

Press kit background paper 1

Commercial sexual exploitation of children: an update¹

The first World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Stockholm in August 1996 blew away some of the mist shrouding the commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC). The tremendous effort of preparing for Stockholm, beginning to document experiences, collecting together knowledge, assembling disparate players and putting CSEC on the international agenda gave new impetus to efforts against CSEC. The regional consultations leading up to the Stockholm meeting and that assembled many of those working to combat CSEC, as well as some of the young people who had been affected by it or whose lives it had touched, facilitated new and existing partnerships and emphasized the role of players at local, national and regional levels. The Congress itself brought 122 governments together with hundreds of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), inter-governmental agencies, researchers and academics, law enforcement sectors and young people, and resulted in international commitments, new potential and a surge of energy to take the efforts forward. Much of this was done with the support of the world's media, who not only covered the process but in some cases took note of the important role they can play in combating CSEC and became engaged players.

In five years, hundreds of programmes have been developed and implemented, the knowledge base has increased substantially, new networks of sharing and cooperation have been put in place and developed, and those who were reluctant to acknowledge that CSEC was in their midst have in many instances been obliged to accept it as a reality.

But as the mist has dispersed and the view has cleared, the scene revealed is even more depressing in its detail. Better understanding of CSEC -- the reasons for it, the effects it has on children, families and communities, the enormous scope of the challenge, and the obstacles to be overcome to protect children, care for those who have been exploited, and ultimately eliminate CSEC -- shows that the work has hardly begun.

The 2nd World Congress: why meet again now?

Five years after the Stockholm Congress, it is time to step back and take stock of what has been learned, achieved, failed and changed. An international meeting is a unique opportunity to break down the geographical boundaries that normally delimit the work being done at local, national and regional levels. It is a chance to assemble on a much larger scale the many different sectors involved in efforts against CSEC, from law enforcement to researchers to grassroots organizations. It is a time to add value to individual efforts -- in research, field work, methodology and strategy development, legal review and revision, planning and monitoring, evaluation and measurement, data gathering and documentation, trial and error -- by bringing them together, sharing them, discussing and deliberating, and planning what comes next.

This process began in early 2001 all over the world, as many individuals and groups organized their participation in the Congress or the many national and regional meetings that were held to prepare for Yokohama. NGOs organized national and regional meetings throughout the year, and other sectoral groups dedicated annual meetings or other regular gatherings in 2001 to CSEC and preparations for Yokohama. The International Federation of Journalists devoted its Annual General Meeting to considering the media and sexual exploitation of children, and the World Tourism Organization put CSEC on the agenda for its annual conference.

Through October and November, intergovernmental regional consultations were organized in five regions: Europe, the Americas, Middle East/Africa, South Asia and East Asia/Pacific. These were intended not only to consolidate information on the situation in the regions --

updating knowledge of the problem and responses to it – but also to re-energize regional partnerships and mechanisms to continue their work after Yokohama.

The Congress in Yokohama is a working meeting, planned to give participants broad opportunities to present their work, share the lessons they have learned, confront their experiences with others' work and both learn and inform. In a Plenary Session, governments will report on the action they have taken to fulfil the Stockholm Agenda for Action. Punctuating this will be three panel sessions designed to bring to the Congress some of the latest thinking on CSEC, relating to Lessons Learned (Panel 1), Challenges and Gaps (Panel 2) and Ways Forward (Panel 3). From the first afternoon, workshops will run in parallel to the Plenary and give participants a chance to share experiences and ideas.

Children and young people will be full participants in all these activities. More than 300 youth delegates prepared their participation through a series of pre-Congress consultations, including at a pre-Yokohama youth event hosted by the City of Kawasaki from 13 to 16 December 2001.

And still Yokohama is not the end of the work. It is another step forward, a time to pause briefly to take stock, learn, and plan what comes next. In five years' time, there will have been more successes and inevitably some setbacks. There will also undoubtedly still be children trapped in prostitution, abused in pornography and moved from their home communities to be exploited. While that is still the reality, the work will continue.

Child prostitution

There are no reliable statistics on the number of children worldwide caught in the commercial sex trade. Data collected is partial; samples and methodologies are not comparable; even definitions differ. Some countries do not collect data at all, and reports are then largely anecdotal or based on the incomplete but valuable observations of those working with children.

And yet, if the lowest available figures of the many differing statistics quoted for each country are added together, they still add up to more than a million.

While paedophile abusers restrict their interest to children who have not yet reached puberty (around 13 years of age), the majority of child sex abusers are non-paedophiles, often regular prostitute users, who buy children for sex as part of the mainstream sex trade.² Their victims are more usually adolescents and predominantly young girls, although boys are also exploited.

The children may be prostituted in brothels, in street prostitution, provided by pimps to private parties on ships, or in homes. They may be pimped in shopping centres, public parks, beaches or the seedy back lanes of big cities. They may be provided to travellers in hotel rooms. In short, children in prostitution are expected to provide sexual services in much the same way as adult prostitutes do.

But there are a number of significant differences. In every country of the world, the prostitution of children is illegal. Although the definition of 'child' may differ among countries and the age of sexual consent may vary, international law is clear and the prostitution of a person under the age of 18 is clearly in contravention of their rights as set down in the United Nations *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1989).³

Children enter the sex trade in a number of different ways. Reports of abductions and kidnapping have foundation in fact, although many more children are entrapped in much more subtle ways. In an era of increasing childhood and family poverty, unemployment, limited educational opportunities and consumer pressures, children are often expected to help to support the family financially. This is particularly true of girl children, whose position in the family is less valued in many societies. Ignorance of what awaits the working child, or indifference to the child's welfare, may lead to the child being sent directly into prostitution or else into exploitative labour and ultimately the sex trade.⁴

The effects on the children are multiple. Children's bodies are not sexually mature and are easily damaged. Girls' reproductive health is undermined and, because their membranes are more porous than adults' and they suffer lesions more easily, they are at high risk of STD infection, including HIV/AIDS. Even older adolescents whose bodies may be more robust risk psychological damage. Their self-esteem, sense of dignity and emotional well-being are threatened and their trust in others shaken. They can suffer depression, inflict self-harm and present suicidal behaviour.

Many children in prostitution are beaten, raped by pimps and brothel owners, burned and otherwise tortured. They are locked in and often poorly fed. When they fall ill, they are regularly denied access to health services. If they become too sick to 'work', they are often turned out onto the streets where they may be picked up by the police and dealt with as criminals, abused further, or lost to drugs and alcohol. Substance abuse is, in any case, a frequent problem because drugs are given to children by pimps who wish to keep them compliant and ensure that they become trapped in a cycle of drug use and dependence.

Children who escape from prostitution face an uncertain future if they cannot return to their families. Some families and communities do take the children under their care, but many reject the child as 'unclean' or cannot cope with the child's dependence or ill-health. Sometimes prostituted children see their only option as returning to the pimp or brothel they know.

From beginning to end of this heinous process, there are exploiters: recruiters who dupe a family that does not understand what awaits their child; brothel owners, pimps and madams who sell the child as an object of pleasure; clients who buy sex in total disregard of the law and the human rights of the child. Then there are the many who turn a blind eye to the exploitation: tourist guides and taxi drivers, hotel clerks and landlords, corrupt police officers. There may be ill-informed or reluctant social or health workers, neighbours and acquaintances, family and friends, all of whom tell themselves that child prostitution happens only 'somewhere else' and that the 'normal guy' they know is 'not like that'.

Also from beginning to end of the process, however, there are opportunities to intervene. Where ignorance is a factor in a family's decision to sell a child, awareness-raising programmes and community watch and support systems can make a difference. Where poverty and employment put children seriously at risk, social development schemes are important, including such family-level projects as micro-credit schemes, skills training and partnerships with local businesses.

While law enforcement is the most appropriate sector to intervene when a child is in prostitution – for example through brothel raids or apprehension of clients or pimps – multi-sector support teams can ensure that police activity is accompanied by care for this child. Legal and psychological counselling might be necessary. Health services and accommodation will be needed. And the child will need ongoing support until s/he is out of danger and the future can be planned.

When the child is recovering from prostitution, programmes that help to build this future are needed. Returning to education is an important step, if possible, so that the child's options are wider. Skills training may help the child into employment and income generation schemes can relieve pressure on the family. Short-term cash grants can also help fend off economic pressures. And the child may need ongoing health care, including counselling, and perhaps longer-term accommodation.

NGOs, intergovernmental agencies and others work across this wide range of interventions, attempting to make sure that there are no gaps for the child to fall through.

Child pornography

Since the first World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children took place, the proliferation of child pornography and the unprecedented growth in new technologies has challenged law enforcement authorities across the globe.⁵ Pornographic images of children are not a new phenomenon, but digital and on-line technologies have made producing and distributing them easier and less risky.

Part of a tradition that stretches back centuries, the consumption of sexualized images of children for adult pleasure developed quickly in the early 1970s to become a thriving commercial enterprise, in the process becoming increasingly hardcore and pornographic. Most of the children depicted were Caucasian, many from the US, and many of their images continue to circulate. Some of the children were from India, Mexico and Africa. The growth in child sex tourism in the 1980s and 1990s increasingly saw images of children from Asia and Eastern Europe being added to the stock, as exploiters filmed their crimes and shared the evidence.

Today, digital cameras allow both still and video pictures to be produced without any need for development of film. Images can be stored on disks that can easily be concealed, or on computer hard drives that are password-protected. The hardware involved is compact and can be concealed easily, although the wide ownership of digital cameras and recorders means that those carrying them are in any case rarely questioned.

This essentially amateur capturing and exchange of images continues to be a significant source of child pornography alongside materials specifically produced for commercial profit, although there is now evidence that organized crime is entering the child pornography market. The advent of the Internet has made the distribution of images directly into the home easy. Because of its illegal nature, the availability of child pornography is not subject to statistical analysis with the same regularity and accuracy as adult porn. The figures relating to e-trade of adult images, however, give some indication of the explosion of e-business aimed at satisfying the appetite for pornographic images: in 1996 already, a survey by US market research company Forrester estimated sales of adult pornography from web sites worldwide at US\$52 million a year, then equal to one-tenth of all e-business done. In April 2001 a Google search for child pornography brought up 425,000 hits. Clearly child pornography is a sizeable business.

But adult pornography and pornography involving children are fundamentally different. Pictures of children being used for sex are records of a crime being committed. Many available images, in fact, are produced by child sex abusers for profit, or by paedophiles who use them to gain acceptance into paedophile networks or to fix the age of the child. Criminalizing the production, distribution or possession of child pornography, therefore, is not a denial of freedom of speech or artistic expression. Somewhere a child has been sexually violated in the production of the image, and the image is evidence of a crime.

This is why it is so important that all possession of child pornography must be criminalized – even if users claim they were ‘just curious’. Police action against possession allows the evidence to be taken and attempts made to identify the child and abuser. It may be that the abuse is continuing; police have identified Internet chat rooms where abusers not only provide live pictures of themselves raping a child but take requests from others on how to proceed. A number of pilot image data banks have been set up so that children’s images can be matched and the children identified; a ‘new’ child suggests a recent or ongoing case of abuse.

Beyond the exploitation of the child in the production of the pornography and the criminal act of possessing such images, those who sexually abuse children use child pornography to coerce children – both boys and girls -- into accepting to appear on camera themselves. Children relate how they were shown photographs or videos and persuaded that the activity depicted was ‘normal’ or that ‘others were willing to do it’.

Children also explain how they feel when they have been exploited this way. Generally they are aware that a record of their abuse exists. They wonder who is seeing it, whether it is being distributed, if there is a possibility that someone might recognize them. And they continue to wonder years later, re-living the exploitation.

While technology has increased the challenge of eliminating child pornography and bringing exploiters to justice, there has been a concomitant increase in the number and success of initiatives aiming to meet this challenge.

Many of these initiatives are the work of national police forces, individually and working together with Interpol. Coordinated raids on the homes and businesses of people who have been traced through membership of on-line child pornography 'clubs' or networks have resulted in the arrests of men all over the world for possession and distribution of child pornography. A number of police forces now have trained officers surfing the Net, patrolling web sites, chat rooms and news groups, looking not only for pornography distributors and users but also on-line stalkers who attempt to get access to children via these open forums.

NGOs and the private sector have also developed both traditional and innovative programmes to combat Net-based pornography. The tried and tested 'hotline' which allows members of the public to report the location of child pornography when they find it, is still much in evidence and widely used, but has also developed now into the 'CyberTipline'⁶, where the public can report on-line. In Europe, Internet watch groups (run by governments, law enforcement authorities and by NGOs, depending on the country) explored viable configurations for working together to share reports of on-line pornography and identify distributors in other countries. With seed funding from the European Commission, they formed INHOPE and are now expanding to include watch groups from outside Europe.

Internet Service Providers, computer software manufacturers, private companies and NGOs have developed software screening and filtering packages designed to help parents to filter the sites their children can access. These are in their infancy and remain controversial; there are arguments, for example, that some systems block any sites containing the word 'sex', thus denying the child access to information on safe sex, reproductive health and indeed advice and information on protection from sexual exploitation. Nevertheless, they raise parents' and other care-takers' awareness of the dangers children face when the Internet is abused by exploiters, and so play an important role in mobilizing protection for the child.

Governments and regional bodies that group them have reviewed and revised legislation relating to child pornography and its on-line manifestations. Since 1996, many more countries have moved to criminalize possession of pornography in addition to production and distribution.

Trafficking of children

At its most basic, the trafficking of children can be defined as a series of events that includes acquiring⁷ the children, moving them and exploiting them. In the context of CSEC, the exploitation is taken to mean in commercial sex, although it is recognized that children trafficked into exploitative labour, for example into begging, sweatshops, industry or agriculture, are also at risk of then being sold into sex.⁸

The acquisition and transport may involve force, persuasion, coercion, trickery, the administration of drugs, family and other complicity, or may be on the initiative of the child him/herself. The transport may be by road, air, rail or sea and be cross-border or within a country, for example from rural community to urban area. The exploitation may involve labour or commercial sex, and may involve financial transactions or other rewards for the exploiter (for example elevated status within para-military hierarchies for militia who provide children for the service of their superiors).

Coercive relocation – when the child has not initiated the travel or does not understand its significance -- is characterized by movement of the child from place of recruitment to place of exploitation, a way of increasing children’s vulnerability by separating them from their normal environment and isolating them in illegal situations in places they do not know and where they often are ill-treated and unable to communicate. Reducing the child to a disposable commodity that has little value and costs almost nothing to maintain or replace also means that costs are low, profits consequently high and risks manageable.

Different actors may be involved at each stage of the trafficking process: First there are recruiters or, in some cases, casual agents who prompt the child to move. The casual agents might include family members, people in the community or quite often adults who have themselves returned from working in the sex trade elsewhere and who earn money by recruiting adults and children for their former employers. Recruiters also include village agents who identify the child and gain acquiescence of his or her care-takers, sometimes by deception, sometimes through an agreed payment. Sometimes it is a more organized mechanism, ranging from small-time agents working under the guise of a tour agency/employment office to larger crime syndicates such as Chinese Triad groups, Russian Mafia, the Japanese Yakuza or crime syndicates involved in smuggling of contraband too.

Sometimes and, research shows, increasingly children themselves decide they have to move. This can be a result of pressure from the family to earn money accompanied by few employment opportunities, legal restrictions or insufficient educational qualifications. It can also result from peer and consumer pressures, with children frequently reporting that they simply wanted a better life and ‘nicer things’. The children generally do not know that they will be exploited into commercial sex but, even when they do, they have no idea of the conditions under which they will be exploited.

Someone will generally then be responsible for moving the child to another place or for facilitating the child’s travel. In some instances this may be a local truck driver, a trafficking agent who will accompany the child across a border, or an organized crime syndicate that will move numbers of children along the routes also used for the transfer of drugs or stolen cars. It may be a family member or friend who just drives the child to the new location in the family car.

At various points along these routes, there may be relay personnel taking over or supporting the trafficking. Corrupt border guards, customs officers and law enforcement personnel facilitate the movement of human contraband. There may be a receiving agent, ranging again from a single contact at the point of destination to a semi-permanent reception structure. Accessories to the trafficking may be involved in the production and supply of forged identity and travel papers, making the trafficking victim more difficult to trace and leaving him or her in a situation of illegal migration, in fear of detection and so vulnerable to threats and continued coercion.

At the end of the road, there will be a customer – an employer willing to sacrifice children on the altar of lower costs and potentially higher profits; a brothel madam and her clients prepared to abuse for the sake of personal satisfaction and profit. And all along the road from acquisition to exploitation, there may be an army of people whose complicity might be acknowledged or ignored: bus drivers, ships’ captains and train guards, immigration officials and hotel clerks, sometimes members of the public who do not act when they see a child confused or in distress and an accompanying adult who seems to be unmoved.

Whatever form it takes, however and wherever it occurs, and whoever is involved, the trafficking of children is a complex issue and requires a similarly complex response.

Action taken and the way ahead⁹

Legal frameworks and implementation: In the five years since the Stockholm Congress, many countries have reformed existing laws or introduced new laws to strengthen the legal framework pertaining to the sexual abuse and exploitation of children. However, it is rarely possible to assess

the impact of such reforms, since very few countries have heeded calls to improve data collection methods. Accurate and consistent data on investigations and prosecutions of cases of sexual abuse, violence or exploitation against people under the age of 18 are not available, and this is a situation that urgently needs to be remedied.

Sentencing policy with regard to sexual offences is inconsistent between and within nation states. It gives rise to concerns about human rights violations at one extreme (for instance where the death penalty is applied) and failure to protect children's rights at the other (for example where paltry fines are given to those who serially rape children). Legislation and sentencing with regard to child pornography is particularly weak and inconsistent, and in many countries offers protection only to children below the age of 16, or in some cases 14.

Inadequate witness protection continues to hamper the successful prosecution of sex exploiters and, in some places, the unacceptable length of time it takes for cases to come to court is further believed to discourage reporting and impede successful prosecution of sex exploiters. Concerns remain about registration provisions that either existed, or have recently been introduced into legislation on sexual offences in some countries. Sex offender registration is often believed to have contributed to improved quality of information and working relationships between police and other agencies, but it does not necessarily represent a solution to the problem posed by those who abuse children in their immediate or extended family, nor does it cover all categories of sex exploiter. There is a need for close cooperation with communities in order to avoid 'moral panic' in relation to 'paedophile registers' and, given the serious lack of resources in many countries, it is important to consider whether treatment programmes might make a more cost effective contribution to prevention than registration schemes.

Finally it is vital to remember that legal reforms are not, on their own, the solution to the demand side of CSEC. Even where good laws are in place, corruption and/or lack of resources can lead to lax law enforcement. Moreover, the enforcement of laws on sexual exploitation and trafficking is very often neither gender- nor child-sensitive, and laws can thus be applied in ways that actually harm victims of exploitation. Indeed, because CSEC often takes place in the context of the mainstream sex industry, calls for stricter law enforcement can often have unintended consequences. Whether based on a model of prohibition or regulation, prostitution law and law enforcement practice around the world invariably focuses on the control of female prostitutes, rather than their clients. Moreover, in most countries of the world, the civil and human rights of women and girls in prostitution are routinely and often grossly violated. Both adults and children face arbitrary detention, deportation, forcible eviction from their dwellings, enforced health checks including HIV testing, forcible 'rehabilitation', corporal punishment, even execution; and they are frequently victims of violence perpetrated by corrupt law enforcement agents.

It would be naïve to trust that calls for stronger legal controls over those who exploit children within prostitution will automatically produce desirable outcomes for either prostituted women or adolescents. Indeed, crackdowns on CSEC and trafficking have often had extremely negative consequences for both adults and adolescents in prostitution, and the numbers of people arrested for sexually exploiting children in prostitution generally pale into insignificance next to the numbers of women and teenagers arrested for prostitution and/or immigration offences. There is a great deal of work to be done in terms of changing attitudes and creating legal and social environments which are protective of all people's human rights. The Stockholm Declaration and Agenda for Action called on governments to 'adopt a non-punitive approach to child victims of commercial sexual exploitation in keeping with the rights of the child', but did not call on them to adopt an approach that is respectful and protective of the human rights of all those in prostitution. This needs to be addressed.

National Agendas for Action: The Stockholm Agenda for Action called for national agendas for action by the year 2000, "with indicators of progress, set goals and a time-frame for implementation, targeted to reducing the number of children vulnerable to CSEC and nurturing

an environment, attitudes and practices responsive to child rights". By mid-2001, only 31 countries had developed such plans and 21 more were developing them.¹⁰

Those plans that have been developed, however, represent much more than just a framework for future action. In almost every case, the creation of the plan has represented an important exercise in research and review, consultation, coalition building and cooperation among sectors of government, intergovernmental agencies, NGOs and, in some countries, private sector and youth groups. This in itself has created or reinforced much more effective tools for implementation of the plans, creating new partnerships, better information sharing and heightened awareness of both the problems and possible responses.

Still fewer than half of the countries present in Stockholm in 1996 have fulfilled their commitment to developing a national agenda for action. This must be urgently addressed. Given the cross-border nature of exploitation, the opening up of borders, advances in travel and an increasingly globalized world in which values, expectations and even behaviours become more standardized and homogeneous, there cannot be weak links in the chain.

Addressing demand: There is a need for 'joined up thinking' on the part of national and international policy makers and intergovernmental organizations in order to devise and implement effective longer-term measures addressing the economic, social and political conditions which underpin demand for CSEC. Broader and more inclusive approaches to partnership-building are required. In particular, there is an urgent need for dialogue between children's NGOs on the one hand, and sex workers' rights organizations, migrant workers' organizations, AIDS prevention groups, and gay rights and anti-racist activists on the other. These latter groups not only have knowledge and experience that is highly relevant to efforts to tackle the demand side of CSEC, but are also sometimes negatively affected by unintended consequences of measures designed to combat CSEC. Such groups can potentially make an invaluable contribution to the struggle against CSEC but, for this to happen, children's NGOs need to engage with their concerns more closely.

Efforts to tackle the demand for CSEC also need to take into account the fact that some of those who sexually exploit children are themselves members of groups that are vulnerable, marginalized and exploited, and/or belong to occupational groups that place members under strong sub-cultural pressures to engage in commercial sex. Punitive and moralistic campaigns will not necessarily be the most effective way of changing their behaviour or sexual practices. Again, there is a need for broader partnership-building. Organizations that have the strongest relationships with groups prone to prostitute-use (for example, seafarers' unions, and trades unions in logging, mining and tourism industries, NGOs involved in AIDS prevention out-reach work), need to be involved in the design and implementation of awareness-raising and prevention strategies. Equally employers, including the military, need to become more involved in education and preventative work with their employees. There is also a role for the private sector in terms of developing meaningful and sustainable economic alternatives to third party involvement in CSEC. In this regard, it is perhaps even more vitally important to encourage international financial institutions, development banks and economic advisors to consider the impact of development policies and structural adjustment measures on the demand for commercial sex in any given country or region.

Research, evaluation and programming: There remains an urgent need for more extensive and detailed research on the root causes of CSEC, covering both demand and supply, since this would feed into more effective measures for prevention and awareness raising. There is also a need for better and more consistent data collection regarding CSEC, and for research to evaluate the impact of specific measures.

Evaluation of actions taken is difficult, since often the impact of both CSEC and programmes to address it cannot be measured in the short term. However some work has been done on short- and medium-term indicators for different types of programming, and child-centred evaluation is becoming more regularly a part of lessons-learned exercises and forward planning.

If CSEC is to be addressed, then it is clear that what is needed is not just more but better action. This needs to be planned to cover the whole range of issues involved in and related to CSEC. The lessons learned through programmes should be shared, even if they reveal some failures, since sharing is the best way to improve effectiveness and take account of others' experiences and ideas. This is particularly true because children at risk of CSEC, trapped in it, or emerging from it, are vulnerable.

This sharing of information gained, lessons learned and challenges ahead is the aim of the 2nd World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children.

¹ This general overview introduces the issues that are generally contained in the phrase 'commercial sexual exploitation': child prostitution, child pornography and the trafficking of children. Each of these is dealt with in more detail in press background papers 2,3 and 6.

² See *The Sex Exploiter*, one of six theme papers prepared as background reading for the 2nd World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children, Yokohama, Japan, December 2001. The paper was written by Professor Julia O'Connell Davidson.

³ See *Child Sexual Exploitation, Poverty and the Law*, one of six theme papers prepared as background reading for the Congress. The paper was written by Professor Geraldine Van Bueren. Only two countries have not ratified the United Nations *Convention on the Rights of the Child* as of end-2000: the United States and Somalia (still not a unified country).

⁴ International Labour Organization, *Trafficking of children: the problem and responses worldwide*, December 2001.

⁵ See *Child Pornography*, one of six theme papers prepared for the Congress. The paper was written by John Carr.

⁶ This name was coined by the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children in Atlanta, US, which pioneered on-line reporting and continues to develop it successfully.

⁷ ILO points out that use of the term 'acquire' may seem inhuman, reducing the child to a chattel, but it avoids the debate over whether coercion, force or persuasion were involved, whether the child was 'legitimately recruited' in exchange for money, and whether the child or family were 'willing'. Indeed, the concept of 'acquisition' was used in some of the earliest international instruments of relevance to trafficking, for example the 1922 *League of Nations Slavery Convention*, which prohibited all aspects of the slave trade, including "all acts involved in the capture, acquisition or disposal of a person with intent to reduce him to slavery".

⁸ See *Trafficking in Children for Sexual Purposes*, one of six theme papers prepared for the Congress. This paper was written by Dr June Kane and Dr Jyoti Sanghera. See also *Trafficking of children: the problem and responses worldwide*, ILO, December 2001.

⁹ This section does not aim to anticipate discussion and outcomes from Yokohama. It offers only an insight into the sorts of issues that are likely to be addressed and, additionally, introduces some of the ideas contained in the six theme papers prepared for the Congress.

¹⁰ Figures from ECPAT International's 2001 monitoring report (publication date November 2001). Additionally, seven countries have general plans relating to children's rights, and four more are developing such plans.