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THE SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN
A Working Guide to the Empirical Literature



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PREFACE

Child sexual abuse and ***child sexual exploitation*** have surfaced in the last decade of the 20th century as two of the most neglected forms of child abuse. A third form of child abuse--the ***commercial*** sexual exploitation of children (CSEC, CSE)--appears to be an even more insidious and, daily, affects the lives of tens of thousands of children in the United States, and tens of millions of children worldwide.¹ Some portion of these children are in the "employment" of well organized networks of traffickers in child and adult sex, at least some of which also engage in the sale of illegal drugs, fire arms, and money laundering activities.

Children victimized by CSE exchange sex with adults either for money or for some other form of compensation (e.g., affection, food, clothing, shelter, and the like). Many of these exchanges occur out of necessity (i.e., poverty, survival sex) but most appear to be driven by a complex of other motivations (i.e., low self esteem, a desire to punish parents, external locus of control, mental illness, etc.).

Whatever the underlying causes for engaging in commercial sexual exploitation, in the end, the CSEC becomes a major problem in its own right--a problem that is social, political, economic, and legal in construction. The tragedy for many of these children is that, owing to the unprotected nature of the vast majority of their sexual encounters, a large proportion will contract chronic sexual infections including HIV and, for many, full-blown AIDS.

Recruitment of Children Into CSE

The processes whereby children are "recruited" into CSE are complex, and nearly always involve adult accomplices. According to the Exploited Child Unit (ECU) of the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (1998),

Child prostitutes are victims of sexual abuse. Many of them have run away from homes where they have been sexually or physically abused. Some come from families who no longer want them or who feel they can no longer handle them. These children often see themselves as their only supporter. Under such circumstances, some fall into prostitution as a way to survive or as a way to get the things they want or need...Unfortunately, these victims often become involved in the criminal-justice system as offenders. In order to support themselves, or to escape the life that they have come to lead, they get involved in the use and/or sale of drugs, theft, or robberies.

¹ The precise number of sexually exploited children is unknown. However, the United Nations Children's Fund estimates that more than a hundred million children worldwide are employed as "sex workers," i.e., as prostitutes, as subjects of pornography, or both (Unicef, 1997). In addition, hundreds of thousands of children shuttle the planet each year as part of a well-concealed network operated by international traffickers in children for sex. The number of sexually exploited children in the United States also is unknown but conservative estimates place their numbers at between 300,000 and 500,000.

Other youngsters are recruited into sex work through *forced abduction* (Barr et al. 1996; DoL, 1995), by *pressure from their parents* (D'Asaro & Foley, 1997), through *deceptive agreements between parents and traffickers* in the CSEC, including unrecognized representatives of crime rings (Barr et al. 1996; D'Asaro & Foley, 1997; Dept. of Labor, 1995; Seabrook, 1997; Yoon, 1997). Once recruited, these children are typically taken or travel to "work sites" located great distances from their place of origin.

Poverty is the most frequent explanation used to explain the involvement of children in sex crimes (Boye, 1996; Estes, 1997a, 1998b; Longford, 1995; Save the Children, 1996; Shamim, 1993).² But as suggested by the Exploited Children's Unit (of the NCMEC), poverty alone does not account for the large number of children under the age of 16 years being recruited into the sex industry, especially in rich countries such as the U.S. and Canada (Estes, 1998c, 1998d). Indeed, many children recruited into prostitution in the U.S. appear to come from middle class families and enter prostitution as way of supporting themselves after having run away from home, i.e., as a form of "survival sex" (NCMEC, 1998; Snell, 1995).

Other powerful explanations of the CSEC include *pedophilia* (Cole, 1993; De Mause, 1991; Knight, Carter, & Prentky, 1989; Prentky & Knight, 1993; Prentky, Knight, & Lee, 1997), *ease of access* (Harris, 1998a, 1998c; O'Grady, 1992), *relaxed legal enforcement environments* (Editor, 1996; Gutierrez, 1998; Harris, 1997a; Hodgson, 1995; Samath, 1998), *debt bondage* (Dept. of Labor, 1996; Knight, 1998; Youth Plus, 1995), *sadomasochism* (Finkelhor & Brown, 1985), *inter-generational prostitution* (Seneviratne, 1994), and the *high remittances* received by child sending/sex tourist-receiving countries (Barr et al. 1996; Boye, 1996; ECPAT, 1996a; IBCR, 1998a, 1998b). Other explanations for the CSEC also are plausible but, to date, they have been less fully studied: *high economic demand*, which stimulates the supply of children into the sex trade (Barr et al. 1996; Yoon, 1997); community disintegration (D'Asaro & Foley, 1997; Dembo, 1992); social and *cultural devaluation* of children (Flowers, 1994; Gutierrez, 1998); and, pre-existent *international crime organizations* with transnational transportation and financial capabilities (Barr et al. 1996; Dept. of Labor, 1996; Muntarhorn, 1996; Williams, 1995; Yoon, 1997). Within this array of potentially influential factors, of course, there also needs to be a convergence in available children, traffickers, and customers.

Impact of Commercial Sexual Exploitation on Children

However they enter the "sex trades," few children are able to escape their molestation unharmed; virtually all suffer long term physical and emotional injuries (Barnett, Manly & Cicchetti, 1993; Cevallos, 1998; Finkelhor & Brown, 1985; Gelles, 1994, 1998; Goldstein, 1987; Kilpatrick & Saunders, 1997; Straus & Gelles, 1988; Vittachi, 1989). These injuries remain with the children throughout adolescence and adulthood and, in turn, pose complex service challenges for the justice (Bala & Schwartz, 1993; Collins, Schwartz, & Epstein, 1998; Schwartz, 1997; Schwartz, Fishman, and Vleet, 1996) and human service systems (Fishman, Schwartz & Hsieh, 1997; Schwartz & Au Claire, 1995). The relationship is known to be especially strong between child sexual victimization and *teen pregnancy* (Dembo et al., 1992; Ireland & Widom, 1994; Smith &

² For discussions of the highly unfavorable social, political, economic, and legal conditions that contribute to the CSEC in other world regions see Estes, 1995a, 1996a, 1996b, 1997b, 1998a.

Thornberry, 1995; Widom, 1996; Widom, & Kuhns, 1996), *adult prostitution* (Widom & Kuhns, 1996), substance abuse (Ireland & Widom, 1994; Kelley, Thornberry & Smith, 1997), *violence* (Gelles & Wolfner, 1994; Schwartz, Rendon, & Hsieh, 1994; Weiner, 1994; Weiner & Ruback, 1998; Weiner & Wolfgang, 1989), *among other forms of adult criminal behavior* (Dembo, 1992; Kelley, Thornberry & Smith, 1997; Loeber & Farrington, 1998; Smith & Thornberry, 1995).

THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK: A NEW BEGINNING

The CSEC had become so pronounced worldwide that, by 1989, when the heads of state of more than 150 countries met in New York City to ratify a new *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, the leaders pledged themselves to take dramatic new steps to halt the further CSEC (Cantwell, 1992). Article 34 of the *Convention* specifically requires all countries to protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse. This protection extends not only to sexual exploitation of children committed within the borders of a given country, but also to sexual exploitation of children committed abroad by its nationals, including child sex tourism (Badger, 1995; ECPACT, 1996a; Editor, 1996; IBCR, 1997; Harris, 1997a).

Following adoption of the *Convention* in 1989, a *World Congress Against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children* was convened at Stockholm in August, 1996 to: 1) document the incidence worldwide of the CSEC; 2) understand more fully the processes that lead to the recruitment, sometimes enslavement, of children as sex workers; 3) assess the extent of participation of organized crime rings in the CSEC; 4) determine the possible role of local police and other authorities in contributing to the CSEC; and 5) identify effective local and international strategies for use in reducing, eventually eliminating, the sexual exploitation of children, child pornography, and child trafficking.

U.S. Response to the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children

The impact of the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1989) and the *World Congress Against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children* (1996) on the American people has been tremendous. Not only has the consciousness of the public been raised concerning the seriousness of the CSEC in the U.S. (Chafel, 1993; CDF, 1996; Garland, 1994; Harris, 1998b; Seabrook, 1997) but a new willingness to take corrective actions to eliminate the problem also now appears to exist (Harris, 1998a; IBCR, 1997b; Korr et al., 1994; Lindsey, 1994).

Even so, the number of U.S. children involved in illegal sexual practices appears to be increasing (Dept. of Labor, 1996) due, in large measure, to: 1) the persistence of chronic financial poverty for 1 out of every 5 American children (Smeeding, 1997; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1997; Estes, 1998c); 2) the large sums of money that can be earned by adults engaged in the CSEC (Seabrook, 1997); and, 3) the comparatively relaxed legal environment that exists at the local level concerning child pornography and prostitution (Healy, 1995; IBCR, 1997b). America's current efforts at welfare reform also appear to be exacerbating the problem given the reform effort's emphasis on reducing the country's already acknowledged inadequate social safety

nets for children (CDF, 1996; Estes, 1998c; Gordon et al., 1998; Haq, 1996; Kirschenbaum, 1995; Packard Foundation, 1997; Piven and Cloward, 1997).

In response to growing seriousness of the CSEC in the U.S., in May 1995 the federal government created a Federal Agency Task Force on Missing and Exploited Children. The Federal Agency Task Force consists of representatives of the nation's leading private organization concerned with missing and exploited children (NCMEC) and 14 federal agencies--components of six federal departments and the Postal Service (OJJDP, 1997a). The charge to the Federal Agency Task Force is to work with all the responsible agencies and organizations in promoting initiatives that lead to the apprehension, arrest, and prosecution of adults engaging in the CSEC in the U.S. (OJJDP, 1997b). Consistent with its mandate since 1974, the Federal Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) carries responsibility for coordinating the federal response to missing and exploited children and their families, responsibilities that were enlarged appreciably after the New York and Stockholm conferences. No comparable unit exists at the North American regional level for coordinating U.S. policy responses with those of Mexico and Canada.

Bibliography on

THE SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN

The bibliography that follow was designed to introduce readers to the very rich theoretical and empirical literatures relating to *child abuse*, *child sexual abuse*, *child sexual exploitation*, and the *commercial sexual exploitation of children*. The bibliography also contains introductory references to the international child rights movement, including worldwide efforts to protect children from sexual exploitation. Throughout, the bibliography contains references to research of an international and comparative nature. Chart 1 defines the major concepts used in preparing the bibliography.

Chart 1

Definitions of Terms Associated With the Sexual Exploitation (SEC) and Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC)

Concept	Subtypes	Definition
Child		Persons under the age of 18 years unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier (United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989: Article 1)
<i>Child Abuse</i>		The recurrent infliction of physical or emotional injury on a dependent minor, through intentional beatings, uncontrolled corporal punishment, persistent ridicule and degradation, or sexual abuse, usually committed by parents or guardians (National Association of Social Workers, 1994).
<i>Child Sexual Abuse</i>		Sexual activity of either of several types that occur between children and youth under the age of 17 years and an adult. Such activities include fondling a child's genitals, intercourse, incest, rape, sodomy, exhibitionism, and commercial exploitation through prostitution or the production of pornographic materials

Concept	Subtypes	Definition
		(National Clearinghouse on Child Abuse and Neglect Information, 2001).
	Type I Rape, Molestation, and/or Prostitution (CSA-1)	The rape, and in cases of caretaker or inter-familial relationships, statutory rape, molestation, prostitution, or other form of sexual exploitation of children, or incest with children (National Clearinghouse on Child Abuse and Neglect Information, 2001).
	Type 2 Pornography (CSA-2)	The employment, use, persuasion, inducement, enticement, or coercion of any child to engage in, or assist any other person to engage in, any sexually explicit conduct or simulation of such conduct for the purpose of producing a visual depiction of such conduct (National Clearinghouse on Child Abuse and Neglect Information, 2001)
Pornography		Films, videos, magazines, writings, photographs, computer images, or other materials that are sexually explicit and intended to cause sexual arousal in the viewer.
Child Pornography		Films, videos, magazines, writings, photographs, computer image, or other materials produced by either adults or children, or both, that contain sexually explicit images of children and youth under the age of 18 years. Child pornography often has considerable commercial value; typically, though, child pornography is “traded” or exchanged between pedophiles and hebephiles rather than sold.
	Type 1 Children Only (P-1)	Films, videos, magazines, writings, photographs, computer image, or other materials <i>produced by adults that contain only sexually explicit images of children and youth under the age of 18 years.</i>
	Type 2 Children With Adult(s) (P-2)	Films, videos, magazines, writings, photographs, computer image, or other materials <i>produced by adults that contain sexually explicit images of children, youth and adults.</i>
	Type 3 Juvenile With Juvenile(s) (P-3)	Films, videos, magazines, writings, photographs, computer image, or other <i>materials produced and distributed by youth under the age of 18 years</i> that contain sexually explicit images of children and youth.
Prostitution		The act of engaging in sexual intercourse or performing other sex acts in exchange for money, or of offering another person for such purposes.
	Type 1 Survival Sex (P-1)	The act of engaging or offering the sexual services of a child in exchange for money, clothing, food, shelter, drugs, or other considerations. Youth engaging in “survival sex” do not perceive themselves as engaging in prostitution but rather as doing “whatever is necessary” to ensure their survival (e.g., money, food, shelter, drugs, etc.)
	Type 2 Juvenile Prostitution	The act of engaging or offering the services of a child to perform sexual acts for money or other considerations with that person or any other person (World Health Organization, 1996:10)

Concept	Subtypes	Definition
	(P-2)	
Exploitation		Unfair treatment or use: unfair treatment or use of somebody or something, usually for personal gain.
Child Sexual Exploitation (SEC)		Sexual abuse of children by adults for the purpose of obtain some benefit to the adult.
Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC)		Sexual abuse of children involving <i>financial</i> or <i>other commercial advantages</i> to some party or parties to sexual activity.
	Type 1 Adult > Child: For Money (CSEC-1)	Involves the transfer of money from an adult (or adults) to a child in exchange for sex.
	Type 2 Adult > Child: In-Kind Services (CSEC-2)	Involves the provision of either in-kind or supportive services by an adult to a child in exchange for sex (e.g., housing, food, protection, drugs, etc.).
	Type 3 Juvenile > Juvenile (CSEC-3)	Involves the provision of either money, in-kind (e.g., food, clothing, shelter, drugs) or services (e.g., safety and protection) <i>to a child by another child</i> in exchange for sex.
Sex Tourist		Persons that travel from their homes, usually across international borders, with the intent of engaging in sexual activities with others, including with children.
Sex Tourism		Commercially organized travel and related services (hotel, transportation, etc.), usually across international borders, for persons seeking to engage in sex with citizens of other countries, including with children who are citizens of the host country.
Tourist		A person or persons who visit places away from home for pleasure.
Trafficking		The transport, harboring, or sale of persons within national or across international borders through coercion, force, kidnapping, deception or fraud, for purposes of placing persons in situations of forced labor or services, such as forced prostitution, domestic servitude, debt bondage or other slavery-like practices. Agreement exists that the concept applies whether a child was taken forcibly or voluntarily (18 USC 1589 et seq.).
	Type 1 Domestic Trafficking (T-1)	The recruitment, transportation or receipt of children through deception or coercion for the purpose of prostitution, other sexual exploitation or forced labour <i>within their own country only</i> . Children may be trafficked domestically either voluntarily or involuntarily. a. <i>Voluntary domestic trafficking</i> involves the movement of children voluntarily across state lines for the purpose of bringing financial gain to either the children or the traffickers, or both. The majority of children trafficked in this way are required either to pay fees or to perform services, includ-

Concept	Subtypes	Definition
		<p>ing sexual services, to their traffickers.</p> <p>b. <i>Involuntary domestic trafficking</i> involves the movement of children involuntarily across state lines for the purpose of bringing financial gain to the traffickers. The majority of children trafficked are held in servitude and are forced to pay trafficking fees through a combination of indentured services, including commercial sexual services.</p>
	Type 2 International Trafficking (T-2)	<p>The recruitment, transportation or receipt of children through deception or coercion for the purpose of prostitution, other sexual exploitation or forced labour <i>both within their own country and across international boundaries</i>. Children may be trafficked internationally either voluntarily or involuntarily.</p> <p>a. <i>Voluntary international trafficking</i> involves the movement of children voluntarily across international borders for the purpose of bringing financial gain to either the children or the traffickers, or both. The majority of children trafficked in this way are required either to pay fees or to perform services, including sexual services, to their traffickers.</p> <p>b. <i>Involuntary international trafficking</i> involves the movement of children involuntarily across international borders for the purpose of bringing financial gain to the traffickers. The majority of children trafficked internationally are held in servitude and are forced to pay trafficking fees through a combination of indentured services, including commercial sexual services.</p>
Smuggling		<p>The procurement of illegal entry of a person into a State of which the latter person is not a national with the objective of making a profit (United Nations, 1999:3).</p> <p>Smuggling is distinguished from trafficking in that alien smuggling involves the provision of a service, albeit illegal, to people who knowingly buy the service in order to get into a foreign country.</p>
Organized Crime		<p>A non-ideological enterprise involving a number of persons in close social interaction, organized on a [structured] basis with [different] levels/ranks, for the purpose of securing profit and power by engaging in illegal and legal activities (Abadinsky, 1994:8 as cited in Schloenhardt, 1999:9 and Graycar, 1999:7-8).</p>
Transnational Crime		<p>The crossing of a border by people, things or criminal will, together with the international recognition of the crime at both national and international levels (Secretary-General of INTERPOL as cited by Graycar, 1999:2)</p> <p>To be considered “international,” crimes must be a criminal offence in at least two states, thereby bringing into effect interna-</p>

Concept	Subtypes	Definition
		tional conventions, extradition treaties or concordant national laws (Bossard, 1990:5 as cited in McFarlane, 1999:2 and Graycar, 1999:2-3).
<i>Selected Terms Relating to the Sexual Exploitation of Children</i>		
<i>Call Boy/Call Girl</i>		A prostitute (male/female) who responds to telephone calls for sex. In all cases, call boys and call girls travel to the prospective clients residence, hotel or other designated meeting spot.
<i>Exhibitionist</i>		A person who repeatedly expose their genitals to unsuspecting strangers in order to achieve sexual excitement.
<i>Hebephile</i>		An adult with sexual desires and arousal fantasies that often culminate in sexual acts with <i>pubescent children of the same or opposite sex</i> .
<i>Hustler</i>		A prostitute, especially one who is a streetwalker or one who solicits in bars (<i>slang</i>).
<i>“John”</i>		A man who is a prostitute’s customer (<i>slang</i>).
<i>Pander</i>		To procure sexual favors for somebody. (Synonym: solicit, procure)
<i>Pederast</i>		Men with sexual desires and arousal fantasies that often culminate in sexual acts with <i>pre-pubescent boys</i> .
<i>Pedophile</i>		An adult with sexual desires and arousal fantasies that often culminate in sexual acts with <i>pre-pubescent children</i> of the same or opposite sex.
<i>Pimp</i>		A man who finds customers for a prostitute in return for a portion of the prostitute’s earnings.
<i>Sexual Masochist</i>		A person who experiences sexual excitement in the act of being made to suffer.
<i>Sexual Sadist</i>		A person who experiences sexual excitement by inflicting suffering upon another person.
<i>Trans-gender/Trans-sexual</i>		A person who is in the process of changing, or who already has changed, his/her natal gender identity to that of the opposite sex. The process involves both hormonal and surgical treatment.
<i>Transvestite</i>		A person who experiences sexual excitement by wearing clothing of the opposite sex.
<i>Trick</i>		somebody who hires a prostitute (<i>slang</i>); an individual engagement between a prostitute and a client (<i>slang</i>).
<i>Voyeur</i>		A person who seeks sexual arousal by observing the sexual activity of others .
<i>“White” Slavery</i>		Historically, the concept referred to the abduction and sale of a Caucasian girl or woman into prostitution against her will. Today, the concept does not include a racial designation and, instead, refers to the use of force, deception or other means to compel people into commercial sexual activity.

Organization of the Bibliography

The references contained in this bibliography are divided into six parts: Part I contains references to the very broad field of *Child Rights*; Part II contains references to *Children at Risk*; Part III focuses on references specific to *Child Sexual Exploitation*, including the *commercial* aspects of

child sexual exploitation; Part IV contains references dealing with *Laws, the Legal Environment and Legal Resources*; Part V contains references to *International Cooperation in Prosecuting Adults Committing Sexual Crimes Against Children*; and Part VI references relating to the *Use of the Internet in Sexual Crimes Involving Children*. Each part of the bibliography is sub-divided into thematic sections and subsections. In general, every effort has been made to identify empirical studies that report national and international prevalence data concerning child sexual exploitation.

The majority of the references included in the bibliography have been published since 1990, albeit every effort has been made to include seminal works on child sexual abuse, child sexual exploitation, and the commercial sexual exploitation of children published prior to 1990. Similarly, most references are to works published in English and to foreign language publications that have been translated into English.

No doubt many important studies have been overlooked in compiling this listing. The editor sincerely apologizes for these omissions. As "a work in progress," readers are encouraged to submit recommendations for additional references to be included in future editions of the bibliography to the author at the following address: restes@ssw.upenn.edu.

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PART I Child Rights

Section A. *Rights of the Child*

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