Representing Sexual Transactions in Times of the ´Cuban Thaw´

The Legitimisation of Sexuality Regulation in Cuba´s Anti-Trafficking and HIV Prevention Strategies

A Research Paper presented by:

Maria Wagner

(Germany)

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

Human Rights, Gender and Conflict Studies:

Social Justice Perspectives (SJP)

Specialization:

Women and Gender Studies

Members of the Examining Committee:

Silke Heumann

Rosalba Icaza

The Hague, The Netherlands

November 2017

Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

Inquiries:

Postal address:

Institute of Social Studies
P.O. Box 29776
2502 LT The Hague
The Netherlands

Location:

Kortenaerkade 12
2518 AX The Hague
The Netherlands

Telephone: +31 70 426 0460
Fax: +31 70 426 0799

Contents

List of Tables *iv*
List of Figures *iv*
List of Appendices *iv*
List of Acronyms *v*
Acknowledgements *vi*
Abstract *vii*

Chapter 1 | Introduction **1**

Chapter 2 | Context **4**
1. Hardships in Revolutionary Cuba 5
2. ´Inventar´: Making Ends Meet 5
3. Framing and Policing Transactional Sex After 1959 6
4. Framing Transactional Sex After the Special Period 7

Chapter 3 | Theoretical Considerations **12**
1. Sex Positivity 12
2. Sexual and Gender Justice 13
3. Intersectional Feminism 14
4. The State: Policing Sexuality on the ´Other Side of the Line´ 15

Chapter 4 | Methodological Considerations **17**
1. Restrictions on Doing Social Science Fieldwork in Cuba 17
2. Understanding ´Transactional Sex´ 17
3. Critical Discourse Studies 18

Chapter 5 | The Representation of Transactional Sex **22**
1. Anti-Trafficking Approach 22
2. HIV-Prevention Approach 30

Chapter 6 | Conclusion **38**
1. Summary 38
2. Adverse Consequences for Social, Sexual and Gender Justice 39
3. Contributions of this Research 39
4. Final Remarks 40

Chapter 7 | References **41**

Appendix **52**

List of Tables

Table 1: Mentions of Most Relevant Terms Related to the Sexual-Affective Economy in Selected Written Media Available Online (as of 24 October 2017, own elaboration. 9

Table 2: Compilation of Questions and Strategies Guiding the Analysis. 53

Table 3: Codes Used for Initial Exploration of the Documents. 58

Table 4: Absolute (and Relative) Co-Occurrences of the Codes related to Children, Femaleness, and Maleness. 589

List of Figures

Figure 1: Announcement of the International Human Rights Day on 10 December 28

Figure 2: Examples of the Exceptionality of PPTS in Comparison to the Rest of the Population 31

Figure 3: Structure of the Cuban Population from 12 to 49 Years, by Studied Populational Groups 32

Figure 4: Visual Distinction Between the General Population (Población General), MSM (HSH), and PPTS (PPST) 33

Figure 5: Schematic Outline of the *Trafficking Strategy* 54

Figure 6: Schematic Outline of the *Trafficking Report* 55

Figure 7: Schematic Outline of the *HIV Strategy* 57

Figure 8: Schematic Outline of the *HIV Survey* 58

List of Appendices

A Guiding Questions 52
B Description of the Documents 53
C Codes 58
D Co-Occurrences 59

List of Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ART	Antiretroviral Treatment
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CENESEX	Centro Nacional de Educación Sexual (National Center for Sex Education)
CEPDE	Centro de Estudios de Población y Desarrollo (Population and Development Studies Centre)
CNP	Centro Nacional de Prevención ITS/VIH/SIDA (National Centre for STI/HIV/AIDS Prevention)
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
FMC	Federación de Mujeres Cubanas (Federation of Cuban Women)
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ISS	Institute of Social Studies
MINJUS	Ministerio de Justicia (Ministry of Justice)
MINREX	Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores (Ministry of Foreign Relations)
MINSAP	Ministerio de Salud Pública (Minsitry of Public Health)
MSM	Men who have Sex with Men
OAS	Organization of American States
PLWHA	People Living with HIV/AIDS
PNUD	Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (United Nations Development Programme)
PPST	Personas que Practican el Sexo Transaccional (Persons that Practice Transactional Sex)
PPTS	Persons Practicing Transactional Sex
RedTraSex	Red de Mujeres Trabajadoras Sexuales de Latinoamérica y el Caribe (Network of Women Sex Workers of Latin America and the Caribbean)
STIs	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
The Global Fund	The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
WHO	World Health Organization

Acknowledgements

Ante todo, quiero agradecerles a lxs Cubanxs que me permitieron ser parte de sus familias, barrios y vidas durante éste verano. En particular, hay que mencionar a P., quién me ofreció los folletos de prevención e información sobre ITS en hombres que tienen sexo con hombres y personas trans, que terminaron destruyendo mi noción prefijada de las ´políticas de prostitución´ cubanas, abriendo paso para ésta investigación. Sin ustedes, le faltaría ´el alma´ a éste trabajo.

I want to thank my supervisor, Silke Heumann, for your encouragement, trust, your insistence in pushing me to challenge my assumptions, and for giving me the independence to find out what I wanted this research to become. I appreciate the valuable comments by my second reader, Rosalba Icaza, and the critical reflections by Dubravka Žarkov during my Design and Draft Seminar. I am grateful for this opportunity to be surrounded by and learn from such brilliant and dedicated feminists.

I thank Antonio Carmona Báez for sharing his experience of working with Mariela Castro Espín, the leader of the Cuban National Centre for Sex Education, and for our fruitful exchanges on post-Special Period sexism and racism in Cuba. I also appreciate the valuable remarks that Amalia Cabezas, Emily Kirk, Megan Daigle, Abel Sierra Madero, and Valerio Simoni have made via Email.

I thank the Oxfam Novib Gender Justice Team for your support in allowing me to focus on this research during the critical phase.

Finally, I want to thank my friends and family for your support during these intense 15 months, for your critical comments, survival kits, and nights out dancing the stress away.

Abstract

In its resistance to colonial/imperial injustices, the Cuban revolutionary government has appropriated the fight for gender and sexual justice, and ´opened up´ towards feminist concerns, such as gender equality and respect for diverse sexual orientations. Yet, the states´ ´prostitution politics´ continue to police – often violently – gendered, sexualised, and racialised bodies under the disguise of ´saving´ the ´victims´ from ´trafficking´ – whether the persons involved see themselves as such or not. From a sex-positive, intersectional feminist, and post-structuralist understanding of gender, sexuality, and the state, this research juxtaposes the dominant ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ discourse with the seemingly incompatible, and ´invisibilised´ public health discourse on ´transactional sex´. Following principles of Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis, I map these discourses by investigating what ´the problem´ with sexual transactions is represented to be in Cuba´s contemporary anti-trafficking and HIV-prevention strategies, which policy ´solutions´ are suggested, and which discursive, subjectification, and lived effects follow from these representations. This research allows me to shed light on how the Cuban government navigates contradicting revolutionary discourses and portrays itself as a legitimate regulator of sexuality before the international community.

Relevance to Development Studies

This Research Paper contributes to the body of critical feminist engagement with development studies. It adds to the social justice perspective on sexuality – a contested field in development that is often only addressed as ´instrumental´ rather than as a goal in itself. This neglects not only pleasure as an integral part of human experience, but also the violent workings of state regulation and criminalisation of gendered, sexualised, and racialised subjects.

Keywords

Prostitution, Sex Work, Jineterismo, Transactional Sex, Trafficking, HIV, AIDS, Gender, Sexuality, Race, Cuba, State, Sex-Positivity, Feminism, Intersectionality

Chapter 1 | Introduction

"We used to talk about development with a human face. We should be talking about development with a body."

(Arit Oku-Egbas, as cited in Cornwall and Jolly 2006:10)

Sexuality matters. It is "an integral part of human experience, a source of joy and pleasure as well as suffering and pain" (Cornwall and Jolly 2006:1). Yet, aspects of sexuality that exceed the sphere of reproduction and freedom from rape continue to be treated as a luxury issue, perceived only relevant for ´sexual minorities´, and that can wait to be addressed once the ´real´ problems have been solved. Such an understanding of sexuality obscures not only its pleasurable aspects, but also the violent everyday workings of (often eurocentric) understandings of ´acceptable´ forms of consensual sexuality, which continue to dominate sex norms in much of ´the West´ and ´the Rest´.[1] In particular, the criminalisation and regulation of sexual transactions[2] continues to elicit major debate in international fora (Ahmed 2011, Doezema 2010) and national policies (Scoular 2010), with severe material consequences for the lives of those who engage in sex work or informal sexual exchanges (RedTraSex 2016).

Neo-abolitionist feminists´ continue to hold that ´demand´ for sexual services should be eliminated, as - "*regardless* of any force of deception" (Doezema 2010:28, emphasis added) - "prostitution" is understood as "always exploitative" (Ahmed 2011:228). In contrast, sex-positive feminists respect the self-determination and agency of adults to decide to engage in sexual transactions (Wijers and Lin, as cited in Doezema 2010:28) and highlight the relevance of the presence of "force or deception" as "necessary condition in the definition of trafficking", arguing that trafficking shall not be conflated with consented sexual services, "as men, women and children are trafficked for a large *variety* of services, including sweatshop labour and agriculture." (Doezema 2010:28, emphasis added) Sex worker movements and health authorities have – after all, successfully – called upon UN bodies and international human rights organisations to recognise the "decriminalisation of consensual commercial sex by adults as a ´human rights issue´ and a harm-reduction strategy meant to protect sex workers from violence and abuse", aiming to "destigmatiz[e] sex workers and affording them the status of political subjects with social rights, including access to health care, police protection and other social services." (Amnesty International, as cited in Walkowitz 2016:188)

Despite these global-level policy recommendations, the United States continues to criminalise commercial sexual exchanges (except for Nevada, Baskin et al. 2015:358f), and the current trend in European countries is to once

[1] Even though I don´t agree with this terminology that ends up "distinguish[ing] between the ´haves´ and the ´have-nots´ (Mohanty 2003:226), I refer to ´the West´ and ´the Rest´ as the persistent construction of *a* ´modern´ society juxtaposed to societies that are constructed as "under-developed", "non-industrialized", and "undesirable" (Hall 1992:277).

[2] My use of the concept of ´transactional sex´ is explained in Chapter 2, Section 4.4, p.12. In short, it is an umbrella term for all sexual transactions from explicit sex work to exchanges of presents and support within romantic relationships.

again increase control and criminalisation of sexual transactions through regulation (e.g. Netherlands, Scoular 2010:16) or the so-called *Nordic model* of penalising the ´client´ "as a means to attack male demand and diminish the trade" (e.g. Sweden, Walkowitz 2016:188f), which sex positive feminists and sex worker movements have criticised as "an easy target for governments that do not want to address poverty, migrants´ exploitation, and gendered economic inequalities" (Schaffauser 2015).

Countering Capitalist Continuities: The Cuban Case

With the revolution in 1959, the Cuban government has promised to eradicate such inequalities. Over the course of the years, the leadership recognised the need to add sexual and gender justice to the revolutionary agenda (Castro and Borge 1992:118,126), along with the right to health, education, equality, and freedom from exploitation (Castro 1962, Partido Comunista de Cuba 2016). Today, the country counts with an influential lobby for the recognition of sexual rights as human rights, led by Mariela Castro Espín, daughter of the still-president, Raúl Castro. "[T]he term 'sexual self-determination' (*autodeterminación sexual*)" has become to be "associated with the process of emancipation that is linked to the construction of socialist society" (Carmona Báez and Soto-Lafontaine 2015:776). A representative of the Cuban National Centre for Sexual Education (CENESEX) even proudly proclaimed "sexual liberty as one of the greatest achievements of the Revolution" (as cited in Daigle 2015:154).

Challenging the leadership´s claim to be in a "privileged position" (MINJUS 2017:646) to make social, gender and sexual justice a reality (Castro and Borge 1992:118,126), scholars and international observers have criticised the gendered and racialised nature of Cuban ´prostitution politics´ (Cabezas 2009, CEDAW 2013, Daigle 2015, ECOSOC 2000). The conflation of ´prostitution´ with ´trafficking´ (Giammarinaro 2017) and the *de facto* criminalisation of sexual transactions pushes those involved to the underground, which puts the most marginalised at higher risk of violence, exploitation, and insufficient health care (RedTraSex 2016:4), and reproduces the very unjust power relations that the revolution set out to eradicate. Yet, a seemingly incompatible policy on sexual transactions in Cuba has been left unexamined: a public health approach to ´transactional sex´, which, as Mariela Castro Espín states, "is invisibilised." (as cited in María Ramírez 2011)

Using principles of feminist critical discourse analysis, I will *map* the representation of sexual transactions in the dominant anti-trafficking and the hidden HIV-prevention policies to identify

- the ´Diagnosis´ of the ´problem´,
- the ´Prognosis´ for ´necessary´ action, and
- the discursive, subjectification, and lived effects of these problematisations and policy ´solutions´

in order to *outline* how the Cuban government navigates the contradictions of the revolutionary discourses on freedom from exploitation and health, and how the state is constructed as a legitimate regulator of sexuality.

Note that, although I engage critically with Cuban policies, I share Margaret Randall´s notion that "criticism must come from a desire to make the revolution work, not from an effort to destroy it." (1992:137) I disagree with the paternalist

and authoritative approach to Cuban socialism, but I *do* feel committed to the government´s stated goals: social justice, equality, and solidarity.

Organisation of the Paper

The paper opens with an introduction to the context in which contemporary Cuban sexuality politics are located, followed by an overview of the policing of transactional sex in revolutionary Cuba, as well as an outline of the dominant understandings of the Cuban sexual-affective economy. Chapter 3 describes the rationale for adopting a sex-positive, intersectional feminist framework that aims to merge the struggle for sexual and gender justice, as well as a post-structuralist understanding of power, knowledge production and the state. In line, Chapter 4 presents the methodological considerations behind the decision to analyse policy-as-discourse following principles of a Critical Feminist Discourse Analysis. Chapter 5 presents the analysis of the ´problematisation´ of sexual-affective encounters in the Cuban anti-trafficking and HIV-prevention efforts, the proposed ´solutions´, and the discursive, subjectification, and lived effects of these representations. Chapter 6 entails a summary of the findings, contributions of the paper, and concluding remarks.

Chapter 2 | Context

After overthrowing the Batista dictatorship in 1959, the 26th July Movement led by Fidel Castro promised that with Cuban socialism, "no sector of the people would be forgotten" (1959). Ever since, Cuba´s policies have had a strong emphasis on ending capitalism´s "exploitation of the people by people" (Castro 1962, own translation), and instead promoting "social justice, equality, and solidarity" (Mariela Castro Espín, as cited in Haydulina 2010:270).

Cuba´s commitment to socialism, as well as the "institutionalization […] at the state level" of a de-colonial critique of "European, specifically Spanish-Catholic" norms about "racialized" gender and sexual norms (Carmona Báez and Soto-Lafontaine 2015:776) makes Cuba´s official commitment to gender and sexual justice seem more promising than that of most other countries today, as in much of de-colonial leftist thought, restrictive gender and sexuality norms are understood as not only linked to, "constitutive" of "colonial/modern Eurocentered *capitalism*" (Lugones 2016, emphasis added).

Whereas the legacy of the so-called ´New Latin American Left´ has shown that becoming more "red" does not *automatically* imply willingness to challenge "gender relations and the construction of sexuality" (Friedman 2006:16, see also Heumann 2014), the Cuban government´s political commitment to decolonise prevailing patriarchal *machista* and *sexista* norms (Carmona Báez and Soto-Lafontaine 2015) has indeed led to progress in terms of feminist concerns, such as the 1965 reversal of early revolutionary restrictions on safe abortions (Benítez Pérez 2014:94), or the turnaround from persecuting ´suspected´ homosexuals to celebrating sexual and gender diversity (Kirk 2015).

But the genuineness of the Cuban government´s efforts to overthrow oppressive gender and sexuality norms has been put into question. For instance, while Cuba has the third highest percentage of females in parliament (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2017), "women continue to be largely excluded from the most important decision-making bodies" – i.e. in the higher ranks of the Communist Party (Luciak 2005:261). Also, despite the condemnation of discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation, the Cuban delegation voted to *remove* the explicit reference to sexual orientation in the 2010 UN vote against extrajudicial or arbitrary executions (Stout 2011). Further, the efforts towards ´sexual liberation´ do not take place in a geopolitical vacuum – rather, they are embedded in a highly competitive geopolitical context where sexual rights have become to be considered "a diagnostic of the degree to which a government has embraced modern values" (Stout 2011:5).

With the reversal of the "Cuban Thaw" by U.S. President Donald Trump, and the current instability in Venezuela – one of Cuba´s strongest contemporary allies providing the biggest share of Cuban oil consumption under favourable trade terms (Gonzalez 2016), Cuba is under pressure to prove its rights record to foster new partnerships, e.g. with the European Union (Council of the European Union 1996, 2016). Further, Fidel Castro´s death in November 2016, together with Raúl Castro´s announced withdrawal in the 2017-2018 ´elections´ give rise to speculations about the (socialist) future of the country (Gámez Torres & Whitefield 2017; Campos 2016). Given Cuba´s volatile phase of transition and the importance of proving commitment to sexual and human rights

for international recognition and cooperation, Margaret Randall´s 1992 assessment remains valid: "whether or not the [Cuban socialist] experiment will continue to live and grow" depends on the revolutionary leadership´s "ability to develop a truly autonomous feminist agenda." (153)

1. Hardships in Revolutionary Cuba

Ever since the Cuban revolutionaries´ rupture with U.S.-backed dictator Batista in 1959, Cuba and the U.S. are in an "ongoing competition over which national government can claim to be a leading defender of ´human rights´" (Stout 2011). The Cuban government accuses the U.S. "blockade" of being an "obstacle" to the "advancement" of sexual and human rights on the island (León González 2014).

Indeed, when the U.S. established the trade embargo in 1960, Cuba found itself in a position of dependence on its major trading partner, the Soviet Union. Consequently, the fall of the Soviet Union between 1989 and 1991 provoked a major economic crisis in Cuba. During the so-called *Special Period in Time of Peace*, economic reforms were implemented to make up for the loss of the favourable trade and aid conditions with the Soviet Union (Henken 2008:187). These included the legalisation of increased foreign investment, the use of the U.S. dollar, and self-employment (Henken 2008:169), thus setting the ground for making tourism "the island´s number one ´export´" (Henken 2008:165). While the number of foreign visitors is ever increasing (Cubadebate 2016), the reforms within the *Actualisation of the Cuban social and economic model* have done little to improve the economic hardship for Cubans residing on the island (Global Policy Forum 2003). Despite the increase in the monthly average wage to USD28, increasing prices (Cubadebate 2017) and the reduction in quality and quantity of subsidised foodstuff (personal communications with Cubans living in different Cuban cities, 2017) make additional purchases necessary.

2. ´Inventar´: Making Ends Meet

To make ends meet in contemporary Cuba, some supplement their government salaries with remittances from relatives abroad, while others thrive from the salaries and tips as in the lucrative tourism sector. However, the access to both remittances from abroad and the tourist sector is mediated by race (Clealand 2013:1622, Saunders 2010:10). Thus, especially Mulatxs[3] and Blacks, who make up 35.8% of the population (CEPDE 2015:30), need to resort to informal income-generating activities (´inventar´, ´resolver´, ´conseguir´). While some work as ´cuentapropistas´ under the self-employment scheme (e.g. renting out *casas particulares*, providing transport in *bicitaxis* or American cars, or running restaurants - *paladares*), other informal ´businesses´ (´negocios´) I encountered in Cuba included the sale of cosmetic products and services, downloaded videos, or

[3] Gender-inclusive language is used where applicable: The presumably ´generic´ male ´o´ in Spanish word endings is replaced by an ´x´ to reflect that this ´variable´ can assume any ´value´ in between or outside of binary gender categorisations (Barrera Alvarado and Ortiz Ramírez n.d.). Accordingly, the underscore character is used for personal (s_he) and possessive (his_her) pronouns.

clothes bought in Panama. Yet others engage in sexual-affective encounters; often with tourists. While all of the informal ´businesses´ circumvent the official state structures and are not tolerated, those ´businesses´ including sexual transactions have historically attracted particular concern from the government.[4]

3. Framing and Policing Transactional Sex After 1959

Until 1959, Cuba was considered the *Las Vegas of the Caribbean* – "a playground" managed by the US mafia "for the rich and famous while the majority of ordinary Cubans lived in extreme poverty." (Alexander Guzman 2015) One of the first actions by the revolutionary leadership was to close down the islands´ brothels, and to send the ´prostitutes´, who were considered "victims of capitalism" (Hynson 2015:134,137) to rehabilitation´ camps, in which they were – often involuntarily – trained to become "disciplined, productive, and gendered citizens" (Hynson 2015:141), following "white, middle-class ideals" (Hynson 2015:142) of women´s traditional role as nurturers and caretakers (Hynson 2015:141,142,144).

However, from the early 1960s on, "[i]n an atmosphere in which good citizenship was defined by productive labor, the ´prostitute´, together with ´the homosexual´, symbolized non-productive work and American decadence" (Hamilton 2012:33). ´Prostitutes´ were no longer portrayed only as innocent victims of capitalism who "remained prostitutes exclusively because of economic hardship and exploitation" (Hynson 2015:147), but as greedy counterrevolutionaries (Hynson 2015:146), as reflected in the criminalisation of ´prostitution´ in 1961 (Hamilton 2012:27), the crackdown on pederasts, ´prostitutes´, and pimps on 11 October 1962 (*noche de las tres pes: pederastas, prostitutas y proxenetas*, Marques de Armas 2014:171), and the conversion of one of the biggest rehabilitation camps for ´prostitutes´ into a female prison (Hynson 2015:150). Those "who rejected reeducation" and instead continued to engage in transactional sex after the end of the campaign to rehabilitate Cuban ´prostitutes´ in 1965, "were in effect [seen as] repudiating the revolution and its opportunities" (Hynson 2015:150), and thus, were no longer seen as ´victims´, but ´unvoluntary dissidents´ (Guerra 2014). In 1977, Fidel Castro proclaimed that the ´problem´ of the 100.000 ´prostitutes´ in pre-revolutionary Cuba had been ´resolved´ (Castro 1977), leading to the removal of commercial sex from the 1979 Penal Code. However, through the remaining Dangerousness Law (*Ley de Peligrosidad*), after which persons practising transactional sex (PPTS) can be detained in ´rehabilitation´ centres for up to four years (Código Penal 1979), the remaining individual ´prostitutes´ were portrayed as ´dangerous´ (Hynson 2015:152).

Although the practice of transactional sex had never completely disappeared, it captured the government´s attention once again during the *Special Period* with the rise of tourist-related sexual transactions, which were portrayed "as immoral, unhealthy, and discriminatory against women" (Hamilton 2012:47), while continuing to morally condemn those engaging in transactional sex. At the

[4] E.g. Antonio Carmona Báez recalling the Communist Party´s reaction to his inclusion of ´sex workers´ in a 1990s study about informal work: "You can´t do this!" (Personal Interviews on sexual self-determination and the decolonial epistemological turn in Cuba, The Hague, 12 and 18 September 2017).

same time, the Cuban government downplayed the extent of the increasing tourism-related sex ´industry´ to prevent "prostitution" and "other reprehensible activities" from "damag[ing] the image of our society" (*Juventud Rebelde* in Trumbull 2001:363). From the *Special Period* on, PPTS found themselves in a legal limbo between *de facto* criminalisation and tolerance, often subject to arbitrary treatment by police forces: During the *Operación Lacra* (´Operation Scourge´) in 1998, the police cracked down, arrested, and incarcerated those suspected to engage in transactional sex, "based on their age, gender, perceived racial categorization, style of dress, and presence in heavily touristed zones of country" (Daigle 2013:64). However, in a context where the government salary was only half of the subsistence level and "60% of the population" had "to find illegal means to make dollars" (Trumbull 2001:366), "even the police" would "often turn a blind eye if the illegal activity is not disruptive or too lucrative" (Trumbull, as cited in Trumbull 2001:368) – or blackmail the *jineteras* by refraining from reporting them in exchange for sex (Hodge 2005).

Despite criticism by the UN *Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women*, who expressed "difficulties with the concept of a judicial sentence for an activity [selling sexual services] which is not a crime under national law" and with "the arbitrariness of leaving a sentence open until it is considered that the person no longer poses a social threat" (ECOSOC 2000:14), "pre-delinquent security measures (therapy, rehabilitation or supervision)" continue to be imposed "[i]f these individuals persist with such activities" (Republic of Cuba 2013:12). Even though recently, Mariela Castro Espín acknowledged "every person´s autonomy over their bodies as a right" (del Sol Reyes 2012), and that "it is not that those who prostitute themselves are bad persons" (Luis Baños 2017), Cuba´s 2013 Replies to the CEDAW reveal that ´prostitution´ keeps being portrayed as a "reprehensible vice" and "a form of exploitation of and violence against women" (Republic of Cuba 2013:12). Thus, although Cuban government officials nowadays acknowledge the existence of transactional sex and sex tourism on the island, they continue to frame ´prostitution´ in terms of both criminality and victimisation, as exemplified by the grouping of the issues in the international conference on gender violence, human trafficking, prostitution, and sex tourism held in Havana in January 2017 (Poey Sánchez 2017). The structural violence behind Cuba´s gendered, racialised, and sexualised history of ´prostitution politics´ has received extensive attention by domestic and foreign scholars (e.g. Cabezas 2009, Daigle 2015, Guerra 2014, Hodge 2001, Sierra Madero 2013). Earlier this year, the *Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children* criticised the conflation between sexual exploitation and trafficking in the Cuban Penal Code (Giammarinaro 2017).

4. Framing Transactional Sex After the Special Period

Despite the extensive coverage of sexual-affective encounters in Cuba, reliable data on the characteristics and the scope of transactional sex in Cuba are rare. While the ´controversy´ of the topic (E. Kirk, personal communication, 29 August 2017), the restrictions on academic and press freedom on the island (Human Rights Watch 2017) and limited research options for foreigners (Roschelle et al. 2010) certainly play a role, one of the major constraints to a comprehensive understanding of Cuba´s sexual-affective economy is the blurriness and collusion of different terminology used to describe persons in the sexual-affective

economy. While the conceptual confusion, again, is not specific to the Cuban context, it is particularly relevant as different accounts clash in their assessment of ´the reality´ of the Cuban sexual-affective economy, coming to very different conclusions about policy implications.[5]

1. Academia: ´Jineterismo´

With the rise of the tourist-related sexual-affective economy since the 1990s, local and foreign scholars have increasingly used the local term ´j*ineterismo´* – a term to "re-signify different survival strategies by nationals that aim at obtaining something, money, things, privileges from tourists, in exchange for a heterogeneity of services, including sexual.´ (Alcázar Campos 2010:312, own translation) The term is highly gendered and racialised. While female *jineterismo* is usually understood to be linked to sexual exchanges, male *jineteros* (´hustlers´) can act as everything from "tourists´ guides, escorts, brokers of sexual services, and romantic companions." (Cabezas 2004:993)

While CENESEX officials acknowledge that males also engage in transactional sex with tourists, "no one seemed to think it required action" – "Promiscuity and perceived low morality become problems when *women* do them." (Daigle 2015:172f) While in Cuba, as in many other contexts, "women who have sex outside of monogamous, procreative relationships are often condemned as bad sexual subjects" (Hubbard 2001:57), Cuban male sexuality is "constructed as insatiable and voracious" (Daigle 2015:30), making "male promiscuity […] widely tolerated, or even celebrated, as the natural outcome of male sexual urges." (Hubbard 2001:57).

Fidel Castro´s statement that a "pair of high heels, a luxurious little shoe, a seductive perfume, a new dress cannot be the price of honor and the sustenance of a nation" (1999) illustrates the role of nationalism in the regulation of *jineterismo*. Cuban females engaging in sexual transactions with male foreigners have become to be "seen to represent the incursion of capitalism" (Cabezas 2004:1008). In contrast, males in the sexual-affective economy "are perceived as a powerful extension of Cuban national identity, vanishing the foreign intruder" (Cabezas 2004:1008): "pingueros [male *jineteros* engaging in transactional sex] attract sex-tourism dollars to the state hotels and airline, and they multiply tourists´ discretionary dollars by spending them in state stores – all the while, symbolically conquering the bodies of the foreign invaders, like any good revolutionary Cuban man" (Hodge 2001:23).

Further, the term *jineterismo* also implies racialised assumptions (Cabezas 2004, 2009, Daigle 2015). The likely overrepresentation of non-Whites engaging with tourists because of lacking professional opportunities (Daigle 2015:60), for instance in the lucrative, but racially discriminatory tourist sector (Clealand 2013:1623,1626), in combination with clients´ (Trumbull 2001:361) and Cubans´ (Fairley 2006:486) exoticized conception and expectation of Black and *mulata* hypersexuality, White and non-White females are categorised differently for the very same behaviour: "[A] *mulata* from Santiago living in Havana, seen in the company of foreigners, is automatically categorized as a sex worker. But a pale-

[5] I am aware that I reproduce this confusion by citing references to ´prostitution´, ´sex work´, or *´jineterismo´*. Yet, I hope to contribute to a better understanding of different forms of sexual exchanges in the Cuban context by using the term ´transactional sex´ wherever possible (see section 4 in this Chapter).

skinned university student, who only dates foreigners […] is not considered a sex worker" (Cabezas 2004:1001).

2. The Dominant Official Discourse: ´Prostitution´

In her research about *jineterismo*, Megan Daigle approached a CENESEX representative and asked about the phenomenon of "[p]eople who are looking for love with partners who can make their lives easier, the same way one would expect to see in any country around the world" (Daigle 2015:154). The CENESEX representative sceptically frowned, answering: "And that´s not prostitution?" (Daigle 2015:154) As this rhetoric question illustrates, Cuban officials typically refer to those in the sexual-affective economy as ´prostitutes´ – despite their lack of self-identification as such (Cabezas 2009:8). This is reflected not only in official documents or speeches, but also in the main government-led media outlets, as well as in the magazines and journals of the FMC and CENESEX, as my exploratory inquiry into the most relevant information services revealed (

Table 1).

	ACN (National News Agency)	Granma (PCC)	Mujeres (FMC)	Sexología y Sociedad (CENESEX)
prostitu* (prostitución, prostitute, prostitutas)	48	74	7	11
Trabajo sexual	0	0	1	1
Sexo transaccional	0	1	2	3
Jineter* (jineterismo, jinetera, jineteras, jinetero, jineteros)	1	2	1	0

Table 1: Mentions of Most Relevant Terms Related to the Sexual-Affective Economy in Selected Written Media Available Online (as of 24 October 2017, own elaboration).

3. Health Authorities: ´Transactional Sex´

Even though Cuba´s main sexual policy maker, Mariela Castro, criticises the ´invisibilisation´ of Cuba´s health approach to transactional sex (María Ramírez 2011), even CENESEX´ very own journal *Sexología y Sociedad* (Sexology and Society) – directed by herself – features only three articles mentioning ´transactional sex´ (

Table 1) – a term that has emerged in the context of early HIV research (Savage and Tchombe 1994).

While in Cuba, the first documents on the prevention of STIs and HIV did not make any references to sexual exchanges – only to ´risk groups´ and ´risk behaviour´ (e.g. CNP 1996), a first reference was made to ´prostitution´ in the *National Strategic Plan for the Prevention of HIV-AIDS 2001-2006* (MINSAP 2001:24). Following the "conceptual communication principles in HIV/AIDS prevention", published by the National STI/HIV/AIDS Prevention Centre in 2005 that explicitly call to avoid moralistic references to ´promiscuity´, ´abnormal´ or ´improper´ conduct´ (CNP 2005), the subsequent *National Strategic Plan*

for the Prevention of HIV-AIDS for the period 2007-2011 made reference to ´transactional sex´ (MINSAP 2007:24). Nowadays, ´transactional sex´ has become the standard term for exchanges of "money, gifts, or other benefits" in sexual relations within the public health efforts to prevent STIs and HIV (Question 415, CEPDE 2015:n.p.), and the *National Strategic Plan for the Prevention of HIV-AIDS 2014-2018* recognises that the attention to persons practicing transactional sex (PPTS) had been "limited" (MINSAP 2013:45). The increased willingness to include PPTS as target group for HIV-prevention efforts is illustrated by the jump to 46 mentions of ´transactional sex´ and PPTSs in the latest *Strategy Plan*, as well as the explicit attention to ´transactional sex´ in prevention brochures (Alfonso Rodríguez and González Jiménez 2009:7, Rodríguez Lauzurique et al. 2009:15f), or the running of PPTS Facebook groups (e.g. *Prevención de ITS en personas que practican sexo transaccional*).

4. Transactional Sex: A New Understanding of Sexual Transactions

Acknowledging the working of power relations in *all* sexual relationships – be it by engaging in the sexual-affective industry or through "marrying into a household which also functions as an economic unit" (Cornwall and Jolly 2006:5) – problematises traditional notions of ´prostitution´ as "[m]ale sexual behaviour characterised by three elements variously combined: barter, promiscuity, emotional indifference." (McGrow 2017:45) Thus, I will adopt a definition of transactional sex as "a category which offers an emerging academic understanding of the wide-ranging conceptual space between explicit sex work and the material exchange of gifts and support which are part of love and romance." (McGrow 2017:109) Such a conceptualisation of transactional sex allows for flexibility "in order to capture the intricacy of sex as a physical embodied experience that is defined and shaped by larger social and cultural processes and is always simultaneously material and meaningful in complex ways." (Holmes and McRae-Williams, as cited in McGrow 2017:109) I

By acknowledging that people´s choice to engage in transactional sex as income-generating activity is, just as any other choice, "severely limited by their [dis]advantaged position within hierarchical structures of sex, race, and class´" (Chapkis, as cited in Doezema 2010:25), the concept does not deny that transactional sex *can* be a source of stress (just as the physical – and psychological – strains of lifting heavy weights in construction work, or posture damage from long-hour office work), but which does not exclude agency, consensus or pleasure (M. Mona, dominatrix and spokesperson for *Proud*, the Dutch Association by and for Sex Workers, at the Panel discussion on ´Sex workers´ struggles for rights and respect, International Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, 12 June 2017).

Apart from deconstructing ´the prostitute´ or ´the sex worker´ as fixed identities, referring to *persons* engaging in transactional sex is helpful in dissociating the persisting gender stereotypes and heteronormativity in policies, and even academia, in assuming that ´prostitutes´ or ´sex workers´ are ´women´ (female-born, heterosexual, and feminine-expressing) providing sexual services to ´men´ (male-born, heterosexual and masculine-expressing). Thus, the concept of transactional sex is useful in highlighting that persons of various gender identities and expressions – as well as sexual preferences – engage in transactional sex. Detaching transactional sex from prescribed gender categories is particularly important in languages with grammatical gender (i.e. in which nouns, adjectives,

and pronouns are adapted depending on the gender they refer to), in which the term for ´prostitution´ or ´sex work´ already implies that the persons involved are females. In Spanish, for instance, the term for ´prostitutes´ (grammatically including both females and males), *´prostitutas´*, ends with the female grammatical gender ending *-as*. Tellingly, a Google search for the Spanish term for female sex workers, *trabajadoras sexuales*, yields more than four times the results (401.000 hits) than the supposedly generic (thus referring to female, male, *and* other sex workers altogether) *trabajadores sexuales* (91.600).

Further, the concept acknowledges the specificities of the Cuban sexual-affective economy, such as the phenomenon´s embeddedness in the informal economy, and that sexual-affective transactions are only one of many manifestations of Cuban-tourist interactions. Further, although the ´real´ extent of the coercion by pimps and mediators is unknown, a 2000 examination concluded that transactional sex in Cuba is much less organised than elsewhere (ECOSOC 2000:13). As those in the sexual-affective economy are usually highly-educated, often multi-lingual professionals, or whom having sporadic "tactical sex" with tourist "alleviates the pain of economic hardship" (Cabezas 2009:120), they usually do not self-identify as sex workers, nor *jineterxs,* nut rather, as *luchadorxs* (´fighters´, Cabezas 2009:8). Importantly, supplementing one´s government salary with part-time or sporadic "economic transactions and gifts do not foreclose the chance to find solace, companionship, and friendship" (Cabezas 2009:120).

Chapter 3 | Theoretical Considerations

1. Sex Positivity

In Development practice, issues related to sexuality tend to be addressed "as instrumental – i.e. in service of other, more ´pressing´ development goals" (Budhiraja et al. 2010:133), instead of recognising a healthy and pleasurable sexuality as an end in itself – thus overlooking the bidirectional links between development and sexuality, and risking unintended social, physical, mental, and material consequences (Wagner 2017:13). Just as ´gender´ in development is not just about ´women´, but about the norms influencing *every body´*s gender performance, ´sexuality´ in development should consider the sexual stratification that regulates *every body´*s sexual performance, not just that of ´sexual minorities´.

In line with Kate Sheill (as cited in Cornwall and Jolly 2006:7), I understand sexual rights not only in terms of "'the negative, protectionist model' of human rights [and dominant development discourses] which focuses only on protection against violations", but also in the light of "positive rights including to 'individual choice, expression and pleasure'" (ibid.:8) as indispensable to aspiring for "equal opportunities, social relations, material security, and mental and physical health", and thus, ´development´ (Wagner 2017:14). Therefore, I will adopt a sex-positive, "queer, feminist framework that can offer more effective and liberating discourses and strategies for justice and equity" (Sharma, as cited in Cornwall and Jolly 2006:7).

Part of such a sex-positive approach is the recognition that individuals´ "right to control one´s own body – whether to protect its integrity or to enjoy its pleasures – is the most basic of all rights." (Cornwall and Jolly 2006:5) Understanding sexuality as "integral part of human experience," (Cornwall and Jolly 2006:5) does not negate the bidirectional links between development and sexuality – e.g. that "violations of the rights to sexual and reproductive health both cause and are caused by poverty" (Cornwall and Jolly 2006:3) – ignoring which would risk unintended social, physical, mental, and material consequences (Wagner 2017:13). However, going beyond the dominant, merely "instrumental" approach of addressing sexuality only "in service of other, more "pressing" development goals" (Budhiraja et al. 2010:133), I recognise the importance of ensuring *every body´*s right to a fulfilled sexuality as a goal *per se* (Cornwall and Jolly 2006). Further, detaching sexuality from its understanding "as a problem which needs to be contained" (Cornwall and Jolly 2006:1) allows to acknowledge that "selling sex" is not the only manifestation of sexuality as "an economic resource" (Cornwall and Jolly 2006:5). Rather, adopting a sexual rights framework recognises that "sex *always* takes place in existing power relationships" (Sullivan, as cited in Doezema 2010:26).

Therefore, rather than following the dominant traditions trying to prohibit, abolish, or regulate transactional sex (Doezema 2010), I follow sex worker labour unions in demanding the *full decriminalisation* of people engaging in transactional sex, their clients, and other people benefiting from the trade, e.g. those renting rooms for people engaging in transactional sex (Schaffauser 2015).

The *decriminalisation* approach stems from the insight that the traditional, "apparently contrasting legal approaches", such as criminalisation (*abolition*) or *regulation* "can produce similar results" in terms of the "marginalization of more public forms of sex work" (Scoular 2010:13), exposing those involved to "police repression, institutional violence, precarious working conditions, exploitation and obstacles to access basic health services, including HIV and AIDS treatment and care." (RedTraSex 2016) For instance, according to Thierry Schaffauser (sex worker and member of the French sex workers trade union at the Panel discussion on ´Sex workers´ struggles for rights and respect, International Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, 12 June 2017), the popular *neo-abolitionist* ´Nordic model´ of ´penalising the client´ ends up reducing sex workers´ bargaining power, as it reduces the client base they can choose from. Thus, he says, the ´good clients´ stop to come, making sex workers more vulnerable to the very exploitation the regulationist approach seeks to reduce. In contrast, the *full decriminalisation* of everyone involved in transactional sex allows those persons whose sexual services *are* exploited to report abuse without fearing repercussions themselves (consensus among sex workers and sex work associations´ representatives at the Panel discussion on ´Sex workers´ struggles for rights and respect, International Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, 12 June 2017).

2. Sexual and Gender Justice

Recalling that power relationships are involved in *all* sexual contacts, treating sexuality as an issue that is only relevant for ´sexual minorities´ – such as sex workers/PPTS or the LGBT community – does not only obscure the commonalities between their struggles, but also obstructs the radical transformation of underlying power relations. Challenging the structural violence of policing non-accepted expressions of sexuality would not only benefit the most marginalised, but would liberate *every body* from the pressure of having to live up to fixed, heteronormative, and moral-/religious-inspired gender and sexuality norms.

Gayle Rubin, in her *Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality*, provides a comprehensive framework on the policing of sexuality along both gendered *and* sexualised hierarchies (1984). Criticising common theorising and practice, she argues that "it is essential to separate gender and sexuality analytically to reflect more accurately their separate social existence" (1999:170). She states that although gender "affects the operation of the sexual system, and the sexual system has had gendered manifestations […], they are not the same thing, and they form the basis of two distinct arenas of social practice" (Rubin 1984:308), and thus, two distinct sources of oppression and privilege.

According to Gayle Rubin, "[s]ex is presumed guilty until proven innocent", and that acceptable sexuality is "restrain[ed] to ´sex acts on the good side of the line´", e.g. within the context of heterosexual "marriage, reproduction, and love" (1984:278-282). She argues that sex acts that trespass the moral border line of acceptable sex – homosexual, unmarried, promiscuous, nonprocreative, commercial, alone or in groups, casual, cross-generational, in public, pornography, with manufactured objects, sadomasochistic – are considered "bad," "abnormal," or "unnatural" (Rubin 1984:281). Such a stratification does not only marginalise those "who deviate too much from conventional standards of sexual

conduct" but has also material consequences, from "lesbians, gay men, prostitutes, swingers, sex workers, and ´promiscuous´ women" being "declared unfit parents" to their criminalisation (Rubin 1984:290).

Identity-based approaches to sexual and gender justice – such as females´ demand for equal pay and acceptance of pleasurable sexuality, the LGBT community´s fight for non-discrimination, or sex workers´ fight for rights and recognition – can "offer[s] voice to the perspectives of many marginalized groups" (Ferree 2009:84), and visibilise the social justice struggles that reflect the different demands of different groups within ´the sexually oppressed´. Such distinctions are crucial, as "[o]nly by attending to, instead of negating, difference can feminists identify and theorize more accurately the commonalities of gender [racialised, sexualised, …] oppression, and build alliances" (Lazar 2007:153f). However, one should not mistake the need to *differentiate* gendered and sexualised power relations as a call to treat issues of ´dissident´ gender or sexual performance "as ´separate´" (Miller, as cited in Budhiraja et al. 2010:141). Focusing exclusively on the specificity of the different claims of different collectives outside of the "charmed circle" of accepted sexuality (Rubin 1984:281) – can "encourage" an "´Oppression Olympics´, in which each group contends for attention and respect for the distinctiveness and importance of their unique location" (Martinez, Hancock, as cited in Ferree 2009:84f). Thus, struggles for sexual and gender justice that draw on fixed and victimised identity groups, such as ´promiscuous women´, ´LGBTQI´, or ´persons engaging in transactional sex´, "may end up reinforcing, rather than challenging, the very forms of discrimination that it sets out to proscribe" (Sharma, as cited in Cornwall and Jolly 2006:7).

Therefore, I will step away from the identity-based framework dominant in Western-influenced discourses, which fails to address the "underlying structures of power that stratify people into categories of privilege and oppression and structured, in part, through sexual hierarchies." (Budhiraja et al. 2010:135) Rather, I see the "pairing of sexual rights with gender justice as a useful, and potentially liberatory, framework for" aiming at transformative change in "human rights organizing and development strategies" (Budhiraja et al. 2010:132). Such a framework allows for a "broader coalition building" (Budhiraja et al. 2010:141) between people who do not conform with heteronormative notions of ´acceptable´ sexuality (Ingraham 2006, Rubin 1984). Thus, this research creates a "common context of struggle" for different ´sexually marginalised´ collectives – a concept which has been theorized by Chandra Talpade Mohanty twenty years ago, but so far rarely been put into practice (1997:22).

3. Intersectional Feminism

Similarly, from the 1990s on, Chandra Talpade Mohanty (1991), together with other third wave feminists, increasingly recognised the need to move beyond simplistic analyses of ´oppressed women´ as a homogenous category. Intersectional feminism recognises that "structural intersections of inequalities", based on gender, race, sex, sexuality, class, age, able-bodiedness, …, are not only "adding" up, but "multiplying and reinforcing particular hierarchies in specific locations." (Kimberlé Crenshaw, as cited in Ferree 2009:84) Thus, a feminist analysis should not only pay attention to the "patriarchal social order – relations of power that systematically privilege men as a social group, and disadvantage, exclude, and disempower women as a social group" (Lazar 2007:145), but look at the

multiple intersecting power relations that determine a person´s privileged or disadvantaged position in a specific spatio-temporal situation. An intersectional feminist lens helps to bring attention not only to the different positionalities across power relations (e.g. gender), but also the complex intersections between power relations (e.g. poor fe_males of colour, queers with disability, or heterosexual persons that do not categorise themselves within the gender binary).

4. The State: Policing Sexuality on the ´Other Side of the Line´

As "[s]ex worker activists place most emphasis on their struggles against the police and the state, rather than against clients" (Doezema 2010:26), it is important to understand the role of the state in policing people´s sexuality and creating gendered, sexualised, and racialised subjects. As in post-structuralist theories of power and the state (e.g. ´Foucauldian Feminism: The Implications of Governmentality´, Macleod and Durrheim 2002), I move away from an understanding of "the state itself" as "*the* patriarchal power structure." (Connell 1990:516, emphasis added) Rather, I recognise that the state – as "main organizer of the power relations of gender" and sexuality (Connell 1990:520) – "plays a part in establishing or regulating ´systems´" which leave promiscuous women or the LGBT population marginalised (Connell 1990:515). Thus, I "acknowledge the patriarchal character of the state without falling into a conspiracy theory or making futile searches for Patriarch Headquarters." (Connell 1990:517) Further, a move away from the state as direct oppressor also allows to acknowledge disputes between different state institutions, rather than seeing ´the state´ as a homogenous addition of consenting apparatuses (Connell 1990:535, Stout 2011).

Marxist Socialism, Gender and Sexuality

Historically, the Cuban government´s official stance has portrayed discrimination and inequality as a characteristic of *capitalist* societies, while stressing that in *socialist* Cuba, through the efforts to eradicate gender inequality, "the structural causes of prostitution" – defined as discrimination and exploitation – have "been eradicated with the triumph of the Revolution." (Republic of Cuba 2013:11) Referring to the relation between state patriarchy and capitalism, Catharine MacKinnon asks: "Is [heteronormative] male dominance a creation of capitalism or is capitalism one expression of [heterosexual] male dominance?" (MacKinnon 1982:517)

While Varda Burstyn points to Marxism´s gender blindness (as cited in Connell 1990:510f), Catharine MacKinnon argues that "[a]ccording to the persuasion of the marxist, women become a caste, a stratum, a cultural group, a division in civil society, a secondary contradiction, or a nonantagonistic contradiction" (1982:524f). In Marxism, "women´s liberation becomes a precondition, a measure of society´s general emancipation, part of the superstructure, or an important aspect of the class struggle." (MacKinnon 1982:525) The same could be applied to other marginalised groups, such as the LGBT community, whose liberation becomes a *part* of class struggle, a duty for the Marxist state, by recognising them as "a caste, a stratum, a cultural group, a division in civil society, a secondary contradiction, or a nonantagonistic contradiction" (MacKinnon 1982:525). However, Catharine MacKinnon points out that "the women question" in Marxism "is always reduced to some other question" – such as women as workers – "instead of being seen as *the* question, calling for analysis on its own terms."

(MacKinnon 1982:527, emphasis in original) The same holds true for other marginalised groups, such as Blacks and Mulatxs.

Nevertheless, I acknowledge that the Cuban materialisation of Marxist socialism has put the liberation of women and the LGBT community at the forefront of its revolutionary efforts. Whether this liberation is driven by a ´genuine´ concern for sexual rights or whether it is merely instrumental as a means to achieve the higher goal of including women and the LGBT community into the class struggle is not the focus of this research.

Focusing too much on the ideological traditions behind policies affecting gender and sexuality – behind Cuban "socialism´s insoluble problems, as if capitalism had none" (Randall 1992) – might not prove helpful after all (Cabezas 2004). In her analysis of *Sex, Tourism, and Citizenship in Cuba and the Dominican Republic*, Amalia Cabezas attends to the "glaring and profound difference" between the two countries, especially with "Cuba´s adherence to a centrally planned government that espouses socialist principles." (2004:988). However, she continues by outlining the commonalities between Cuba and the Dominican Republic after their rupture from "U.S. hegemonic control". In particular, she notes the adoption of neoclassical market reforms to boost international tourism "to create economic growth" in both countries (Cabezas 2004:990). Amalia Cabezas argues that in both countries, the promotion of "sun, sea, sand, and sex" through neoclassical reforms has led workers to make "use of intimacy and sexuality" to "supplement low wages but also to procure opportunities for recreation, consumption, travel, migration, and marriage." (2004:990ff). This example illustrates the material consequences of "the role of the state in *constituting* the categories of social structure", as "masculinity and femininity, and the relation between them, are reproduced as effects of state policies and state structures." (Connell 1990:515). It exemplifies the repercussions of supposedly *economic* policies on gender and sexual performance. Therefore, it comes to no surprise that the "national legal and political contexts directly influence how and under which conditions sex work is performed" (RedTraSex, as cited in RedTraSex 2016:4).

Chapter 4 | Methodological Considerations

The decision to conduct the research following an approach that understands 1. "policy as discourse" and 2. "policy analysis as a research method"(Goodwin 2011:168) is both the result of considerations regarding practical constraints and a conscious choice stemming from the belief in the potential of discourse studies, in particular critical feminist approaches, in "advancing rich and nuanced analyses of the complex workings of power and ideology in discourse" (Lazar 2007:141), which in turn, can serve to support advocacy in social justice struggles.

1. Restrictions on Doing Social Science Fieldwork in Cuba

Due to the restrictions on Cuban on- and offline activism (Salomon 2016) and my positionality (outside of ´sex worker´ networks, being a researcher from the ´North´ – with very limited lived experience in Cuba – investigating issues in the ´South´), I was not able to find out about and get in touch with existing civil society mobilisation on the island. Together with the "challenges" of conducting qualitative fieldwork in Cuba (Bell 2013) and the resulting potential threat to participants/interviewees (Roschelle et al. 2010:370), as well as the limited time for conducting this research, I realised early in the research process that field work – which would have allowed more participatory methods – would not be an option.

Yet, the experiences during my recreational trip to Cuba in July/August 2017 influenced the substance of my research substantially. It did not only give me a more nuanced image of social dynamics in Cuba than the polarised, La Habana-centric literature, which had been my main source of information to that point. Also, a brochure that an LGBT promoter shared with me raised my awareness about the existence of an alternative discourse on sexual transactions. This made me understand the need for a more comprehensive, nuanced discussion of transactional sex discourses rather than a simplistic examination of the more publicly visible ´prostitution´ discourse of the government and the ´jineterismo´ discourse in academia, thus challenging me to question blind spots within my assumptions and to be more open to the heterogeneity of discourses on transactional sex. The brochures on STIs/HIV in MSM I received through the contacts made in Cuba served as a starting point for my analysis, as my initial impression was that – contrasting the ´prostitution´ discourse I was familiar with, they portrayed transactional sex as an aspect that has to be taken into account in the HIV prevention efforts, but not as a problem *per se*.

2. Understanding ´Transactional Sex´

Back in Europe, an exploratory internet search revealed the existence of Facebook pages, such as *Prevention of STIs in persons who practice transactional sex* with images and references to sites that acknowledge sex work as ´work´ and call out prejudices, myths, and taboos around it (Prevención de ITS en Personas que Practican Sexo Transaccional 2017). To find out more about the Cuban approach to ´transactional sex´, between mid-August to early September, I sent 70 inquiries to international and regional organisations involved in health, rights, and development cooperation and monitoring in Cuba, Cuban and foreign key scholars working on transactional sex in Cuba, representatives of the Cuban

health system, administrators of the Facebook pages on STI prevention in PPTSs in Cuba as well as members of the Facebook group *PPTS por dentro*, diplomatic offices, and Cuban activists living in Cuba and abroad. While most of the Emails sent to email addresses belonging to the Cuban health system (ending with sld.cu) could not be delivered, and most other inquiries remained unanswered, key scholars provided helpful remarks on the relevance of disentangling the various approaches to transactional sex and comments on motivations underlying Cuban policies on transactional sex, which – together with the conversations with Antonio Carmona Báez on 12 and 18 September 2017 in The Hague – helped me get a better understanding of the local and thematic context.

3. Critical Discourse Studies

Even though my choice to use discourse analysis as main research method is influenced by the restrictions of conducting social science fieldwork in Cuba, I am also driven by the social transformative (Lazar 2007:145) potential of feminist critical-interpretative policy-as-discourse analysis, not only as "an information-collection activity", but also as "a political activity" (Goodwin 2011:168) with an open "commitment to the achievement of a just social order through a critique of discourse" (Lazar 2007:145).

1. Power, Knowledge, and Ideology in Discourse

"[T]he policy as discourse approach begins from an assumption that" facts and values, knowledge and politics, are "indivisible" (Goodwin 2011:168). Questioning the "purported value neutrality" of positivist rationalism (Goodwin 2011:169), I follow a critical-interpretative understanding of "discourse as a crucial arena of political activity" (Foucault, as cited in Ferree 2009:86), in which policies are understood as being socially constructed by those in power by giving meaning to social phenomena. Authoritative texts, such as policy texts, "never ´speak for themselves´", but "offer a discursive structure – an institutionalized framework of connections made among people, concepts and events – that shapes the opportunities of political actors by making some sorts of connections appear inevitable" (Ferree 2009:87). It is through this creation of "webs of meaning" (Ferree 2009:93) that "policy shapes the world", "through the framing of social ´problems´ and government ´solutions´ and the construction of concepts, categories, distinctions and subject positions" (Goodwin 2011:170). In the terminology of Mieke Verloo and Emanuela Lombardo: Critical Frame Analysis can expose "latent inconsistencies" between the construction of a problem and the policy response portrayed as necessary and adequate, as well as "conceptual prejudices" in policy discourses (Verloo and Lombardo 2007:37) to help "identifying ideological bias as well as mechanisms for the exercise of social power through the formation of mental models" of the ´problem´ (Van Dijk, as cited in Wagner 2017:7).

2. Feminist Critical Frame Analysis

Even though both Critical Discourse and Feminist Studies aim to expose and challenge the power relations behind such framings, an explicit feminist approach highlights that "not all studies that deal with gender in discourse are necessarily feminist in [a] critical sense" (Lazar 2007:143). Thus, Michelle Lazar raises the "need to be guided by feminist principles and insights in theorising and analysing the seemingly innocuous yet oppressive nature of gender as an

omni-relevant category in many social practices." (2007:143). I find her proposed "[k]ey interrelated principles of feminist critical discourse studies, as theory and practice" (Lazar 2007:145) a valuable orientation, especially for me as a researcher with a mainly positivist training history, who has only recently embarked on feminist critical discourse analysis projects. Thus, following Michelle Lazar, I see the exposure and critique of "discourses which sustain a patriarchal social order" as "*Feminist analytical activism*" (Lazar 2007:145). Further, FCDS understands gender and other identities as "*ideological structure[s]*" in the sense that "ideologies are representations of practices formed from particular perspectives in the interest of maintaining unequal power relations and dominance" (Lazar 2007:146). Underscoring Michelle Lazar´s third proposed principle, the "*Complexity of gender and power relations*" (Lazar 2007:148), I consider it critical to expand the proposed analytical lens to an explicit intersectional examination of "how power and dominance are discursively produced and/or (counter-)resisted in a variety of ways through textual representations of" – not only gendered, but also i.a. racialised, sexualised – "social practices" (Lazar 2007). Fourthly, "Feminist CDA takes a view of discourse as being *one* (among several) element of social practices" (Lazar 2007:149, emphasis added), thus countering the "tendency […] to view discourse as *wholly* constitutive of the social" (Lazar 2007:150f, emphasis added). Lastly and importantly for this study, FCDA emphasises the importance of "*Critical reflexivity as praxis*" (Lazar 2007:152), as "[i]t is problematic when the research is undertaken not in collaboration with the locals or native scholars of the community but from an external position of authority, and when the researcher´s positionality is left inexplicit" (Lazar 2007:149, emphasis added). Recognising the ´epistemi-cidal´ hegemony of "Northern abyssal epistemologies" (de Sousa Santos 2007:74), I make an attempt to avoid "re-enacting historical imperialism in academic neo-imperialistic terms" (Lazar 2007:155) by giving preference to existing work from non-´Western´ authors, for instance by conducting online searches mainly in Spanish, rather than in English.

3. Contributions by Different Approaches

Backed by the FCDA approach, my analysis is guided by Teun van Dijk´s recommendation to "integrate the best work" of various scholars rather than following "a ready-made ´method van Dijk´ of doing CDA" (2001:95, see also Bacchi, as cited in Goodwin 2011:171). For practical purposes, I focus on Carol Bacchi´s *What´s the Problem represented to be?* (WPR) approach (Bacchi 2009). Given the difficulty of proving intentionality, the purpose of WPR´s guiding questions and strategies "is to ascertain representations of the truth, rather than the ´truth´" (Goodwin 2011:172). I complement the WPR approach with elements of Teun van Dijk´s "guidelines for doing critical discourse analysis" (2001:95), which help to get an overview of what a text is stately about, and to identify the mental models about contexts and events, especially through directing attention to semantic and linguistic aspects that are often "less consciously controlled or controllable" (106). Ultimately, Mieke Verloo and Emanuela Lombardo´s approach to Critical Frame Analysis, which addresses not only the problematisation of a social issue, but also brings attention to the proposed policy solution, helps "to assess whether or not this correspondence between the diagnosis of a problem and the prognosis or solution to it actually occurs in a policy text, through the introduction of the dimension of "balance"

that facilitates the detection of inconsistencies within a given policy frame." (Verloo and Lombardo 2007:35)

Table 2 provides an overview of the elements taken from the different approaches. Mieke Verloo and Emanuela Lobardo´s terminology of ´Diagnosis´ and ´Prognosis´ is used to categorise the guiding questions used for the analysis. As "Critical frame analysis of policy texts themselves […] becomes more dynamic when it is complemented by studies of the political processes through which these texts were created, interpreted and used as resources for mobilization" (Ferree 2009:88), the analysis of the ´Diagnosis´ and ´Prognosis´ is supplemented by the examination of the internal and external situational, societal, historical, and textual contexts, as suggested by Van Dijk (2001) for a better understanding of the situatedness of the materials.

4. Text selection

I followed Foucault´s practice to focus on "texts written for the purpose of offering rules, opinions, and advice on how to behave as one should: *´practical'* texts" that "were ´designed to be read, learned, reflected upon, and tested out, and they were intended to constitute the eventual framework of everyday conduct.´" (as cited in Bacchi 2009:34)

After compiling about fifty policy documents (mostly written text, but also recorded interview material) that included references to ´prostitution´, ´transactional sex´, or ´sex work´, I selected the final texts for analysis according to the following criteria:

- *Topicality*: Preference was given to recent documents, to avoid the allegation of focusing on past ´mistakes´.
- *Extent of references to transactional sex:* As transactional sex is not the main issue addressed in the policy documents, I selected those with a critical amount of references to transactional sex (´prostitution´, ´transactional sex´, ´sex work´). An exploratory analysis of the six documents that included sufficient references to transactional sex revealed substantial similarities (e.g. including exactly same phrasings). Therefore, the final text selection was guided by decisions related to the
- *Author/Addressee/Purpose*: Preference was given to documents *mainly* referring to national policies, as including documents directly addressing international policies (such as the Beijing+20 report, División de Asuntos de Género de la CEPAL 2015) or being written for donors and partners, such as the cooperation agreement with the UNDP (UNDP 2015), would require taking into account additional dynamics that are interesting, but not the principal focus of this research.
- *Relevance:* As policy texts are rarely translated one-to-one into practice, preference was given to documents whose addressees and purpose suggest that the documents will be used to hold the government accountable (see Description of the Documents, p.53)
- *Comparability*: Ultimately, one action plan and the latest version of a yearly report on each approach to transactional sex were selected for in-depth analysis, as they provide a frame for comparing the discourses on transactional sex in the anti-trafficking and HIV prevention strategies and reports.

The analysed key documents were

- National Action Plan for the Prevention and Confrontation of Trafficking in Persons in Cuba and for the Protection of Victims 2017-2020 (*Trafficking Strategy*, published by the Ministry of Justice on 2 August 2017)
- Report of Cuba about the Confrontation of Human Trafficking and Related Crimes 2015 (*Trafficking Report*, published by the Ministry of Foreign Relations on 20 December 2016)
- Strategic Plan for the Prevention of STIs and HIV/AIDS 2014-2018 (*HIV Strategy,* published by the Ministry of Public Health in December 2013)
- HIV Survey Infection Prevention Indicators-2013 (*HIV Survey*, published by the Centre for Population and Development Studies in December 2015)

A detailed description of the texts´ structure, author, and intended audience can be found in the Appendix, p.53.

Chapter 5 | The Representation of Transactional Sex

1. Anti-Trafficking Approach

1. Diagnosis

´Prostitution´ is Exploitation

Cuba´s *Trafficking Strategy* and the *Trafficking Report* are based on the assumption that transactional sex – termed ´prostitution´ – is *inherently* linked to crimes such as trafficking, pimping, pornography, child prostitution (MINREX 2016:1)[6]. Apart from the explicit statement that ´trafficking´ *is* a "form of sexual exploitation or abuse" (MINJUS 2017:649), the terms ´prostitution´, ´pimping´, and ´trafficking´ are mostly used as if they were mutually exchangeable. While the *Trafficking Strategy* (MINJUS 2017:648) does not distinguish between "pimping" and "trafficking", the *Trafficking Report* defines ´pimps´ as "everyone who uses prostitution for their benefit" and ´trafficking´ as "the promotion, organisation, or incitement of a person´s entry into or departure from the country for the purpose of prostitution or any other form of carnal trade"[7] ("*comercio carnal"*, MINREX 2016:2).

Apart from conflating ´prostitution´, ´pimping´ and ´trafficking´ partially (*Trafficking Report*) or completely (*Trafficking Strategy)*, the accumulation of concepts mentioned in relation to the concepts seems arbitrary,[8] and even contradictory.[9] Due to this conceptual inconsistency and the use of vague language ("the phenomenon", "the crime", MINREX 2016:7), it remains unclear what the efforts against ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ are *actually* targeting, what exactly should be "prevented" and "confronted", and what ´victims´ should be "protected" from (MINJUS 2017:645)[10].

Contrasting with this vagueness, both documents are clear that ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ is a ´scourge´ (*flagelo*) that endangers "fundamental rights of the population" (MINJUS 2017:645f), as exemplified by the use of crime, legal, exploitation, and victimisation language in both documents (Codes, p.58) – thus posing a threat to the revolution itself. As no alternative explanations or motivations are given for entering ´prostitution´, the documents suggest that ´prostitutes´ are necessarily either coerced, or at least *lured* into the ´business´ by organised groups, greedy family members, or opportunistic intimate partners (MINREX 2016:11-15) – thus, dismissing the option that engaging in transactional sex can be the best available option.

---

[6] All direct quotations from the key documents are own translations.

[7] "[C]arnal trade is regarded as any act encouraging or exploiting sexual relations for financial gain" (CEDAW 2011:20).

[8] e.g. only concern about ´prostitution´ (MINJUS 2017:648) vs. distinction between different ´manifestations of trafficking´, such as *´forced* sexual exploitation of adults, forced labour, forced servitude, slavery or similar manifestations, trafficking for the purpose of organ trafficking, forced begging´ (MINJUS 2017:662), trafficking as a result of unwanted pregnancies (MINREX 2016:6).

[9] e.g. "the Cuban legislation classifies as pimping and trafficking […], as well as behaviours associated with [this crime, pimping *and* trafficking], such as pimping" (MINJUS 2017:648).

[10] To highlight the conceptual vagueness, I will refer to the thematic complex as ´prostitution-as-trafficking´.

´Prostitution´ is a Problem of Individuals, not of Society as a Whole

In previous statements and documents, the Cuban leadership made it clear that those engaging in ´prostitution´ are exceptional cases, by portraying them as "victims of educational deprivation and domestic abuse, mentally impaired, criminals, and anti-socials" (Wagner 2017:11). While in the *Trafficking Strategy* and in the *Trafficking Report*, those engaging in ´prostitution´ are also portrayed as exceptional cases, this is done much subtler. For instance, the *Trafficking Strategy* opens with the statement that the Cuban revolutionary state has implemented programmes to "guarantee and protect fundamental rights of the population" (MINJUS 2017:646). As "discrimination" and lack of "equality" are seen at the base of ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ (MINJUS 2017:645), the repetitive affirmation of Cuba´s "achievements in terms of social protection and civil security, equality of opportunities for all, policies and programmes for the empowerment of the woman, access to free health services and education, and universal access to culture, sports, and recreation" (MINREX 2016:1) precludes any underlying structural dynamics. Further, the vagueness used to describe "those who in *any unlikely eventuality might* be *potential* victims of trafficking" ("las que en alguna improbable eventualidad sean potenciales víctimas de trata", MINREX 2016:7) illustrates the portrayed improbability and anomaly of the phenomenon. Further supporting the notion that ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ is an individual problem rather than a structural one is the claim that the ´victims´ generally have a ´low risk perception´ (MINJUS 2017:649) and low levels of "self-confidence", "communication skills", "decision-making", and "life-planning" (MINREX 2016:6) – suggesting that ´victims´ are not confident or eloquent enough to protect themselves from ´exploitation´, thus putting the blame on the individual. Finally, the *Trafficking Strategy* fails to provide any indication of the scope of the ´problem´, while the *Trafficking Report* only provides isolated and confusing numbers.[11]

´Prostitution´ is a Women´s and Children´s Problem

Even though the *Trafficking Report* expresses concern for "sexist gender stereotypes, discriminatory in the formation and development of masculine *and* feminine sexuality in traditional and contemporary patriarchal societies" (MINREX 2016:6, emphasis added), the key documents are clearly focused on females and children: femaleness is referred to 41 times (17 in *Trafficking Report* and 24 in *Trafficking Strategy*); maleness 5 times (5 in *Trafficking Report* and 0 in *Trafficking Strategy*); and children 141 times (68 in *Trafficking Report* and 73 in *Trafficking Strategy*).[12] Going beyond the numbers, the references to femaleness are mainly composed of references to the national women´s organisation (Federation of Cuban Women, FMC), protection measures, or females´ vulnerability to be trafficked into sexual exploitation; whereas the *Trafficking Report* only addresses

[11] For instance, the report cites the number of complaints and lawsuits held related to the sale and trafficking of minors, pimping and trafficking, and corruption of minors during 2015 (MINREX 2016:13). However, even though the report states that *no* lawsuits had been filed for the trafficking of minors, it continues to report that "typical traits of trafficking" were found in *six* cases of corruption in minors (MINREX 2016:13). Further, the fact that the total cases mentioned amount to 142, while one of the outlined cases is labelled case 492 of 2015 (MINREX 2016:15), leaves the real scope of ´pimping´, trafficking in persons, and corruption of minors unclear.

[12] As measured by the occurrence of the terms coded with Atlas.ti, see Codes, p. 59.

males in their function as pimps or clients,[13] while the absence of engagement with maleness in the *Trafficking Strategy* suggests that no measures are considered necessary to protect males from sexual exploitation, as ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ is not considered a males´ problem.

Given the international consensus to clearly condemn child trafficking and ´prostitution´ (e.g. *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons*), Cuba´s protectionist discourse on child ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ is not surprising *per se*. However, the centrality of *child* ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ – and the publication of existing cases – is remarkable, as in previous statements, authorities have laughed off the mere possibility that such phenomena might exist in Cuba: "There is no child prostitution in Cuba. Of course not! How are they going to do it? They´re in school! The idea is absurd, right?" (CENESEX representative, as cited in Daigle 2015:153, see also Republic of Cuba 2013:13)

[13] e.g. use of female article "las" when referring to ´victims´ (MINREX 2016:7); 8 out of the presented 10 cases in the *Trafficking Report* include female ´victims´ and male perpetrators (MINREX 2016:14f).

2. Prognosis

Control/Persecution

In contrast to the stated commitment to "make the victim the protagonist", most of the actions taken or planned aim at increasing state-control over the ´victims´ and the persecution of ´the crime´ (MINJUS 2017:651). Two pathways can be identified. First, the documents refer to increased control and persecution *directly* through state actions, by shutting down establishments in which ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ is suspected to happen (MINJUS 2017:646, MINREX 2016:5), increasing human resources and interinstitutional cooperation (MINJUS 2017:665,667), training forces of the Ministry of the Interior (police?, MINREX 2016:10), increasing the active search for violations of the labour and migration law (MINJUS 2017:654f), enhancing the investigation of ´prostitution-as-trafficking´, prosecuting perpetrators "vigorously" ("*de manera enérgica*"), "promptly" ("*con celeridad*") and by "judging and sanctioning [them] with severity" ("*con severidad*", MINJUS 2017:662). Second, the documents reveal the plan to enhance *indirect* control through campaigns (MINREX 2016:10) and mechanisms targeting ´civil society organisations´ (CSOs), "community factors", and families, encouraging their increased participation "in the detection, outreach, warning, and report of trafficking in persons to state entities" (MINJUS 2017:666).

Education/Sensitisation/Training

Another central pillar of the response to ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ is education, mainly through the sex education provided throughout all levels of schooling. Adopting a sexual rights approach, the educational curriculum includes attention to the "consequences of sexist gender stereotypes", "violence based on gender, age, race, culture, ability, sexual orientation, and gender identities", training in "self-esteem and its importance regarding to health and self-care, communication and decision-making skills", as well as the "elaboration of life projects" (MINREX 2016:6). Further activities are conducted to "increase the risk perception in the population" (MINREX 2016:11, MINJUS 2017:655), "visibilise the reality of trafficking with a gender lens through clear and cogent messages to society of ´zero tolerance´ to these unlawful acts" (MINJUS 2017:651), and to "generate an attitude of rejection" (MINJUS 2017:656): national meetings on gender-based violence, ´prostitution´, sex tourism and ´trafficking´ (MINREX 2016:7), trainings with workers in tourism-related occupations and with persons planning to travel abroad (MINJUS 2017:657), outreach activities for the prevention of HIV and gender-based violence in nightclubs in collaboration with the National STI/HIV/AIDS Prevention and Control Programme (MINREX 2016:7).

Care for Victims

Attention is given to mechanisms to care for potential and actual victims of ´prostitution-as-trafficking´. While the educational system gives preventative "attention" to "those who present vulnerabilities related to health, social situation, behaviour, or family" (MINREX 2016:6), the FMC, in collaboration with the State Prosecutors Office, runs a phone hotline for the denouncement of cases (MINREX 2016:10). Social and mental health workers provide specialised "medical psychological assistance, legal support, material support, and social reintegration" (MINJUS 2017:661) that reportedly "guarantee non-discrimination and non-stigmatisation" (MINREX 2016:7) and "avoid re-victimisation" of ´girl, boy, and adolescent victims´ (MINJUS 2017:661).

International Efforts

The *Trafficking Strategy* includes the plan to follow-up with Cuba´s international commitments for an "effective preparation for the evaluation processes", in particular by the UNODC and in the field of Human Rights (MINJUS 2017:668), and by the Special Rapporteur for Trafficking in Persons (MINREX 2016:13). Despite the claim that the anti-´prostitution-as-trafficking´ efforts are already in line with the *Palermo Protocol* (MINJUS 2017:647, MINREX 2016:1), the *Trafficking Strategy* reflects the plan to develop the necessary "legislative modifications" to fulfil its requirements (MINJUS 2017:663)[14]. Further, the *Trafficking Strategy* includes the intent to further strengthen the international and bilateral cooperation to prevent, tackle, and exchange "good practices" related to ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ (MINJUS 2017:667). In relation to international tourism, the *Trafficking Report* states that in 2015, educational talks on ´pimping´ have been held with 729 families with licences to rent tourist rooms (MINREX 2016:10), and the *Trafficking Strategy* includes the plan to ´promote a healthy and safe tourism´ through the capacitation of staff to guarantee tourist tour operators´ compliance with the national regulations (MINJUS 2017:657).

3. Effects

Discursive Effects

The ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ strategy is portrayed as a product of ´victim´-led, bottom-up participation from ´CSOs´ (MINJUS 2017:645, MINREX 2016:10), suggesting that the Cuban policy response is inclusive, unified, and bottom-up democratic, and thus, "progressive" (Jad 2010:195) and ´modern´ (Jain, as cited in Cornwall and Eade 2010:n.p.). However, the adoption of a neo-abolitionist prejudgment of all ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ as ´exploitation´ of ´victims´, as well as the focus on coercive measures – suggests that PPTS´ voices and self-definitions are actually *excluded* from the problematisation, as well as from the design and implementation of the strategy to counter it. The presentation of FMC or CENESEX as independent ´civil society´ organisations suggests that all stakeholders were heard. However, as these organisations are subject to state control (e.g. Johnson 2011:37, Saunders 2009:184), the response is rather *co-opted* by these organisations – whose *a priori* victimisation of PPTS disregards their self-declared autonomy (Cabezas 2009:8). Thus, the adoption of a human and sexual rights language is mainly a lip service to a community-led response.

Cuba´s harsh stance against ´exploitation´, the commitment to ensure the plan´s implementation (MINJUS 2017:665,668), the repeated explicit commitment to rights and the claimed compliance with international standards, the collaboration with international actors, the proactive invitation of the *Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in Persons*, as well as the moderate and eloquent language represent the Cuban leadership´s professionalism and political will to take responsibility and adopt any measure necessary to comply with international expectations and to find diplomatic solutions, including leaving inter-governmental disputes, even with the U.S., aside in the joint fight for what is ´right´.

[14] E.g. in contrast to the two documents, the definition of trafficking in the *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons* entails the "threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, […]" to recruit, transfer, harbour, or receive persons "for the purpose of exploitation" (not restricted to sexual exploitation, Article 3 (a), UNODC 2000).

However, the shortcomings of Cuba´s response in relation to international standards that it claims to comply with, such as the persistent inconsistency between the definition of ´trafficking´ in the *Trafficking Strategy* and *Report* and in the *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children* and the emphasis on punishing ´perpetrators´ "vigorously" and "with severity" – rather than according to the outcome of fair trials – question the leadership´s willingness to acknowledge shortcomings with regards to international commitments and ´best practices´. Even though the Cuban stance now recognises the existence of exceptional cases of ´prostitution-as-trafficking´, as requested by the CEDAW (2013:6), the response continues to silence the extent of the portrayed "sexual exploitation" (MINJUS 2017:651, MINREX 2016:1). As the Cuban leadership claims to *have* "studies and statistics" that show the "low incidence of human trafficking" (Republic of Cuba 2013:22,10), and specifically mentions that the country has "continued to respond to various information requests from the United Nations" (MINREX 2016:13), the failure to provide this information is surprising, as the CEDAW has explicitly called the Cuban leadership to "conduct studies and surveys on the prevalence of the exploitation of prostitution" (2013:7). Taking into account that Cuban representatives are usually inclined to emphasise national successes (e.g. Castro Rúz 2015) the non-provision of data on the extent of the ´problem´ might not only reflect the conceptual blurriness around ´prostitution-as-trafficking´, but also point to the unwillingness to publicise the scope of the phenomena.

The portrayed exceptionality of ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ and the reluctance to acknowledge the spread of sexual transactions in Cuba (the Global Fund reported 89008 ´sex workers´, probably not taking into account more informal/sporadic sexual transactions, 2017:17) suggests that the existence of ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ does not reflect a flaw in the system, as compared to pre-1959 (Castro 1977). The framing of PPTS as exceptional cases allows the Cuban leadership to uphold the claim that in Cuba, "the structural causes of prostitution are non-existent, having been eradicated with the triumph of the Revolution." (Republic of Cuba 2013:11). Cuban women do not ´need´ to engage in ´prostitution´ because of shortcomings of the social security system or lack of economic participation, as in most European countries that "lack state policies to influence the socio-economic and ideological conditions that generate prostitution." (Mariela Castro Espín, as cited in María Ramírez 2011) Even though the training of tourist service providers is considered necessary (MINJUS 2017:657), the portrayal of the ´problem´ as non-structural suggests that ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ is not inherently linked to increased tourism.

Subjectification Effects

The conceptual blurriness regarding ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ is reflected in the vagueness of information about ´victims´ (e.g. "those [females] who in any unlikely eventuality might be potential victims of trafficking", MINREX 2016:7). Implying that the ´victims´ of ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ are children or naïve females who lack "self-esteem", "communication skills", or "life projects" (MINREX 2016:6) precludes putting into question their vulnerability (illustrated by the image accompanying the *Trafficking Report*, portraying a Black child, Figure 1). Denying PPTS´ identities and voices justifies the state´s patronising approach to ´act upon´ or ´save´ the ´victims´.

Figure 1 Announcement of the International Human Rights Day on 10 December, "In Cuba, the Enjoyment and the Protection of Human Rights is Being Promoted" (MINREX 2016:1)

As the emphasis on Cuba´s revolutionary guarantees, such as health, education, and social security suggests that the state provides sufficient opportunities for personal development, the portrayal of ´victims´ as exceptional cases who are not eloquent or confident enough to prevent being lured into ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ depicts them indirectly as not having made best use of the revolutionary opportunities, and thus, as ´bad´ revolutionaries.

While the state is portrayed as ´saviour´, the "organisers" who are blamed to ´lure´ the ´victims´ into "sexual exploitation" (MINREX 2016:11), are discursively positioned geographically and ideologically apart from the state, suggesting that ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ is not a *Cuban* problem. Even though the ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ discourse recognises that ´links´ to the ´national territory´ might exist, the responsible "organisers" are said to be "foreigners" or "nationals living abroad" (MINREX 2016:11), who are usually portrayed as ´counterrevolutionaries´ searching for a materialistic life (Castro 1999). The combination of

concern for female ´victims´ and the suggestion that organisers are foreigners or Cuban defectors resembles Amalia Cabeza´s notion that females engaging in transactional sex are "seen to represent the incursion of capitalism" (2004:1008).

The general population is portrayed as lacking risk perception and in need of sensitisation to "generate an attitude of rejection" (MINJUS 2017:656). Portraying the state as the educator for the ´good´ makes the community and families´ collaboration with the states´ ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ strategy necessary for good citizenship.

Material Effects

Putting the focus of concern on ´prostituted/trafficked´ females and children – those traditionally considered as ´vulnerable´, allows – and even demands – the government to crack down on those suspected to participate in ´prostitution-as-trafficking´. By controlling those ´suspected´ to engage in ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ both on behalf of state institutions such as the police and of the community, the leadership can demonstrate its commitment to ending the exploitation of ´the vulnerable´ by saving ´them´ and providing ´them´ with education in rehabilitation camps. Through this justification of crackdowns on ´prostitutes-as-trafficking-victims´, the most overt forms of transactional sex would become invisibilised, which in turn would support the claim that ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ is "not a social, nor a massive problem" (Moya Richards, as cited in Gómez Quintana 2017).

However, increasing official and peer control over ´prostitutes´ reinforces the *de facto* criminalisation of transactional sex in Cuba, associating those labelled ´victims´ with criminals, and thus, contributing to more stigmatisation. Restrictions on transactional sex do not only limit PPTS´ income-generating opportunities, but also expose them to violence. Overlapping and contradictory norms that push PPTS into the underground leave them to the goodwill of security forces (RedTraSex 2016:18), enabling police officers to blackmail female PPTS by refraining from reporting them in exchange for sex (Hodge 2005:14). Intermediaries that PPTS might rely on to protect themselves from violence by state forces or ´clients/partners´ might pose yet another risk for power abuse. Paying them a part of their share reduces PPTS´ income, requiring them to take more ´clients/partners´ to recover for the loss, and reducing PPTS´ choice of ´clients/partners´. Ultimately, PPTS´ inability to report rights violations due to the risk of further violence reinforces state forces´, ´clients/partners´´ and intermediaries´ position of power vis-à-vis the PPTS.

2. HIV-Prevention Approach

1. Diagnosis

´Transactional Sex´ Increases the Risk for STIs/HIV/AIDS

Openly, ´transactional sex´ is represented as an issue that has to be taken into account in the prevention of HIV, rather than as a delicate ´problem´ in itself. This is reflected in the assessment of ´transactional sex´ in the *HIV Survey*: directly asking the participant whether s_he has ´received money, gifts, or other benefits in exchange for any sexual relation´ in the past 12 months (CEPDE 2015:P415), while questions related to same-sex behaviour are assessed indirectly through a card system due to the stated "sensitivity" (CEPDE 2015:7). Together with the neutral-medical language[15] - hinting at "scientific modesty" and suggesting ´objectivity´ (McCloskey 1994:326), the avoidance of pejorative and judgmental language used to refer to ´transactional sex´, and the omission of PPTS in expressions of concern of stigma against PLWHA, MSM, and transpersons (MINSAP 2013:45) might be understood to suggest that ´transactional sex´ is not assumed to be a stigmatised issue. However, given that the stigma against transactional sex in the Cuban context is widely recognised, and even reflected in the *HIV Survey* (CEPDE 2015:151), the portrayed ´neutrality´ might rather reflect an attempt to actively de-stigmatise, and normalise ´transactional sex´ for the sake of HIV prevention.

The claim that PPTS – persons practicing ´transactional sex´ – are one of the most vulnerable groups for obtaining STIs (MINSAP 2013:17) serves as a justification for the inclusion of PPTSs in the study (CEPDE 2015:5). It is suggested that PPTSs are particularly prone to factors that increase the likelihood of getting an STI (MINSAP 2013:15), such as frequently changing partners (CEPDE 2015:32), lack of sexual education (CEPDE 2015:114f), risk perception (CEPDE 2015:165f), and moral norms (e.g. lower expectations for PPSTs for tolerating and accepting persons living with HIV than for the general population, MINSAP 2013:86), heightened alcohol consumption (CEPDE 2015:34) or the rejection of condom use (CEPDE 2015:79). While the *HIV Survey* provides detailed data on these factors, disaggregated by subgroup, the document fails to provide data for PPTS in some occasions, e.g. when reporting the number of sex partners, the evolution of HIV prevalence in different population groups, or condom use in relationships (CEPDE 2015:60,39,29). Together with the dominance of risk language (e.g. MINSAP 2013:53), these omissions point to the underlying assumption that PPTSs are *per se* engaging in risky practices that can lead to STIs/HIV – regardless of their *actual* sexual behaviour. Therefore, just as ´prostitutes´ as an identity category is constructed as a threat to the revolutionary right to freedom from exploitation, ´transactional sex´ as a behavioural category, is rendered a threat to the revolutionary right to health – although "the criterion of payment is not directly relevant to health risk", while "the *types* of clients to whom [PPTS] have access may be more epidemiologically important" (De Zalduondo 1991:229,231, emphasis added).

[15] e.g. "one can conclude", "can be registered", "this type of practice proves more frequent"´ (MINSAP 2013:18)

´Transactional Sex´ is a Problem of Individuals, not of Society as a Whole

The ´transactional sex´ discourse emphasises that sexual-transactional encounters are not common in Cuba. The *HIV Survey* states that the sex- and age-disaggregated data on PPTSs are only indicative, as "these persons are very infrequent in the population" (CEPDE 2015:23,79), thus reportedly not allowing for reliable data. The *HIV Survey* reports that *only* 83683 persons, 1.3% of the general population engage in ´transactional sex´ (1.3% males and 1.4% females, CEPDE 2015:24). The ´transactional sex´ discourse emphasises PPTS´ exceptionality (Figure 2), thus making clear that PPTS do not represent ´the norm´, or society as a whole. In fact, the representation of the exceptionality of PPTS in terms of education and work, skin colour, and personal characteristics, as well as the reference to certain ´lifestyles´ (CEPDE 2015:30) strongly resembles the representation of the exceptionality of ´prostitutes´ in Cuba´s 2013 Reply to the CEDAW (Republic of Cuba 2013:11). Thus, in contrast to the traces of discursive normalisation and de-stigmatisation of ´transactional sex´ and the deliberate stand against society´s discrimination against the key populations (MINSAP 2013:45), the documents actively contribute to the construction of PPTSs as ´abnormal´, even reproducing the stigmatising (and unsuited for the Cuban context) term ´prostitution´ (CEPDE 2015:151,158,159,160,Appendix).

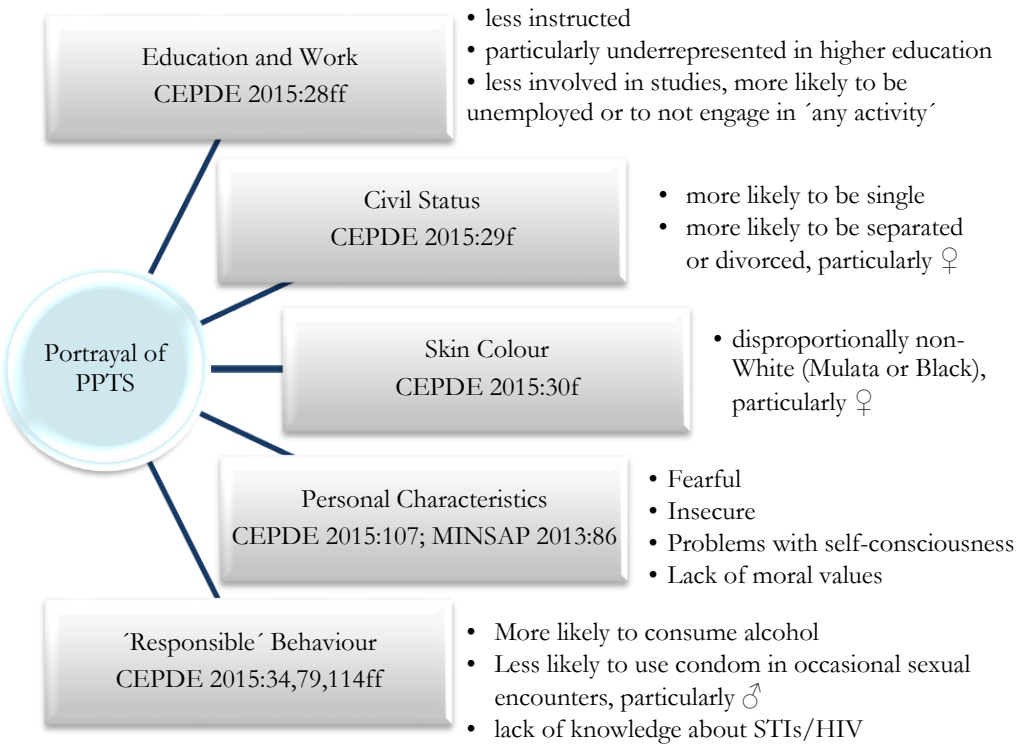

Figure 2: Examples of the exceptionality of PPTS in comparison to the rest of the population

´Transactional Sex´ is a Men´s Issue, but not Necessarily one of MSM

In contrast to the ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ discourse, the ´transactional sex´ discourse mainly reflects concern with *male* health and sexual exchanges,[16] reflecting the reportedly higher proportion of males living with HIV in Cuba (74.6% vs. 25.4% female PLWHA, CEPDE 2014:9), and the higher incidence of HIV in male PPTS (1.5% vs. 0.37% in female PPSTs, MINSAP 2013:17). Further supporting the notion that the efforts to fight HIV in PPTS are male-centric (exceeding plausible differences related to the higher incidence of HIV in males) is the fact that the contact points for the recruitment of participants for the cited study were probably places that are more accessible and/or used by males (CEPDE 2014:8).[17] Further, in the illustration of the relevant population groups (Figure 3), males seem to make up the majority of PPTS, even though the gender ratio (or rather sex ratio, as no comment was made on the category that transgender persons were assigned to) is reportedly balanced (CEPDE 2015:24).

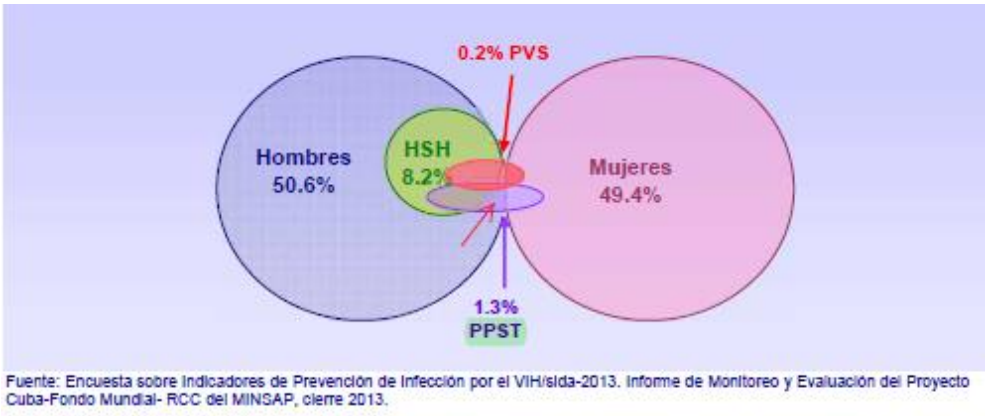

Figure 3 Structure of the Cuban population from 12 to 49 years, by studied populational groups: men (blue), MSM (green), PLWHA (red), PPTS (purple), women (pink) (CEPDE 2015:34).

Taking into account that Cuba´s initial efforts to contain HIV/AIDS evoked interventions to increase the acceptance of MSM (Kirk 2017:130), it comes to no surprise that the HIV/AIDS prevention efforts continue to target the facilitation of ´social acceptance´ of MSM and male-born transwomen (CEPDE 2015:98, MINSAP 2013:33), contrasting with "HIV and AIDS analyses and policies" in other Caribbean countries that scapegoat MSM as "infecting agents" (Gosine, as cited in Kempadoo 2009:6). Yet, given the concern for HIV in both MSM and PPTSs, and the portrayal of MSM as the main participants in transactional sex in Figure 3, it is noteworthy that the documents do not explicitly problematise the ´double vulnerability´ of MSM/transwomen-PPTS. The otherwise detailed *HIV Survey* portrays MSM and PPTS as separate – not only visually by juxtaposing the categories of MSM and PPTS to the general population, implying that HSH are detached from PPTS (see Figure 3), but also by portraying MSM and PPTS as separate ´key populations of mayor risk´ (CEPDE 2015:15-18). Moreover, the overrepresentation of MSMs engaging in ´transactional sex´

[16] And no meaningful engagement with children in neither document, as measured by the co-occurrences of the codes (see p. 59).

[17] E.g. MSM are probably more likely to enter the snowball sampling at contact points for PWLHA due to increased contact with health promoters thanks to anti-homophobia outreach campaigns.

(5.3% MSM, CEPDE 2015:25, vs. 1.5% general population between 12 to 49 years, MINSAP 2013:17) is downplayed by putting emphasis on those MSMs who do *not* engage in transactional sex (CEPDE 2015:25). A similar attempt might have been made to downplay the high proportion of trans persons engaging in transactional sex by suggesting that *only* 28.6% of *all* transpersons engage in transactional sex (vs. 42.4% in sexually initiated trans persons, CEPDE 2015:25). These figures leave unclear how people who do not have sexual experience are said to engage in transactional sex, and contradict the statement that ´per definition, 100% of HSH and PPTS have had sexual relations before´ (CEPDE 2015:53).

Figure 4 Visual distinction between the general population (Población General), MSM (HSH)

Sexo	Población General N=6236225 n=24944	HSH N=257828	PPST N=83683
Hombres	50.6	100.0	49.6
Mujeres	49.4	0.0	50.4
Ambos sexos	100.0	100.0	100.0

Fuente: Encuesta sobre Indicadores de Prevención de Infección por el VIH/sida-2013.

and PPTS (CEPDE 2015:23).

2. Prognosis

Education/Sensitisation/Training

Similar to the strategy against ´prostitution-as-trafficking´, the HIV prevention approach has an educational component. The *HIV Strategy* reveals the intention to sensitise board members of organisms of the central administration for HIV, as well as sexual and gender diversity (MINSAP 2013:63f). Radio and television message shall be used to disseminate information about HIV and increase awareness in the population (MINSAP 2013:61). Cubans are expected to know about the transmission, risk reduction, their serological status, sexual negotiation capacity, the enjoyment of a violence-free relation, and the social acceptance of PLWHA and MSM (CEPDE 2015:109) – but not specifically PPTS.

Interventions focusing on HIV prevention in "key populations" include the increase of scientific exchange on their needs (MINSAP 2013:60), the training of promoters, peer educators, and consultants working with people from "key groups of higher risk" who would pass on the knowledge in systematic meetings with the affected communities and service providers (MINSAP 2013:60), the implementation of the information, education, and communication strategy on STIs-HIV/AIDS 2013-2017 (MINSAP 2013:65) to promote condom use and gender equality, respect for sexual diversity, and the understanding of risk and severity of HIV/AIDS (MINSAP 2013:66). Further, the plan includes the distribution of condoms, lubricants, and educational material "attractive to PPTS" (MINSAP 2013:66), as well as the sensitisation of owners of rooms for rent to make these available (MINSAP 2013:66).

Interestingly, males both in the general population and in those practicing transactional sex are expected to attain higher condom use rates than females (MINSAP 2013:66,84). In contrast, female PPTS are targeted more than male PPTS for certain educational activities (MINSAP 2013:83), and are expected to have higher outcomes, e.g. in HIV testing, as well as in respecting and accepting PLWHA (MINSAP 2013:85).

Care for Those at Risk

Reasonable medical measures include, for instance, the encouragement for increased condom use (CEPDE 2015:123), particularly in people who have more than one sexual partner (MINSAP 2013:83), such as PPTS (MINSAP 2013:66); the goal to improve blood values of PLWHA through antiretroviral treatment (ART, MINSAP 2013:56), to guarantee the availability of medicine (MINSAP 2013:55f), or to indicate ART to all PLWHA co-diagnosed with tuberculosis (MINSAP 2013:56). Most of these medical goals aim to cover up to 100% of the respective target groups: e.g. ´95% of sexual partners of those surveyed localised, examined, and treated´ (MINSAP 2013:52), 100% of pregnant women tested (MINSAP 2013:53), preventative treatment for tuberculosis for 100% of newly diagnosed HIV cases (MINSAP 2013:58). Further, the *HIV Strategy* foresees the notification of the respective family doctors through the medical system (rather than through the patient him_herself, MINSAP 2013:55), and the reliance on peer promoters (e.g. MINSAP 2013:60,66).

Service Offer vs. Control

The remaining components of the HIV-prevention approach range from a focus on ownership, participation, and service offers to control and coercion.

The ´emancipatory´ pathway includes the stated will for the increased organisation of civil society and key populations – including PPTS – in networks, as well as their participation in decision-making, programme design (MINSAP 2013:63), "implementation, follow-up, and evaluation of the risk reduction programme" (MINSAP 2013:66). The campaigns to prevent HIV (MINSAP 2013:57,67,68) are accompanied by the recognition of the need to increase condom *availability* for PPTS, their "clients and partners" (MINSAP 2013:66,84). Some planned activities reveal a service orientation: For instance, the plan aims to increase the level of satisfaction of PWLHA with the "received health care services" (MINSAP 2013:59), and to make the STI/HIV/AIDS phone hotline free of charge (MINSAP 2013:67). Ultimately, the aim to have 100% of PLWHA present *themselves* to the ART treatment evaluation commission (MINSAP 2013:56) hints to the recognition of ownership over the decision whether to get treatment or not – thus symbolising a departure from the historically coercive approach of obligatory HIV testing and quarantine (Pérez Stable 1992:71f).

In contrast to the WHO recommendation to offer HIV testing for people engaging in transactional sex not only free of charge, but also on a voluntary and confidential basis (2012:31, referred to in MINSAP 2013:188), the *HIV Strategy* proposes to engage in "active case search in key populations of higher risk" (MINSAP 2013:14,53). A mechanism to control PLWHA is the strategy to "count the number of pills in house visits" to supervise therapy adherence, to "incorporate PLWHA with difficulties of adherence into psychological services, social or other attention", and to include their families in the response (MINSAP 2013:57). Further, the plan seeks to intervene in people´s sexuality: It aims at reducing the number of young people who have had sexual relations before the age of 15 (MINSAP 2013:67), whereas the *HIV Survey* suggests having "sex without penetration" as a form of "safe sex" (CEPDE 2015:71,123), and that an effective form of risk reduction is monogamy with a non-infected person (CEPDE 2015:123).

3. Effects

Discursive Effects

The framing of ´transactional sex´ as a health risk makes the fight against it a responsibility for a state that promises the revolutionary right to health. Making ´the response to HIV […] a state policy´ shows determination to fulfil the state´s portrayed role as carer, or even patron for "the groups that present the highest vulnerability or risk" (MINSAP 2013:49f) because of their ignorance and irresponsible behaviour, which justifies to scale up the targeted education and control efforts. The *claimed* adherence to an evidence-based approach and compliance with international standards, together with the use of sensitive language,[18] portrays official channels as living up to the commitment to non-stigmatisation in the HIV/AIDS response (CNP 2005), while it is up to the society to change "traditional social representations, stereotypes, and sociocultural and symbolic sex-gender constructions" (UNDP 2015:8) in order to realise the right to health for everyone.

The ´transactional sex´ discourse portrays the state´s HIV-prevention efforts as the result of ´civil society´ participation (MINSAP 2013:32-36), with the aim to include PPTS in the ´implementation, follow-up and evaluation of the programme´ (MINSAP 2013:45). However, the absence of this goal in the outcome indicators, as well as the non-consultation with PPTS representatives and the non-compliance with international recommendations by relying on top-down/coercive interventions suggest that the HIV response is *co-opted* by state-led mass groupings (e.g. Proyecto HSH, Red Trans-Cuba, CEPDE 2015:3) rather than led by PPTS, which would allow them voice in policies that affect their lives.

In contrast to acknowledging the urgency of addressing ´transactional sex´ with all means necessary to protect the revolutionary right to health, the representation of ´transactional sex´ as a marginal, individualised issue allows the Cuban leadership to uphold that the health risks associated with ´transactional sex´ are non-structural. The downplaying of the relevance of ´transactional sex´ works to reduce people´s risk perception, which in turn delegitimises debate on the issue. The absence of debate, as well as the likely underreporting of PPTS in the survey[19], then reinforces the discourse of ´transactional sex´ being hardly relevant.

The male-centric tendency of the ´transactional sex´ discourse indirectly reinforces the emphasis on Cuba´s advancements on gender issues by showing that females are less at risk of acquiring HIV than males – while on a global level, females are more likely to be affected by the infection than males (Ahmed 2011:226). This relates to the Cuban government´s prominent efforts towards

---

[18] E.g. ´MSM´ instead of ´homosexuals´, ´skin colour´ instead of ´race´, ´masculinities´ (´*masculinidades*´) and ´femininities´ (´*femininidades*´) instead of ´men´ and ´women´

[19] The methodology of the study (household survey) in combination with the (self-)stigmatisation of PPTS, the divergence of policy and practice regarding the legality of transactional sex, as well as the contrasting data provided by The Global Fund (reporting 89008 PPSTs and an HIV incidence of 2.4% in PPSTs, 2017:17,7, vs. 83683 PPSTs, CEPDE 2015:36, and an HIV prevalence of 0.99% in PPSTs, MINSAP 2013:17) allow for the assumption that the numbers given in the key documents at hand are most likely highly conservative estimations, and that underreporting of transactional sex and the incidence of HIV in PPTS need to be assumed.

achieving gender equality, and it goes along with the leadership´s ongoing emphasis on Cuba having been the first country to eliminate mother-to-child transmission of HIV and congenital syphilis in 2015 (Fariñas Acosta 2017), albeit by means of mandatory testing and C-sections of HIV-positive expectant females (González Núñez et al. 2000:221).

The adoption of a strong normative and moral stance on human rights, gender equality, respect for diverse gender identities, sexual orientations, and PLWHA (MINSAP 2013:68) and values like solidarity with those with the "highest vulnerability or risk" (MINSAP 2013:49f), portrays the state´s ongoing political will to destigmatise groups that are vulnerable to HIV ´to reduce the incidence of such illnesses.´ (MINSAP 2013:33) However, even though the plan refers to "sexual practices" in general, the discursive pre-judgment of transactional sex *as* risk behaviour exemplifies that the tolerance policy is mainly reserved for MSM, transwomen, and PLWHA, but not PPTS. Even though most PPTS *are* MSM, the plan´s expectations for MSM´s acceptance of PLWHA are the highest, while the expectations for PPTS are the lowest (MINSAP 2013). In fact, the de-linking of the ´respectable´ MSM from the re-stigmatised PPTS benefits Cuba´s LGBT liberation discourse, but on the cost of the rights and recognition of PPTS. Even though it is unclear why the plan´s goals for MSM´s acceptance of fellow MSM declines over the years (MINSAP 2013:85), the general pattern of goals for 2018 reproduces the stereotype of females and (emasculate) MSM as sensitive and tolerant, and thus, respectable, versus non-MSM males and PPTS as non-empathetic and immoral.

Subjectification Effects

The male-centrism, together with the non-engagement with the reported figure of 0.9% of male PPTS being younger than 15 years old (CEPDE 2015:24), while female ´transactional sex´ is allegedly more frequent in rural than in urban areas (CEPDE 2015:28), suggests that PPTS in Cuba do not comply with the stereotypical characteristics of *´jineteras´* that the ´outside´ and ´dissident´ media and scholars portray: young females seducing tourists in La Habana (e.g. Cabezas 2009, Daigle 2015).

The portrayal of PPTS as lacking capacities and morals – and thus, in need of the protection and guidance by the state – is reinforced by the patronising state and community-response to HIV, suggesting that PPTS are incapable of taking care for themselves. Rather than considering that PPTS might not openly participate in regular HIV prevention activities because of fear for condemnation or even arrest, PPTS are portrayed as ´spoiled´ by suggesting the state has to prepare material they would find "attractive" (MINSAP 2013:66). As indicated, the characterisation of PPTS as ´abnormal´, imprudent, and irresponsible is juxtaposed to MSM, who are portrayed as ´superior´ to the general male population and PPTS in several aspects (level of education, work involvement, stability of relationships, even Whiteness,[20] CEPDE 2015:35f). This portrayal of MSM as ´respectable´ suggests that long-term, stable relationships between males might have been moved from the ´area of contest´ between ´good´ and ´bad´ to ´acceptable´ sex (Rubin 1984:282). Tellingly, when reporting the population´s knowledge about HIV transmission, the *HIV Survey* simply excludes part

[20] in a highly racialised context where Whiteness continues to be perceived as ´desirable´.

of the data in which PPTS had higher knowledge than both the general population and MSM, to make a statement that the general population and MSM have higher knowledge about HIV transmission (CEPDE 2015:124). This illustrates that MSM are no longer portrayed as sexual ´dissident´ subjects, but located close to the general population, and thus, ´normalised´ (Kirk 2015).

Lived Effects

The portrayed need for ´patrons´ to proactively search for cases and for control to ´save´ PPTS from the ´high-risk activity´ of ´transactional sex´ does not only deprive PPTS of agency to care for their own health in a responsible manner (Ahmed 2011:236), but also encourages communities, families, and the state to increase surveillance under the disguise of health promotion. The increased ´screening´ of potential cases by family and community members, rent house owners, and state forces reinforces the (self-)stigmatisation of (´suspected´) PPTS, thus obstructing the likelihood of PPTS´ participation in developing a bottom-up approach to address HIV in their community, as reportedly envisioned by the *HIV Strategy*. In particular, even though the inclusion of rent house owners as collaborators in the HIV prevention – rather than primarily constructing and convicting them as ´pimps´ (MINJUS 2003:3) – might help to increase condom use in PPTS and MSM (who are those who use the rent houses because of lack of spaces for sex), it simultaneously increases indirect state control in the nation´s bedrooms.

Increased stigma and control push PPTS into invisibility, with the respective consequences: First, having to ´hide´ when engaging with potential ´clients/partners´ and searching for safe spaces for privacy reduces PPTS´ income-generating opportunities: it takes time and might discourage ´clients/partners´ who do not want to risk trouble with authorities. Thus, PPTS need to increase their engagement in transactional sex to make up for the monetary losses. Further, the time and space restrictions, together with their position in a legal limbo, puts PPTS in a weaker bargaining position in negotiating the type of services they want to provide, as well as condom use, which increases PPTS´ risk of acquiring STIs.

The stigmatisation of transactional sex and the higher exposure to STIs are mutually reinforcing, restricting PPTS from accessing the improved services that the *HIV Strategy* foresees, such as HIV testing or treatment.

The increased gap in service accessibility between those who are already privileged (heterosexual/White MSM) and the stigmatised PPTS in turn reinforces the racialised false belief that HIV is only a risk for ´sexual dissidents´ (assumed to be non-Whites). Even though the criterium of receiving money, gifts, or other benefits for sex "is not directly relevant for HIV" in PPTS (De Zalduondo 1991:229), this *framing* of ´transactional sex´ as a health risk increases PPTS´ risk of obtaining HIV and barriers to accessing health services, but it also increases the risk for HIV in the *general* population.

Chapter 6 | Conclusion

1. Summary

Intuitively, the neo-abolitionist ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ discourse in the contemporary anti-trafficking approach and the ´transactional sex´ discourse in the HIV prevention approach – which does not suggest the need for criminalisation – seem incompatible. Yet, the two approaches share important similarities.

Both the anti-trafficking and the HIV prevention discourse portray the ´problem´ as a threat to revolutionary rights (freedom from exploitation and health, respectively), thus making the issues a responsibility of the Cuban government. Both discourses highlight the exceptionality of sexual transactions in the Cuban context – yet, they differ in the portrayal of those involved. In the anti-trafficking approach, those engaging in transactional sex are portrayed as female and underage ´victims´ of exploitation, whereas in the HIV-prevention approach, PPTS are portrayed as irresponsible male – but not MSM – agents. In line with the PPTS´ portrayed *inability* to protect themselves from ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ or *unwillingness* to protect themselves from the risk of HIV, the portrayed policy ´solutions´ in both approaches suggest that the state needs to provide education and care for victims and patients/´key populations´, and to control those involved in transactional sex (PPTS, pimps, ´clients´, and others in the anti-trafficking approach and PPTS in the HIV-prevention approach). Additionally, the HIV prevention approach introduces certain elements of a service orientation – an innovation for a country with a history of silencing concern about inadequacies of the revolutionary system (Human Rights Watch 2017).

Together with the portrayed ´participatory´ character of the anti-trafficking and the HIV-prevention approaches in a country that restricts independent organising (Human Rights Watch 2017), the emphasis on human rights, the portrayed compliance with international commitments, as well as the highlighting of international efforts (in the anti-trafficking approach) and the attempts to destigmatise PPTS (in the HIV-prevention approach), the two approaches represent the adoption of bottom-up rights-based, ´development talk´ as well as the political will to assume responsibility to address ´prostitution-as-trafficking´ and HIV, with whatever means necessary – including coercive measures. The portrayed ´professionalism´ and compliance with ´best practices´, together with the emphasis on the individual irresponsibility (rather than structural dynamics) ´driving´ PPTS into the Cuban sexual-affective economy, delegitimises any criticism of the state´s legitimacy of controlling Cubans´ sexuality under the disguise of guaranteeing their revolutionary right to freedom from exploitation and health.

Thus, it is – paradoxically – the appropriation of ´modernity´ talk that helps the Cuban revolutionary government portray itself as legitimate regulator of sexuality before international organisations, whose expected criticism the government is thereby thwarted (see Description of the Documents, p.53).[21]

[21] Yet similarly, the (restricted, but existing) reporting on state-controlled media on the documents or its precursors (Ávila Gómez 2017, Fariñas Acosta 2014, Menéndez Dávila 2010, Rodríguez 2014) also works to de-legitimise *Cubans´* critique.

2. Adverse Consequences for Social, Sexual and Gender Justice

The representations of transactional sex in both approaches risk adverse consequences. Both approaches – albeit to a different extent – leave options open to control PPTS, risking the reproduction of the very unjust power relations that the revolution set out to eradicate. The portrayed concentration of sexual transactions in gendered, sexualised, and racialised ´sexual dissidents´ works to lower the ´risk perception´ not only for sexual transactions, but also for the issues the policies actually seek to prevent: trafficking and HIV infections. Despite the strong commitment to gender equality and the condemnation of sexist gender stereotypes, both approaches reproduce racialised gendered and sexualised stereotypes. The play-off of – mainly White – MSM against – mainly non-White – PPTS risks encouraging the harmful ´Oppression Olympics´ that *prevents* the transformation of oppressive gendered, sexualised, and racialised hierarchies. While the attempt to destigmatise ´key populations´ in the HIV-prevention approach appears to confirm that, as elsewhere, "the AIDS world" provides "a more nurturing environment for sex worker movements" in comparison to the neo-abolitionist "feminist/"women´s human rights world" (Doezema 2010:24), perceived promiscuity, irresponsibility, and exchange of gifts, money, or other benefits (assumedly outside of romantic relationships) continue to prejudge sexual transactions as a threat to the revolutionary right to health (regardless of PPTS´ actual behaviour), thus justifying increased state control in the island´s bedrooms (or rent rooms, for that matter).

The failure of revolutionary governments to challenge restrictive – and racialised – gender and sexuality norms is not exclusive to the Cuban context (e.g. Heumann 2014:307, Randall 1992). What *is* "particularly novel" is the Cuban leadership´s explicit commitment to the "the decolonisation of politics, policies and practices" (Carmona Báez and Soto-Lafontaine 2015:776), as well as the alignment of sexual rights-as-human rights in the revolutionary discourse, making the (portrayal of) compliance with the promise of ´sexual liberation´ a duty of the revolutionary government.

3. Contributions of this Research

Critical Feminist Discourse Analysis of key policy documents has allowed me to *map* the coexisting dominant and hidden representations of transactional sex in Cuba and *outline* the construction of the legitimisation of state regulation of Cubans´ sexuality. It has allowed me to show how the government uses its portrayed compliance with ´respected´ international standards and the depicted adoption of a de-colonial human rights, gender, and sexuality lens to navigate the different demands that the revolutionary promises (freedom from exploitation, health, and non-discrimination) and potential partners (e.g. European Union) require in the approach to transactional sex in the anti-trafficking and HIV-prevention policies.

The combined examination of the representation of transactional sex in the anti-trafficking and in the HIV-prevention allows for an understanding of the complexity of policies that risk the criminalisation of gendered, sexualised, and racialised persons engaging in transactional sex. U*npacking* the contradictions between the approaches and *highlighting* the relevance of the adverse consequences of the representations (of transactional sex and of the state as legitimate regulator of sexuality) has helped to identify entry points that can be used to

pressure the more receptive institutions, e.g. in the health sector, which depends on financing by *The Global Fund*, to live up to their commitments. Such entry points could be the claimed compliance with international standards, the pledge to democratise the anti-trafficking and HIV-prevention response, and the acknowledgment of the non-unity of ´the government´. Although international pressure holds its own risks of reproducing the very ´modernity´ paradigm that the Cuban government has been fighting for the last sixty years, opposition leader José Daniel Ferrer suggests that due to the restrictions on local activism, "pressure" from the "international community" is needed (as cited in Antena3 2016, own translation) to determine whether the current momentum of instability can be taken "advantage" of to create an enabling environment for "transition" (Leader of the Damas de Blanco Berta Soler, as cited in Antena3 2016).

4. Final Remarks

The opportunities and risks for international organisations to demand Cuba´s compliance with its promised ´modern´ standards to increase civil liberties and thus, facilitate "real debate" (Randall 1992:138) should be the agenda for further research. Increasing opportunities for activist exchange within Cuba and with activists outside would allow ´us´ to learn about Cuban PPTS´ plans and priorities of how Cuba could become a ´real´ ´vanguard´ for sexual rights and social justice. Further research could also examine the plurality of intersections addressed in the documents which the methodology, in combination with the broad scope of this research, has not allowed me to do (gender, age, personal characteristics in the anti-trafficking approach, additionally sexuality, race, PPTS, geographical location, education, relationship status, moral values in the HIV-prevention approach). For instance, the reported – but non-problematised – concentration of female PPTS in rural areas in the HIV-prevention approach separates them from the young, female, urban ´prostitutes-as-trafficking-victims´ in the anti-trafficking approach, which might shed light on the factors of gender and tourist- vs. Cuban-orientation orientation (M. Daigle, personal communication, 13 September 2017) as probable determinants of the policing of persons engaging in transactional sex according to anti-trafficking or HIV-prevention measures.

This research was a challenge, as I have gained a more nuanced, but at the same time more polarised view on the Cuban socialist project. In the documents and personal conversations with Cubans living in and outside of the country, the glorification of the ´triumphs´ of the revolution with mystifying language that – at least for a non-native speaker – obscures more than it reveals, in combination with the claimed self-reflectivity, contrasting with (my perception of) the reluctance to *meaningfully* engage with the revolution´s shortcomings through the (self-)silencing of critical voices, and the portrayal of the ´the outside world´ as ´savage´ made it difficult for me to appreciate the ´real´ advances that the Cuban alternative to global capitalism has brought about. I was often inclined to use Cuba´s portrayed exceptionalism against it, forcing me to recall that my critique of ´hypocrisy´ is not exclusive to the Cuban government. Yet, coming from an anti-capitalist position and being intrigued by the resilience, creativity, and the firm love for the island of the Cubans I´ve come across during the last years (irrespective of their political position), allowed me to navigate these tensions and avoiding the common polarisation between "Cuba-worship and Cuba-bashing" (Hamilton 2012:10) quite fairly.

Chapter 7 | References

Código Penal 1979 Cuba.

Ahmed, A. (2011) 'Feminism, Power, and Sex Work in the Context of HIV/AIDS: Consequences for Women's Health'*, Harvard Journal of Law & Gender* 34: 225-258.

Alcázar Campos, A. (2010) '"Jineterismo": ¿Turismo Sexual O Uso Táctico Del Sexo?'*, Revista de Antropología Social* 19: 307-336.

Alexander Guzman, T. (2015) 'Cuba Pre-1959: The Rise and Fall of a U.S. Backed Dictator with Links to the Mob'. Accessed 8 November 2017 https://www.globalresearch.ca/cuba-pre-1959-the-rise-and-fall-of-a-u-s-backed-dictator-with-links-to-the-mob/5464738.

Alfonso Rodríguez, A.C. and M. González Jiménez (2009) 'VIH Y Diversidad Sexual: Aproximación Cultural Al Homoerotismo Masculino. Material Para Profesionales De La Salud (HIV and Sexual Diversity: Cultural Approximation to Masculine Homoerotism. Material for Health Professionals)', Proyecto Ronda 6. Expansión y Descentralización de las Acciones de Prevención del VIH/Sida y la Atención Integral y Apoyo a las PVS en la República de Cuba. Habana: Editorial CENESEX.

Antena3 (2016) '¿Cuál Es El Futuro De Cuba Tras La Muerte De Fidel Castro? (what is Cuba´s Future After the Death of Fidel Castro?)'. Accessed 13 November 2017 http://www.antena3.com/noticias/mundo/cual-futuro-cuba-muerte-fidel-castro_20161127583a94a30cf267e7fb923f04.html.

Ávila Gómez, G. (2017) 'El Cenesex También Dice «Tolerancia Cero» a La Trata De Personas (CENESEX also Says «Zero Tolerance» to Trafficking in Persons)'. Accessed 27 September 2017 http://www.granma.cu/mundo/2017-04-13/el-cenesex-tambien-dice-tolerancia-cero-a-la-trata-de-personas-13-04-2017-21-04-14.

Bacchi, C. (2009) *Analysing Policy: Whats the Problem Represented to be?* Frenchs Forest: Pearson Education.

Barrera Alvarado, P.A. and P.A. Ortiz Ramírez (n.d.) 'Tod*s, Todxs, Tod@s, Todes, Todas Y Todos: El Lenguaje Es Responsabilidad. (Tod*s, Todxs, Tod@s, Todes, Todas Y Todos: Language is Responsibility)'. Accessed 13 November 2017 http://reflexionesmarginales.com/3.0/tods-todxs-tods-todes-todas-y-todos-el-lenguaje-es-responsabilidad/.

Baskin, S., A. Ahmed and A. Forbes (2015) 'Criminal Laws on Sex Work and HIV Transmission: Mapping the Laws, Considering the Consequences'*, Denver Law Review* 93: 355-388.

Bell, K. (2013) 'Doing Qualitative Fieldwork in Cuba: Social Research in Politically Sensitive Locations', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 16(2): 109-124.

Benítez Pérez, M.E. (2014) 'La Trayectoria Del Aborto Seguro En Cuba: Evitar Mejor Que Abortar (Save Abortion Trajectory in Cuba: Avoiding is Better than Aborting)', *Revista Novedades en Población* 10(20): 87-104.

Budhiraja, S., S.T. Fried and A. Teixeira (2010) 'Spelling it Out: From Alphabet Soup to Sexual Rights and Gender Justice', in A. Lind (ed.) *Development, Sexual Rights and Global Governance,* pp. 131-144. Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge.

Butler, C.N. (2015) 'A Critical Race Feminist Perspective on Prostitution & Sex Trafficking in America', *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism* 27: 95-139.

Cabezas, A.L. (2009) *Economies of Desire: Sex and Tourism in Cuba and the Dominican Republic*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Cabezas, A.L. (2004) 'Between Love and Money: Sex, Tourism, and Citizenship in Cuba and the Dominican Republic', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 29(4): 987-1015.

Carmona Báez, A. and M. Soto-Lafontaine (2015) 'Sexual Self-Determination in Cuba: The Epistemic Decolonial Turn', *Sexualities* 18(7): 775-797.

Castro Rúz, R. (2015) 'Remarks by Raúl Castro Ruz, President of the Councils of State and Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, in His Address to the Meeting on "Global Leaders´ Meeting on Gender Equality and Women´s Empowerment: A Commitment to Action"'.

Castro, F. and T. Borge (1992) 'Un Grano De Maíz (A Grain of Corn)'. Accessed 13 May 2017 https://elsudamericano.files.wordpress.com/2015/09/36-fidel-borge-coleccic3b3n.pdf.

Castro, F. (1999) 'Speech at the 40th Anniversary Act of the Revolutionary National Police on 5 January 1999 '. Accessed 11 November 2017 http://www.cuba.cu/gobierno/discursos/1999/esp/f050199e.html.

Castro, F. (1977) 'Speech at the Closing Act of the First Congress of the CDR, at the Plaza De La Revolución, La Habana'. Accessed 24 October 2017 http://www.cuba.cu/gobierno/discursos/1977/esp/f280977e.html.

Castro, F. (1962) 'Speech at the ´Lenin´ Peace Prize Award Ceremony on 19 March 1962'. Accessed 6 June 2017 http://www.cuba.cu/gobierno/discursos/1962/esp/f190362e.html.

Castro, F. (1959) 'Speech in the Céspedes Park of Santiago De Cuba '. Accessed 6 June 2017 http://www.cuba.cu/gobierno/discursos/1959/esp/f010159e.html.

CEDAW (2013) 'Concluding Observations on the Combined Seventh and Eighth Periodic Reports of Cuba´'.

CEDAW (2011) 'Consideration of Reports Submitted by States Parties Under Article 18 of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women. Combined Seventh and Eighth Periodic Reports of States Parties. Cuba'.

CEPDE (2015) 'Encuesta Sobre Indicadores De Prevención De Infección Por El VIH/SIDA- 2013 (Survey on HIV/AIDS Infection Prevention Indicators-2013)'.

CEPDE (2014) 'Encuesta a Personas Con VIH/Sida 2012 (Survey of People with HIV/AIDS 2012)'.

Clealand, D.P. (2013) 'When Ideology Clashes with Reality: Racial Discrimination and Black Identity in Contemporary Cuba', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36(10): 1619-1636.

CNP (2005) 'Guía Para Los Comunicadores Sociales VIH/Sida (Guide for Social Communicators for HIV/AIDS)'.

CNP (1996) 'Encuesta Sobre Indicadores De Prevención De Infección Por VIH 1996 (Survey on HIV Infection Prevention Indicators 1996)'.'.

Connell, R.W. (1990) 'The State, Gender, and Sexual Politics', *Theory and Society* 19(5): 507-544.

Cornwall, A. and S. Jolly (2006) 'Introduction: Sexuality Matters', *IDS Bulletin* 37(5): 1-11.

Cornwall, A. and D. Eade (eds) (2010) *Deconstructing Development Discourse: Buzzwords and Fuzzwords*. Warwickshire: Practical Action Publishing and Oxfam GB.

Council of the European Union (2016) 'EU-Cuba: Council Opens New Chapter in Relations'. Accessed 8 November 2017 http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/12/06/eu-cuba-relations/.

Council of the European Union (1996) 'Common Position of 2 December 1996 Defined by the Council on the Basis of Article J.2 of the Treaty on European Union, on Cuba (96/6 97/CFSP)', *Official Journal of the European Communities* 322(1).

Cubadebate (2017) 'El Salario Medio En Cuba Crece a 740 Pesos (the Average Salary in Cuba Grows to 740 Pesos)'. Accessed 26 September 2017 http://www.cubadebate.cu/noticias/2017/06/30/ha-crecido-el-salario-medio-en-cuba-infografia/#.WcmZqMgjHIU.

Cubadebate (2016) 'Llegan Cuatro Millones De Turistas a Cuba En 2016 (Four Million Tourists Arrive in Cuba in 2016)'. Accessed 7 June 2017

http://www.cubadebate.cu/noticias/2016/12/31/llegan-cuatro-millones-de-turistas-a-cuba-en-2016/#.WTfRomiGPIU.

Daigle, M. (2015) *From Cuba with Love: Sex and Money in the Twenty-First Century*. Oakland: University of California Press.

Daigle, M. (2013) 'Love, Sex, Money, and Meaning: Using Language to Create Identities and Challenge Categories in Cuba', *Alternatives* 38(1): 63-77.

de Sousa Santos, B. (2007) 'Beyond Abyssal Thinking: From Global Lines to Ecologies of Knowledges', *REVIEW* XXX(1): 45-89.

De Zalduondo, B.O. (1991) 'Prostitution Viewed Cross- Culturally: Toward Re-contextualizing Sex Work in AIDS Intervention Research', *Journal of Sex Research* 28(2): 223-248.

del Sol Reyes, A. (2012) 'Mariela Castro: Prostitución: Penalizar Al Cliente (Mariela Castro: Prostitution: Penalise the Client)'. Accessed 28 March 2017 http://yohandry.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1145:mariela-castroprostitucion-penalizar-al-cliente&catid=44:cuba.

División de Asuntos de Género de la CEPAL (2015) 'Informe Nacional Cuba'.

Doezema, J. (2010) *Sex Slaves and Discourse Masters: The Construction of Trafficking*. London, New York: Zed Books Ltd.

ECOSOC (2000) 'Report of the Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, its Causes and Consequences, Ms. Radhika Coomaraswamy: Report on the Mission to Cuba'.

Fairley, J. (2006) 'Dancing Back to Front: Regeton [Sic], Sexuality, Gender and Transnationalism in Cuba', *Popular Music* 25(3): 471-488.

Fariñas Acosta, L. (2017) 'Reducción De La Transmisión Materno Infantil Del VIH Y La Sífilis Se Desacelera En América Latina Y El Caribe (Reduction of Mother-to-Child Transmission of HIV and Congenital Syphilis Slows Down in Latin America and the Caribbean)'. Accessed 26 September 2017 http://www.granma.cu/cuba/2017-05-25/reduccion-de-la-transmision-materno-infantil-del-vih-y-la-sifilis-se-desacelera-en-america-latina-y-el-caribe-25-05-2017-23-05-53.

Fariñas Acosta, L. (2014) 'Retos, Números, Realidades (Challenges, Numbers, Realities)'. Accessed 6 October 2017 http://www.granma.cu/cuba/2014-11-30/retos-numeros-realidades.

Fariñas Acosta, L. (2013) 'Tolerancia Cero a La Trata De Menores En Cuba: Proteger Sus Sueños (Cero Tolerance for Trafficking of Minors in Cuba: Protect their Dreams)'. Accessed 11 October 2017 http://www.granma.cu/granmad/2013/11/13/nacional/artic01.html.

Ferree, M.M. (2009) 'Inequality, Intersectionality and the Politics of Discourse', 'Inequality, Intersectionality and the Politics of Discourse', *The Discursive Politics of Gender Equality: Stretching, Bending and Policy-Making,* pp. 86-104. London and New York: Routledge.

Friedman, E.J. (2006) 'Introduction: How Pink is the ´Pink Tide´?'*, NACLA Report on the Americas* 40(2): 16.

Giammarinaro, M. (2017) 'End of Visit Statement by Maria Grazia Giammarinaro, Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, on Her Visit to Cuba (10-14 April 2017)'.

Global Policy Forum (2003) 'Poverty Pushes Cuban Women into Sex Tourism'. Accessed 8 January 2017 https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/211/44367.html.

Gómez Quintana, G. (2017) 'Trata no Es Problema Social En Cuba, Pero Tampoco Es El Paraíso (Trafficking Not a Social Problem in Cuba, but neither is it Paradise)'. Accessed 24 September 2017 http://www.cimacnoticias.com.mx/?q=noticia/trata-no-es-problema-social-en-cuba-pero-tampoco-es-el-para-so.

González Núñez, I., M. Díaz Jidy and J. Pérez Ávila (2000) 'La Transmisión Materno Infantil Del VIH/SIDA En Cuba (the Mother-to-Child Transmission of HIV/AIDS in Cuba) '*, Revista Cubana de Medicina Tropical* 52(3): 220-224.

Gonzalez, E. (2016) 'Weekly Chart: The Cuba-Venezuela Oil Relationship'. Accessed 7 June 2017 http://www.as-coa.org/articles/weekly-chart-cuba-venezuela-oil-relationship.

Goodwin, S. (2011) 'Analysing Policy as Discourse: Methodological Advances in Policy Analysis', in L. Markauskaite, P. Freebody and J. Irwin (eds) *Methodological Choice and Design: Scholarship, Policy and Practice in Social and Educational Research,* Vol. 9. pp. 167-180. Dordrecht, Heidelberg, London, New York: Springer Science & Business Media.

Granma (2017). Accessed 9 October 2017 http://en.granma.cu/.

Guerra, L. (2014) 'Raza, Negrismo, Y Prostitutas Rehabilitadas: Revolucionarios Inconformes Y Disidencia Involuntaria En La Revolución Cubana'*, América Sin Nombre* 19: 126-139.

Hall, S. (1992) 'The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power', in S. Hall and B. Gieben (eds) *Formations of Modernity,* pp. 275-331. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hamilton, C. (2012) *Sexual Revolutions in Cuba: Passion, Politics, and Memory.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press Books.

Haydulina, A. (2010) 'Interview with Mariela Castro on the Future of Sex and Socialism in Cuba', in J. Corrales and M. Pecheny (eds) *The Politics of Sexuality in Latin America,* pp. 270-273. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Henken, T. (2008) *Cuba: A Global Studies Handbook*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.

Heumann, S. (2014) 'Gender, Sexuality, and Politics: Rethinking the Relationship between Feminism and Sandinismo in Nicaragua'*, Social Politics* 21(2): 290-314.

Hodge, G.D. (2005) 'Sex Workers of Havana: The Lure of Things'*, NACLA Report on the Americas* 38(4): 12-15.

Hodge, G.D. (2001) 'Colonization of the Cuban Body'*, NACLA Report on the Americas* 34(5): 20-28.

Hubbard, P. (2001) 'Sex Zones: Intimacy, Citizenship and Public Space'*, Sexualities* 4(1): 51-71.

Human Rights Watch (2017) 'World Report 2017: Cuba'. Accessed 12 November 2017 https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2017/country-chapters/cuba.

Hynson, R. (2015) '"Count, Capture, and Reeducate": The Campaign to Rehabilitate Cuba's Female Sex Workers, 1959–1966'*, Journal of the History of Sexuality* 24(1): 125-153.

Ingraham, C. (2006) 'Thinking Straight, Acting Bent. Heteronormativity and Homosexuality', in K. Davis, M. Evans and J. Lorber (eds) *Handbook of Gender and Women´s Studies,* pp. 307-321. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Inter-Parliamentary Union (2017) 'Percentage of Women in the Lower Or Single House'. Accessed 1 March 2017 http://www.ipu.org/WMN-e/classif.htm.

IPS Cuba (2017) '¿Qué Establece El Plan Cubano Contra La Trata De Personas? (what does the Cuban Plan Against Trafficking in Persons Establish?)'. Accessed 9 October 2017 http://www.ipscuba.net/sociedad/que-establece-el-plan-cubano-contra-la-trata-de-personas/.

Jad, I. (2010) 'NGOs: Between Buzzwords and Social Movements', in A. Cornwall and D. Eade (eds) *Deconstructing Development Discourse: Buzzwords and Fuzzwords,* pp. 193-202. Warwickshire: Practical Action Publishing and Oxfam GB.

Johnson, C. (2011) 'Framing for Change: Social Policy, the State, and the Federación De Mujeres Cubanas'*, Cuban Studies* 42(1): 35-51.

Kempadoo, K. (2009) 'Caribbean Sexuality – Mapping the Field'*, Caribbean Review of Gender Studies* (3): 1-24.

Kirk, E.J. (2017) *Cuba's Gay Revolution: Normalizing Sexual Diversity through a Health-Based Approach*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Kirk, E.J. (2015) 'The Normalization of Sexual Diversity in Revolutionary Cuba', Phd Thesis. Nottingham: University of Nottingham.

Labacena Romero, D. (2017) 'Ojos Abiertos Ante Un Delito Sin Fronteras (Open Eyes in the Face of a Crime without Borders)'. Accessed 9 October 2017 http://www.juventudrebelde.cu/cuba/2017-08-23/ojos-abiertos-ante-un-delito-sin-fronteras.

Lamrani, S. (2014) *Cuba, the Media, and the Challenge of Impartiality*. NYU Press.

Lazar, M.M. (2007) 'Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis: Articulating a Feminist Discourse Praxis'*, Critical Discourse Studies* 4(2): 141-164.

León González, O. (2014) 'Statement by Mr. Oscar León González, Ambassador and Deputy Permanent Representative of Cuba at the Second Regular Session of UN Women Executive Board. New York, 15-16 September 2014'. Accessed 23 October 2017 http://www.cubadiplomatica.cu/onu/EN/StatementsinUN/AtMainCommittees/3rdSocialHumanitarianandCulturalAffairs/Year2014/3raC14IsegundasesionUNwomen1516Sep.aspx.

Luciak, I.A. (2005) 'Party and State in Cuba: Gender Equality in Political Decision Making'*, Politics & Gender* 1(2): 241-263.

Lugones, M. (2016) 'The Coloniality of Gender', in W. Harcourt (ed.) *The Palgrave Handbook of Gender and Development,* pp. 13-33. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Luis Baños, J. (2017) 'Centro Cubano Califica La Prostitución De Explotación (Cuban Center Qualifies Prostitution as Exploitation)'. Accessed 12 June 2017 http://www.ipscuba.net/genero/centro-cubano-califica-la-prostitucion-de-explotacion/.

MacKinnon, C.A. (1982) 'Feminism, Marxism, Method, and the State: An Agenda for Theory'*, Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 7(3): 515-544.

Macleod, C. and K. Durrheim (2002) 'Foucauldian Feminism: The Implications of Governmentality'*, Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 32(1): 41-60.

María Ramírez, M. (2011) 'Entrevista Con Mariela Castro: Detrás Del Barrio Rojo Y Delante De Cuba (Interview with Mariela Castro: Behind the Red Light District and in Front of Cuba)'. Accessed 10 November 2017 http://www.cubadebate.cu/especiales/2011/11/09/entrevista-con-mariela-castro-detras-del-barrio-rojo-y-delante-de-cuba-video/#.WgYVMGhSzIW.

Marqués De Armas, P. (2014) *Ciencia Y Poder En Cuba. Racismo, Homofobia, Nación (1790-1970).* Madrid: Verbum Editorial.

McCloskey, D. (1994) 'How to do a Rhetorical Analysis, and Why'*, New Directions in Economic Methodology* : 319-342.

McGrow, L. (2017) *Missionary Positions: A Postcolonial Feminist Perspective on Sex Work and Faith-Based Outreach from Australia.* Leiden: Brill.

Menéndez Dávila, M. (2010) 'VIH: No Hay Peor Ciego (HIV: There´s no Worse Blind Person)'. Accessed 21 September 2017 http://www.juventudrebelde.cu/suplementos/sexo-sentido/2010-08-06/vih-no-hay-peor-ciego/imprimir.

MINJUS (2017) 'Plan De Acción Nacional Para La Prevención Y Enfrentamiento a La Trata De Personas En Cuba Y La Protección a Las Víctimas 2017-2020 (National Action Plan for the Prevention and Confrontation of Trafficking in Persons in Cuba and for the Protection of Victims 2017-2020)'. La Habana: Gaceta Oficial.

MINJUS (2013) 'Report of Cuba about the Legal-Penal Confrontation of Trafficking in Persons and Other Forms of Sexual Abuse (2012) (Informe De Cuba Sobre El Enfrentamiento Jurídico-Penal a La Trata De Personas Y Otras Formas De Abuso Sexual (2012))'.

MINJUS (2003) 'Instituto Nacional De La Vivienda. Resolución no. 1/2003 (National Housing Institute. Resolution no. 1/2003)'. La Habana: Gaceta Oficial.

MINREX (2016) 'Informe De Cuba Sobre Enfrentamiento a La Trata De Personas y Delitos Conexos 2015 (Report of Cuba about the Confrontation of Human Trafficking and Related Crimes 2015)'.

MINSAP (2013) 'Plan Estratégico Nacional Para La Prevención Y El Control De Las ITS Y El VIH/SIDA 2014-2018 (National Strategic Plan for the Prevention of HIV-AIDS 2014-2018, Part 1)'. Accessed 28 August 2017 http://files.sld.cu/sida/files/2014/03/pen-primera-parte.pdf.

MINSAP (2013) 'Plan Estratégico Nacional Para La Prevención Y El Control De Las ITS Y El VIH/SIDA 2014-2018 (Strategic Plan for the Prevention of HIV-AIDS 2014-2018, Part 2)'. Accessed 9 October 2017 http://files.sld.cu/sida/files/2014/03/pen-segunda-parte1.pdf.

MINSAP (2007) 'Plan Estratégico Nacional Para La Prevención Y El Control De Las ITS Y El VIH/SIDA 2007-2011 (National Strategic Plan for the Prevention of HIV-AIDS 2007-2011)'. Accessed 28 August 2017 http://www.sld.cu/galerias/pdf/sitios/dermatologia/anexo_2,_plan_estrategico__2007-2011.pdf.

MINSAP (2001) 'Plan Estratégico Nacional Para La Prevención Y El Control De Las ITS Y El VIH/SIDA 2001-2006 (National Strategic Plan for the Prevention of HIV-AIDS 2001-2006)'. Accessed 31 August 2017 http://www.sld.cu/galerias/pdf/estrategia.pdf.

Mohanty, C.T. (1997) 'Women Workers and Capitalist Scripts: Ideologies of Domination, Common Interests, and the Politics of Solidarity', in M. Jacqui Alexander and C.T. Mohanty (eds) *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures,* pp. 3-29. New York and London: Routledge.

Mohanty, C.T. (2003) '"Under Western Eyes" Revisited: Feminist Solidarity through Anticapitalist Struggles', in C.T. Mohanty (ed.) *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity,* pp. 221-251. The University of Chicago Press.

Mohanty, C.T. (1991) 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses', in C.T. Mohanty, A. Russo and L. Torres (eds) *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism,* Vol. 632. pp. 51-80. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Partido Comunista de Cuba (2016) 'Plan Nacional De Desarrollo Socialista Económico Y Social Hasta 2030: Propuesta De Visión De La Nación, Ejes Y Sectores Estratégicos (National Plan for the Socialiist Economic and Social Development Until 2030: Proposal for a Vision of the State, Strategic Axes and Sectors)'. Accessed 5 September 2017 http://www.granma.cu/file/pdf/gaceta/Copia%20para%20el%20Sitio%20Web.pdf.

Pérez Stable, E.J. (1992) 'La Epidemia Del SIDA En Cuba (the AIDS Epidemic in Cuba)', *Revista Latinoamericana de Psicología* 24(1-2): 71-84.

Poey Sánchez, A. (2017) 'Combating Gender Violence'. Accessed 11 June 2017 http://en.granma.cu/cuba/2017-02-06/combating-gender-violence.

Prevención de ITS en Personas que Practican Sexo Transaccional (2017) '[Facebook Page]'. Accessed 14 October 2017 https://www.facebook.com/Prevenci%C3%B3n-de-ITS-en-personas-que-practican-sexo-transaccional-143218749487163/.

Randall, M. (1992) *Gathering Rage. the Failure of 20th Century Revolutions to Develop a Feminist Agenda.* New York: Monthly Review Press.

RedTraSex (2016) 'Sex Work and Working Conditions: The Impact of being Clandestine'.

Republic of Cuba (2013) 'Replies of Cuba to the List of Issues to be Taken Up in Connection with the Consideration of its Seventh and Eighth Periodic Reports', CEDAW Periodic Reports.

Rodríguez Lauzurique, R.S., A.C. Alfonso Rodríguez and M. González Jiménez (2009) 'Prevenir Desde La Diversidad Sexual: Herramientas Para El Autocuidado Y La Prevención De Las ITS Y El VIH (Prevent from the Realm of Sexual Diversity: Tools for Self-Care and the Prevention of STIs and HIV)'. La Habana: Editorial CENESEX.

Rodríguez, L. (2014) 'Cuba: "Tolerancia Cero" a La Injusticia (Cuba: "Zero Tolerance" for Injustice)'. Accessed 11 October 2017 http://www.granma.cu/cuba/2014-11-18/cuba-tolerancia-cero-a-la-injusticia.

Romeo Matos, L. (2017) 'Visitará Cuba Relatora Especial De La ONU Sobre Trata De Personas (UN Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in Persons Will Visit Cuba)'. Accessed 11 October 2017 http://www.acn.cu/cuba/25870-visitara-cuba-relatora-especial-de-la-onu-sobre-trata-de-personas.

Roschelle, A.R., M.I. Toro-Morn and E. Facio (2010) 'Toward a Feminist Methodological Approach to the Intersection of Race, Class, and Gender: Lessons from Cuba', in M. Texler Segal (ed.) *Interactions and Intersections of Gendered Bodies at Work, at Home, and at Play,* Vol. 14. pp. 357-380. Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Rubin, G. (1984) 'Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality', in C.S. Vance (ed.) *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality,* pp. 267-319. Boston, London, Melbourne, Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Rubin, G. (1999) 'Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality', in G. Rubin, R. Parker and P. Aggleton (eds) *Culture, Society, and Sexuality: A Reader,* pp. 143-178. London, New York: Routledge.

Salomon, J. (2016) 'Six Facts about Censorship in Cuba'. Accessed 13 October 2017 https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2016/03/six-facts-about-censorship-in-cuba/.

Saunders, T.L. (2010) 'Black Lesbians and Racial Identity in Contemporary Cuba'*, Black Women, Gender & Families* 4(1): 1-28.

Saunders, T.L. (2009) 'Grupo OREMI: Black Lesbians and the Struggle for Safe Social Space in Havana'*, Souls* 11(2): 167-185.

Savage, O.M.N. and T.M. Tchombe (1994) 'Anthropological Perspectives on Sexual Behaviour in Africa'*, Annual Review of Sex Research* 5(1): 50-72.

Schaffauser, T. (2015) 'Sex Workers' Struggles: Trade Unions must Accept Workers' Realities', *Global Labour Column* 223.

Scoular, J. (2010) 'What's Law Got to do with it? how and Why Law Matters in the Regulation of Sex Work'*, Journal of Law and Society* 37(1): 12-39.

Sierra Madero, A. (2013) 'Cuerpos En Venta: Pinguerismo Y Masculinidad Negociada En La Cuba Contemporánea (Bodies on Sale: Pinguerismo and Negotiated Masculinity in Contemporary Cuba)'*, Nómadas* (38): 167-183.

Stout, N. (2011) 'The Rise of Gay Tolerance in Cuba: The Case of the UN Vote'*, NACLA Report on the Americas* 44(4): 34-37.

The Global Fund (2017) 'Grant Performance Report: CUB-H-UNDP'.

The Global Fund (2014) 'Standard Concept Note Cuba: Investing for Impact Against HIV, Tuberculosis Or Malaria'.

Trumbull, C. (2001) 'Prostitution and Sex Tourism in Cuba', *Cuba in Transition* 11: 356-371.

UNDP (2015) 'Proyecto: Respuesta Al VIH Para Poblaciones Clave 2015-2017 (Project: Response to HIV in Key Populations: 2015-2017)'.

UNESCO (n.d.) 'Plan Estratégico Nacional Para La Prevención Y El Control De Las ITS Y El VIH/SIDA 2014-2018 (National Strategic Plan for the Prevention and Control of STIs and HIV/AIDS 2014-2018)'. Accessed 9 October 2017 http://hivhealthclearinghouse.unesco.org/sites/default/files/resources/cuba-plan-estrategico-its_vih_sida-2014_2018.pdf.

UNODC (2000) 'Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children'.

Van Dijk, T.A. (2001) 'Multidisciplinary CDA: A Plea for Diversity', in R. Wodak and M. Meyer (eds) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis,* pp. 95-120. London: Sage.

Verloo, M. and E. Lombardo (2007) 'Contested Gender Equality and Policy Variety in Europe: Introducing a Critical Frame Analysis Approach', in M. Verloo (ed.) *Multiple Meanings of Gender Equality: A Critical Frame Analysis of Gender Policies in Europe,* pp. 21-49. Budapest; New York: Central European University Press.

Wagner, M. (2017) 'Gendered and Sexualised Norms, ´Development´, and the Struggle for Social Justice in Cuba. ISS Course Work for ISS-4226-16-17'. The Hague: Institute of Social Studies.

Wagner, M. (2017) 'Ideology and Women´s Rights: The Discourse Against Transactional Sex in Cuba´s 2013 Reply to the CEDAW. ISS Course Work for ISS-3210-16-17'. The Hague: Institute of Social Studies.

Walkowitz, J.R. (2016) 'The Politics of Prostitution and Sexual Labour', *History Workshop Journal* (82): 188-198.

WHO (2012) 'Prevention and Treatment of HIV and Other Sexually Transmitted Infections for Sex Workers in Low- and Middle-Income Countries: Recommendations for a Public Health Approach'.

Appendix

A Guiding Questions

	Question	Goal	Strategies
Diagnosis	1. What is the text centrally about? How is the text organised?	To get a first, overall idea of what a discourse or corpus of text is all about	Identification of the stated and unstated goals, text structure, underlying principles (see Appendix B, p.53)
	2. What's the problem represented to be? Which are the main statements and the main conclusions?	To identify the implied problem representation.	Identification of the problem as it is expressed in the policy. Supported by the analysis of codes and co-occurrences with Atlas.ti.
	3. What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem? What is seen as a cause of what? What is seen as the norm, if there is a problem? Who is seen responsible for the problem?	To ascertain the conceptual premises or logics that underpin specific problem representations	Foucauldian archaeology involving discourse analysis techniques, such as identifying binaries, key concepts and key categories.
	4. How does the problematisation take place?	To identify argumentation, style, and conviction techniques, dichotomies, metaphors, contrasts, active/passive roles, meanings, word choices, linguistic aspects that are less under the control of the author	Supplement analysis of explicit statements and underlying principles with content and lexical analysis to identify implicit markers
	5. How has this representation of the problem come about?	To highlight the conditions that allow a particular problem representation to take shape and assume dominance.	Foucauldian genealogical analysis involving tracing the 'history' of a current problem representation to identify the power relations involved in the prevailing problem representation.
	6. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? What is left out? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently? How is non-problematisation legitimised?	To raise for reflection and consideration issues and perspective that are silenced in identified problem representations.	Genealogical analysis, and cross-cultural, historical and cross-national comparisons in order to provide examples of alternative representations.
	7. How/where is this representation of the problem produced, disseminated and defended? Who has voice in suggesting suitable course of action? How could it be question, disputed and disrupted?	To pay attention to both the means through which some problem representations become dominant, and to the possibility of challenging problem representations that	Identification of institutions, individuals and agencies involved in sustaining the problem representation. Mobilising competing discourses or reframing the 'problem'.

		are judged to be harmful.	
Prognosis	8. What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?	To ascertain discursive effects, subjectification effects, and lived effects.	Discourse-analysis techniques including identification of subject positions, dividing practices where subjects are produced in opposition to one another and the production of subjects regarded as 'responsible' for problems. Impact analysis: consideration of the material impact of problem representations on people's lives.
	9. What to do? Who is acted upon?	Intersectionality	Identification of markers of power relations: in particular, gender, sexuality, race, age
	10. How to achieve goals?	Identify strategies, means, and instruments to tackle the represented problem	Analysis of objectives and previous and planned activities
	11. How does the prognosis take place?	To identify argumentation, style, and conviction techniques, dichotomies, metaphors, contrasts, active/passive roles, meanings, word choices, linguistic aspects that are less under the control of the author	Supplement analysis of explicit statements with content and lexical analysis to identify implicit markers
Contexts	12. What are the situational, societal, and historical contexts?	Identify the properties of the immediate, interactional situation, as well as the social, political, cultural and historical structures in which a communicative event takes place	
	13. What are the textual contexts?	Identify the author(s), envisioned readership, co-texts, intellectual and cultural context	

Table 2: Compilation of Questions and Strategies Guiding the Analysis. Elements from WPR in Black (Bacchi 2009), CDA in Blue (Van Dijk 2001), CFA in Green (Verloo and Lombardo 2007).

B Description of the Documents

1. Anti-Trafficking: ´Prostitution´

National Action Plan for the Prevention and Confrontation of Trafficking in Persons in Cuba and for the Protection of Victims 2017-2020

The *Trafficking Strategy (Plan de Acción Nacional para la Prevención y Enfrentamiento a la Trata de Personas y la Protección de las Víctimas Período 2017-2020)* was approved on 27 February 2017 by Raúl Castro, President of the Council of State, and published in the gazette on 2 August 2017 (MINJUS 2017:646). The plan was elaborated by a "multisector, interinstitutional, and multidisciplinary group" consisting of representatives of most of the relevant governmental and non-governmental institutions, "coordinated by the MINREX" (MINJUS 2017:650). In order to "ensure its effective implementation and compliance", the plan has been considered and validated "by all organisms and entities belonging to the society", and approved by the executive committee of the council of ministers (MINJUS 2017). Apart from earlier reports on the confrontation of trafficking in persons (see the exactly same wording in the Introduction of the *Trafficking*

Strategy as in the *Report on the Legal-Penal Confrontation of Trafficking in Persons and other Forms of Sexual Abuse (2012)*, MINJUS 2013:10), the plan is based on previous national strategy documents, such as the *National Action Plan for Children, Youth, and their Families*, effective until 2020, or the *National Plan for Economic and Social Development until 2030*, as well as declarations on international commitments, such as

- the *National Action Plan for the Follow-up to the IV World Conference on Women*,
- the *Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development*,
- the *Palermo Convention* (MINJUS 2017:649ff), and
- the adoption of "best practices recognised by the UN" (MINJUS 2017:667).

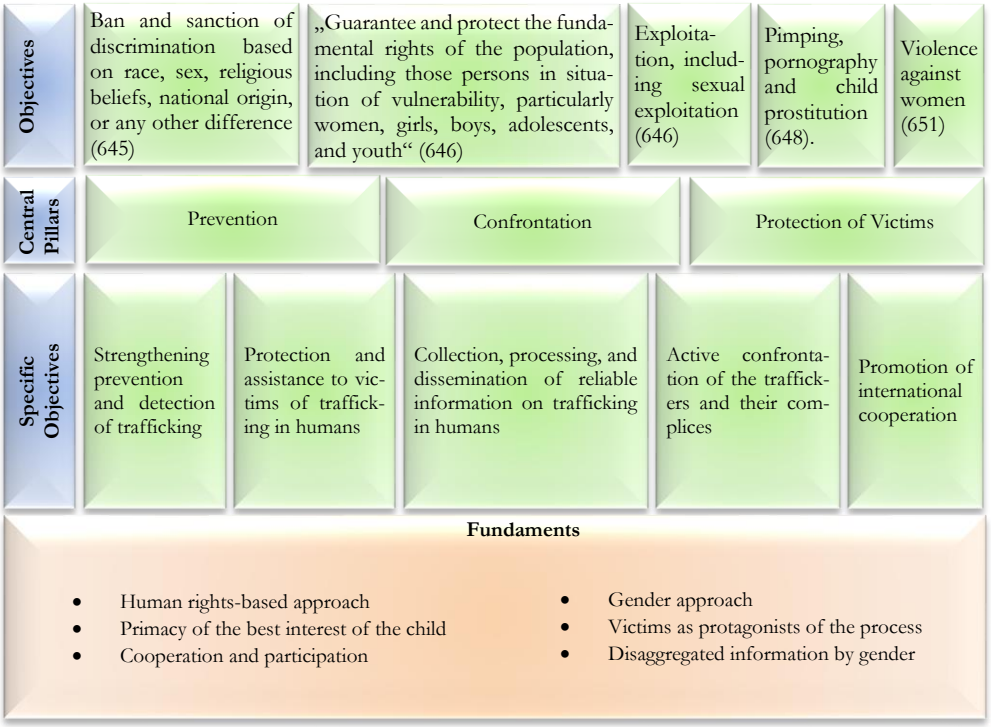

Figure 5: Schematic Outline of the *Trafficking Strategy* (MINJUS 2017).

The relevance of the international context of the *Trafficking Strategy* is further exemplified by the fact that the plan has been approved just before the visit of the Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in persons, especially women and children in April 2017 (Giammarinaro 2017). Apart from the Special Rapporteur, who noted the timely establishment of the *Trafficking Strategy* in her End of Visit Statement, the plan has been discussed in the online edition of *Juventud rebelde*, a major newspaper in Cuba managed by the *Union of Young Communists* (Labacena Romero 2017), or by the Inter Press Service in Cuba (IPS Cuba 2017), thus reaching common Cubans - at least those with internet access. While the plan is explicit in its condemnation of the "scourge" ("*flagelo*") of trafficking in persons (MINJUS 2017:645), it actually targets several different issues (see Figure 5).

Report of Cuba about the Confrontation of Human Trafficking and Related Crimes 2015

The *Trafficking Report (Informe de Cuba sobre Enfrentamiento a la Trata de Personas y Delitos Conexos 2015)* was published on the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 20 December 2016, although the *Cuban News Agency* reported that the document had only been published in April 2017, just before the visit of the Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (Romeo Matos 2017). It is the fourth report on the confrontation of trafficking and "other forms of sexual abuse" (2012, 2013)/"other crimes related with sexual exploitation or abuse" (2014), and makes references to several international conventions and protocols that Cuba has signed or ratified, such as the

- *Palermo Convention*
- *The Hague Convention*
- *Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women* (CEDAW)
- *Convention for the Rights of the Child*
- *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children.*

The report and its previous versions have been reported on by *Granma* (Fariñas Acosta 2013, Rodríguez 2014), and thus made available for a major part of the Cuban citizenship. However, the emphasis on international commitments (see Figure 6) and the reference to the delivery of the report series to multilateral diplomatic offices (13), and the publication of the report on the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs point to the notion that the envisioned readership is mainly international.

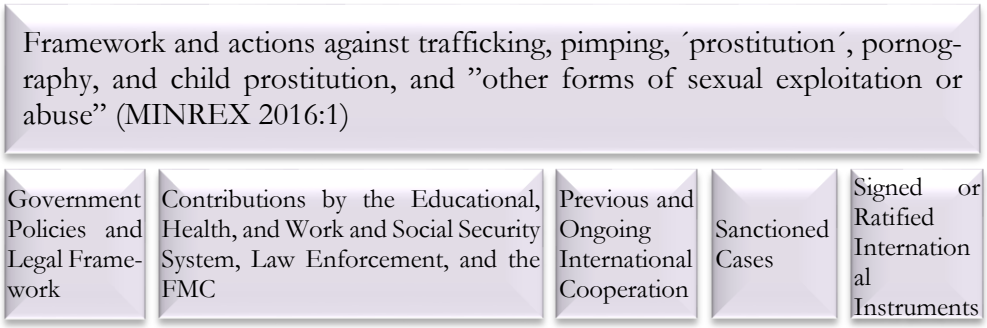

Figure 6: Schematic Outline of the *Report on Trafficking* (MINREX 2016).

2. HIV-Prevention: ´Transactional Sex´

Strategic Plan for the Prevention of STIs and HIV/AIDS 2014-2018

The *HIV Strategy* (*Plan Estratégico Nacional para la Prevención y el Control de las ITS y el VIH/SIDA 2014-2018*, in the following *HIV Strategy*) was adopted on 27 December 2013 by the Ministry of Public Health (MINSAP 2013). The revised *HIV Strategy* has been published by members of different institutions under the MINSAP, mainly from the *Centre for the Prevention of STIs-HIV/AIDS* (MINSAP 2013:198), and is build up on the strategic plans for 2001-2006 and 2007-2011 (no plan has been reported for the period 2012-2013), which in turn have

emerged from the integration of different programmes on the control of (congenital) syphilis, gonorrhoea, and HIV/AIDS in 1996 (MINSAP 2013:10). Given the still restricted internet access and limited availability of computers and laptops in the Cuba general population, it is likely that the main readership of the document are Cuban health officials with access to government computers, UN agencies, and donors (see, for instance, the availability of the plan on the UNESCO website, n.d., or references to the plan in a report by The Global Fund, 2014). However, common citizens are informed about the existence – though not the details – of the *HIV Strategy,* as it is mentioned in *Granma* (Fariñas Acosta 2014), Cuba´s most important daily newspaper (Lamrani 2014:23) and the "official voice of the Cuban Communist Party´s Central Committee" (Granma 2017).

On the webpage of infoMED, the Cuban Health Network, the document is split in two parts (MINSAP 2013, MINSAP 2013). The first part includes an analysis of the current situation of STIs globally and nationally, the characteristics of ´key populations of higher risk´ in Cuba, current responses by various national actors, and details about the national plan to control and eradicate HIV/AIDS, such as goals, approaches, activities, monitoring and evaluation mechanisms, and the planned budget to reach these goals. The second part of the *HIV Strategy* is easily overlooked, as it is uploaded in a different file, and contains additional background and procedural information that is not essential for understanding the plan, such as protocols for the treatment of various STIs, lists of national and international instruments, and a glossary.

The strategic plan aims to control and eradicate HIV/AIDS in order to "improve the health status of the population and increase its satisfaction with the services we provide, […] increase its outreach; […] impinge in the identified gaps […] and promote access for the most affected population"[22] (MINSAP 2013:2). The plan is based on the *Guidelines on Cuba´s Economic and Social Policies* (see also ´Values´ and ´Principles´ in the schematic outline of the plan, Figure 7), as well as on regional and international instruments, such as the

- *Declaration of Latin American and Caribbean Ministers of Health and Education,* the *Millennium Declaration* (MINSAP 2013:25),
- the 2001 UNGASS *Declaration of Commitment on HIV/AIDS* (MINSAP 2013:25), and
- the WHO´s *Manual on the Prevention and Treatment of HIV and other STIs in Sex Workers in Low- and Medium-Income Countries – Recommendations for a Public Health Approach* (MINSAP 2013:188).

[22] Translations of sections from the documents are my own

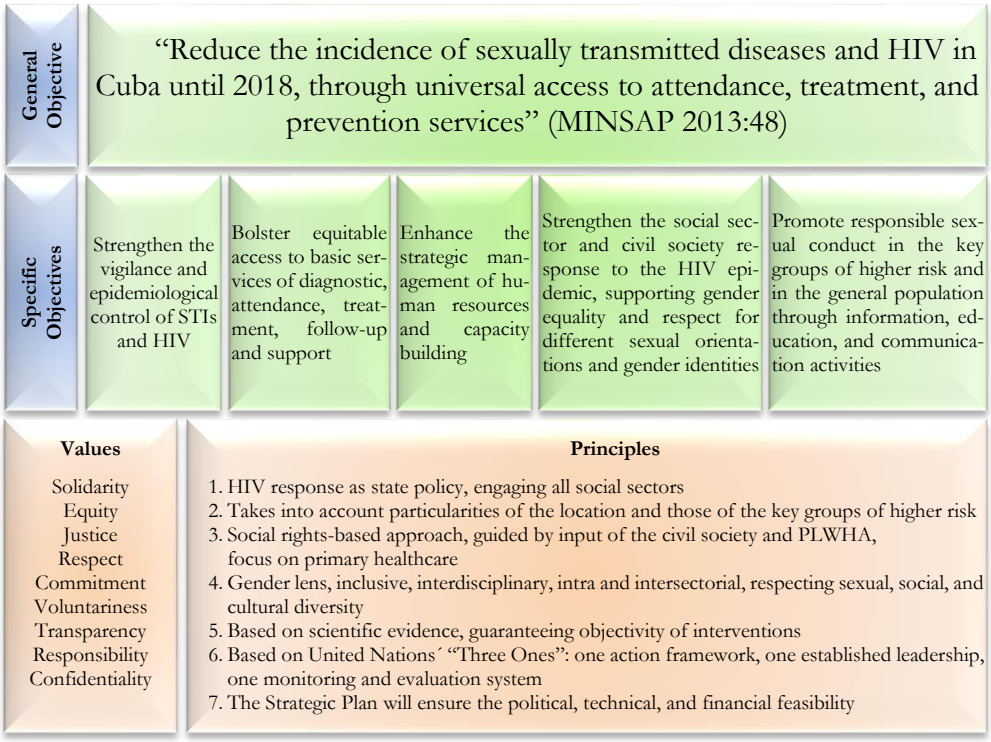

Figure 7: Schematic Outline of the *Strategic Plan HIV* (MINSAP. 2013a)**.**

HIV Survey Infection Prevention Indicators-2013

The *HIV Survey (Encuesta sobre Indicadores de Prevención de Infección por el VIH/SIDA-2013)* has been published by the *Centre for Population and Development Studies* (CEPDE) in December 2015, with the financial support of The Global Fund. The survey report has been elaborated by representatives of the CEPDE, the National STI/HIV/AIDS Prevention and Control Programme, and the National STI/HIV/AIDS Prevention and Control Centre (CNP ITS-VIH/sida). The survey is the 8th in a series of reports dating back to 1996, aiming to support decision-making in relation to HIV prevention and control programmes (see the survey´s objectives in Figure 8). The documents report the sociodemographic characteristics and profiles of the studied populations, the sexual behaviour of the population, and relevant factors for the prevention.

The *HIV Survey* has not been widely disseminated through Cuban media (a Google Search for "encuesta indicadores prevencion vih sida cuba" yields mainly results from international health and development organisations; the search for "encuesta indicadores prevencion vih sida" on the internet presences of *ACN*, *Granma*, and *Juventud Rebelde* yields no results). As smartphones are still the main internet access device for Cubans, the document´s length (170 pages plus appendix) hints to the notion that the document is not mainly addressed to common Cubans, but rather development staff, researchers, or health professionals with access to computers with internet.

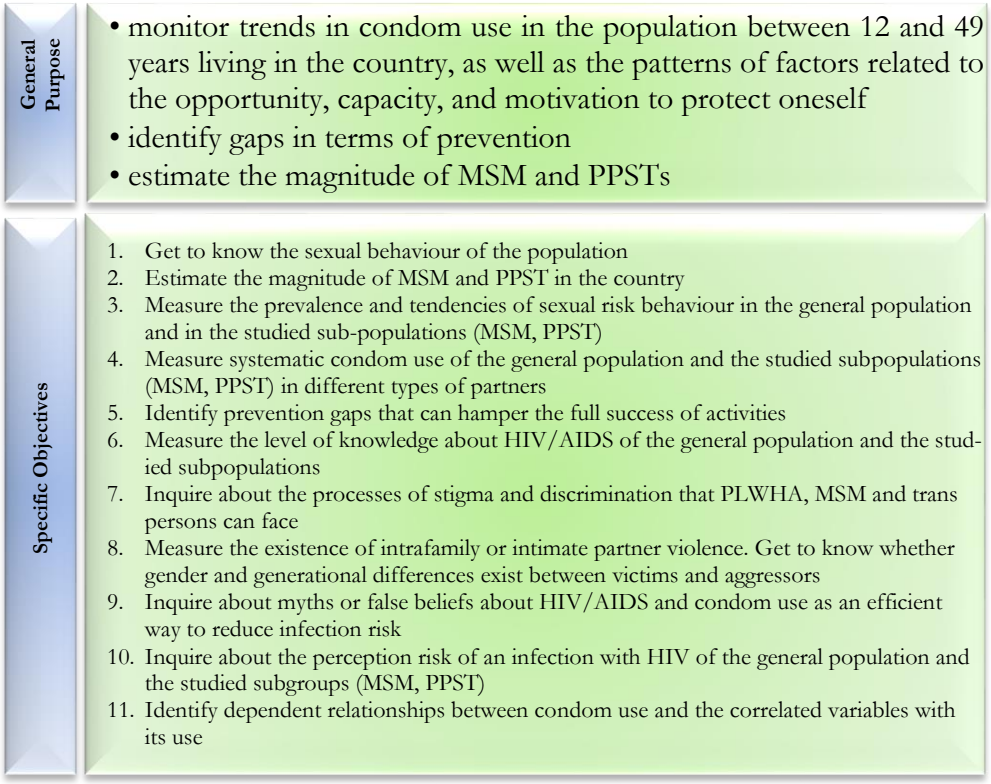

Figure 8: Schematic Outline of the *Survey on HIV/AIDS* (CEPDE 2015:5).

C Codes

Table 3: Codes Used for Initial Exploration of the Documents.

Name	**Words Coded**
Children	child* | menor | menores | infantil | infancia | niñ* | pedof* | pederast*
Control	control | control*
Crime	crime* | crimin* | delit* | sanci* | acusad* | delinc* | delinqu* | penal* | penal | delict* | ilícit* | illicit | crimin* | peligr* | dangerou*
Culture	cultur*
Drugs	drugs | drog* | alcoho* | narc* | sustanci* | depend*
Education	educa* | formac* | format* | train* | capacit* | reeduca* | re-educ* | escuela | escolar*
Exploitation	explo* | abuse | abused | abuso | abusos | violence | ultraje | esclav* | amenaz* | golpe | golpes | viol* | muerte | forz* | oblig*
Femaleness	wom*n | femal* | feminin* | femenin* | mujer | mujeres | fémin* | FMC

Foreign	foreig* | extranj* | exter* | estados unidos | holanda | ecuador | español | república dominicana | itali* | ind* | inglés | alemán | colomb* | guatem*
Gender	gender | gendered | género | géneros | generos
Health	health | salud | hospital | HIV | VIH | SIDA | STI | IST | malaria | tuberculosis | enfermeda*
HSH	HSH | hombres que tienen sexo con hombres | personas trans | transgénero
International	interna* | global | globali*
Liberty	libre | libertad | freedom | free | libera*
Maleness	man | men | mal* | masculin* | hombre | hombres | machos | HSH
Money	money | monetar* | dinero | financ* | económic* | econom* | consum*
MSM + Transmen	homosexua* | bisexua* | HSH | hombres que tienen sexo con hombres | personas trans | transgénero
National	Cuba | cuba* | domestic | national | nacional
Non-hetero-normativity	LGBT | homosexua* | bisexua* | *fobia | *phobia | heteronor* | homof* | HSH | hombres que tienen sexo con hombres | personas trans | transgénero
Pimping	proxenet* | pimp | pimp* | corrup* | priva* [not coded: privación de libertad of perpetrators]
Pornography	porno*
Prevention	prevenc* | prevent* | protec* | proteg* | atención | attention | asist* | asis* | apoy* | segur* | secur* | ayud*
Problem	problem* | flagelo |
Prostitution	prostit*
Rights	right | rights | derecho* | just | just*
Sex Work	trabaj* sexual | trabaj* de sexo | vend* | venta | mercado | comercio | work | labor | laboral | empleo | oficio | industria | client* | servici* sexuales | servici* de | favor sexo | prestaci* | prestar
Sexual Exchanges	prostit* | puta | transac* | intercambio* se* | sexual exchang* | PPTS | trabaj* sexual | trabaj* de sexo | servici* sexuales | favo* sexo | favor* sexuales
Sexuality	sex | sex* | CENESEX
Tourism	touris* | turis*
Trafficking	traffick* | trat* | tráfico | traf* | venta | vend*
Transactional Sex	transac* | intercambio | exchange | PPTS
Victims	victi* | vulnerab*
Youth	jóve* | youth | adolescentes | juventud

D Co-Occurrences

Table 4: Absolute (and Relative) Co-Occurrences of the Codes related to Children, Femaleness, and Maleness, own elaboration with Atlas.ti.

	Health	**Sexual Exchanges**	**Absolute Total**
Children*	85 (0.04)	6 (0.01)	91
Femaleness	51 (0.02)	51 (0.09)	102
Maleness	471 (0.13)	229 (0.09)	700

*note that this number appears heightened as the documents tend to refer – among others – to both girls (niña) and boys (niño), instead of children (niños).