

THE COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION  
OF CHILDREN

by

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ABSTRACT

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The purpose of the study is to review the thematic content analysis of the empirical literature on the commercial sexual exploitation of children. The research explores recurring themes and/ or trends in the literature by inductive content analysis. The research involves the examination of the research, that is, published books, book chapters, magazine articles, newspaper articles, and refereed journal articles on the topic of commercialized sexual exploitation of children. This very basic form of content analysis will seek to amplify issues on the topic in an organized fashion, by exploring the themes to emerge inductively and make policy recommendations.

This research concludes with specific recommendations; there is a need for global knowledge, as well as to understand the cultural, social, and economic contexts this issue may arise.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

“A central characteristic of any abuse is the dominant position of an adult that allows him or her to force or coerce a child into sexual activity. Child sexual abuse may include fondling a child's genitals, masturbation, oral-genital contact, digital penetration, vaginal and anal intercourse. Child sexual abuse is not solely restricted to physical contact; such abuse could include non- contact abuse, such as exposure, voyeurism, and child pornography. Abuse by peers also occurs.”  
(American Psychological Association, 2001, p.1)

The sexual exploitation of children worldwide is a global growth industry. In the United States alone, it is estimated that at least 300,000 children are involved in prostitution each year (Estes, 2001). Worldwide, at least 1 million children are forced into prostitution.

Child sexual exploitation or child sexual abuse exists throughout the world, in nearly all countries. The problem extends from underdeveloped countries to modern industrial countries. Generally speaking, girls are primary targets of sexual abuse, but boys can be targeted as well. Many studies, (see ECPAT, 2006) have found that children as young as six or seven years of age are sexually exploited. The consequences for abused and exploited children include profound, physical, developmental, emotional, and social problems.

It is believed that the commercial sexual exploitation of children throughout the world is on the increase. In Europe, for example, there is frequent trafficking of children



from Central and Eastern Europe to Western Europe for commercial sexual purposes. It has increased because it is easier and cheaper for traffickers to recruit them. In Africa, where trafficking is widespread, an estimated 41% of children between ages of 5 to 14 are sexually exploited. In Asia, since the 1980's, the exploitation of children has been documented. In the Americas and Caribbean, children are primarily forced to work in commercial sex in tourist resorts in Mexico. In a report from the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (2002), the U.S. Department of States Report July 2001, reveals that children from Central America, China and Eastern Europe are trafficked through Mexico for commercial sex work in the United States. These children are subjected to a range of abuses which include child pornography, child prostitution, child sex tourism, and trafficking of children for sexual purposes (Grant, David, Grabosky, 2001).

There are a number of factors that contribute to the commercial sexual exploitation of children. One contributing factor to the increased incidence of sexual exploitation of children is technology. Technology makes it easier for child abusers to exploit children; the internet has become an easy device to use in the exploitation of children. Today, producing child images on the internet for sexual purposes is very easy and inexpensive. According to the National Center for Exploited and Missing Children (2007), the technological ease, lack of expense, and anonymity in obtaining and distributing child pornography has resulted in the availability, accessibility, and volume of child pornography. The internet, for example, allows images and videos to be reproduced and made available to anyone with the click of a button. Images of children are exploited and monetary benefits are profiting from this type of child sexual abuse.

Child prostitution is another aspect of the sex trade between kids. Both girls and boys are prostituted everyday. As noted by Willis & Levy (2002), child prostitution involves offering the sexual services of a child or inducing a child to perform sexual acts for any form of compensation, financial, or otherwise. These children are prostituted in brothels, streets, bars, hotels and are frequently moved to help avoid detection. The National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (2007) estimates that over 50,000 women and children are trafficked into the U.S. for sexual exploitation. Many of these kids come from very poor countries and respond to ads on newspaper about job placement; however, what these kids don't know is that they are being tricked and are wanted for commercial sexual purposes.

Another aspect of child sexual abuse is child sex tourism. Child sex tourism is a growing industry in the world. Tourist cities provide easy access to children for sexual purposes. As tourists travel to distant lands to learn about the culture, food, customs, etc., they may also seek sexual access to children. Tourism offers the opportunity to make economic growth, even if it means exploiting children. The United States Department of Justice (2007) has reported that younger children (many below the age of 10) have been increasingly drawn into serving tourists. The commercial sexual exploitation of children is morally reprehensible and violates children's rights and liberties. Each year, millions of children are lost as a result.

In addition, the trafficking of children for sexual purposes involves organized crime groups. Trafficking is the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, for sexual exploitation (Ives, 2001, p.6). This type of child abuse

involves children taken by force from their countries to serve as sex slaves. This problem can be national or transnational. Children are moved across borders to be sexually exploited. The child is forced to sexually engage with an adult. In addition, what is even more problematic is the commercialized sexual exploitation of children. Individuals are making a monetary profit out of children who are sexually abused while these children are being humiliated, marginalized, exploited, and even killed. The commercial sexual exploitation of children is a seven billion dollar global business. This is the third most profitable illegal enterprise after the illegal trade and sale of guns and drugs. The commercial sexual exploitation of children involves coercion and violence, forced labor and is a contemporary form of slavery (ECPAT, 2006). The child is treated as a commercial and sexual object. Children involved in this phenomenon are constantly violated and denigrated. Those at risk of sexual exploitation are “most often vulnerable children from poor countries, children living in war zones, single mothers, young women, and especially children that are orphans and homeless” (ECPAT, 2007). Almost all of these children are kidnapped and coerced into child prostitution. Victims are trafficked from developing countries such as Asia, Central America, Africa, and Russia to developed countries such as the United States and Europe. In the United States, more than 45,000 children are forced to engage in prostitution.

In all, the global phenomenon of commercial sexual exploitation of children is a growing industry that harms children and violates their rights. Monetary profit is made out of innocent bodies. The magnitude of the problem is reflected in the number of

children, over a million, who are lost each year. There are contributing factors that must be understood and studied in order to resolve this problem. This global phenomenon is killing many children. There is a need to expand even further global knowledge; a need to identify themes and patterns of practice and also a need to understand the cultural, social, and economic contexts of sexual exploitation.

### **1.1 Scope of Study**

The purpose of the study is to offer a thematic content analysis of the empirical literature on the commercial sexual exploitation of children. This research, then, involves an examination of the literature on the subjects, published in books, book chapters, magazine articles, newspaper articles, and refereed journal articles on the topic of commercial sexual exploitation of children. Another goal of the project is to make sense of the literature by methodological approach and theoretical orientation. Doing so will require a content analysis to aid in identification of apparent themes and trends in the empirical literature.

### **1.2 The Plan of Presentation**

Chapter 1 introduces the topic while presenting the scope of the problem on the commercial sexual exploitation of children. Likewise, it provides an overview of the important points and trends from the literature review as to the approach that will be used.

Chapter 2 offers a review of the literature review and a historical background. Chapter 3 focuses on the methodology approach. It describes the methods used to conceptualize and organize themes or trends in the literature.

Chapter 4 presents the themes gathered from the literature. Meanwhile chapter 5 presents the findings. This chapter also discusses the findings and policy recommendations and ends with some concluding remarks.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 A Brief History of Sexually Abused Children

Each year, more than 1 million children are forced into child prostitution, child pornography, abused in tourist areas and trafficked and sold for sexual purposes (Barnitz, 2001). According to the 2<sup>nd</sup> World Congress Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in 2001, children by being coerced or lured into the multi- billion world sex market agency are denied their rights, dignity, and their childhood. The literature reveals that the commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) exposes them to one of the most heinous forms of child labor, endangering their mental and physical wellbeing. CSEC is a form of forced labor and a contemporary form of slavery. Indeed, CSEC as noted by the 2<sup>nd</sup> World Congress against commercial sexual exploitation of children, results in serious lifelong threatening consequences, impacting the physical, psychological, spiritual, moral, and social development of children. Other marks associated with CSEC include the threat of early pregnancy, maternal mortality, injury, retarded development, physical disabilities, and sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS.

DeMause and Joseph (1998), suggest that while sexual abuse has been prevalent throughout history, it has only recently emerged as a matter requiring the public's attention. Child sexual abuse has existed since the Archaic Period in Ancient Greece. During the time period, there were erotic practices between adult and adolescent male.

The sexual exploitation of children was seen as a form of sexual expression. This ancient practice as idealized by the Greeks, involved a relationship (sexual or chaste) with an adolescent boy and an adult man outside of his immediate family (DeMause, 1998). While Greek men engaged in relations with men and women, there were still some exceptions to the rule, many of them avoided sex with some women or boys. Around the same time period in Rome, these relations with boys took on a more grotesque and informal way. The literature reveals, for example, that people were “less civilized” and took advantage of boys based upon their social status; they sexually molested inferiors and had illicit relationships with “freeborn” boys.

At the end of the middle ages, the general consent of a young girl to engage in sex with an adult was ten to twelve years of age. Relatedly, research discloses that girls, who were victims of sexual abuse, were treated as perpetrators of adultery, while the young were viewed as victims

The development of laws against child sexual abuse evolved around the 1800's (Joseph, 1995). Certain organizations were formed as a result of the laws against child sexual abuse. One of the organizations established was the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. This organization is a private, nonprofit society dedicated to leadership in protecting and promoting the rights and well being of children. In addition, the public was advised of child sexual abuse by the first book titled, *Medical Legal Studies of Sexual Assault*, authored by a French pathologist in 1857, Auguste Ambroise Tardieu, which specified the problem of child sexual abuse. During the French Revolution, (1998), the age for marriage increased from eighteen to twenty one years; however,

many laws concerning sexual relations outside the marriage were abandoned and repealed, causing children to be unprotected and vulnerable (deMause, 1998).

Prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, children were considered small adults and communities formulated their own opinions regarding the protection of certain groups and developed different opinions on the sexual abuse of a child. Children did not have rights or protection. It was not until the 1900's, that children were afforded the same status as domesticated animals (deMause, 1998). Sharing those rights with domesticated animals offered some protections against child abuse. By the 1900's several other organizations against child sexual abuse were formed as a result. Those organizations against child sexual abuse were primarily a response to a legal action from a high profile case in 1874, which is known as the Mary Ellen Case.

The Mary Ellen Case involved a young girl who lost her father when she was born and her mother could only take care of her until the age of three. Her mother gave her up to foster care; she was later given to a couple who claimed to be her relatives. Under their supervision, she was abused and there were no laws to protect her. It was not until, Wheeler, a social worker who met with Henry Bergh, founder of the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, argued that children were part of the animal kingdom and therefore could be protected under those laws. In other words, the legal struggle for children's rights began with Mary Ellen (Hurewitz, 2007, par.1).

Meanwhile, Pressel (2000) writes that extensive and more meaningful studies on child sexual molestation were non-existent until the 1920's. Cases were rarely being



reported to authorities or exposed to the public. It was not until 1948, that the first estimated number of sexually molested children was released. According to Pressel (2000), by 1968, it was mandatory for physicians to report to the authorities any suspicion of an abused child. According to Beckett (1996), it was not until the late 1940's that doctors attributed children's broken bones, bruises, and other injuries to "internal medical causes" but by the early 1960's, these children were diagnosed as evidence of battered child syndrome. Meanwhile, Chase & Staham (2004), contend that it was not until the 1970's that the sexual abuse of a child became an issue in the United States. In 1970, the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act was created in conjunction with organizations such as the National Center for Child Abuse and Neglect to promote the protection and rights of children. This Act focused on child neglect on the part of a parent or caretaker, which resulted in the death, serious physical or emotional harm, sexual abuse and/or exploitation (Hunt & Baird, 1990). In addition, more laws were created in order to pursue protection on children's rights and raise public awareness. The National Abuse Coalition Act was created in 1979. The main purpose of this Act was to pressure Congress to create laws that would criminalize the sexual exploitation of children. A few years later Congress passed the Abuse Victim's Rights Act, which gave children a civil claim in sexual abuse cases. As indicated by the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (2007), these new laws gave children rights and resulted in more prosecutions of child predators. The latest law, which gave the public the right to know where a child sexual predator resided, was in

Megan's Law. The law mandates that all citizens be notified of child offenders and their whereabouts.

The commercial sexual exploitation of children is the most destructive form of child abuse. Barnitz (2001), indicate that CSEC is an atrocity and a fundamental violation of children's rights and comprises sexual abuse by person to a child for remuneration in cash. As stated by Grant, David, & Grabosky (2001), the major forms of child sexual abuse that continue to exist and keep growing are child prostitution, child sex tourism, child pornography, and child trafficking, that make it a multi billion dollar agency in the exploitation of children. CSEC occurs in the sex trade businesses of prostitution, pornography, child sex tourism, and trafficking for sexual purposes (Barnitz, 2001, p. 598).

## 2.2 Child Prostitution

According to Willis & Levy (2002), child prostitution includes any sexual activity with a child, including intercourse, oral or anal penetration, and other forms of sexual touching, in return for exchange of benefits, such as cash given to another person on behalf of the child. Even though, researchers have established the fact that the definition of a child is different in every country, it has been established by the United Nations that any child under eighteen cannot willfully consent to sex. Children are forced to engage or offer services to perform sexual acts for money with another person.

According to a United States Department of Health and Human Services Report, up to 300,000 child prostitutes are walking the streets of the United States; many less than 11 or 12, and can be as young as 9 years old (Santos, 1996). It is reported that

children may enter the world of prostitution through different means. Children, for example, can be kidnapped, abducted, sold by the family, substance abuse, or the constant pressure of poverty. Children may be prostituted in bars, brothels, streets, parties, or even in their own home. Children in prostitution are expected to provide the same services as adult prostitutes. Statistics provided by Munir & Yasin (1997), claim that there are 100,000 prostituted children under the age of 18 in Thailand, in India there is more than 400,000 children, in Cambodia it is estimated to be 20,000 children, 10,000 children in Bangladesh, 60,000 children in the Philippines, and about 30,000 in Sri Lanka.

According to Voss (1999), child prostitution is illegal in every country of the world. It is the most alienating form of child labor. However, very little effort is done to help prevent it. There is no concise data on child prostitution (Spangenberg, 2002). Roby (2005), observes that the problem of child prostitution is underground, and therefore data is difficult to obtain. Statistics on the number of children forced into prostitution are frequently inaccurate. The data that is collected may be incomplete. As implied by Fraley (2005) countries don't even collect data; however, what we do know is that the figure of children being sexually exploited in different countries can add up to a million. In the United States alone, children as young as 8 were found in the U.S., while the majority of exploited children ranged from 13 to 17 years old (Ives, 2001). Research also reveals that girls and boys are the victims of child sexual exploitation for a profit and that a child as young as 6 have been documented to be sexually exploited (Denisova 2001).

Hunt & Baird (1990), describe the agony experienced by children, as young as 5 years of age, are forced to engage in a variety of sexual activities; these sexual activities include, oral, vaginal, and anal sex, along with sadomasochism and bestiality. Children follow these activities under the threat that they will be beaten and that their family members will be murdered. These children are often threatened with knives, guns, poison, or fire to ensure that they are compliant and continue to engage in these atrocious sexual acts. The vast majority of children are beaten by their pimps and abused by their customers (Ives, 2001). It has been estimated that about fifty seven percent of female children were raped an average of thirty one times per customer. These children face great risks, including forced perversion, rape, physical abuse, and beatings. Klain (1999) makes the point that some children may be exposed to the killings of other children as a presumed deterrent from keeping them from going to authorities for help. In addition, these children stay out on the streets at all hours of the night and engage in risky or delinquent behavior. In all, Klain (1999), remarks that children living on the streets are exposed to a greater danger of sexual victimization beyond exploitation through prostitution.

Other authors, (e.g. Voss, 1999; Klain, 1999), point toward the development of health problems for sexually abused and exploited children ranging from respiratory problems, headaches, TB, infections, wounds, sexually transmitted diseases, AIDS, and even death. Similarly, Voss (1999) notes that there is an increase demand for children, thinking that sex with children is safer, children seen as sexual commodities has increased the risk of children becoming seriously ill. It is estimated that seven thousand

young people, ages 10-24, become infected with HIV. For children involved in prostitution, client resistance presents the greatest obstacle to practicing safer sex. Klain (1999) suggests that children's youth limits their capacity to manage potentially violent situations or the risk of sexually transmitted diseases. Klain (1999) also suggests that involvement in prostitution places children at a greater risk of medical problems and health compromising behaviors including drug abuse, risk of suicide, and depression. Their health related choices can be undermined by the immediacy of their need for food, shelter, and relief from drug or alcohol dependencies. Children are in more danger than adults because they are uninformed, vulnerable, weak, and not in a position to seek medical help.

Furthermore, Kasyrie (n.d.) observes that a large percent of sexually abused children suffer from drug abuse. Willis & Levy (2002), comment on the abuse of several substances, such as, tobacco and alcohol, to inhalants incurring health risks such as overdose. The point made is that these substances can do permanent damage to kidneys, liver, and even brain damage. Ives (2001) notes that in semi-organized/organized prostitution rings, exploiters use drugs to control and manipulate children. Drugs will also make a contribution to their profits. Exploiters will get children addicted to drugs as a way for children to keep prostituting themselves in order to pay for their addiction. Some children describe crack as the new pimp, the addiction is encouraged as a means to gain control over the child (Klain, 1999, p.6). In other words, children continue to prostitute themselves in order to pay for their addiction, while exploiters continue to receive monetary profits.

The literature is replete with studies, Munir & Yasin (1997), Voss (1999), and Smith (2006), which describe the fear installed in the minds of these children. Each of these authors, Voss et al, observes that the fear the exploiters promote is intense, pervasive, and long lasting and that children are under the constant threat of violence and will become submissive to the exploiters. Children, young and inexperienced, are easily manipulated, which makes them vulnerable to physical, emotional, and psychological damage. The children become traumatized and become easy prey for many exploiters.

According to Lanning (2001) abusers and predators of children look just like anyone else out there. They are typically professional businessmen, blue and white collar workers. These individuals are frequently the very same people who develop the ideology of security and/or requesting more severe penalties for those who commit criminal acts. As maintained by Barnitz (2001), only a small percentage of the abusers are considered to be “pedophiles,” most are tourists or businessmen who would not necessarily stalk or seek out children or adolescents in their own communities. In another study by Andrews (2004) the exploiters are predominantly male, wealthy, and from industrialized nations like the U.S., Germany, and the U.K., Australia, France, and Japan. On the other hand, in most instances, the exploiters are family members (Jeffreys, 1999). It often involves the family, friends, and boyfriends, as the main exploiter.

Pimps have become very sophisticated in the recruitment and maintenance of children. According to the Global Monitoring Report (2006), a pimp will force children

into prostitution, and move them from state to state, where police may be unfamiliar with sex rings. These children are often recruited in malls, parks, entertainment centers, among others. Grant & Grabosky (2001) maintain that children are lured by the idea of luxury. Expensive cars, clothes, and or wealth will be presented to children for the sake of keeping them and sexually exploiting them at a later time. Similarly, a pimp will look for children who are alienated, alone, and weak. Once a child is under the control of the exploiter, the child will have no choice but to frequently comply with the orders of a pimp on risk of physical abuse.

According to Lanning & Burgess (1995) pimps usually know that children are vulnerable, especially children with low self esteem. This is critical to the development of child sexual abuse. After a friendship is established with the victim, there comes the love relationship. The pimp will make the child feel safe, secure, and loved. After trust is established, sexual relations take place. As maintained by Denisova (2001) child prostitution has become a multi- million dollar business. It is an organized industry with clients, traders, and consumers. The dangers these children encounter have long term effects. Many of these children are beaten, raped, starved, tortured, or even killed. Moreover, these children may encounter depression, self destructive tendencies, inability to enter mainstream of society and ostracism (Barnitz, 2001, p.600). Taken together, the literature illustrates that youth are exposed to health hazards, ranging from venereal diseases, fertility problems, malnutrition, and the deadly disease of AIDS. Children are far more exposed to dangers than adults. Child abuse; however, does not only end with child prostitution but it continues with child pornography.

### 2.3 Child Pornography

Hames (1993) observe that child pornography is defined as the film or photograph of a minor who is sexually exploited. There is no universal definition of child pornography. Pornography includes explicit reproductions of a child's image. The United States federal law defines child pornography as any visual depiction, including any photograph, film, video, picture, or computer-generated image, whether made or produced by electronic, mechanical, or other means of sexually explicit conduct (Klain, Davies, & Hicks, 2001). As revealed by Voss (1999), there has been a major increase in the commercial production of child pornography since the 1970's, today; the use of computers makes it faster and easier to have access to these images.

According to the Global Monitoring Report (2006), the United States is one of the world's largest producers, distributors, and consumers of child pornography. There is a substantial market for child pornography. It has become easier, less risky, and more accessible to reproduce and distribute. Child pornography does not only promote monetary gains, but there is a considerable exchange and sharing of material between individuals around the world. Currently, Japan is the number one producer and consumer in the world.

Typically, children involved in pornography are victimized and harmed in the same way as children in prostitution. Hunt & Baird (1999) indicate, for example, that, exploiters work their way through children whom they are going to abuse. These children are forced to engage in sexual behavior. Children are forced to behave in specific ways. When children are sexually abused or made to be sexual with another



minor, and it is photographed, they are able to understand that there is now a picture of them being humiliated and being bad, according to Hunt & Baird (1999). The picture will be used to reinforce the children's conduct and silence. Those pictures are often used as weapons to keep the children from telling someone else of the problem.

Likewise, the picture is used to blackmail the victims. The pressure not to disclose the abuse is even more intense when the victim is aware that a permanent record exists (Hames, 1993, p. 277). As indicated by Klain (2001), these kids are constantly reminded that if they tell someone, their family members would be killed. As stated by the World Congress Against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children 2006, not only do these children have to carry the burdens of STD's, trauma, violence, but the long term effect of knowing that there is a picture out there with their identity in it. The sense of humiliation will never end. Somewhere out there, the picture of the child circulating around destroys the child's dignity, like that creating health problems or even death (Voss, 1999).

There is immediate trauma and long term effects of sexual abuse on the victims. Klain, Davies, & Hicks (2001) mention that child sex abuse victims experience symptoms of distress in addition to any physical injuries, such as, genital bruising, lacerations, exposure to sexually transmitted diseases, depression, anger, and psychological disorders. These child victims also experience feelings of guilt and shame. Klain et al (2001) observe that many psychological and emotional effects manifest themselves through self- destructive and socially aberrant behavior. This type of behavior often leads the victim to engage in destructive behaviors such as substance

abuse, depression or suicide. The photography that occurs during sexual abuse intensifies the child's shame, humiliation, and powerlessness (Klain et al, 2001, p.11). Children who have been in the production of pornography commonly show a multitude of symptoms, such as emotional withdrawal, anti-social behavior, mood swings, depression, fear, and anxiety (Voss, 1999, p.3).

For the most part, Lanning & Burgess (1995), find that child pornography is produced by pedophiles. However, that does not limit the distribution to other places. The literature, Hames (1993) observes that such offenders may maintain home made child pornography and even sell or trade such images. Many of the pedophiles involved in child pornography fall into five basic types, as noted by the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (2007). Klain, Davies, & Hicks (2001) identify the five basic the types of pedophiles as follows: closet collectors, traders, isolated collectors, cottage collectors, and commercial collectors.

Klain, Davies, & Hicks (2001) suggest that, the closet collector involved the offender that denies any sexual involvement with a minor. The offender conceals the child pornographic materials. There is no trading or communication with other collectors. The material is usually purchased discreetly thorough other commercial channels out there. However, this behavior may lead to future abuse of children. Not only because there is pornography collection, does not mean that the abuser will later on instigate on children.

Hames (1993), states that the traders of pornography do the opposite actions as the offenders above. These offenders do have communication with other consumers as

well, there is trading but there is no evidence of actual victims. The material is also purchased through different commercial channels but they aren't necessarily discreet. There is a competition among abusers to have as many images as possible (World Congress Against CSEC, 2001).

Lanning and Burgess (1995) make the observation that the isolated collector does in fact abuse children and produces images of the offense. The offender conceals his or her material in order not to be trapped by law enforcement officials; detection is avoided. The offender can purchase his or her material through commercial pornographic channels or by simply producing his or her own images by sexually abusing children. Their findings suggest that the cottage collector sexually exploits children and shares the child pornographic material with other consumers. The cottage collector does not necessarily buy pornographic material from other commercial channels but produces the images them him or herself. Moreover, this offender is not looking for monetary gain. This offender will produce the images and create his or her own collection. The cottage collector has constant contact with children.

As maintained by Lanning and Burgess (1995), the commercial collector produces, copies, and profits through the sales of child pornographic material. This offender abuses children for commercial purposes. The images will be sold for monetary gain. The abuser has contact with children and does not necessarily buy images from other sources.

Pedophiles share the same characteristics, motives, and purposes when it comes to abusing children Lanning & Burgess (1995). Their pornographic collection becomes

of great importance. They will spend a significant amount of time and money on their collection. These offenders look for individuals who support their ideas and beliefs. An offender will almost never destroy their material or collection. The motives of the offenders to keep a collection can have many purposes. The material (e.g. pornographic collection) fulfills several purposes for the offender. The most common purpose exposed by (Hames, 1993) in the Journal of Child Abuse Review, was that it provides a permanent record of the child, frozen in time, which is used for masturbatory fantasies. They use the material as sexual gratification and arousal. The material may include images from children whom the offenders may have never had contact but it is still critically important not to minimize it. The children involved in these images suffer from long traumatic disorder.

According to Finkelhor, Mitchell, & Wolak (2000), the offenders use their collection to show it to other children as a way to lower child's inhibition to engage in sexual behavior. This is done to desensitize and sexualize the victims. This persuades the victims to commit the sexual act. The children are shown the images in order for them to know how to pose or behave in the pornographic scenes. It is a neutralization technique as to make the children know that the conduct of posing is not wrong. By having some other children posing serves as an example of how to perform. As stated by Hames (2003), the material serves as part of the seduction process, to desensitize and sexualize the victims. However, after this technique is used, the threat of physical violence will be applied in order to keep the children engaging in the same behavior Hames (2003). The children will feel shame and humiliation and with no control of the

situation. The child will keep engaging in this type of behavior because their dignity will be destroyed (World Congress Against CSEC, 2001).

The literature on CSEC reveals yet another reason why pedophiles create and produce images of children that confirm and validate their belief system. They have to believe that what they are doing is not abnormal. According to the World Congress Against CSEC (2001), the offender by producing images and collecting child pornographic material, they believe that their behavior is normal and by that are legitimizing abusive behavior. Also, by showing children with a smile on the image it suggests to them that the child gave consent to the offense. Their primary purpose is to feel that they are not committing a crime. Abusers will continue to commit the crime because they will think nothing is wrong and others around them are doing it as well.

Hames (1993), suggests that the most disturbing purpose of a child sex offender to keep their child pornographic material is to blackmail the victims. The offender will use this weapon to threaten the victims. The child victims will feel terrified because they know that there is permanent record of the images. By holding images of the victims, the offender ensures that the victim will not report the crime to the police because the victim may feel he or she might be punished by the Criminal Justice System as well. The humiliation faced by the victim will make it impossible for him or her to report it to anyone out there. The child will be victimized not only by one abuser but by many out there.

Likewise, child sex offenders keep their collection for the purpose to sell for a profit or trade. They are lonely offenders who seek to justify their tastes. When they

find other offenders who share the same belief, then there is the opportunity to make a profit and start exchanging pornographic material. This type of exchange makes other offenders have easy access to child pornography. A monetary gain is the sole purpose of engaging in child pornography. The ease of money makes it an attraction to sexually exploit images of children.

The illicit sale of children images across national borders is an organized industry ranging from small businesses to large enterprises (Voss, 1999, p.4). Child pornography continues to exist and grow due in part of help from officials. Voss (1999) annotates that the sex sector is protected and supported by corrupt politicians, police, armed forces, and civil servants. These officials receive bribes and demand sexual favors; they are themselves customers or owners of the brothels that are used as facilities to prostitute children.

However, there is a new trend in the pornography of children; specifically, authorities have been disturbed by the pornographic images of children which feature violent sexual assaults on children (Hames, 1993). This may be a result to a demand for more depraved material. Not only do offenders believe that images of child pornography are normal, but to see a child suffer is sexually stimulating. The arousal of the abuser will go to the extremes and more children are abused as a response. Next, we explore the world of child sex tourism as a form of sexual abuse.

## 2.4 Child Sex Tourism

The literature on sex tourism ranges from discussions about the frequency of molesting children to the justifications offered by those who exploit children. According to Davidson (2004) child sex tourism involves the crime of traveling to or transporting a child under 18 for the purpose of prostitution or sexual activity. Sex tourists live out their fantasies while sexually exploiting children and denying their rights. Child sex tourism is defined as the “commercial sexual exploitation of children by persons who travel from their own country to another usually less developed country to engage in sexual acts with children” (Fralely, 2005, p.449). The literature (Ward & Patel, 2006; 2<sup>nd</sup> World Congress Against CSEC, 2001) reveal that the commercial sexual exploitation of children is the lack of importance given to human rights and the disregard of children’s needs. Societies in which this activity flourishes become dependent on the revenues generated. As a result children are raped, sodomized, abused, and denied their basic rights. Sex tourists or child abusers can be men or women and come from all socio-economic backgrounds. In a related article by Davidson (2004) reaffirms the idea that many adults believe that by traveling to underdeveloped countries, they will enjoy these acts without arrest and conviction. Usually in these countries, (e.g. Thailand, London, and India) penalties are rarely enforced. As a result of weak legislation and no enforcement of laws these children suffer from life threatening diseases, long term damage and psychological disorders.

Children suffer from health hazards and long term psychological disorders. AIDS is an enormous problem for children who are sexually exploited; they have an

extremely high risk of infection with HIV (Ireland, 1993, p. 267). Some offenders turn to children because they believe children pose less risk of infection. Smolenski (1995), comments on the horrible conditions these children must live by, for example, they are locked in their rooms or chained to their beds, and beaten if they balk at cooperating. Sometimes tragic accidents make headlines. In Thailand, for example, firefighters found the bodies of three 15 year old girls still chained to their beds (Smolenski, 1995, p.2). Coupled with these physical problems, the children are often poorly fed, lack adequate shelter, and suffer from malnutrition and tuberculosis (Fraley, 2005, p.452). Significant psychological effects include post-traumatic stress disorder, impairment of attachment, lowered self- esteem, and problems in interpersonal relationships, as maintained by Klain (1999).

Davidson (2004) observes that there are two types of offenders: the situational and preferential abuser. The situational abuser engages in this legal activity only when an opportunity is presented. This abuser travels to a different place for “ordinary” reasons but has unplanned or unreported sex with minors. The World Congress Against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of children (2002) noted that because situational offenders may have had already too many partners, it constitutes a threat to the child because children are particularly vulnerable to STD infections because of their fragility, developing physiology, and the inability to insist on condom use. Ives (2001) observes that the preferential abuser already has a plan to engage in sex with a child. Unlike the situational abuser, the preferential abuser will have already outlined the plan as to where to go and what to do after arriving at the destination. This individual usually knows



what places to visit and where authorities are less likely to do something about the problem. This type of offender is away from home and has already an anonymity which releases the person from social constraints (World Congress Against CSEC, 2001).

Andrews (2003), Azaola (2000), Davidson (2004), and Ives (2001) reveal that as countries develop to build their economy and tourism industries, child sex tourism grows as well. ECPAT (2007) offers examples of the pervasiveness of this problem. In Brazil, for example, children are sexually exploited in clubs and massage parlors. In northern Brazil, young girls are brought by traffickers with promises of employment. When they arrive at the destination, they are forced to work in prostitution in order for them to pay their travel expenses. In China, Klain (1999) found that girls are trafficked for commercial sexual purposes into villages of the minority tribes. It has been estimated by Chinese police that since 1989, five thousand girls have been lured across the border for prostitution and child sex tourism.

Similarly in Cambodia, Klain (1999) has estimated that 35% of the sex workers are less than eighteen years old. There is an increased demand for child sex trade from business men, developer, and tourists operating outside the local brothels. The demand in child sex tourism is increasing. Likewise, Klain (1999) found that in Colombia, the number of child sex workers has increased five fold in the last years. Costa Rica, as well, produces child sex package tours.

In other countries, such as India and Indonesia, local clients and West Asian business men make up the clientele of child sex tourism, according to Smolenski (1995). Many children are brought to India for sexual purposes and when they leave

they are now infected and have become HIV positive. Two of India's major beach resorts have become home to children who are being held as child prostitutes. In the Philippines, as indicated by Klain (1999), advocacy organizations estimate that at least 60,000 children are being prostituted. Child prostitution increased with the U.S. Military presence and sex tourism. Children sell sex work on the streets and on beaches to tourists and locals. The numbers of tourists have increased due to this form of entertainment based on child sexual abuse. At the same time, in Thailand, commercial sex can be found in the streets, in tea houses, noodle shops, hotels, and tourist areas. The greatest number of child prostitutes is younger than 16 years of age (Klain, 1999). A high estimate of boys in prostitution is also found in the streets. Businessmen make up their clientele along with locals.

As indicated by ECPAT (2007), the United States is the greatest consumer in child sex tourism. Information collected from ECPAT suggests that U.S. Citizens represent the largest group of tourists visiting foreign countries and abusing kids. This observation is confirmed by Munir & Yasin (1997), who found that in Asia, 25% of those arrested for child sexual abuse were Americans, while 18% and 14%, respectively were German and Australian. As noted by Ireland (1993), as long as countries continue to be tolerant of prostitution, economically depressed, and politically unstable regions, child sex tourism will rise steadily.

A wide range of individuals and groups at all levels in society contribute to exploitative practices of children. Most notable are individual club owners, taxi drivers, and someone the child knows, including a parent, organized gangs and syndicates

(Snell, 2003, p. 509). As long as these individuals continue to contribute, child sex tourism will increase rapidly. The next section reviews the literature on the pervasiveness of child trafficking as a form of CSEC.

### 2.5 Child Trafficking

The trafficking of children for sexual purposes is the “recruitment, transportation, transfer, of children by abusive means such as force, abduction, fraud, and coercion, for an improper purpose such as coerced labor, servitude, slavery, or sexual exploitation” (Ives, 2001, p.6). The definition accepts trafficking even though the person might consent to it. The National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, estimates that at least 50,000 women and young girls are trafficked into the United States each year for sexual exploitation. In accordance with Ireland (1993), Klain (1999), & Davidson (2004), the popular destination countries to which children are trafficked include Canada, Czech Republic, Germany, Greece, Turkey, The Netherlands, Hungary, United Arab Emirates, Yugoslavia, and the United States.

Researchers, Scott & Harper (2006) observe that young girls get easily involved in the sex trafficking because they believe in what is out there. Many of these young girls respond to employment opportunities, which in reality they are not. Young girls get tricked and with the help of private companies are forced into prostitution. Klain (1999), estimate that 20% of children get recruited by private companies. Similarly, many girls get recruited by their own families (Klain, 1999).

The health risks and hazards associated with child trafficking are as deadly as any other form of commercial sexual exploitation. As indicated by Boxill & Richardson (2007), the constant emotion of fear, not feeling safe and emotional distress is a common anxiety in the child's being. AIDS and/or any other sexual transmitted diseases are present. Many children are running away from a hostile environment and entering into an even more violent and grotesque environment (Ives, 2001). Child sexual abuse is supported by brothels, employers, hotels, etc. According to Leal & Leal (2003), there are hidden networks behind legal and illegal trade companies that support child trafficking. Some of these companies are tourism, entertainment, transportation, fashion, businesses, service agencies, among many other that facilitate the commercial sexual exploitation of children. These networks are supported by technology which makes it easier to communicate, exchange information, recruit, and control their actions. Leal & Leal (2003), describe seven agencies that help out in the trafficking of children. These agencies are entertainment network, fashion market, employment agency network, marriage agency network, sex telemarketing networks, and tourism industry networks.

Relatedly, Leal & Leal (2003) found that these entertainment networks include malls, nightclubs, pubs, snack bars, disco clubs, massage parlors, etc. The owners to these places finance the child's trip and transportation to the destination city where these children will be prostituted. Once children arrive, they are provided with drugs and alcohol, while they are set up with a client. These children living under these conditions rarely have a chance to escape. There are people constantly watching them

and must adhere to the rules. These children must live with the constant threat of violence and physical threats. The threat is reinforced by the fact that they have not turned 18 years of age; their documents are taken away, and are unfamiliar with the city.

The next network is the fashion market. Model agencies are especially popular. Fashion model agencies often expose women and children to the world of prostitution. Leal & Leal (2003), suggest that when children are offered a better opportunity, they tend to take it without knowing that they will be exposed to prostitution. Many children are prostituted and taken from their families. These children are trafficked into a different country and identities are lost. Most often, model agencies will be the step to recruiting children into prostitution (Leal & Leal, 2003).

Likewise, employment agencies are networks that contribute to the trafficking of children. As indicated by Denisova (2001), employment agencies will place fake ads about employment and like this recruit children into prostitution. Girls are especially targeted. Jobs such as domestic servants, nannies, and escorts are advertised. Many girls replying for “idealized” jobs are later trafficked into another country and become sex slaves.

In addition, the next network would be marriage agency. This network includes two types of marriage. One type of marriage would be attracted by advertisements and the other would be by sexual tourism. In accordance with Arnold & Bertone (2002), Davidson (2004), Denisova (2001), Giron (n.d), Herzog (2007), Ireland (1993), Jeffreys (1999), among many other, reveal the issue of marriage and child prostitution. They all

agree that children when trafficked into a different country do not know that a contract has already been established between the person (at the agency) and the prospect. Children are surprised by the revelation that they have been sold; they are brutalized, raped, sodomized, beaten, and sometimes even killed (Voss, 1999). Children respond to these types of advertisements and are lured by the idea of a better life and better expectations. Their dreams disappear once they are engaged in violent situations and physical and sexual abuse.

Leal & Leal (2003) found that sex telemarketing networks such as newspaper, internet and TV ads help recruit children as well. Likewise, the last of network described by Leal & Leal (2003) is tourism industry network. Here, children are trafficked to a different country to be sexually exploited. Hotels, massage parlors, taxi drivers, and travel agencies serve as facilitators in the movement of child sexual abuse. Facilitators will earn a profit in the distribution of children and once children end up in a foreign country it is almost impossible for them to return or escape (Davidson, 2004). Their pimp or john will threaten to kill them or their family. Smolenski (1995) noted that another strategy that keeps children under the control of their pimp or john is the confiscation of legal documents to prevent the child from running away. Girls trafficked are particularly vulnerable to life threatening illnesses, early pregnancy, forced abortions, as well as AIDS. Human trafficking mostly made of women and children is a “growing 7 billion global business and reportedly the third most profitable illegal enterprise after the sale of guns and drugs” (Spangenberg, 2002, p.5).

Herbert (2007), Feldman (2007), and Spangenberg (2002), suggest that New York City is a popular spot to traffic girls. It has already been identified as a major point of entry. According to these authors, the three largest incoming groups of immigrants coming into New York City are from the former Soviet Union, the Dominican Republic, and Mexico. False documentation is acquired for the girls in order to travel overseas without the approval of the parents. International trafficking of children is very lucrative, a trafficker can earn up to 300,000 dollars. It includes many players involved such as, recruiters, trainers, transporters, etc. Staiger (2005) indicate that children from Africa, Asia, Soviet Union, especially Russia and Ukraine, South America and Mexico, are the number one clients to traffic children into the United States. In Mexico, they traffic undocumented children with the promise of legitimate work, but end up being prostitutes. The literature, Ireland (1993) also reveals that at various points along the routes, there may be personnel or professionals supporting this crime, such as, law enforcement officials, customs officers, and border guards.

## 2.6 Summary

Taken together, the review of the literature points toward several major observations. First, the different forms of child sexual abuse can severely endanger a child. Children are abducted, kidnapped, and coerced into prostitution. Second, the health risks these children face are immense. A sexually exploited child can suffer from malnutrition, malnourishment, respiratory problems, sexually transmitted diseases, AIDS, and even death. Third, a child exposed to child pornography will feel shame,

guilt, humiliation, and will become alienated from society. Fourth and final, according to the Regional Consultation for the Americas (2003), it is projected that in 20 years, 30 million of children will be sold for sexual exploitative purposes.



## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the methods used for the data collection and analysis. This section will include a discussion on typologies, coding frames, the master list, and other different methods used for the collection and analyzing of the data.

The first section will discuss typologies in the commercial sexual exploitation of children and how those typologies have been used in the social science research. The second section describes the methods and the sample employed as part of the process along with the creation of the master list. The third section illustrates inductive content analysis as a method for the purpose of this research and the last section on this chapter focuses on coding frames. Overall, this chapter is intended to help the reader understand the samples and methods used in the overall process of the research.

#### 3.1 Typologies

Typologies are used in this research as part of the sorting and categorizing of the data obtained. A typology is the study or systematic classification of types that have characteristics or traits in common. In other words, it is the ordering of entities into groups according to their similarities (Bailey, 1994, p.2). Typologies do not necessarily reflect reality but is a useful tool in identifying trends in the literature. Typologies, then, can be very useful in the organization and compartmentalization of data.

Typologies have some advantages, according to Bailey (1994) their use allows the

researcher to provide an exhaustive list of possibilities. In sum, a typology allows the researcher to easily compare types and understand the similarities/differences between cases (Bailey, 1994, p.13). In criminal justice research, typologies have been used successfully by an array of researchers. Davidson (2004) has used typologies in categorizing offenders. Another researcher, John Rosecrance (1988), developed a typological schema to understand the “underworld” of presentence investigators in which he uses presentence reports to create typologies in which to categorize offenders. A former graduate, such as Lamour (2001), used typologies to aid in identification of themes and trends in the empirical literature. In other words, typologies offer the benefit of organizing and categorizing complex data.

### 3.2 The Sample

An initial search on the topic of the commercial sexual exploitation of children was done in order to come up with some sources. The data for the study was obtained from a “snowball” sample of relevant empirical and non empirical studies on the topic of child exploitation and abuse. The snowball sample helped to collect, identify, and categorize articles from 1990 to 2007. The articles were chosen according to their relation with the commercial sexual exploitation of children. From those sources, several keywords were obtained that helped in identification of more articles on CSEC.

#### *3.2.1 Developing the Sample*

For this research, the sample consists of a master list of relevant empirical and non empirical articles on the subject of child sexual exploitation and abuse. The

articles/studies on the topic were identified on the basis of a process known as “snowballing.” Snowball sampling is defined as follows: is a multi- staged design in which existing sources provide the names of others sources to be sampled or reviewed (Sanders & Pinhey, 1983, p.124). The snowballing technique is very appropriate for the current research.

The snowballing technique in the study involved basically the following procedure:

1. The identification of current literature on the topic of child sexual exploitation and abuse from main stream journals.
2. The identification of other sources such as books, book chapters, technical reports, newspapers, magazines, etc. for the project.
3. The alphabetical listing of each article by author’s name.
4. The separation of empirically versus non- empirically based articles.
5. The separation of each article by the different types of commercial sexual exploitation: child prostitution, child pornography, child sex tourism, and child trafficking for sexual purposes.
6. The categorizing of articles by the thematically orientation offered.

### 3.3 Master List

The master list represents the development of empirical articles that provided greater relevance to the research topic. The master list includes articles that were both empirically and non- empirically based. In a second sorting, some of the articles were

discarded because of their lack of information or relevance to the subject. In addition, sources with no identifiable theme or theoretical approach were also discarded.

### *3.3.1 Developing the Master List*

To identify articles/publications for this research it was necessary to develop a systematic and organized process (see Berg, 1989). The criterion for the process is as follows:

1. Articles published in major journals as databases were reviewed.
2. Articles that were empirically based or non- empirically based were reviewed.
3. Articles from book chapters were excluded.
4. Articles from newspapers and magazines were excluded.
5. Articles with relevant information were included; the others were excluded.

### *3.3.2 First Phase (Method)*

A general search of articles on the subject of child sexual exploitation or abuse was conducted in this phase. The snowballing method was used as the primary method of article identification. And was identified as the method of analysis. This was not an arbitrary process, but required the “systematic” search of each article based upon content.

### *3.3.3 Second Phase (Method)*

After development of the initial master list, all cases were coded according to the type of commercial sexual exploitation: child prostitution, child pornography, child sex tourism, or child trafficking for sexual purposes. Next, articles were color coded

according to a variety of factors and different categories, including, themes, authorship, gender of author, methodologically or thematically oriented, etc. Once, all of the relevant articles had been identified, from their original bibliography new sources were obtained. When the researcher noted that many of the original publications had begun to re-appear the search was discontinued. Most importantly, any theme observed in review of each article was noted by a color tab.

#### *3.3.4 Third Phase (Method)*

As previously stated, the methodology employed to this research is known as snowballing sampling. In the final master list only journal articles, technical reports, book chapters, etc. on publications between the year 1990 and 2007 were included. Library searches and the review of many bibliographies were used to further refine the sample. Irrelevant references (articles) were eliminated if they had a related title, but no relevant content. This process reduces the final master list from 120 to 78 cases.

### 3.4 Analysis Procedure

The procedure used in the current study is a version of inductive content analysis. This method requires one to gather, collect, and organize data with examination for potential patterns (see Berg, 1989). The method in which this research is based will be on a content analysis of the empirical literature on the commercial sexual exploitation of children. The researcher searches for themes and or trends in the literature by inductive content analysis. The goal of the research was to make sense of the literature by

methodological approach and theoretical orientation. The content of analysis will amplify issues on the topic by exploring themes to emerge inductively.

According to Berg (1989) citing Holsti, content analysis is any technique for making inferences by systematic and objective identifying special characteristics of messages. This research tool helps to determine the presence of certain words or concepts within sources. These sources can be journals, book chapters, books, articles, technical reports, newspaper articles, etc. The researcher conducts a content analysis by breaking, separating, and coding data into various categories such as phrases, words, themes, etc. Content analysis is any technique for making references by systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics (Berg, 1989).

#### *3.4.1 What Gets Counted: Units of Analysis*

When conducting a qualitative research, several elements (units) can be considered. The unit of analysis is the major entity analyzed in the study (Babbie, 1998). Some units can be: themes, paragraphs, items, words, etc.

**Theme:** This is a broad idea in a story or a message or lesson conveyed by work (Berg, 1989).

**Word:** This is the smallest element or unit used in content analysis. Its use generally results in frequency distribution of specified words or terms (Berg, 1989, 112).

**Paragraph:** This represents the collection of related sentences dealing with a single topic (Berg, 1989).

For purposes of this research, the unit of analysis is the theme. In general, however, the form or type used depends upon the kind of information sought by the researcher.

In this research, the unit of analysis is the theme and as noted by Berg (1989), the theme represents an observation made by the researcher based upon inductive reasoning. As described by Abramson (1983) (as cited in Berg), the inductive approach begins with the researchers “immersing” themselves in the documents in order to identify themes in each message.

#### *3.4.2 Analytical Induction*

The process of analysis as for content analysis is commonly referred to as analytic induction. Analytical induction is a research logic used to collect data, develop analysis, and organize the presentations of research findings (Smelser & Bates, 2001). In other words, analytical induction refers to the researcher’s ability to identify and code emergent themes in the literature. The burden is on the researcher to lift from the literature emergent themes and to offer examples of those observations in the review.

Overall, typologies are used in this research to organize and compartmentalize data. The snowballing method was used as a technique to create the master list for the project. The analysis procedure used in this research was an inductive content analysis which requires the gathering, collection, and organization of the data.

### 3.5 Disclaimer

The typological schema constructed in this research is based upon the reoccurring themes in commercial sexual exploitation of children may not necessarily provide an accurate representation of reality. On the other hand, the observations/ findings here reflect the researcher’s systematic approach to the literature on the topic of CSEC.

## CHAPTER 4

### EMERGENT THEMES

In this thesis there were several themes that emerged from the literature review on the commercial sexual exploitation of children. The themes that will be discussed are poverty, family dysfunction, technology, legislation of laws, and culture. The themes are followed by identifiable sub- themes. These themes are discussed because they appear with the greatest frequency in the literature. By presenting and discussing only five themes, it is easier to offer a complete illustration for some, rather than a partial illustration for all. The next paragraph provides observations about the predominant emergent themes in the literature.

#### 4.1 Poverty

According to Voss (1999), the underlying causes of commercial sexual exploitation of children are diverse and include economic injustice and disparities between rich and the poor, large scale migration and urbanization. Of the articles reviewed, 63% offered poverty as a theme in the commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC). Magazine and newspaper articles were more likely to identify the factors that induce CSEC. For example, Time magazine and The New York Times newspaper were sources of non- empirically based information that consistently identified poverty as a factor leading children into commercial sex. About 92% of the empirically based articles offered no theoretical orientation. In addition, 45% of the



articles with the theme of poverty included a methodological orientation. Ninety percent of the articles are written by males.

From this theme it was observed that children who are most likely to be exploited are within minority groups. Minority groups are most targeted; they come from low economic backgrounds. In the United States; however, many children from middle class background are more frequently sexually exploited. Children in the United States from low economic backgrounds are sexually exploited because of lack of resources and middle class children are sexually exploited because of the culture in which they live in and not necessarily because of poverty making them the most targeted group.

Poverty is a major factor that nevertheless leads children into the world of prostitution, as noted by Willis & Levy (2002). The majority of these children who are sexually exploited come from poor families. Poverty, as observed by Fraley (2005), is the context in which children are forced, sold, tricked, lured, kidnapped, or trafficked into commercial sexual activities. By the term “poverty” it does not mean that all children living in poor conditions undertake this work; it is a factor; however, that pushes these children into prostitution. The 1<sup>st</sup> World Congress Against CSEC (2001) suggests that reductions in welfare and minimum wage levels are among the many pressures that lead children to work and live on the streets. Poverty creates the necessary conditions for children to become victims of CSEC. As noted by the Stockholm Congress Panel Report in some Latin American cities mothers as young as 12 or 13 years old who cannot support their children may turn into prostitution. Poverty appears to be the main reason that children enter the sex trade; they are poor, illiterate, and lack the protection of a structured family (Fraley, 2005, p.454).

Prostituted children are often responsible for providing financial support (income remittances) to their families (Willis & Levy, 2002, p.1418). Children are also affected by their immediate family members. According to Ireland (1993), some children are coerced or physically forced into sexual exploitation by their parents, who see it as a way of supplementing family income. Families may allow their children to be exploited with an expectation that additional income will be generated. In short, these children are sold by their parents for commercial sexual purposes. Some parents sell their children, not just for the money, but also in the hope that their children will be escaping poverty and face a better future. One example of this theme is provided by Farid (2000), children of poor families, by nature of their poverty, are less likely to be protected and thus face a higher risk of commercial sexual exploitation. These parents end up selling their own children for a few hundred dollars. Some parents will even sell their children in order to obtain modern comforts and luxury items (Fraley, 2005, p.455). Poverty creates a sense of enormous debt and desperation for families resulting in breakdown of family structure. As observed by Voss (1999), many families and communities have been forced to migrate to urban centers resulting in exploitative labor, unemployment, and homelessness, like that pressuring children to contribute to the welfare of the family by any means necessary. Another observation of this theme is reflected in the research of Denisova (2001) who suggests that a lack of stable income, unemployment, unavailability of basic goods have caused women to sell their children in order to survive. Klain (1999) observes that networks of agents encourage impoverished parents to give up their children in return for financial support. Many of these children live on the streets and do not attend school. These conditions can be attributed to the economic

development that has exasperated enormous inequity and preconditions for child exploitation. In accordance with the 2<sup>nd</sup> World Congress Against CSEC (2001) children between 12 and 18 sometimes trade sex for official papers, privileges for the family, clothes, food, protection as well as for cash. Children are among those most vulnerable to the effects of poverty and sexual abuse.

Homeless children also represent an easy target in being sexually exploited. Poverty plays a principal role and factor in homeless children (Ives, 2001, p.7). Money, as for the child on the streets, might be the only way of surviving. As Kasiryte (n.d.) notes that the major targets of commercial sex are in slum and street children where sex is exchanged for food or money. These children have very few means of earning money and are most likely to be sexually exploited by adults. Poverty means lack of opportunities. Another example of this theme is illustrated by Kasiryte (n.d.), who observes that due to lack of food, clothing and other basic needs, these children are abused by adults and engage in sex with multiple partners for survival. These children represent an especial vulnerable group both in terms of the reasons for their coming to and being on the streets and what could happen to them. Among runaway and homeless children, up to one third reported engaging in street prostitution or survival sex to achieve the basic necessities of life (Klain, 1999, p.3). These children, according to Kasiryte (n.d.), are seen to be particularly at risk of HIV/AIDS/STD infection because of the special circumstances of their situations. These children pose the largest group of children at risk of exploitation. Another characterization of this theme is reflected in the work of Klain, Davies & Hicks (2001), who observes that children are living in street places without any money or shelter; they are vulnerable to adult exploiters who are

constantly searching for children in these places. The next section describes globalization as a sub theme.

#### *4.1.1 Globalization*

Within the literature, there were four sub themes identified. One apparent sub theme to articles that identified poverty as a theme is the issue of globalization. As suggested by End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking, (ECPAT 2003), globalization has contributed to the growth of poverty and inequity in developing countries. Over the past years the world has been characterized by debt problems. Under these conditions, countries are forced to face a currency devaluation and reduction of fiscal deficits by the reduction of government spending on public health and education. These consequences are felt most profoundly at the household level. Families lose control and no longer exist on a survival basis. ECPAT (2003) notes that new cash cropping businesses have not provided the levels of rural employment needed to ensure that all families have sufficient income for adequate access to housing, food, shelter, etc. In turn, this creates a need for parents or guardians to work excessive hours, their children become unattended and left alone with risk of sexual exploitation by adults.

The globalization has resulted in changed values. One good characterization of this sub theme is offered by ECPAT (2003), implying that in developing countries, their change at the community level is occurring rapidly as a result of rapid urbanization, environmental degradation and the push to link into the global economy. Increased consumerism and materialism has placed enormous pressure on families and children to earn money outside their traditional means (ECPAT, 2003). Families want more of what

is out there and the desperation to have some of those goods will drive them desperate. Children are among those most vulnerable to the effect of poverty, discrimination, and sexual exploitation. Children are forced into commercial sexual exploitative activities to economically support their family. In a second characterization, Jeffreys (1999) states that people in third world countries lose traditional resources such as land, paid labor and/ or other means of income and a permanent sub proletariat is created and an increase in child labor is demanded. The commercial sexual exploitation of children becomes a primary street child phenomenon; children's bodies are bought for money, food, clothes, or school fees (Jeffreys, 1999, p.508).

As indicated by Voss (1999), in industrialized countries, macro social and economic factors appear to be important determinants in CSEC. An increase has been noted in CSEC in undergoing structural adjustment; social, political and economic upheavals have caused an increase in economic disparities. A third characterization to the sub theme is according to Roby (2005) where poverty contributes to commercial sexual exploitation of children; these children do not attend school in order to work under slave conditions, or on the streets where survival may require sexual services to other street dwellers. These children are exposed to a widespread and systematic abuse which in turn leaves them isolated and vulnerable to sexual exploitation (Voss, 1999, p.2). Children from poor communities are at a greater risk of becoming sexually exploited. These children represent the large number of kids living and working on the streets. As observed by Jeffreys (1999), the choice of prostitution is socially and politically constructed out of poverty, child sexual abuse, homelessness, and family obligation. Next, unemployment is discussed as a sub theme as well.

#### *4.1.2 Unemployment*

Many children, especially girls, respond to employment opportunities.

Unemployment is a factor that is correlated with poverty which is a strong leading cause to CSEC (Voss, 1999, p.2). The lack of employment or vocational opportunities provides constraints on family structures and children as well. One example of this sub theme is provided by Hughes (2001), who observes that many children reply to posted jobs in newspapers or online ads offering lucrative job opportunities in foreign countries for low-skilled jobs, such as waitresses and nannies. However, what they do not know is that these employment opportunities are false. The youth are tricked into prostitution by the belief that they will be employed. In yet, another example by the 1<sup>st</sup> World Congress Against CSEC (1996) reveals that children are tricked and lured into thinking that they will work in a coffee shop or restaurant to earn money to send back to the family but instead are sold to brothels as sex slaves. These children are in a desperate search for employment and become easy targets and prey for child abusers.

The lack of skills and age makes it harder for children to find an appropriate job in the environment. The constant pressure to provide support to another member of their family or their own self makes their situation vulnerable and easy to prey on. As confirmation, Klain (1999) makes the point that children's young age, lack of education, and lack of the necessary street sense to survive alone contributed to the need to engage in survival sex. The sex is used in exchange for food, shelter, money, or protection. Having few marketable job skills many children turn to prostitution as a means of surviving in the streets (Klain, 1999, p.2). Put simply, these children are isolated from

the mainstream of society and the pressures developed of life on the streets will make these children fall into false tramps.

In addition, lack of education is a sub theme contributing to CSEC.

#### *4.1.3 Lack of Education*

As observed by Farid (2000), an inability to afford schooling pushes children into further risk of sexual abuse, since they are most likely to be exposed to harmful environments. A lack of education means fewer opportunities to gain job opportunities and forces children into the sex industry as a means of earning money. This sub theme is illustrated by Farid (2000), who states that the lack of education is an impediment of opportunities, deepens their poverty, and widens inequality and lack opportunities. Their lack of education makes them vulnerable to the will of adults. Moreover, families with low education hurt their ability to make wise decisions about child bearing and rearing. According to Farid (2000), families cannot afford schools. Education is a high expenditure for the poor and the quality of education they receive become unlimited. This situation prevents them from overcoming poverty. On the other side, communities are often reluctant to intervene due to lack of education. According to United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF, 2006), in cases of sexual exploitation communities rarely interact due to lack of knowledge, understanding, fear, and/or intimidation. Communities are not aware or do not have a sense of what is going on with children.

## 4.2 Family Dysfunction

Dysfunctional families contribute for children to become the targets of sexual exploitation. As observed from the final master list, 60% of articles identified family dysfunction as a theme in the commercial sexual exploitation of children. Divorced parents or physical abuse within the family represent examples of family dysfunction. Eighty three percent of the empirically based articles versus non- empirically based articles offered family dysfunction as a theme. Of empirically based articles, 35% included a methodological approach and only 20% of those articles provided a theoretical explanation. Most of the articles are written by men.

Personal risk factors as family conflicts are linked to the problem of CSEC. In addition, there is a strong correlation between a ‘care’ history and experiencing sexual exploitation (Ward & Patel, 2006, p.344). The literature, Denisova (2001) suggest that where there is a high concentration of people under one household, levels of family conflicts increase. Family dysfunction creates the necessary conditions for children to be sexually exploited. These children when at home are mistreated, when in the streets they are also mistreated; they don’t see the difference, they think it is normal. Another characterization of this theme is offered by Ward & Patel (2006), who maintain that combined risk factors of family dysfunction and stress, result in children seeking solutions to their problems outside of the home and family. Children run away from home in order to escape the abuse. Fang (2005) observes that from 1.5 million children that are involved in prostitution, nearly a third of these children are runaways. Children engaging in the streets look for that belonging and nurture which is missing within the context of their family (1<sup>st</sup> World Congress Against CSEC, 1996). A child with a



dysfunctional family in their lives makes them more vulnerable to sexual exploitation. Familial abuse not only scars children, but also plays a role in driving children away from their homes, which in turn leads to the children's rootless ness (Ives, 2001, p.15). Kids run away from home because of domineering parents and/ or are being physically or sexually abused; some of these children are kicked out by their own parents. Any kind of abuse within the family increases the chance of children becoming more vulnerable to exploiters out there.

Children whose parents are separated or divorced, children who have parents with drug or gambling problems, and finally children who have lost a parent or both are at a higher risk of sexual exploitation (1<sup>st</sup> World Congress Against CSEC, 2001). As another example of this theme offered by Roby (2005) also suggests that factors leading children to sexual exploitation include family breakdowns, poor family relationships, abuse and neglect in the home, and substance abuse by their parents. There is a greater risk of commercial sexual exploitation when another family member is or has been involved. Many families repeat the pattern with more than one child (Roby, 2005, p.139).

The next section highlights prior sexual abuse as a sub theme.

#### *4.2.1 Prior Child Sexual Abuse*

Sexual abuse has a significant impact on the probability that runaway children will become involved in prostitution. This sub theme is best illustrated by Farid (2000), who found that 61% of children had been sexually abused in their childhood; the abusers, usually are family members or close friends. Similarly, Klain (1999) observes that sex abuse indirectly increases the chance of prostitution. Not only does sexual abuse of a

child will make them vulnerable to sexual exploitation but combined with other family tensions and emotional deficiencies will likely increase the probability.

Increasingly, studies are finding that children involved in commercial sexual activities in both industrialized and developing countries tend to come from broken homes and/or from abusive family environments where they have suffered from some source of abuse (2<sup>nd</sup> World Congress against CSEC, 2001). This breakdown will force the child to survive alone in the streets or become a provider and supporter for the family. Any type of abuse can also make these children runaway from home and end up vulnerable out in the streets to commercial sexual exploitation and/ or abuse. Another example of this sub theme was provided by the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (2002), which states that previous abuse, results in increased vulnerability and a sense of isolation, betrayal, and alienation all played a role in the juvenile's inability to reject prostitution.

According to Roby (2005), researchers link the growth of street child prostitution to widespread violence against girls suffering continued male incest at home. Indeed, 60% of children in prostitution in England were sexually abused before they began working in the sex trade (Roby, 2005, p.139). In a third example of this sub theme, Fang (2005), reveals several stories that are from children in prostitution, these children either had parents who were divorced and the girls were raped by their mother's boyfriends or stepbrothers. Similarly, Lillywhite & Skidmore (2006) found out that five out of the seven male children had been sexually abused prior to their sexual exploitation; the same number had parents with alcohol problems. These children were constantly raped by immediate family members. Ives (2001) describes specifically that children involved in

prostitution have several commonalities, a history of family dysfunction (including sexual abuse), running away from home and surviving in the streets. There is substantial information of research from many countries that show a link between child sexual exploitation and / or emotional, physical, and/or sexual abuse by family members.

The next section discusses another sub theme in the literature on family dysfunction.

#### *4.2.2 Drug Abuse*

Children that runaway from their families and homes are exposed to living dangerous conditions out in the streets. Children socializing in the streets become familiar with drugs. According to the 2<sup>nd</sup> World Congress Against CSEC (2001), children may seek psychoactive substances to relieve the pain of a dysfunctional environment, or caused by sexual exploitation. Drugs and alcohol become an escape to their everyday struggles. One good characterization of this sub theme is observed by Kasiry (n.d.), who reveals that drug abuse culture plays a functional role among the children to escape daily problems, reduce stress; it serves as a cure for their health maladies. As indicated by Ives (2001) in Mexico drugs have become central to the exploitation of children. Children become addicted to drugs and will find their way to prostitution to pay for their addictions. Drug use is a mode of survival for children because it helps them face the dangers and challenges of being on the street comfortably (Kasiry, n.d., p.2). Children constantly use drugs to over fight emotions of distress and loneliness. Similarly, as illustrated by the 2<sup>nd</sup> World Congress Against CSEC (2001), states that the child's response to this type of abuse is to seek and meet those needs in the

“society and family” of street children and treat their own wounds with substance abuse such as glue, alcohol, or any other narcotic. According to Kasirye (n.d.), the buying, selling and use of drugs is one of the major factors behind the growing demand for service of child sex workers because one facilitates the other.

Given the high rate of substance abuse among child prostitutes the “sex for crack” is not surprising (Klain, 1999, p.6). The presence of drugs in low urban income neighborhoods has increased. This in turn leads to the increase of child prostitution as well. Drugs will be exchange for sex. An example of this sub theme is illustrated by Klain (1999), who observes that crack houses are centers for sex- for- drug exchanges. The pimp or dealer of the house may facilitate the process; receive sex in exchange for shelter. The pimp is willing to provide drugs as a way to control these children. These children are not only servants but sex slaves as well. As Klain (1999), observes that a child of 14 is given food and a room to sleep and all the drugs the child may want in exchange for any type and amount of sex. Sexually exploited children have a higher risk of substance abuse, and substance abuse places these children at a higher risk for prostitution, which makes it a double risk for children who are in the streets.

The next section describes technology as a major theme to the literature of CSEC.

#### 4.3 Technology

Technology facilitates the sexual exploitation of children. Photography, Internet, videography, etc. are used as a means to sexually exploit children. The literature reveals that 40% of the articles highlight technology as a theme and of those articles only 35% were empirical based. The articles that present technology as a theme only 30% present a

methodological orientation and not a theoretical orientation. The articles that identified technology as a major theme were written primarily by men at an 80%.

New technology has made it easier for children to become sexually exploited around the world. New technology such as computers, print media, video tape, CD-ROM, DVD, compact disc, Internet, etc has offered an easier and accessible way to sexually exploit children (Klain, Davies & Hicks, 2001, p.1). Technology has become sophisticated, cheap and easily accessible. Anyone who has access to a computer and the Internet has access to on-line services and 30 million people out there. One example of this theme is offered by Jeffrey (1999), since the late 1980's there has been a growing dissemination and diversification of pornography through cable television, dial-a-porn, home video, and computers, and child exploitation images can be shared over the internet through downloadable media, email, peer to peer sharing servers, mp3 players, cell phones and other emerging technologies. In the next section, computers are represented as a vital part of the technology, that is, widely used in the sexual exploitation of children (Sharedhope International, 2006).

#### *4.3.1 Computer*

New computer technology allows for the reproduction of child pornography (Klain, Davies & Hicks, 2001, p.1). With inexpensive software, child exploiters can easily transfer images of children into explicit sexual images and make them available right away. Moreover, pictures can be scanned and video clips can be captured into a computer without any loss. Images can be altered by a computer. This observation is confirmed by Klain et al (2001) who go on to explain that a computer can also be a

valuable tool in storing images under password protected. The prices on the software for the computers are cheap. The cost for producing and distributing images become cheap and easier to do. Computers are in the privacy of a home which makes it doubly accessible.

Computers make child pornography easier. People now have the time, resources, and intelligence to operate a computer. Computers have become highly accessible at schools, work, and home. Furthermore, one good characteristic of this sub theme is offered by the 2<sup>nd</sup> World Congress Against CSEC (2001), which explains that children have the expertise to handle computers without supervision of their parents and like that become easily accessible to those who wish to sexually molest minors.

#### *4.3.2 Digital Cameras*

Digital cameras have made it easier in producing and distributing images of sexually exploited children without any need for development of film (1<sup>st</sup> World Congress Against CSEC, 1996). This type of technology allows one to develop images in his/her home; predators at home and with the use of a printer have less of a hard time in printing images with fast results. Images can be stored on disks, computer hard drives, and/or memory cards. The camera is compact and can be concealed easily. Everyday cameras are becoming cheaper and affordable by more people. By owning a personal camera, it is not questioned by anyone, any thoughts of malicious intentions.

The next paragraph introduces the Internet as a sub theme in the literature of technology.

#### *4.3.3 Internet*

According to a UNICEF Report 2007, the internet has increased access to child pornography and information about sex tourism and mail order brides (brides that are ordered and paid online). The Internet has made it easier for pimps, child exploiters, or pedophiles to exchange information and recruit children.

The internet provides services such as e-mails and chat rooms. As suggested by the 2<sup>nd</sup> World Congress Against CSEC (2001), chat rooms are where child sex abusers look to trade, swap, or otherwise acquire child pornography. The child abuser will go into a chat room looking for children to prey on. The abuser will befriend the child and try to meet him/her on person. One example of this sub theme is reflected in an observation by Klain et al (2001), who observed that e-mails are now used as a way to communicate with a child. Messages are sent back and forth promoting the child to engage in sexual activity. E-mails reduce the cost of local telephone and instantly receive messages around the world, and when hooked up to an available camera or scanner it turns into an equipped multimedia system (1<sup>st</sup> World Congress Against CSEC, 2001).

Another illustration of this sub theme indicated by the 2<sup>nd</sup> World Congress Against CSEC (2001) states that computer bulletin boards or newsgroups can be set up exclusively to exchange information about sexual interest in minors. Newsgroups are the number one source of publicly available child pornography. In some countries, there is no need to have a license in order to establish a bulletin board and like that making the job easier for pedophiles. As Klain (1999) suggest that travel agencies, internet, chat rooms, message boards, and certain organizations, not only encourage child- sex tourism but give detailed instructions on how to partake it. Through the internet, sex tourists can

communicate and learn about “special” hotel accommodations and sex tour options (Fraley, 2005, p.455). By the use of the Internet, the child abuser is able to purchase plane tickets to travel to far places; the pervasiveness problem of child sex tourism has increased. As suggested by Davidson (2004), the internet provides information on travel and prostitution in various countries around the world, pornographic material, and message boards to interchange experiences. Technology has promoted the international child sex industry as well as child pornography.

The following section covers the fourth theme in the literature of CSEC, identified as culture.

#### 4.4 Culture

Attitudes, customs, and/ or practices condone the demand for the commercial child sexual exploitation of children. The theme of culture is identified in 45% of the empirically based articles. Thirty five percent of the articles with this theme had a methodological orientation and none listed an identifiable theoretical orientation. Mostly males (83%) wrote the articles on this subject compared to 17% of females.

One characteristic of this theme is offered by UNICEF (2007) who suggest that communities may reject children who have been sexually exploited, making it more difficult for children to look for a way out. Communities because of lack of understanding will reject children. UNICEF (2007) also observes that many community members want to hide the truth about CSEC, perhaps because they benefit in some way or because of shame. Society because of economic disparities rejects and feels hostile towards displaced persons (Orlova, 2004, p.14).



The manifestation of this theme is *best* reflected in a variety of sub themes: discrimination, traditions, education, and morality.

#### *4.4.1 Discrimination*

A tradition of low respect for females and the belief that they can be treated as properties belonging to male relatives are huge factors in the objectification of women and girls (Roby, 2005, p.138). When it comes to discrimination, girls are profoundly affected by CSEC. The culture that we live in is constantly reminding us that females must be submissive, that is the traditional belief. UNICEF (2007) suggest that some traditions as child marriage and the unequal treatment of girls, make the sexual exploitation of children more likely to occur and more acceptable. Females are exposed to exploitation in almost every aspect because of inequality. An example of this sub theme is illustrated by Snell (2003), who notes that inequality provides fertile ground to the expansion of domestic work. Girls working under these conditions are often sexually abused by their employers.

According to the 1<sup>st</sup> World Congress Against CSEC (1996), all contemporary societies teach their members to believe that gender differences and inequality is natural rather than socially and politically constructed. Children, especially girls suffer from maltreatment and stigmatization. As an example, Orlova (2004) notes that some girls who are educated and have work experience also face sexual harassment and discrimination on the job, a lack of alternative employment opportunities all propel them toward the traffickers.

Females may be viewed as not having the potential to earn good money through legitimate sources. Therefore, according to UNICEF (2007), girls are less likely to be educated and as a result enter the informal work sector sooner than their male counterparts. By not being provided with educational opportunities it becomes harder for them to get a well paid job. In some communities; however, a female may represent the earning potential for the family, through sexual exploitation. As UNICEF (2007) observed that an ominous warning with regard to the value of women can be sacrificed for the benefit of the family. In other words, prostituted children will become the number one earner of the family if there is no stop to CSEC.

#### *4.4.2 Traditions*

One good characteristic of this sub theme is illustrated by the 2<sup>nd</sup> World Congress Against CSEC (2001) who maintains that there are communities where children are put into sexual servitude to religious or tribal elders in atonement for adult wrongdoings. Cultural integrity is not questioned within their communities; they think it is the right thing to do. In some communities early marriage is widely encouraged and accepted. In some countries, for example, girls are arranged to get married before they are 10 years old. Another example of this theme is provided by Klain (1999) who notes that parents want to establish a family for their children for protection and economic security. As the 2<sup>nd</sup> World Congress Against CSEC (2001) describes, there is a strange lack of logic in this explanation, but logic is not necessarily present when tradition and culture are cited. Even though the act is penalized it will still be carried out by a large proportion of society because tradition will make it right to be done. It is common for such practices to be

defended on cultural grounds, and in many countries practices are based on ideas of female inferiority and the need to control their labor and reproduction (1<sup>st</sup> World Congress Against CSEC, 1996). Children become commodities for families and society.

Other tradition as noted by the 1<sup>st</sup> World Congress Against CSEC (1996), can be observed in Latin America, Africa, and Europe; fathers usually take their boys at the age of fifteen or younger to engage in sex with an adult prostitute. Machismo is associated with the following tradition, the boy at puberty, will be introduced to sexual activities. The boy is sexually abused by the father figure and gets money in exchange. Likewise, the same happens with armed conflict. Military men usually working in poor and extremely dangerous conditions and separated from all that are familiar to them, believed that masculinity is demonstrated through the performance of sexual acts (2<sup>nd</sup> World Congress Against CSEC, 2001). The girls; however, are treated as objects and are forced to engage in sexual acts with these men. Another example to this sub theme is reflected in the work of Klain (1999) who observes that sex trade flourished as a result of soldiers on leave from nearby bases and young girls were inevitably caught up in meeting the demand. It is especially in these settings that men feel the pressure to prove their masculinity by engaging in commercial sexual abuse of a girl. The men take an active prominent role in exploitative sexual relations. Jeffreys (1999) notes that massive child prostitution industries have developed in response to the large U.S. military presence in Saigon, Thailand, and Philippines. When a culture has a more relaxed attitude about sex, then there is more likely for child sexual abuse to occur.

#### *4.4.3 Education*

Families and communities are not aware of the pervasiveness of CSEC and public awareness on the issue is limited. Communities are not aware of the risks associated with CSEC. As noted by Roby (2005), families and communities must be educated in order for them to be provided with options when faced with financial crisis instead of selling their children to the sex trade. According to a UNICEF information sheet (2007), communities are often reluctant to intervene in cases of child abuse due to lack of knowledge, understanding, fear, or intimidation. It appears ignorance and “twisted values” will persuade adults to sexually exploit children.

Ignorance in society is creating an increase in the commercial sexual exploitation of children. As an example of this sub theme, the 2<sup>nd</sup> World Congress Against CSEC (2001), suggest that in societies where education is limited and where messages of sex education are weak, CSEC tends to appear more frequently. Families sometimes do not imagine what is going to happen when they sell their child for physical labor, they are ignorant, they do not know that these children are sexually exploited; their health, psychological, physical, and emotional well being are at risk.

The next paragraph discusses morality as a sub theme in the literature of culture.

#### *4.4.4 Morality*

According to Denisova (2001), a decline in public morality such as family violence, increased aggression and violence, and the growth of pornography industry promotes the demand of CSEC. The decline in morality, ethics, and values in society has led to an increase of deviant behavior. The 1<sup>st</sup> World Congress Against CSEC (1996),

suggests the disintegration of values, blamed by some on the exchange of information between the countries of the world, together with social upheaval and increasing disparities in wealth has contributed in the increasing phenomenon of CSEC.

Cultural beliefs make CSEC more prevalent. How? The observation is supported by Farid (2000), whose research suggests the belief that having sexual intercourse with children is rejuvenating obviously gives a pretext to the demand for CSEC. These beliefs have even become institutionalized and socially accepted. Farid (2002) describes the adult's belief that through sexual intercourse with children, magical power will be gained. Furthermore, there is an increased demand for sex with children because it is believed they are more likely to be AIDS free (Ireland, 1993, p.267). In one last observation about this theme, Sharedhope (2006) describes that in some Asian cultures, adults will engage in sexual intercourse with a child because they think that will cure them from HIV/AIDS without even thinking about the consequences of infecting a child.

#### 4.5 Legislation of Laws

While laws, policies, and programs exist to fight the problem of CSEC, there is still a need for adequate laws that will address child victimization and not criminalize their acts. The literature identifies the impact of legislation in 62% of the empirically based articles. The non-empirically based articles identified this theme by 85% of the time. Overall, only 43% of the articles with this theme offered a methodological orientation. Most of the articles were written by males (75%).

Historically, there has been an unequal application of laws prohibiting child prostitution (National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, 2002, p.11). Laws

have proved largely ineffective against the commercial sexual exploitation of children. One example of this theme is highlighted by Klain (1999) in which he maintains that laws are not enforced or that the laws have little deterrent value. Greater political will and stronger implementation measures are needed. Similarly, according to Roby (2005) laws must provide clear definitions and target those who are directly and indirectly profiting from it while providing legal and social protection for the victims. Legislation must address the gaps in the procedural problems in order to provide effective outcomes. Relatedly, these laws are as effective as their enforcement. Enforcement is not always possible due to lack of will, funding, personnel, etc. As Roby (2005), suggests that there seems to be a lag between legislation and their effective enforcement because of attitudes of disrespect for women and girls, insufficient funding and even “policy conspiracy” in the profit- taking. He observes that the system is so corrupted that the enforcement of laws would be difficult because there would be no benefit for those profiting from child sexual abuse.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> World Congress Against CSEC (2001) maintains that there is inaccurate data on investigations and prosecutions of cases of sexual abuse. Sentencing policy is inconsistent between nations and states. Restated, legislation and sentencing is weak. According to Klain (1999), other contributing factors to CSEC include government “corruption and collusion, absence of or inadequate national laws, law- enforcement measures and limited sensitization of law-enforcement personnel. Authorities are known to be weak and easily bribed. Failures in political commitment and the misuse of power by those in authority are significant contributions to CSEC.

Another illustration of this major theme is offered by Ireland (1993), who reveals that very few foreigners have ever been convicted for the sexual abuse or exploitation of children and in some cases deportation is the maximum response which is used sparingly. The system frequently forgets to enforce punishments. Davidson (2004) maintains that in order to pursue the policy of deporting abusers rather than prosecuting them does not help. This means that many citizens in Ireland who are caught sexually abusing children can return home and continue to live their lives. In Ireland, legal systems commonly fail to prevent injustice towards children or to protect them from criminal acts and systems of governance more often than not display indifference toward exploitation of children (Voss, 1999, pg.1).

Another example of this theme is offered by Denisova (2005), who states that government instability, political conflicts, and the perception that government does not have the ability to adequately protect or prosecute criminals have had a number of negative consequences. Similarly, Voss (1999) suggests that in many cases governments directly tolerate sex tourism in pursuit of economic development. Moreover, laws currently are prosecuting child victims instead of addressing and meeting their needs (Voss, 1999). In most instances, 'child prostitutes' are portrayed as criminals. ECPAT (2006) states that while child prostitution is considered a crime, the child is generally held liable under state law. Many state laws face the dilemma of whether treating children as criminals or as victims. However, federal laws state that children must be treated as victims no matter what (ECPAT, 2006, p.17). State laws and federal laws must work together in order to treat children as victims. ECPAT (2006) suggest that the

absence of a national level plan against CSEC to guide and support common understanding and action impedes the rights of sexually exploited children.

Taken together, the literature offered many themes in the literature but only five major themes were identified to provide a better and complete understanding of this phenomenon. Poverty, family dysfunction, technology, culture, and the impact of legislation were discussed along with their sub themes from the literature because they appeared at a greater frequency. All themes emerge from a thematic content analysis of the empirical literature on CSEC. Peculiar and ironic observations were found throughout the literature. These observations will be furthered discussed in the following section.



## CHAPTER 5

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

A review of the literature reveals many themes; at least five of the major themes have been identified by the author. The major themes include poverty, family dysfunction, technology, culture, and the impact of legislation. The identification of these themes points towards trends in the literature on the sexual exploitation of children. In addition, the identification of these trends helps to point toward shortcomings in the literature and areas of concern for the general public and policy makers.

One observation made from the literature was that policy makers and enforcers are aware of the problem but little is done to prevent or control it. There appears to be awareness of the problem but it is not addressed as a priority issue. Laws are been passed as time progresses but there is little or no full enforcement on these laws. Many of these laws are not emphasizing the root of the problem. As one example, when offenders are caught and are not citizens of that country, in 8 out of 10 cases, the offender will not be prosecuted where the crime took place and will be deported to his/her country without further prosecution from either of both countries (Davidson, 2004). These laws seem to be made just to show the public that the problem is addressed when on the other hand, children are still sexually exploited at an increasing rate.

International regulations are not enforced everywhere, it depends on local laws and regulations to do more for their children. It is as if laws are not helping and the only

way to help these children is by individuals forming non-profit organizations to address the phenomenon of CSEC. There is no sufficient cooperation between law enforcement agencies to reduce the gap in problems associated with administrative and financial concerns in reducing or controlling the problem.

In addition, it appears legislation is difficult to enforce because of inadequate funding. Money is not adequately allocated. Without any monetary support, there is little that can be done to address the problem. Even though policy makers would want to address the problem, there still wouldn't be any positive outcomes due to lack of organization and priority issues, which also highlights another problem area. In other words, even if money were available, it would probably be allocated in some other field than to the field of child sexual abuse. Maybe child sexual abuse cannot be seen as a priority as a homicide would. The way money is administered to different types of crime is probably not the correct one. The administrative process of allocating this problem as a priority might not get the adequate funding to battle child sexual abuse.

Another disturbing observation is the enormous problem of ignorance within society. An apparent lack of education in our society is causing extreme consequences affecting our children. Individuals will take on actions that may not be considered deviant behavior to them but result in great damage because they are not aware of the consequences those actions bring about. In some cultures, for example, many African people have sex with kids because they think they will get cured from AIDS/HIV. The individuals responsible for this particular behavior are not aware of the consequences, and it has been around for the past decades.

Another part of the problem tends to be the customs and traditions in many underdeveloped nations. Engaging in sex at an early age is often persuaded by the immediate family members. In Hispanic cultures, for example, boys are encouraged to engage in sex with another girl in order to defend his “machismo.” The boy is taken by the dad to a prostitute in order for the boy to show his masculine side. (See source), Another tradition would be the early marriages of girls in order to pay family debts. These traditions result in the sexual exploitation of children.

One ironic observation shows that some of the laws inadvertently target children as if they were criminals, or responsible for their own abuse, or responsible for their own exploitation. Law enforcement agencies enforce their laws by targeting children sexually exploited instead of the offenders that are manipulating these children into engaging in this type of behavior. This results, for example, in the criminalization of children for acts that is not their fault. In most of the time, for example, law enforcement agencies address the problem by penalizing children for their behavior. There is certainly not a conceptual agreement when it comes to categorize who is the victim and who is the offender. There is no way the commercial sexual exploitation of children be controlled or prevented when laws are not enforced in the appropriate manner. Children are the victims and not the offenders.

The literature also reveals that poverty continues to be an issue. Children are marginalized and used as a commodity, which results in physical and sexual exploitation. The lack of employment and education creates a gap in economic prosperity and an extreme pressure on families. Families are pushed over their own

limits. Many parents sell their kids to adults as sex slaves or labor slaves as a way to keep surviving. Children become the easy way out for family economic problems and an exit to their parent's difficulties in life. Poverty is a never ending story that will continue to create burdens on children.

Another observation in the literature is the existence of physical, emotional, and/or sexual abuse within the family. The base foundation of morals in the family is decreasing every day. The concept of respect for one another is diminishing. Children are growing up in an abusive environment, where they lack attention and love. These children are easy prey for exploiters. Their vulnerability and weakness makes them an easy target to catch. Exploiters and/or abusers are looking for children with these characteristics. The irony here is that children are the ones that suffer the most and most likely to be manipulated by offenders.

New technology is discovered and utilized without considering the risks it can create. There is no thinking as to what side effects new products can bring. Technology is helpful and a good resource that will help solve many problems today and in the future, but it is a double sword, it can also facilitate the abuse and exploitation of children. As new inventions and creations will be discovered, human minds will try and figure out how to facilitate their encounter with children.

Other observation is that few women are writing on the subject. Female writers might be able to make contributions by writing on the subject because; females in this phenomenon tend to be the most targeted. Their perceptions of the problem may serve as a basis for different areas of explorations. More than anything else (as male and

female writers may not differ), there is no doubt that there are fewer female authors. Contribution of more people writing in this matter will surely will make a difference.

In another comment about the author's review of the empirical literature, there are concerns about the media coverage on the commercial sexual exploitation of children. The media can portray stories of children in a compassionate/ ethical way or perpetuate sexual exploitation of children in an inappropriate way. To support the observation above, TV news or films do not portray the issue underlying CSEC in an appropriate and sensitive way, it is more important to address celebrity issues rather than a sexual abused child. Media can often ignore the phenomenon and cover some other news instead. From time to time in some rare cases, the media will portray child abuse cases and alert the public. However, this does not happen constantly. The audience may become desensitized to horrific scenarios of CSEC. It seems more important to portray celebrity personal, than to portray the on going realities of sexual abuse and exploitation of children. The media in this case, either helps the public understand the phenomenon or distorts children's images. Relatedly, child exploitation is not considered a popular topic for the media, unless it involves children in scandalous stories that will bring them high ratings for their program. CSEC is often treated as entertainment for the public than as a real threat to our community and children. The media can easily turn around the audience attention to frivolous news instead of raising awareness within the audience on this phenomenon (See ECPAT 2001). In other words, the media will grasp the audience attention by portraying issues related to celebrities, fashion, etc. but have little effect on dehumanizing issues such as child

sexual exploitation and/ or abuse. On the other hand, the media clearly has the capacity to inform the public and raise awareness.

The themes and problems identified focus attention to some of the strengths and shortcomings in research; the themes identified here also point toward underlying problems frequently associated with the commercial sexual exploitation of children. At this juncture, we explore potential policy issues. While policy issues reveal failures, researchers in journal articles advocate and recommend certain policy fixtures.

### 5.1 Policy Issues and Recommendations

Based upon problems (and issues) identified through out this research, the following recommendations are proposed:

1. Local authorities should develop and disseminate a detailed protocol on sexual exploitation of minors and promote cooperation between agencies to identify young people at risk.
2. Training should be provided for service providers, law enforcement, and other government officials.
3. Creating empowering images through peer role models in rehabilitative services for child sexual abuse victims.
4. A global awareness campaign should be conducted to raise public concern.
5. Legislation must provide clear definitions and target those directly and indirectly profiting from CSEC and rehabilitative services for victims of CSEC.
6. Grant initiatives should be persuaded and adequately allocated in the field of CSEC.
7. More qualitative studies with a theoretical orientation and methodological approach should be enforced.

8. Additional research on CSEC is needed as a way to stay informed and updated on children's issues.

In addition, local authorities should be familiar with risk factors associated with CSEC. Local authorities should become familiar with the phenomenon of CSEC. This would require agencies to research the issue in deed depth and gather an understanding of the problem. Law enforcement agencies need to be updated on information that may help prevent, control, or identify child sexual abuse cases. Law enforcement agencies need to create cooperation among other agencies as well. By sharing intelligence and expertise, greater outcomes can be achieved. Partnerships must be formed in order to maximize utilization o resources, duplicate efforts, and achieve greater positive results.

Training should be provided as a way to prepare agencies to be pro- active and not reactive to the problem. Training is essential because it provides the person with the mental capacity and sense to work out the problem. Having the capacity to make decisions based on previous guidance and training can provide greater positive outcomes. Training sessions should provide agency officials with information on what to look for in risk cases. With training, agencies will be able to identify potential sexual abuse cases and provide victims with support sources. This training should provide agencies with a capacity to explain victim's rights and services potentially available to them (See Spangenberg, 2002). Training will help improve skills and gain experience.

Multidisciplinary teamwork training has direct impact on victims of trafficking as it enables integrated services. The training along with multidisciplinary teams will include key professionals with a diverse range of skills and expertise. On the base of

their specialization, they should play specific roles in the rehabilitation and reintegration of a child, as well as in the prosecution process.

Likewise, training modules should contain awareness raising, a comprehensive description of the phenomenon, and detailed interventions and measures needed to be taken. The combination of theory and practice should be approached when it comes to complex laws and procedures. The training manual should adopt a human rights approach.

Although there are guaranteed methods in combating child sexual exploitation/abuse, prevention projects can be created. Peer to peer models seem to have better results. A peer- to peer communication approach aimed at portraying adolescent's behaviors and views reinforces a sense of identification within the target population. The impact of the message can increase considerably. Children need to be employed in the campaign in order for those victims to identify more easily with the problem and get help quicker.

Raising awareness within the public creates a step forward in preventing situations where children are the victims. Many people in communities are still not aware of the situation and some of them are uninformed. The community does not know what is really going on. Families and communities must be educated on the topic as well. They must be provided with information about the harmful effect of sexual abuse and exploitation. Vocational training against the commercial sexual exploitation of children should be disclosed. If society is not informed then it does no good for



agencies because there is no mutual cooperation between society and social services.

Lack of cooperation will increase the sexual exploitation of children.

In order to reach the widest possible section of the population, a multi-media approach needs to be implemented. Some products that can be used are audio-visual products, media, and print advertisements. For example, visual products raising awareness can be presented through TV. Small clips or films showing the dangers of child sexual exploitation/ abuse can be presented during prime time and during times when children are watching as well as in closed circuit television. The radio can transmit the audio track of the same TV clip. The audio message must reach remote areas of the country in order to target population more effectively. Likewise, print media can also be used. Print media can send messages or hints of child sexual exploitation/ abuse and can be posted on billboards, posters, pamphlets, etc and be distributed within the public. This approach should be done at a national level. For example, billboards can target people's attention. Child sexual abuse announcements can be advertised in buses, especially in buses that travel to remote areas where child sexual exploitation/ abuse is more prevalent. These places can include beaches, ports, urban sectors in all provinces and tourist cities. Moreover, pamphlets or stickers can be placed in immigration offices where there is a constant movement of people. In addition, the Internet can also serve as an aid in informing the public of this phenomenon. A website should be provided concerning child sex tourism, pornography, prostitution, and trafficking for sexual purposes; a confidential electronic

form on which to anonymously report cases to the police. The examples above would provide greater results.

Legislation of laws must provide clear definitions of its purpose. Territorial laws must be passed so that offenders violating overseas laws can be arrested and extradited back to their countries of origin and be convicted under the laws of the country where the offense occurred. However, laws are only as effective as their enforcement. Effective enforcement must be promoted as a priority. The laws can only be as effective as their implementation. The goal is to directly target those individuals profiting from this type of abuse and convicting them of their crime.

There needs to be an existence of a legal and policy framework facilitating the multi- disciplinary approach put into practice. This can bring greater results with a long term impact at policy level. The interests of the child should be a primary consideration when it comes to legislation.

Rehabilitative services should be provided at all times. Consideration needs to be given to the specific situation of each child victim, their rights and needs have to be accounted for. The services need to be filled with people with skills and expertise. For example, physicians, psychiatrists, social workers, psychologists, law enforcement, judges, etc. These professionals should create a safe gathering for group discussion; they need to conduct assessment of participants, increase awareness of child rights, and provide public health education as well as health services. Moreover, social reintegration should be provided as well as long term interventions as a way to help these children cope with the problem. Long term commitment and funding is essential

to provide continuous services. Likewise, there should be evaluations of existing programs and interventions in order to test their achievements and like that create criteria that can help identify future treatment and prevention services.

Adequate funding must be administered as a way to address this problem. Funding is not only needed to address victims but to support the training of staff. Funding is needed to provide services to victims and young people at risk of sexual exploitation. By having the necessary money to fill in the gaps, more positive outcomes can be accomplished. Additional funding that specifically restricts research interventions to include a methodological approach can provide victims with additional sources for their rehabilitation and an increase in victim's rights and victim- friendly procedures. Additional resources can be created with extra allocated money.

Stronger research designs should be encouraged by grant funded research. Qualitative studies with a theoretical and methodological orientation should be approached. Qualitative studies help us gather a deeper understanding on complex issue. Qualitative studies with these characteristics and with the child's participation will provide a more in depth understanding of the phenomenon; more beneficial results if those studies include a theoretical and methodological orientation. Further research needs to be conducted.

Moreover, research that examines the process by which individuals, family, friends, community, and/ or social factors will help society understand the causes of child sexual abuse and/ or exploitation. Likewise, it is also important to address diverse populations in order to improve the quality of future prevention and intervention efforts.

### *5.1.1 Concluding Remarks*

One thing that I did understand is that children are victims and are sexually molested, abused, and raped. They are not active participants and that external force pushes children into becoming victims of predators. I still know that I'm not fully knowledgeable on the topic and that there are more things out there that need to be explored, that is why I recommend more research studies with a theoretical and methodological approach.

With these personal observations in mind, recommendations were offered throughout this chapter. These recommendations represent attempts to identify problems that require immediate attention.

APPENDIX A

FINAL MASTER LIST

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