This broad stroke is perhaps exacerbated by differing English translations that western Christians can apply to fit *their* agenda. "To visit orphans" can be used to hold up short term mission orphanage tourism and "to care for orphans" can be used to justify *hiring* caregivers. However, these broad applications fail to recognize the biblical narrative in its entirety which emphasizes themes of family, adoption and inclusion. Furthermore, these applications overlook that the best way to "care for orphans and widows in their distress" is to alleviate that distress by restoring their statuses of orphans and widows to God's design for them to be protected as beloved sons and daughters and honored women.

At the surface, children that are being raised in residential care facilities appear to be orphans, hence why the term orphanage is applied. This however is a misnomer that ought not be overlooked. "The vast majority of children living in orphanages -perhaps 80 to 90 percent - are reported to have at least one living parent" (Lyneham and Facchini 2). To the western ear, the word "orphan" conjures up depictions of Oliver Twist and Annie whose parents were deceased, but that is rarely the case with children in residential care facilities. Furthermore, the UN has used the statistic of "140 million orphans in the world" which sounds daunting, but the statistic includes "single orphans" who have lost only one parent and hence still have a parent living. Beyond those with parents, most of these "orphans" also have other family and community

members that are caring for them or could be caring for them. The combinations of western traditional narratives, misunderstanding of "the orphan crisis" and a lack of aptitude in child welfare and development has led many well-intentioned western Christians to provide orphanages (which are easier to fund) as a knee-jerk response.

The effect of this theological insufficiency and lack of contextualizing best practice child welfare (which is supported with a proper biblical hermeneutic) is that children become separated from their families. When placed in orphanages that promote tourism and seek the related funds involved, the children suffer. "Issues of corruption, paedophilia, trafficking, attachment disorders and other developmental issues are but a few of the concerns being raised about the potential damage caused by orphanage tourism" (Guiney 126). In such an environment, the children's needs are vast across emotional, psychosocial, relational and spiritual dimensions. While a quick fix is rarely feasible or wise, adjusting our theological lens to account for God's design for child development within families would point us in the right direction and address a critical theological need.

B. Macro-Level Causes, Effects and Needs

As in other global child welfare contexts, there are multiple sectors converging that have led to institutionalization and the prevalence of sexual abuse and exploitation therein. "Reports from many countries across the world demonstrate that institutional care puts children at increased risk of violence, abuse, and neglect by staff, officials, volunteers, and visitors responsible for their well-being. Documented abuse includes torture, beatings, isolation, restraints, sexual assault, harrassment and humiliation" (Mulheir et. al. 9). As stated prior, the economic dynamic of supply and demand is at work and western money is driving demand for contact with perceived orphans. "Concerns have been raised about the vulnerable conditions

created by the expanding popularity of volunteer and orphanage tourism, which may expose children to sexual abuse and exploitation" (Lyneham and Facchini 2). The economy growing around orphanage tourism mirrors other child vulnerabilities that are market driven. As Karen Wells overviews, "the multiple insecurities of children in the contemporary world are being driven by global capitalism and its constant production of crises in social reproduction that displace and unsettle children and their families" (221).

Experiences with OVC are increasingly in demand not only for those with nefarious intentions to exploit but also for those that are seeking an emotional high when in contact with vulnerable children. "Some have even coined these interactions 'hug-an-orphan' vacations, illustrating how important intimacy is within these experiences. Volunteer projects involving children are among the most popular international volunteering projects with 21% of gap year volunteer projects directly involving children or young people" (Guiney 126). Aside from the gap year students and short term missionaries seeking emotional highs, "the industry of orphanage tourism has made it more accessible for those that intend to exploit children" (Ljungblom 36) as individuals of all types are allowed to freely engage the children.

Governments in the majority world would appear to be the only feasible actor that could withstand these economic forces that are driving SECTT, as well as CSE in general. As many countries have adopted laws and policies that both in language and theory reflect international conventions such as the United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child, it would appear that there is a legal apparatus to inhibit the exploitation. Speaking to the related field of slavery, Kevin Bales points out that "many countries of the developing world have excellent antislavery laws. Enforcing those laws is another matter" (16). Without the implementation of best practice policies or enforcement of anti-trafficking legislation, children in East Africa will continue to suffer from abuse and exploitation.

Unlike those countries that emphasize political and economic inclusion, many modern governments in East Africa do not function along the same lines that we are familiar with in western politics. While each country has its own history and level of political efficiency, the frameworks therein often fail to assist children that are falling through the cracks of the system. While this can happen in any country, including those that are developed, majority world countries' issues surrounding child welfare are compounded by poverty and difference in culture. "Governments in the South lack the resources, the will and the legitimacy to intervene directly in the private life of the family." (Wells 73). Nonetheless, government, law and economy need to be addressed if change is to come for abused and exploited children.

C. Meso-Level Causes, Effects and Needs

Understanding the economic demand for orphanage tourism continues to inform as we turn to the meso-level causes and effects. From one region to another, there is going to be different levels of general tourism based on differences in geography, weather and commerce. "Some unscrupulous orphanage operators have capitalized on the demand for socially conscious tourism experiences as an alternative source of funding. Consequently, privately owned, and therefore generally unregulated, orphanages have proliferated in popular tourist destinations to attract more volunteers and donations" (Lyneham and Facchini 4).

As an anecdote, my years of engagement among at-risk children in Tanzania began as a voluntourist on a short term missions team to the city of Moshi. Moshi is in the Kilimanjaro region of Tanzania and serves as a tourism hub for the mountain known as "the rooftop of Africa." Not coincidentally, there were 17 known orphanages in the Moshi Urban district, of

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which only five were officially registered with the government. There were likely other smaller, lesser known orphanages and accountability even for the few that were registered was tragically insufficient. The presence of orphanages in Moshi, a tourist hub, is juxtaposed with many other areas of Tanzania that do not have a single orphanage. This is not because such areas don't experience poverty, family breakdown or child abuse in their communities, but because there is no commercial demand for orphanages.

In areas where orphanages are present, the demand creates an incentive for child finders and orphanage directors to ensure that children are placed in their facility, regardless of the child's place of origin or family background. "The most vulnerable for human trafficking are the most socially deprived and poor people. This business is taking advantage of that and the children who are being transported to orphanages in favor of orphanage tourism are from poor families, often from rural to urban areas" (Ljungblom 28). The common thread therefore is that the children are coming from impoverished backgrounds, but the cross-cultural visitors wouldn't understand the difference and will consider the children "orphans" regardless.

This dynamic has necessitated the new terms of "poverty orphan" and "social orphan" to describe poor children that aren't orphaned but live as orphans due to their upbringing outside of parental care. Support for parents at risk of relinquishing their children is a vital need in East Africa and should be considered a primary focus of service providers. As development workers, we must also place a higher value on the agency and capability of poor families and communities to care for their own children as we help with supplemental strengthening measures and advocate for systemic change for their benefit.

At best, lapses in child protection within orphanages are simply the oversight of the managers who assume the best of western and local visitors. Time, however, has proven this

stance to be misguided. "Unfortunately, not everyone who wants to volunteer in an orphanage has good intentions. Orphanages are known targets for adults who seek opportunities to abuse children." (ACCI 32) At worst, those in charge of the orphanage can be knowingly involved in very dangerous arrangements with outsiders that have come to visit. "Orphanage managers and workers have also offended or been complicit in facilitating access to children - for example, by allowing tourists to spend time with children outside of orphanages and even take children away to stay overnight in their hotel" (Lyneham and Facchini 5). The breakdown of community level structures and support must be addressed in our response.

D. Micro-Level Causes, Effects and Needs

To this point, I've discussed how breakdowns at the spiritual, societal and community level have created an environment where children are transferred from their homes and placed in residential care facilities. This transferral of residence increases the risk that these children would become sexually abused and exploited in general and for this case study specifically related to SECTT. However widespread the abuse may be, ultimately each individual case takes place at the household level (while it's hard to consider an orphanage a "household," it is nonetheless the child's primary dwelling once removed from their community).

As with other cases of trafficking, parents can often be given false information concerning where their child will be going or what the purpose of transferral will be. To soothe the parents' concern, traffickers might pay them to give false assurance that the child will be taken care of. "In many cases, parents are deceived by outsiders who play on a family's extreme poverty with promises of a brighter future in the city or in a rich man's house - and the parents were completely ignorant of the road to abuse and exploitation to which they sold their child" (Benham and Forbes 315).

Once the child enters the residential care facility, they experience broken attachment which is detrimental to their development. The younger the child is upon entering, the greater risk they are at of developing an attachment disorder. When voluntourists arrive, they are encouraged to bond with the children which exacerbates attachment disorders and creates trust between them and the would-be foreign helpers. Intimate activities such as holding hands, sitting on laps, hugging and kissing take place with strangers that either have already given money to the orphanage director or likely will feel compelled to do so after their intimate connections with the children. "Within moral consumption forms, such as orphanage tourism, there is an emphasis on affective experiences, which has resulted in both children and volunteer emotions becoming enmeshed in a range of commercial transactions" (Guiney 126). The voluntourists rarely, if ever, have a background check done which presents a significant gap in protecting the vulnerable children within the residential care facility.

This lack of family and organizational protection leaves the children available to be abused and exploited by outsiders that pose as concerned internationals that are willing to help and donate. "The voluntourism industry may therefore be attractive to travelling sex offenders who perceive easy and direct access to children living in orphanages through a seemingly legitimate channel" (Lyneham and Facchini 5). Documented cases of exploitation by voluntourists in East Africa include both faith-based and secular individuals that could be involved in a purported mission or socially conscious corporate activity. Matthew Lane Durham was sentenced to 40 years in prison after repeatedly raping and molesting children during a short term mission at Upendo Children's Home in Nairobi (CNN). Simon Harris ran an educational charity and targeted street dwelling Kenyan boys that he sexually abused (Morris). British Airways pilot Simon Wood allegedly sexually abused children in institutional settings in Kenya,

Uganda and Tanzania during stopovers over a ten year period. (BBC). Most recently, Gregory Dow was taken into custody after having established and run a Kenyan orphanage where he preyed on children over a five year period (AP). Durham and Dow both posed as Christian missionaries. Harris and Dow had both been convicted of child sexual abuse in their countries of origin, the UK and the US respectively. While these documented accounts exemplify the abuse taking place, CSE by voluntourists, like sexual abuse in general, is likely under-reported and perpetrators under-convicted especially when one considers the lack of oversight by authorities and the amount of money that is in play.

III. EXAMINATION AND EVALUATION OF CURRENT RESPONSE

A. Spiritual Response Description and Evaluation

As described previously, a faulty or, at best, surface-level application of scripture has aided in alternative care child welfare practices that leave children in East Africa with attachment disorders, underdevelopment and heightened vulnerability to sexual abuse and exploitation. Western Christians do not examine how long-term institutionalization, even in what they might consider to be the best of orphanages, fails to prepare children for adulthood and increases risk factors in their lives. Spiritually, this results in the children feeling perpetually lonesome as their deepest needs go unmet. Visiting voluntourists gloss over basic human need for long term attachment and care by assuming that the orphanage response that they promote is "good enough" for these "poor, African orphans" exhibiting a profound lack of understanding of East African culture and general human necessity.

Trite responses that simply say "well, God is their father" trivialize the children's need for actual fathers and mothers. It also perverts the context for what God being their father actually means. As an analogy that scripture uses to speak of God's intimacy and faithfulness to

His children, children left in orphanages may only assume God's absence from their heartache in the same way that they remain fatherless and motherless in the facility. Scripture absolutely teaches that God is "a father to the fatherless" (Psalm 68:5 NIV) but this can't be divorced from the understanding that "God sets the lonely in families" (Psalm 68:6 NIV).

When children are then abused by their would-be helpers or Western father figures, this perverts their view of God and devastates their developing psyche. Dow was called "daddy" by the children in the orphanage as he persisted in his sexual abuse of them (AP). The prosecutors in Durham's trial discussed that he "'not only forcefully sexually abused these children,' but 'he psychologically damaged them by taking advantage of their trust he received from the children'" (CNN). The risk of being in an orphanage, even for children that aren't directly abused, places them not only at a social detriment, but a spiritual one as well.

An alternative approach of more recent years has centered on deinstitutionalization and can be summarized by Johnny Carr who says that "man made orphanages for children, but God made the family for children" (63). People within the global child welfare field have begun to embrace the theological and spiritual responses that recognize the parents who are losing their God-given inheritance of children (Psalm 127:3) and the children ought to be reunified to them. Similarly, people are recognizing the critical importance of adoption, especially domestic adoption, for children that are not able to return to their family of origin.

These family-based and community-based responses are of vital importance in changing the narrative and shifting the system back towards God's design for family. As Christians, our story is the story of orphans finding a home and a father. Jesus told His disciples that "I will not leave you as orphans" (John 14:18 NIV) and the Apostle Paul wrote about how we have received the Spirit of adoption (Romans 8:15). A proper theological understanding ought to compel a spiritual response that reflects our own reality as sons and daughters and hence return children to their rightful place within the family.

B. Macro Response Description and Evaluation

Due to the economic demand for orphanages in popular tourist areas, a macro level response must carry sufficient weight to mitigate that demand. Awareness campaigns that are aimed at stemming the demand have a value so long as the listeners are reasonable enough to recognize the logic of not visiting orphanages. Because spending time with "orphans" elicits such a strong emotional response, proponents of stemming demand must figure out how to undermine voluntourists' emotion with approaches other than mere logic. While people may think of themselves as rational, humankind is much more driven by emotional experiences.

Legal means often work better to dissuade individuals from patronizing orphanages when traveling in the majority world. While awareness campaigns have an effect on raising people's consciousness, legislation and law enforcement are able to go a step further and ensure child protection. International bodies such as the UNCRC and it's corresponding "Guidelines on the Alternative Care of Children" provide an important framework for what should and should not be allowed concerning OVC care environments. While these standards have been increasingly written into law, the gaps in implementation and enforcement for countries such as Tanzania and Kenya have been significant.

Government involvement must go beyond written laws and policies and actually ensure that child welfare systems shift. A couple countries in the region have been proactive in transitioning care models at a larger scale, Rwanda being one of those countries. "After the countrywide genocide in 1994, more than a hundred new orphanages were started. As of 2012, seventy of those orphanages have been closed, and the children have been placed back with their

families, with adoptive families or in foster care" (Carr 77). In response to trafficking for purposes of international adoption, Ethiopia also addressed their alternative care structures. "Since 2011, the Ethiopian government has identified and shut down several corrupt orphanages, prosecuting the fraudulent staff and administrators. This sends a clear message to traffickers and helps protect children from being kidnapped" (Carr 27). Western countries also can pass legislation that prohibits orphanage tourism as a means of trafficking prevention. Australia's passing of the Modern Slavery Bill is an encouraging development in that regard as orphanage trafficking is among the enumerated measures of the bill. That more western sending countries aren't proactive in the same way is a significant gap.

Whether it is a majority world country that is receiving tourists or the western nations that are sending them, the more governments stand up to combat trafficking and exploitation of all types, including orphanage trafficking, the more orphanages will have to allow kids to return home where they can be better protected. Prosecutions and law enforcement are of paramount importance. "When a society's moral economy vigorously condemns trafficking and is willing to support that condemnation with resources, the number of prosecutions will be high and the costs of trafficking and enslavement will be prohibitive" (Bales 158).

C. Meso Response Description and Evaluation

The macro-level responses of law enforcement and raising awareness to stem the demand also can be done at the community level. The program that I oversaw in Tanzania focused on advocacy at the community level which was effective in mobilizing local pastors and their congregations to protect children in their communities, prevent family separation and create church environments that were suitable for children to reintegrate into. When community members learn the detrimental effects that institutionalized care has on children and the abuse

that they are susceptible to, they are able to gain a stronger impulse to maintain community cohesion which inhibits the trafficking from taking place. This community strengthening piece is vital to counteract other efforts by corrupt individuals from the area that seek to make money off the institutionalization of children.

Awareness geared towards western tourists that are in their destination country can also be effective as advocates educate the tourists about their use of money and how orphanage tourism creates "financial incentive for unscrupulous operators to use illegitimate methods such as child trafficking, illicit adoption or paper orphaning to manufacture orphans to meet the demands of tourists and generate funds. Orphanage tourism also creates opportunities to scam those who volunteer or donate money" (Lyneham and Facchini 2). Tour company operators and hotel staff also have a role to play in protection. Marc Joly explains that "while tourism companies are not responsible for child sex tourism, tourism professionals are in key positions to intervene by protecting children and reporting cases... For instance, hotel staff can come in contact with travelers trying to bring a child to the hotel or they may be looking to engage in the sexual exploitation of children" (Guardian).

Ultimately, these children belong in their communities of origin and hence it ought to be those very communities that are central in the efforts towards reintegration, protection and prevention of future separation. "Orphanages and children's homes take the responsibility for orphan care away from the wider community, thereby reducing the amount of community participation and ownership, and sending a message that poor communities are not capable of caring for orphans" (Greenfield 326). Organizations such as Child's i Foundation, Hope and Homes for Children, Agape Children's Ministry and Stahili Foundation have been effective in using their organizational models to promote interventions in East Africa that respond to the

needs of children and their families to remain or be reintegrated into the community. The community deinstitutionalization response is both preventative and restorative. This response doesn't discredit that abuse and exploitation can and does also happen in communities as well, but rather that the institutionalization of children has been shown to increase their risk of abuse and exploitation, not reduce it as is commonly purported.

D. Micro Response Description and Evaluation

As has become abundantly clear to this point, placing children in residential care facilities is not a proper response to childhood adversity. On the contrary, placing a child in an orphanage generally puts the child at greater risk of trauma; it is not effective at mitigating risks. Hence, I don't consider most residential care facilities to be a response, but rather a problem that must be addressed. While the whole continuum of care is necessary, the unnecessary overuse of long term orphanages tend to do more harm than good. Having said that, there are instances where small group homes could be utilized. Another exception is effective short term interventions that help a child's path to permanency in a family setting. Agape Children's Ministry in southeast Kenya is an example of a short term rehabilitation facility that helps children leave the streets, enter the facility for a short time and then reintegrate within their family. After a child has been reintegrated, effective programs maintain case management and follow up to support the child's long-term recovery.

Survivors of CSE need healthy relationships to heal. "When safe, family is the best place for children to thrive, and community is the best place for survivors to heal" (Velazco 301). The very places that these children were removed from are most often the places that they need to return and to heal from trauma, regardless of the families' socio-economic status. "Across the world, even the poorest families and communities have demonstrated a remarkable capacity to

become places of healing and care for local children who have been abused or exploited" (Benham and Forbes 314). In 2017, when Gregory Dow's orphanage abruptly closed down, the children eagerly fled back into their families of origin, but sadly there was little to no professional help to aid those children in their reintegration. One of Simon Harris' victims was already living on the street when he suffered the exploitation and might have had no relationship to turn to as he allegedly took his own life (Morris).

Working at the family level is also essential in prevention efforts that keep children out of orphanages altogether. "Where parents are merely poor and, quite admirably but mistakenly, seeking a better life for their children in residential care, every effort should be made to work closely with these parents in order to help them raise their standard of living and reach a level where they are able to provide for their children's needs" (Greenfield 328). Such efforts can include social enterprise that gives parents an opportunity to generate income for the household, case management that ensures the children have access to education and other social services or advocating for more equitable systems at the national and local level.

IV. GAP ANALYSIS & RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVED RESPONSE

A. Gap Analysis

The various levels of response that were discussed in the previous section share a common theme throughout. Efforts at responding to CSE within the child welfare sector have been piecemeal throughout East Africa and the various regions and communities therein. From central governments not enforcing their own laws, to NGOs that implement programs of varying quality and efficacy, to the individual child that is trafficked or takes to the streets, there is very little coordination or consistency. Even western practitioners and voluntourists from a shared Christian background fail to agree on a theological framework that leads to a common Christian

praxis. With so many gaps that could be addressed to improve response, a significant one is found within the macro level that has the potential to shift the entire system. Addressing this gap leverages the resources of the developed countries and will prevent sex offenders and child sex tourists from gaining access to children.

From the cases that were shared which are indicative of SECTT, there was a common thread that background checks were not done and convicted sex offenders were allowed access to vulnerable children. Background checks as a standard practice for engaging with children in western countries are completely bypassed when allowing voluntourists to directly engage very vulnerable children in East Africa. As a 21 year old young man, I worked at a school and volunteered for children's ministry at my church. Both times, I was background checked. The following summer I did a short term missions trip with my Christian university to Tanzania where I engaged without supervision at multiple orphanages and was never required to undergo a background check. Even when I was eventually hired to work full-time at an orphanage, no background check was conducted. My process was essentially the same as Matthew Lane Durham's process, the young man in his early twenties who did a short term mission at an East African orphanage and was convicted of seven CSA charges.

If these gaps continue to go unaddressed, orphans and vulnerable children in East Africa, as well as other places in the world, will continue to be preyed upon by sexual predators that go visit under false (or in some cases, explicit) pretense. With all other considerations, we must address the heart of the matter. "Even if this phenomenon is as widespread and established as it is, the discussion should be taken as far back as to the fact that there are adults who require accessibility of children for their own personal use" (Ljungblom 36) and we must end that accessibility.

B. Recommendations

My recommendations for addressing this gap rely on the legal capacity and resources of the developed countries where people are traveling from. Because implementation and law enforcement in many majority world countries is porous at best and outright corrupt at worst, generally speaking, their apparatuses for child protection are insufficient to address this gap. My first recommendation is that all individuals that have been convicted sex offenders are grounded in their country of origin and not able to fly elsewhere. Second, any traveler that intends to engage children overseas or is traveling to a place where SECTT is known to be prominent must pass a background check before leaving their country of origin. Because many orphanages or trafficking rings operate outside of legal bounds, we must inhibit child sex tourists before they arrive in the country and counteract the supply of children to them. "The 'open door policy' of some orphanages has further contributed to children's vulnerability to child sex offenders, with tourists able to visit as they please and remove children for excursions. Unsupervised access allows exploitation by preferential offenders, but also creates opportunities for situational child sexual exploitation" (Lyneham and Facchini 5). This approach is building off the recent policies that passed through Australian parliament.

By permanently grounding individuals that are registered sex offenders, we can stop predators like Harris and Dow before they even arrive in Kenya. Others might argue that this is an unjust consequence for people that have, in many cases, been rehabilitated. While I am a firm believer in God's grace and for people to become restored, this doesn't negate that some decisions (especially crimes) have permanent consequences. Sex offenders, under Megan's Law, are required to register their residence when living in America, why not extend that type of practice to overseas travel. Ultimately, the children's rights to not be sexually preyed upon by

foreign perpetrators outweighs the rights for rehabilitated sex offenders to enjoy an overseas vacation.

The second recommendation that utilizes the legal apparatus of countries like the US is for all people that intend to engage children overseas to have a background check first. Also for any individual that is traveling to areas that are rife with SECTT, they too must undergo a background check. Again, this is standard practice in our own communities and it ought to be extended to include engaging children abroad. While this wouldn't require all travelers heading anywhere to undergo background checks, it would put pressure on larger organizations that encourage or facilitate orphanage tourism to rethink and increase their financial overhead before traveling. Churches, Christian universities, travel agencies, gap year programs and corporate excursions would all be forced to undergo background checks. That requirement alone would turn away some individuals and some organizations from pursuing those activities altogether. For those that decide to go to orphanages without getting background checked, they would do so at their own peril. Personally, I prefer to shut down orphanage tourism and the related SECTT therein altogether, but this would be a step in the right direction to stem that demand.

As has been discussed throughout this paper, there are many gaps in child protection that has resulted in the sexual abuse and exploitation of children in East African orphanages. While these recommendations do not address every component of the system at hand, they place the onus back on to those that have the emotional demand and the monetary power that is driving orphanage tourism. Without addressing demand, we would only see a perpetual line of children entering orphanages, becoming separated from families and suffering abuse.

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