

The Sex Exploiter¹

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Most child prostitutes are integrated into the mainstream sex industry, and tend to be concentrated in the cheaper end of the prostitute 'market', where conditions are worst and the 'throughput' of customers highest. Although some children are prostituted by and/or specifically for paedophiles and preferential abusers, the majority of the several million men who annually exploit prostitutes under 18 years of age are first and foremost *prostitute users* who become child sexual abusers through their prostitute use, rather than the other way about. Child sex exploiters (situational, preferential and paedophile) are thus drawn primarily from the following groups: local prostitute users; the military; seamen and truckers; migrant workers; travelling businessmen; tourists; expatriates; aid workers; and employers of domestic workers. Within this context the paper defines the terms 'paedophile', 'preferential child sex abuser' and 'situational child sex abuser' and observes that paedophiles and preferential abusers secure sexual access to children in a number of different ways, but typically target children who are in extremely vulnerable situations, or who are being prostituted.

The paper examines motivations for child sexual abuse in commercial contexts (exploring general questions about why people wish to purchase sexual access to prostitutes and how this relates to the abuse of prostituted children) as well as motivations for child sexual abuse in non-commercial contexts and looks at the cognitive distortions employed by sexual exploiters in both contexts in order to rationalise and justify their acts of abuse.

The national and international organisation of child sexual exploitation is briefly considered, as are possibilities for the control and rehabilitation of child sex exploiters and some proposals for preventative action in future. Because so many children are sexually exploited within the mainstream sex industry, the need for a worldwide change in public, police and judicial attitudes towards prostitution is stressed. It is prostitute users (the exploiters) and not prostituted children (the victims) who must become the focus of policing. Meanwhile, greater national and international commitment and international co-operation is necessary to effectively police, deter and rehabilitate preferential abusers and paedophiles who sexually exploit children at home and abroad.

THE SEX EXPLOITER

The Congress Against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children will consider the actions of those who sexually exploit children. It will address questions about their identity, actions and motivations, and consider whether and how their behaviours can be changed and/or controlled.

I. DEFINITIONS

1. 'Paedophile' and 'Preferential Child Sex Abuser'

The term 'paedophile' is a clinical one, used to refer to an adult who has a personality disorder which involves a specific and focused sexual interest in prepubertal children. Though the majority of paedophiles are male, female abusers are not unknown, and though some paedophiles have a focused interest in either female or male victims, others have no consistent gender preference. Paedophiles do not all act on their sexual interest in the same way. Some restrict their sexual life to fantasy (if they use child pornography for

masturbatory purposes, however, they can be said to engage, albeit indirectly, in child sexual abuse). Those who do act upon their impulses may abuse children in a variety of ways, some limiting themselves to 'non-contact abuse' (exposure of genital organs, showing and/or talking about pornographic material), others perpetrating 'contact abuse' (genital touching and fondling, attempted or actual penetration - oral, anal or vaginal).

The term 'preferential child sex abuser' is used in this paper to refer to those individuals whose preferred sexual objects are children who have reached or passed puberty. Such abusers are usually, but not always men, and their victims may be either male or female children. Again, psychiatry views their taste for immature and powerless sexual partners as the manifestation of a personality disorder (hebephilia). Neither paedophiles nor preferential abusers constitute a homogeneous group in terms of their *modus operandi*, and three major behaviour patterns have been identified by the clinicians and law enforcement agents who work with them. First, there is 'the seduction pattern'. This is typically followed by offenders who are motivated by a form of narcissism, seeing some lost part of themselves in the 'innocent' child, and/or having a strong sense of emotional congruence with the children they abuse. This type of abuser is an excellent manipulator (often of adults and public opinion, as well as of children). They use affection, attention and gifts to court children, are willing to spend long periods of time 'grooming' their victims in preparation for the abuse and use threats, blackmail and physical violence to discourage disclosure. Second, there are 'introverted' offenders, who have a preference for children but lack the 'seducer's' interpersonal skills. Such offenders typically engage in a minimum of verbal communication with victims, and tend to abuse unknown or very young children. Third, and least common, there are 'sadistic' offenders, who not only have a sexual interest in children, but also derive sexual pleasure from the infliction of physical or psychological suffering on their victims. This kind of offender may either use lure or force to gain access to the child, and they are more likely to abduct and murder their victims than any other type of offender.

2. 'Situational Child Sex Abuser'

The term 'situational child sex abuser' is used to refer to adult men and women who sexually exploit children not because they have a focused sexual interest in children *per se*, but *either* because they are morally and/or sexually indiscriminate and wish to 'experiment' with child sexual partners, *or* because they have entered into situations in which a) children who match their ideals of physical attraction are sexually accessible to them, and b) certain disinhibiting factors are present which allow them to either delude themselves about the child's true age or about the nature of the child's consent. Unlike preferential abusers and paedophiles, then, situational abusers do not consistently or consciously seek out children as sexual partners, and it is often a matter of indifference to them whether their sexual partners are 14 or 24, providing they are 'fit' and 'attractive'. This type of offender cannot necessarily be described as sexually 'perverse' (in the sense of deviating from culturally prescribed sexual norms) since the physical characteristics that he or she is attracted to often conform to cultural ideals of 'youthful' feminine or masculine beauty, and not to cultural ideals of *childlike* innocence. Children mature physically at very different rates, so that a 14 or 15 year old girl, for example, can combine the physical characteristics associated with adult woman (large breasts, 'hour-glass' figure, etc.) with attributes of youth that are much admired (good muscle tone, unlined, hairless skin). It is also worth noting here that many models used in the production of pornography aimed at 'normal', and not paedophile, men are actually under the age of 18, and an adult who is sexually aroused by the sight of someone who is legally and chronologically a child, but physically 'mature' and/or close to cultural ideals of sexual beauty, cannot necessarily be understood as sexually or psychologically 'aberrant'.

II. GROUPS THAT SUPPLY CHILD SEX EXPLOITERS

Paedophiles and preferential abusers secure sexual access to children in a number of different ways. Sometimes they seek jobs or positions which provide them with opportunities to abuse, or move to areas

where they know that sexual access to children is relatively easily attained. This means that certain groups of children are at particular risk of sexual abuse. Street children and children in orphanages and local authority care are perhaps the most obvious examples of children who are vulnerable to sexual abuse by adults occupying positions of trust or authority. They are easy targets for non-violent abusers who wish to construct a fiction of 'consent' around the abuse. Such children are, by definition, emotionally needy. They are also often materially deprived. Adults in positions of trust or authority are therefore able to manipulate them with promises, threats and bribes, often making the child feel complicit in its own abuse. There is a great deal of evidence to suggest that in affluent countries as well as poor countries, children who are being, or have been, abused in this way also become extremely vulnerable to commercial sexual exploitation by pimps and pornographers. Furthermore, there are cases in which commercial sexual exploitation is actually part of the abuse perpetrated by a trusted/feared adult who derives sexual and psychological pleasure, as well as perhaps some financial benefit, from seeing the child prostituted or used in the production of pornography. It is also the case that children in war zones, refugee camps and prisons, as well as street children, are especially vulnerable to violent sexual abuse by strangers, as well as to the forms of non-violent abuse described above.

Although some children are prostituted by and/or specifically for paedophiles, the vast majority of child prostitutes are integrated into the mainstream sex industry which serves *all* those who wish to purchase commercial sex, rather than working in some isolated 'market niche' which caters solely to the desires of paedophiles and preferential abusers. In both affluent and poor countries, it is not only the case that a significant percentage of prostitutes are under the age of 18, but also that younger prostitutes tend to be concentrated in the cheaper end of the prostitute market where conditions are worst and the 'throughput' of customers is highest. Any group which represents a source of demand for commercial sex can therefore be assumed to supply a significant number of child sex exploiters, many of whom will be situational abusers. They sexually abuse children because they are prostitute-users (and/or strip and sex show customers, and/or consumers of pornography) in a world which, on the one hand places sexual value on youth, and on the other forces large numbers of children (either through direct coercion or economic necessity) into working in the sex industry. Taken together, all this means that the vast bulk of child sex exploiters (situational, preferential and paedophile) are drawn from the following groups:

1. The Military

Local and foreign soldiers have long represented a substantial portion of the demand for commercial sex. Several of the poor countries where the sex industry is most developed, either are or were until lately military dictatorships and/or have served or do serve as major bases for foreign troops. The relationship between the military and prostitution has been most recently illustrated by cases in which the presence of UN peacekeeping troops has fuelled a phenomenal increase in the scale of prostitution, with soldiers often paying for the sexual services of orphaned, abandoned or displaced girls, some as young as 12 years old. Meanwhile, NGOs report that there are countries where girls in their early teens are currently held in brothels under conditions of virtual slavery and forced to sexually service off duty local soldiers. Soldiers are also sometimes responsible for other forms of sexual abuse, such as child rape. This is especially the case in war zones (the most recent examples of this concern allegations against rebel forces in Uganda and against Serbian troops in Bosnia).

2. Seamen and Truckers

Seamen and truckers are another group of men known to be extensively involved in prostitution. Large numbers of child prostitutes are to be found working in the red light districts of port towns around the world, serving a clientele that largely consists of merchant sailors, fishermen and naval personnel, and there are also child prostitutes working in and around 'pit stops' for truckers.

3. Migrant Labour

Migrant workers represent another major source of demand for commercial sex in many parts of the world.

In some cities, men who have migrated from rural areas in search of work are the main source of custom for child as well as adult prostitutes in red light areas. Likewise, brothels in many mining areas (especially those in South America) are almost exclusively dependent on the custom of migrant workers, and the prostitutes therein are girls aged from 13 to 22, who are often held under conditions of virtual slavery.

4. Travelling Businessmen

Prostitute-use by businessmen, especially those travelling abroad, is widespread. The provision of 'call girls' and/or visits to brothels often form part of the 'hospitality' provided by business associates. Some companies are reported to 'reward' loyal or efficient managerial employees with sex holidays abroad, and some firms are known to supply male employees working in isolated areas with domestic servants who are expected to provide free sexual services in addition to their other duties. Foreign travel for business purposes can also provide paedophiles and preferential child abusers with opportunities to pursue their sexual interests at low cost and in comparative safety. Indeed, interview work with preferential child abusers suggests that such men sometimes establish business links in particular countries precisely because this facilitates frequent visits to places where they can easily obtain sexual access to their preferred sexual 'objects'.

5. Sex Tourists

Sex tourists are individuals who enter into sexually exploitative relationships with local women, men and/or children whilst travelling for leisure purposes. They are not a homogeneous group. Though the vast majority of sex tourists are heterosexual males, there are also homosexual and paedophile sex tourists, as well as some female sex tourists. These people range in age from 18 to 80, and are of different national and ethnic origins and socio-economic backgrounds. In many resort areas, sex tourists represent *the* major source of demand for prostitution. Some sex tourists are paedophiles and preferential child abusers who choose particular holiday destinations because they know that sexual access to children in those places can be obtained relatively cheaply, easily and safely. Numerically more significant are men who have a preference for experiencing multiple, anonymous sexual encounters with postpubertal teenagers and young women or men in their early twenties. The sexual exploitation of local people is the central focus of their holiday in just the same way that skiing is the primary leisure activity pursued by those who take skiing holidays. Other tourists - male and female - ostensibly select their holiday destination for different reasons (the local culture or climate, the availability of drugs, watersports facilities etc.) but then simulate romantic relationships with a smaller number of local children or adults. This latter type does not acknowledge the fact that they are prostitute users, preferring to think of their exploitative acts as 'holiday romances'. Alongside and often overlapping these groups, there are sex tourists who have very specific 'racialised'-sexual fantasies. They travel in order to secure cheap, easy and/or safe sexual access to 'Oriental', Asian, Black or Latino women, men and/or children.

6. Expatriates

Almost all the countries favoured by sex tourists are also home to large numbers of expatriates from affluent countries. These expatriates are usually retirees, professionals or small business owners. Many are involved in the tourist industry and some are directly involved in prostitution (there are expatriate owned or managed bar-brothels in many sex tourist destinations). A portion of the regular clientele of both adult and child prostitutes in these countries is also drawn from the expatriate community. There are also cases of expatriates making money by procuring women or children for sex tourists and foreign businessmen as well as several known cases of expatriate involvement in paedophile 'rings', supplying children to fellow expatriates, visiting friends and tourists, as well as exploiting them for the purposes of pornography.

7. Local Clients

With the possible exception of those working in brothels set up specifically to cater to military personnel, prostitutes around the world attract local custom, as well as that provided by seamen, soldiers, migrant workers, foreign businessmen and tourists. In many parts of the world, local clients represent the major source of demand for both child and adult prostitutes. Local paedophiles and preferential child abusers also often use prostitution as a means of obtaining sexual access to children, and this is true in both affluent and poor countries.

8. Aid Workers

Much aid work provides ready access to children, and several cases of NGOs and volunteer workers sexually abusing the children in their care have recently come to light. Some aid workers are also prostitute users during their stay abroad. It is also the case that social welfare projects run by religious missionaries and church workers in both economically developed and underdeveloped countries sometimes attract paedophiles and preferential abusers. There are cases of priests and supposedly philanthropic 'Christians' setting up vocational centres and residential homes in order to operate paedophile rings, as well as numerous instances of such men exploiting the trust and credibility bestowed on them by virtue of their religious affiliation as a means to secure sexual access to children.

9. Employers of Domestic Workers

In many countries, children between the ages of 12 and 18 are employed as domestic workers. They are vulnerable to sexual exploitation by their employers, and child domestic workers who are migrants or victims of trafficking are especially unable to resist sexual abuse since their employers often wield enormous power over them (in many cases, the child's rights of residence in a country, as well their livelihood, depend upon their employer).

III MOTIVATIONS FOR CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE IN COMMERCIAL CONTEXTS

In all known societies, there are rules and conventions which govern and constrain people's sexual interaction. The twilight and often illicit world of prostitution provides an arena within which the laws and rules which constrain sexual practice can be evaded, and, in this sense, the attraction of child prostitution to many paedophiles and preferential child sexual abusers is obvious. Laws and social conventions make it very difficult and dangerous for such people to satisfy their sexual interests in non-commercial contexts, but prostitution potentially provides 'instant access', often to a selection of children. Since there are very few countries where large numbers of prepubertal children are prostituted, those which have a reputation for child prostitution attract paedophiles (at least those who can afford to travel) from all around the world.

However, it cannot be simply assumed that all the clients of child prostitutes are paedophiles or preferential abusers. Research suggests that, depending upon the setting from which they work, child prostitutes 'service' between 2 and 30 clients per week, i.e., somewhere between 100 and 1,500 clients a year. Even if the lowest estimates on the numbers of child prostitutes are accepted, the number of *clients* of child prostitutes still runs into several millions annually. Furthermore, these millions of clients are a very disparate group in terms of their nationalities and their socio-economic, cultural and religious backgrounds.

To explain the behaviour of such a large and varied group solely through reference to two clinically defined personality disorders - paedophilia and hebephilia - (diagnostic categories which are themselves based on research with a relatively small and atypical sample of Western men) would clearly be unsatisfactory. Indeed, it is more reasonable to assume that a majority of these men are first and foremost *prostitute users* who become child sexual abusers through their prostitute use, rather than first and foremost

paedophiles or hebephiles using prostitution as a means of obtaining sexual access to children. It follows from this that understanding why people sexually abuse children in a commercial context requires us to address general questions about why people wish to purchase sexual access to prostitutes, and how this relates to the abuse of prostituted children. This section draws on research with prostitutes' clients in a number of different settings which suggests that, in general, men (and some women) use prostitutes for one of the reasons discussed below, or some combination of these reasons.

1. Some Clients Use Prostitutes to Satisfy What They Imagine to be a Biological or Emotional Need for a Sexual 'Outlet'/ Physical Contact

Many societies socialise their members into a belief that human beings (especially human males) have a biological sexual drive akin to hunger or the need to evacuate the bowels. Male sexual desire is viewed in terms of *needing*, rather than *wanting*, and many men who do not have, or are separated from, a regular non-commercial sexual partner, often believe that prostitute use is necessary to their physical and psychological well being. A great deal of the prostitute use by seamen, truckers, soldiers and migrant workers appears to be underpinned, at least in part, by this type of thinking. Some tourists and locals also explain their sexual exploitation of prostitutes in this way, saying that they are lonely and driven to prostitute-use by their need for physical attention, comfort or sexual 'release'.

In theory, this should mean that the link between prostitute use and child sexual exploitation for these men is an entirely contingent one (i.e., that they only abuse children because it so happens that many of the cheapest and/or most accessible prostitutes just happen to be under the age of 18), and there is some supporting evidence for this view. A Ukrainian sailor interviewed during the course of research for ECPAT, for example, commented, 'I'm a man. I have biological needs. I've been on ship for seven months, I needed a woman'. When the ship docked at a port in an economically underdeveloped country, he therefore went to the red light district, an area which was, in his words, 'dirty and horrible' and where girls enter into prostitution from the age of around 12 or 13. Clearly, in this setting, the chances that such a man will sexually abuse a child are high, but, according to the sailor, he does not go to such places from choice, but 'out of necessity'. It is also important to reiterate the fact that child prostitutes are typically concentrated in the cheapest sector of the prostitution market (in the West, this means street prostitution, in poorer countries it often means the seamiest brothels), and it follows that low paid migrant workers and locals who use prostitutes to satisfy their imagined sexual 'needs' are also highly likely to sexually abuse child prostitutes.

However, it is also the case that while many men justify and defend their prostitute use through reference to the idea that they have a simple biological *need* for sex, very few are completely indiscriminate as to how this 'need' is satisfied and by whom. In fact, if they were indiscriminate, there would be no reason to use prostitutes at all, since they could quite easily find sexual 'release' alone or with fellow soldiers, sailors, migrant workers or tourists. There is no reason to suppose that they are any less discriminating about the *kind* of woman they 'need' and it seems probable that many of these men do actually prefer to use prostitutes aged somewhere between 14 and 20, since girls in this age range tend to conform more closely to cultural ideals of feminine beauty. Support for this hypothesis comes from research with prostitutes in port towns, who state that as a woman grows older, she finds it increasingly difficult to attract customers. Finally, misconceptions about the transmission of AIDs and other venereal diseases may encourage men who use prostitutes to satisfy what they imagine to be a biological need for a sexual 'outlet' to select younger prostitutes in the mistaken belief that they are less likely to contract illness from them.

2. Some Men Use Prostitution in Order to Obtain a Sense of Camaraderie with Male Colleagues or Friends

Prostitute use is sometimes a group activity, experienced as pleasurable because it consolidates a shared masculine identity and heightens a sense of group belonging. Employers who organise group sexual exploitation for their male employees do so precisely in order to encourage such 'male bonding', as do

rugby, cricket and football clubs and other organisations which seek to reproduce and reinforce strict gender segregation. Male friends also often travel together to engage in sex tourism. It might be hoped that the presence of business colleagues or friends would inhibit men from breaking taboos around child sexual abuse, and this is no doubt the case so far as the abuse of prepubertal children is concerned. However, research with sex tourists and foreign businessmen suggests that the situational abuse of postpubertal girls aged between 15 and 18 is quite common. Businessmen and sex tourists traveling in groups of two and more who were interviewed during the course of research for ECPAT often reinforced each other's self serving self delusions as to the true age of the prostitutes they were with, whilst others would joke about the girls' ages with each other, laughingly referring to their friends as 'cradle snatchers' or to their child prostitute 'girl friends' as 'jail bait'.

3. Some Clients Use Prostitutes in Order to Obtain a Sense of 'True' Masculinity

In a number of otherwise very different societies, men are socialised into a gender ideology which equates masculinity with the successful exercise of control over women, over other men, over their own bodies and over material objects. They are also often fed a diet of pornography in which 'ideal' men exercise enormous power over sexually objectified women (or, in the case of much homosexual pornography, men). Many men's non-sexual daydreams as well as their masturbatory fantasies centre around the idea of becoming truly 'masculine' in the sense of having the power to command others, and, providing they have money, the institution of prostitution equips them with precisely this kind of power. Because the sex industry reduces those who work in it to sexual 'commodities', it simultaneously turns the men who use it into 'sovereign consumers', and all over the world, there are businessmen, soldiers, seamen, migrant workers and locals who find prostitute use (as well as visits to strip, peep and live sex shows) affirmative for this reason. Once again, because child prostitutes are often found in the cheaper end of the commercial sex market, less affluent men often have greater 'consumer' power in relation to child than to adult prostitutes, and are thus likely to become situational child abusers even if they have no specific sexual interest in children.

For prostitute users who are motivated by a desire to control and command sexually objectified human beings, locations which combine widespread poverty with a well developed and highly commercialised sex industry are ideal. This is of particular relevance to understanding one type of sex tourist - the 'Macho Men' who make repeated visits to cities or resorts which conform to this description. These men's annual or biannual trips to such places are like passing through the looking glass into a world wherein all their masturbatory fantasies are miraculously embodied and attainable. This is partly because sexual access to prostitutes is extremely cheap, and partly because the array of different forms of commoditised sex on offer is so extensive that they are in a position to command 'anything and everything'. Furthermore, they feel able to live out their masturbatory fantasies because they are disinhibited by their sense that, in these places, prostitutes really are nothing but 'commodities'. Indeed, the particular organisation of the sex trade in some of the cities favored by sex tourists objectifies and deindividualises prostitutes to a quite extraordinary extent. The seemingly endless numbers of Go Go bars and brothels, for instance, present sex tourists with a sense of prostitutes not only as somehow 'mass produced', but also as highly standardized commodities (for example, large numbers of girls/women or boys/men of roughly similar physical proportions are displayed in matching costumes, and often have numbers pinned to their clothing). Meanwhile, the live sex shows which some exploiters frequent (generally featuring girls and women performing acts which involve expelling air or objects from their vaginas, or pulling long strands of cloth, or strings of bells or razor blades from them) further reinforce the idea of these racialised 'Others' as nothing more than animated sexual organs.

Not all prostitute users like this kind of very explicit commoditisation, but the pleasure that those who do derive from it appears to be linked partly to a generalized hostility toward women. To see women and girls lined up in a brothel, numbered and available to any man who picks them is to see them dominated and humiliated, stripped of their power to 'withhold' the sexual access that such men imagine is so central to their own well being. Above all, their pleasure is linked to their sense of being in a position to control

females as sexual objects as the following extracts from an interview with one British sex tourist shows:

One night, I went to a brothel... They sit you down on these nice couches... and then pull the curtains back and there are all the girls sitting there behind this glass screen and they've all got numbers on... and the guy says, 'Which one would you like then?' And you look at the girls and... say, 'Oh, I like number 7 or 8' and you say 'Is she good girl?' and he says, 'Yes, any problems phone me up and I'll sort it out'... They get a walkie talkie out to speak through the screen, sends through for her, says 'Number 7 go and get dressed'... and she knows she's been took, and then they go with you.

This man had abused child prostitutes, not because he has a focused sexual interest in children, but because he is morally and sexually indiscriminate. Men of this type do not really care whether the girl they take from a brothel or bar is 14 or 24, providing they 'fancy' the look of her, and furthermore, child sexual abuse becomes just one more sexual experience in the range that is on offer to them as a 'consumer'. An anonymous contributor to a 'World Sex Guide' available on the Internet, for example, provides descriptions of six 'adventures' he had on his 'holiday', the last of which features a visit to a brothel where 12 year old girls were on offer. The sexual acts he performed upon a physically small and immature child are recounted as neither more nor less than another new and exciting 'commodity/service' purchased during the course of his trip.

4. Some clients use prostitutes to satisfy a compulsive urge to perform sexually transgressive acts and/or to exercise sexual power over extremely vulnerable, powerless, objectified and/or degraded individuals

It was noted in i) above that many men believe all males to be possessed of some kind of 'natural' sexual drive which makes them *need* heterosexual intercourse. For some men (including most of those discussed in iv) above), this belief forms the basis of a deeply misogynistic worldview. Because they see themselves as victims of a biological compulsion to have sex with any 'beautiful' female they meet, women are imagined to control a resource (their female bodies) that is vital to men's physical well being. Females are therefore resented for their 'immense power', whilst men are viewed as out of control and powerless. For such men, prostitution represents a means of acquiring control over themselves and others as sexual beings. As one British man, a habitual sex tourist, put it, prostitution means "You don't have to worry about going out and getting someone, because you know any time, day or night, you can have anyone you want within seconds. You feel so powerful, you feel you're in control of your sex life".

The compulsive nature of some men's prostitute use gives it a character very similar to the sexual behaviour of paedophiles and preferential abusers, who likewise tend to view themselves as weak and to express misogynistic rage against women's power to 'withhold' sexual access and unconditional emotional support. Clients like this often report that the sexual and psychological pleasure they derive from prostitute use comes largely from the knowledge that they are breaking the law, cheating on their wives, flouting the moral codes they have been taught, or in some way transgressing rules and values *and* getting away with it. An element of risk is often a vital component of these men's sexual excitement (hence the not uncommon scandals concerning 'upright', wealthy citizens getting caught using street prostitutes, despite the fact that a myriad of more discrete options were readily available).

For other compulsive prostitute users, the idea of revenge is more central to their sexual excitement. Recent psychoanalytical work which suggests that perversion is essentially a gender disorder constructed out of a triad of hostility (*rage* at giving up one's earliest bliss and identification with the mother, *fear* of not succeeding in escaping out of her orbit, and a need for *revenge* for her putting one in this predicament), is helpful in understanding such men and their propensity to sexually abuse children. In word and deed, compulsive prostitute users express rage at not being the central focus of a woman's adoring and indulgent gaze. Adult women who are their economic, social and/or legal equals are perceived as hugely threatening simply because they are in a position to control *themselves*, that is to say, to exercise choice over whether or

not to meet a man's demands. For a woman to be in a position to exercise choice is for her to assert her separateness, her free will, her capacity to freely withdraw from the relationship and thus to arouse these men's infantile rage. Even a prostitute may be perceived as threatening if, as many adult Western prostitutes are, she is in a position to determine the limits of the contractual exchange. An interview with a Canadian sex tourist is revealing. He explained that he 'hated' prostitutes. He had used prostitutes all over the world, and he hated European and North American prostitutes in particular:

It's all businesslike. It's by the hour, like a taxi service, like they've got the meter running... There's no feeling. If I wanted to fuck a rubber doll, I could buy one and inflate it... A prostitute in Europe will never kiss you. In Canada, it's ridiculous. You know, if you go with a prostitute and you don't pay her, you know what? They call it rape. You can be in court on a rape charge.

He liked the powerlessness of prostitutes in the poor countries he visited. 'Here, they don't even ask for the money. It's up to you'. As an affluent tourist to countries where prostitution is illegal, he enjoys the knowledge that, as he put it, 'if you don't pay a girl here, there's nothing she can do. She's not supposed to be with you anyway. It's just tough'. This intense rage against women who exercise the smallest modicum of control over their interactions with men leads some men to search for sexual partners who are perceived as especially powerless, and child prostitutes clearly fit this description. Meanwhile, because the sexual use of children is, in itself, a transgressive act, it represents a form of revenge against the authority figures who such men imagine are attempting to control them as well as against a world that refuses to gaze indulgently upon them. Taken to its most extreme form, the desire for this type of control and vengeance can lead individuals to find sexual pleasure in the infliction of pain and/or damage on another human being.

Finally, there are men, and indeed some women, who use prostitution as a means of obtaining sexual contact with individuals whom they perceive to be objectified and/or degraded in some way. Psychoanalytic explanations for this type of sexual interest would also centre on the notion of an intense fear of intimacy. The basic idea is that people who suffered betrayal at the hands of those upon whom they were utterly dependent as children (usually parents or parent figures) sometimes develop a pathological fear of dependency. Since sexual relationships often imply a high degree of intimacy/dependency, such people seek ways of rendering sexual partners 'safe' and non-threatening. To select sexual partners who are perceived as powerless (a small child or a visibly brutalised prostitute, for example) and/or in some sense less than human (a 'racialised' Other, for instance), is one strategy for selecting sexual partners who are imagined not to be in a position to reject or harm.

5. Exploiters Who Do Not Wish to See Themselves as Prostitute Users

Another clearly identifiable subgroup of prostitute users is comprised of men and women who do not view themselves as 'clients' and yet sexually exploit prostitutes. This may sound like an impressive feat of self-delusion, but it is a trick annually performed by many hundreds of thousands of sex tourists, as well as by some foreign businessmen and expatriates in South American, Caribbean, Asian and S. E. Asian countries. They are able to deceive themselves about the true nature of their sexual interaction with local people because prostitution takes a number of different forms in the countries they visit. As well as brothel based prostitution, there exists an informal prostitution sector, comprised of adults and children either soliciting independently from beaches, parks and ordinary tourist bars, or supplementing their very low pay from, say, hotel or bar work with occasional prostitution. Furthermore, the prostitute-client exchange, especially in the informal, independent sector, is often very different to that which takes place in the West. Independent prostitutes in countries which host sex tourists do not usually sell sexual services by the piece as Western prostitutes do, but generally provide anything from 18 hours to two weeks of full access to their persons, and perform the kind of acts that in the West are taken to signify genuine affection (kissing, cuddling, sleeping in the bed with clients, providing physical care such as rubbing in sun tan lotion, washing their hair or feet, and so on, all things which an experienced Western prostitute would *never* do).

Thus, sex tourists, expatriates and foreign businessmen do not have to go into a brothel, or even into a

'tacky' Go Go Bar, in order to pick up a prostitute, nor do they have to negotiate a 'deal' in advance (the two things which, to most Westerners, are viewed as integral to 'prostitution'). They can therefore interpret the process of 'picking up' as confirmation of a mutual attraction rather than as initiating a commercial sexual encounter and when the adult or child later confides their desperate need for cash, the client constructs the act of giving them money not as payment for services rendered, but as a gesture of compassion or generosity. All of this makes it possible for some sex exploiters to tell themselves that the girls/boys they exploit are not *really* prostitutes, and thus that they themselves are not *really* 'clients'.

Such people are usually motivated to engage in this form of sexual activity for the reasons discussed in 1, 2 and 4 above, and because large numbers of freelance prostitutes working in sex tourist resorts are under the age of 18 (indeed, the bulk of child prostitution often takes place in this kind of informal prostitution sector), this type of prostitute user is just as prone to situational child sexual abuse as any other prostitute user. It also seems probable that those paedophile sex tourists who in their own country tend to follow the 'seduction' behaviour pattern also favor the informal prostitution sector as a means of securing sexual access to young children. If such men veer toward an excessively sentimental regard for children, and have a strong sense of emotional congruence with their victims, then they would almost certainly prefer to arrange sexual access to small children whom they can see playing around on a beach, splashing in the sea, drinking coca colas and so on, than to bruised and half starved children in small cubicles in seamy brothels.

IV. MOTIVATIONS FOR ABUSE IN NON-COMMERCIAL CONTEXTS

Adults' motivations to sexually abuse children in non-commercial contexts such as refugee camps, orphanages and prisons are probably best understood through reference to ideas discussed in either c) i) or iv) above. Adults prisoners or refugees who abuse postpubertal teenagers in prisons or refugee camps, for example, are probably acting on the basis of a belief in their 'need' for sexual release (possibly also a desire to overcome their own sense of powerlessness by exercising power over another human being). Where adults deliberately seek out positions of authority in institutions or organisations that are intended to serve the needs of children in order to obtain sexual access to those children however, it seems likely that they are motivated by the fear of intimacy and/or dependency and the desire for control over powerless sexual partners that have already been discussed. Clinicians argue that paedophile and preferential abusers' motivation to abuse often rests partly on their sense of 'emotional congruence' with children (they see themselves as somehow as weak and as powerless as the child). This same sense of 'congruence' would be very easy to marry with a view of the self as someone who 'loves' and 'understands' children, and abusers may therefore genuinely believe that they have a great deal to offer abandoned and neglected children. Certainly some paedophiles have successfully convinced other adults, funding bodies and officials that they are caring, child-centered philanthropists, whilst simultaneously committing horrific crimes against the children in their charge.

V. OTHER FACTORS NECESSARY FOR ABUSE TO OCCUR

Research with men who sexually abuse children in non-commercial contexts in their home countries suggests that, as well as needing a motivation to have sex with a child, three further factors need to be present for abuse to occur. First, the adult has to overcome external inhibitions and create conditions under which they can carry out acts of abuse. This often requires extensive planning and/or 'grooming' of the victim prior to the actual assault. Second, the abuser has to overcome the victim's resistance, and this is typically achieved through the use of threats, bribes and/or gifts. Clearly, if children are being prostituted it obviates the need for 'grooming' on the abusers part, and the child is unlikely to offer any resistance. The amount of effort required to create conditions for the abuse to take place also varies in non-commercial contexts. The greater the abuser's authority over the child and status in the community,

the less likely his interest in children is to be questioned. The Freddie Peats case in India provides an instructive example. Peats ran an orphanage, which gave him more or less absolute authority over the daily lives of children therein. He also actively and successfully sought respect from the local community (through his charity work, by claiming to be a doctor, etc.). The Frank Beck case in Britain serves to underline that this kind of abuse recognizes no national, economic or 'racialised' boundaries. It can and does take place in any country of the world.

Finally, the vast majority of paedophiles and preferential child abusers know their behaviour is illegal and/or socially proscribed, and have to overcome internal inhibitions in order to act out the abuse. It is also the case that the vast majority of abusers need or want a fiction of consent in order to abuse. Although there are individuals who derive sexual pleasure from acts that are clearly and inescapably coercive or violent (some child prostitutes describe being vaginally or anally penetrated, or forced to have oral sex while tears are streaming down their faces), they are definitely in a minority. In both commercial and non-commercial contexts, abusive adults use a series of 'cognitive distortions' to justify and excuse their behaviour and to convince themselves that the children they exploit are actively consenting to sex. These distortions are considered below.

1. Cognitive Distortions and Sexual Offending

Research with men who sexually offend against children in the UK and USA has concluded that distortion of attitude and belief, whereby children are portrayed as being in some way responsible for their own abuse, and that they are not harmed by sexual contact with adults and are able to consent to or gain benefit from such encounters, is one of the most common characteristics exhibited by child sexual abusers. Prostitute users (sex tourists, locals, sailors, soldiers, businessmen and expatriates) employ precisely the same cognitive distortions in relation to the prostitutes they sexually exploit at home and abroad. Research with preferential and situational child prostitute abusers has found that these distortions take the following forms:

- 1.1. The fact that the child is identified as 'a prostitute' as opposed to being seen as *prostituted* (either by another person or by economic circumstances) allows the sex exploiter to tell himself that the children he abuses are responsible for their own abuse. Prostitute users do not consider the fact that the vast majority of prostitutes are survivors of incestuous abuse, rape and/or assault, and have been compelled or coerced into prostitution by a third party or by a complete absence of alternative means of survival (this is true of prostitutes in both the economically developed and underdeveloped world). Instead, prostitute users tell themselves that the child prostitutes who approach them have actively chosen prostitution as a 'way of life'. They tell themselves that they did not seduce the child, rather the children *invited* their own abuse by 'electing' to prostitute themselves. As one sex tourist said of a 13 year old he had sex with, 'She was expecting something, and it wasn't a lollipop'. This kind of thinking can be extended to justify the use of force and the infliction of damage and pain on children.
- 1.2. Abusers of child prostitutes typically express either highly sexualized forms of racism or extreme forms of hostility towards prostitutes. Without exception, sex tourists, expatriates and traveling businessmen interviewed in the course of research for ECPAT described the cultures that host them as more sexually 'open', 'natural' and 'free' than Western culture. This allows them to delude themselves about the meanings that are attached to sexual behaviour in the countries they visit. They claim that the way in which six year olds dance proves that they are more physical and sexual than Western children; that girls in these countries are grown up and sexually experienced by the time they are 14; that no stigma is attached to prostitution; that 'They' are all 'at it' all of the time. This is often coupled with a horribly warped interpretation placed on knowledge about the prevalence of incest and/or child prostitution in the host countries. Abusers tell themselves that the harm from adult-child sexual contact has already been inflicted by someone else, and that their own acts of abuse are not, therefore, the real crime. In these ways, sex exploiters tell themselves that children are not harmed by sexual contact with them. To quote a particularly repellent sex tourist in

the Caribbean:

Sex is a natural thing here. Everyone's at it, fathers do it with their daughters, brothers do it with their sisters, they don't care. They'll do it with anyone, they do it with everyone, they don't care who it is or how old they are. They're like animals. That's the only way I can explain it to you. They're like dogs or cats or roosters. Have you seen roosters, the way in the farmyard the way they carry on? Just hop on top of any chicken they see. That's what it's like here. By the time a girl is 10 years old, she's had more experience than, well, an American woman or an Irish woman won't never have that much experience in her whole life... Girls learn it's the way to keep a man happy. It's natural to them, it's a natural way to please men.

Local men use similar reasoning to justify their sexual exploitation of child prostitutes. To understand this, it is necessary to recognize the fact that child prostitutes in many of the world's cities, ports and mining towns are not actually local children, but have either migrated or been trafficked from other countries or other regions of the same country, and thus do not usually share a common 'racialised', ethnic, regional and/or national identity with the local men who abuse them. Furthermore, where children do share a common social identity with local men, the local abuser will often focus upon the sexual 'looseness' and 'immorality' of the individual child (as opposed to that of their 'race' or culture) in order to justify his acts. Such men tell themselves that, since the child is already 'a prostitute' (and so already 'dirty' and less than fully human), no harm can result from their own acts of abuse.

- 1.3. The fact that child prostitutes desperately need money, often to support their dependents, is taken as evidence that they both consent to and benefit from sexual contact with adults. Sex tourists, for example, say that 'the girls' depend on them: 'If we stopped coming out here, I hate to think what would happen to these girls'. Local clients, businessmen, soldiers, expatriates and seamen can likewise tell themselves that they are effectively doing the child a favor by providing 'custom'.

These cognitive distortions allow exploiters to convince themselves that no physical or emotional harm will result from the act, and that the child actively consents to and will benefit from it. Western sex tourists are particularly adept at manufacturing self serving rationalisations. A sex tourist guide book, for example, encourages men to 'try' sexually exploiting debt bonded children in brothels, and, should their conscience prick them, the U.S. author helpfully observes that "One way to rationalise it is to say, if it's not me, then it's the guy behind me, and who's more likely to be the gentler of the two?"

VI. NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION OF CHILD SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

1. International Paedophile Organisation

It was noted in section a) that paedophiles and preferential abusers do not constitute a homogenous group, and this is also true in relation to their propensity to organise at national and international level. Some paedophiles and preferential abusers are essentially solitary individuals, but others wish to share their experiences, pornography and even their victims with other abusers. This latter type can be further subdivided. Some obtain a sense of validation if they merely 'share' with a small number like-minded individuals, exchanging letters and photographs in a fairly informal way. Others derive psychological satisfaction (sometimes also material benefits) from operating a more structured and systematic organisation serving a larger network of fellow paedophiles/preferential child abusers. Possibilities for operating international 'rings' have recently been much enhanced by advances in computer technology. Paedophiles and preferential abusers can now take advantage of the Internet and computer bulletin boards to make contacts across national boundaries as well as to share information, experiences and pornography, all in relative safety. The motives of abusers involved in such activities are probably best understood through

reference to the desire to either a) 'normalise' their own behaviour by developing contacts with others like themselves, or b) to obtain sexual and psychological gratification from behaviours that are risky, secretive and manipulative, and thus demonstrate the abuser's power to control others as well as to master his own fears. The commercial benefits for individuals operating this kind of paedophile 'ring' are generally believed to be negligible, but the desires of paedophiles and preferential abusers can be profitably exploited as a 'side line' by business people who are already involved in the organised sex trade. For example, there are 'escort' agencies which procure/ recruit children as well as adult prostitutes in order to provide clients greater 'variety'. Such agencies are often highly organised, if small, and in Latin American as well as North American and European countries, their owners will supply children with mobile phones in order to both facilitate 'customer service' and to avoid detection.

2. The National and International Promotion and Organisation of Sex Tourism

This is dealt with in the background paper on tourism prepared for the World Congress Against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children.

3. Armed Services' Involvement in the Organisation of Prostitution

There is evidence of both national and international armed services' involvement in the organisation of prostitution in a number of countries. At a national level, military personnel sometimes use their status and authority to supplement their salaries by variously procuring girls for prostitution, or investing in, managing or 'protecting' brothels, including those which sell children's bodies. At an international level, foreign military personnel have played a significant role in the development of the sex industries in countries used for 'Rest & Recreation', both by continuously transporting vast numbers of prostitute users to those countries, and by getting involved in the setting up and regulation of military brothels around their bases. In the 1990s, the U.N. has deployed large numbers of troops around the globe, and whilst prostitute use by these troops is not officially sanctioned, it does not appear to have been vigorously condemned or controlled either. Serious allegations against UN troops in Mozambique and in Cambodia were made in the early 1990s. It is claimed that, in response to local groups' complaints about sexual exploitation by UN forces in Cambodia, certain sites were placed off limits and new guidelines for soldiers were introduced. According to some sources, however, these new 'guidelines' were not strict enough. Soldiers were told not to park their cars in front of massage parlours, and nothing was done to address the issue of child sexual exploitation since, despite all evidence to the contrary, the UN official in charge of the matter simply did not believe that child prostitution existed.

4. The Organisation of Child Sexual Exploitation via the 'Mail Order Bride' and Domestic Servant Industries

The 'Mail Order Bride' and domestic servant industries represent another means through which the sexual exploitation of children, as well as adult women, is organised at national and international level. For example, Eastern European girls of 16 years old are currently being offered as 'wives' in mail order catalogues produced by British and German companies; teenage Indian and African girls are trafficked as domestic-cum-sexual servants to Asian and Middle Eastern destinations; in Latin America, children between the ages of 12 and 18 are recruited by employment agencies and supplied to single men as domestic-come-sexual servants.

VII. THE CONTROL AND REHABILITATION OF CHILD SEX EXPLOITERS

This paper has highlighted the fact that children are sexually exploited by prostitute users, as well as by paedophiles and preferential abusers who may or may not be prostitute users. This has implications for

issues of control and rehabilitation, which are considered below.

1. Legal Controls on Paedophile and Preferential Abusers who Travel Abroad

It is sadly the case that every nation produces its own paedophiles and preferential abusers, and it is clearly important that each nation attempts to control and deter such individuals. Here, however, we focus on abusers who travel abroad. This is because, in general, these abusers are nationals of affluent countries who travel to poor countries which can barely afford to police their own abusers, let alone those from wealthier nations. Richer nations have a moral obligation to protect *all* children from their own abusers. The majority of paedophiles from affluent countries know that adult sexual contact with prepubertal children is criminal almost everywhere in the world, and are usually conscious of the risks associated with their activities. Most therefore target vulnerable children who are unlikely to report them, and will weigh up the risks of getting caught in different settings and countries. A recent case involving a British man provides a good example of this. While in Britain, he restricted himself to forms of non-contact abuse for which he could not be prosecuted. When on holiday in a poor country (where in his estimation the risk of discovery and prosecution was low), he placed no such constraint upon himself, indulging in genital contact, anally penetrating children and filming himself so doing. This man stated explicitly that he would not have abused the children in this way had he believed there was a realistic chance of prosecution, and since he was capable of exercising self control in Britain, this claim seems plausible. There is, then, reason to believe that the introduction of extraterritorial legislation to cover child sexual offenses and effective enforcement of such law would help to control the incidence, or at least the severity, of child sexual abuse by paedophiles who travel abroad.

There is some evidence to suggest that while preferential child abusers from affluent nations know that their activities are illegal in their own countries, they are not always aware that age of consent laws exist in certain 'Third World' countries. Even when they do know the law, like paedophiles, they often believe the chances of being prosecuted for such acts are low. As one Canadian preferential abuser said of a Caribbean country 'No-one cares, the police don't care, the parents don't care, why should I care?'. The same man stated, however, that he did take care to avoid underage prostitutes in Europe and North America having had 'bad experiences' with the law there. Other preferential abusers say that they would not offend at home where 'They clap you in jail for just looking at a girl'. More visible and effective policing as well as the implementation of extraterritorial legislation would go some way toward inhibiting this type of offender. It would also help to reduce the incidence of situational child abuse by prostitute users, since they are also typically both ignorant of age of consent laws in S. E. Asian, South American, Caribbean and African countries and convinced that teenage sexual activity is socially acceptable in these places. Although many of this latter type of abuser prefer to tell themselves that the children they exploit are *really* over 18, they very patently do not feel the need to enquire too closely as to prostitutes' true ages. This would undoubtedly change if they believed there was a real risk of being prosecuted for having sex with a minor whilst holidaying abroad. Greater international commitment to and co-operation in policing child sex exploiters is therefore necessary.

2. Legal Controls on Prostitute Users

Since the vast majority of child sexual exploitation takes place in a commercial context, it is necessary to find ways of controlling *all* situational abusers of child prostitutes (this includes locals, soldiers, seamen, truckers, businessmen, expatriates and sex tourists). For them to feel squeezed by the law, it is imperative that the *focus* of prostitution law enforcement shifts dramatically. In virtually every part of the world today, it is postpubertal prostitutes and not their clients who are most actively policed. Girls of 14 years and upwards are routinely harassed, arrested, tried and imprisoned or otherwise punished by criminal justice systems in affluent as well as poor countries, while their adult male abusers walk free. Prostitute users know this only too well, and rightly estimate that the risk of anything more serious than being required to pay a small fine or bribe is slim, even if the prostitute they are with is underage. In some countries, sex

tourists and locals who are preferential abusers even boast about their own immunity, observing that the child prostitutes they exploit would never dare to go to the police (even if they were robbed or raped) because they know that they would suffer as a consequence. It is therefore vital that child sex abuse which takes place within a commercial context is seen for what it is, namely, *abuse*. Only then will the grotesque absurdity of policing and imprisoning the victim, instead of the criminal, become transparent. And it is only if abusers are seen to be held criminally responsible for their acts of exploitation that the law can hope to act as a deterrent.

3. Treatment Programmes for Offenders

The vast majority of child sex exploiters need to imagine that their victims actively consent to their abuse, and they use various cognitive distortions to convince themselves that this is the case. Research with men who offend in non-commercial contexts suggests that those who remain convinced that some children are not harmed by sexual contact with adults, or that they actively seek such contact, also remain at risk of repeating their offending. The prime objective of treatment programmes for paedophiles and preferential abusers who offend domestically has therefore been to challenge the cognitive distortions employed by abusers, to get them to admit to their abuse rather than minimise or deny it, and to encourage the development of empathy with their victims. Where resources have been invested in them, such therapeutic programs appear to have enjoyed some degree of success. As the Director of one clinic for offenders observes, "The only prospect of keeping children safe from abusers is work extensively, painfully and expensively with those men in order to interrupt their cycle of offending. Such work - whether they 'deserve' it or not - is simply the best form of child protection we have'.

However, since a large proportion of child sexual abuse takes place within a commercial context, it is essential that treatment programs for prostitute users are also developed and that those who offend in a commercial context are somehow compelled to participate in them. Such programs are currently being pioneered in Canada, Australia, the USA and the Netherlands. The Portland organisation, SEEP, for example, offers an intervention program for arrested clients of prostitutes and an education and a prevention program in schools, universities, colleges, community groups, neighbourhood associations and businesses. Its intervention work with clients involves both intensive workshops for first time offenders and long term counselling for habitual offenders, and the objective is to challenge the cognitive distortions employed by such men to legitimate their sexually exploitative acts, as well as to educate them about the realities of prostitution (for example, the fact that in the USA, the usual age of entry into prostitution is between 14 and 17, that 85% of prostitutes report being sexually abused as children, that 90% of prostitutes are coerced into prostitution by pimps, etc.). In this way, the workshops and counselling programs attempt to get prostitute users to empathise with, rather than objectify and denigrate, prostituted women and children.

Such work is relevant for the problem of local demand in both affluent and poor countries as well as the problem of demand from sex tourists, since both types of demand are underpinned by a profound lack of empathy for child prostitutes who are typically viewed as morally corrupt and/or 'racially' or ethnically 'Other'. These intervention programs can only work with the active support of law enforcement and criminal justice personnel, however. The focus of law enforcement needs to be upon the clients of child prostitutes, and courts need to view sexual offenses against prostituted children as seriously as they view offenses against non-prostituted children.

VIII. SOME PROPOSALS FOR THE FUTURE

1. Preventative Education with Abusers and Potential Abusers

Preventative education programmes with prostitute users and potential prostitute users need to be developed worldwide. Popular misconceptions about prostitution and male sexuality need to be challenged

amongst young people, some of whom will otherwise grow up to become sexual exploiters. Education on the impact of child sexual abuse upon victims, on the reasons why children and women enter into prostitution, on age of consent and prostitution law around the world, as well as consciousness raising around issues of gender and racism would also help to deconstruct the permissive narratives used by current abusers to justify their actions.

2. Preventative Action with Specific Groups of Prostitute Users and Child Sex Exploiters

Since military and naval personnel are effectively a 'captive' audience, it would be very simple to introduce an educational programme along the lines mentioned in i) above for them as part of their training. (It is particularly important to target military personnel since research indicates that many sex tourists and local prostitute users are ex-military men, suggesting that the armed services often socialise men into a lifelong 'addiction' to prostitute use.) Companies which tolerate or promote prostitute use by businessmen should also be targeted. Likewise, during flights to sex tourist destinations, tourists could be exposed to educational videos which specifically challenge the cognitive distortions employed by situational abusers as well as preferential abusers and paedophiles. This would also encourage non-abusive tourists to challenge the behaviour of abusive tourists when they witness it.

The demand for commercial sex from migrant workers could be partially addressed through changes to immigration policies and/or company policies which often forcibly separate migrant male workers from their wives or partners. Oppressive immigration policies also underpin the absolute power that employers wield over domestic workers and thus need to be challenged more generally. Meanwhile, child sexual abuse by Aid workers, orphanage directors, religious missionaries and church workers could be reduced through the imposition of more thorough vetting and monitoring procedures. In particular, agencies which make block grants to projects in poor countries should be urged to exercise great caution where a) the project is founded and run by a single foreign male and administered without accountability to the local community, and b) the project has as its sole focus assistance to poor young children. There are likewise some obvious steps that could be taken to prevent the sexual abuse of child prisoners (i.e., massive reductions to the child prison population, and the provision of separate cells for those for whom incarceration is truly unavoidable).

3. Awareness Raising to Encourage Better Policing and Reporting of Child Sex Exploiters

Education in countries which are newly attracting sex tourists could also play an important preventative role. Local people are often unaware of the phenomenon of sex tourism (until it is too late), and more especially, they may have little knowledge about child sexual abuse. Without this knowledge, Western paedophiles' observable behaviour with street children - buying them meals, cuddling them, taking them back to hotel rooms - is often interpreted as 'kindliness', and certainly not seen as a cause for concern. It is also the case that there are currently a number of organisations (and hundreds of thousands of individuals) in a position to assist in the policing and prevention of child sexual exploitation, which do not offer any assistance. Indeed, through their tolerance of prostitute use, the army, the navy, the tourist industry, employers of maritime sailors and many businesses actually contribute to the problem. Education and awareness raising programmes could be used to encourage such organisations to play a more active role in discouraging and policing abusers. Individual tourists need to be encouraged to challenge the behaviour of compatriots engaging in sex tourism. Share holders and pension fund managers need to be encouraged to investigate the nature of the 'hospitality' provided by managers in firms that they invest in. Finally, it is necessary to educate those involved in criminal justice and law enforcement to recognise child prostitution for what it is, which is not only the *abuse* of socially, politically and economically powerless individuals but criminal violation of their human rights codified in international and national legal instruments.

4. Research and Information

There are many areas and issues that need to be investigated and/or monitored in future. In particular, we need more information on the nature, organisation and scale of child prostitution in different countries around the world and on the identity and motivations of their abusers; we need to monitor the development of sex tourism in new sites; and to monitor the success of therapeutic treatment programs with paedophiles and prostitute users.

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