

***Sexploitation of Children: Exploratory analysis of data
availability and reliability***

By

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Abstract

Problem: Child sexploitation data are difficult to find and often of questionable validity. To understand the scope of the problem and examine criminal patterns, data needs to be charted across time on a large scale and analyzed in context with structural explanatory factors. ***Methods:*** To determine what data are available, six countries were examined, and a data set developed. The data were quantitatively compared to national structural factors (ex: infant mortality rates). ***Results:*** There was very little accurate data. Very rough estimates were obtained, but cannot be construed as scientifically reliable. ***Conclusions:*** Accurate research with replicable methodology will lead to a better understanding of the problem so that patterns and predictors can emerge from valid and reliable data.

Introduction

Children have been sexually exploited throughout history in various ways and forms, and only recently has this been recognized as an important social problem (Porter, 1997; Rush, 1980; Gorham, 1978; Finkelhor, 1994; Walker, 2002). Many studies of child sexploitation – a term used here to encompass all major forms of child sexual exploitation and abuse: 1) child pornography, both online and otherwise, 2) online sexual solicitation, 3) child trafficking for sexually exploitative purposes, 4) child sexual abuse, 5) child prostitution, and 6) child sex tourism – address psychological issues resulting from sexploitative practices, such as post-traumatic stress disorder and criminal tendency in later life (Hertzog, Farber, Kendall-Tackett, Williams, and Finkelhor, 1994; Adam, Everett, and O’Neill, 1992; Hertzog, Farber, Saywitz, Mannarino, Berliner, and Cohen, 2003; Finkelhor, 1995, p. 157-158; Kelly, Wingfield, Burton, and Regan, 1995). Other studies examine sexploitation rates through retrospective studies with adults (Hertzog et al., 1994; Finkelhor, 1994; Watts and Zimmerman, 2002). Numerous studies look at why adults sexually exploit and abuse children (Crosson-Tower, 2005, p. 183-186; Marshall, 1988, p. 268; Finkelhor, 1995; Ybarra, Mitchell, Finkelhor and Wolak, 2007), while others look at strategies to prevent sexual exploitation (*Blueprints of Experience*, 2007; *Annual Report*, 2007, p. 15; Kelly et al., 1995; Ybarra et al., 2007). Few studies, however, have attempted to examine all aspects of child sexploitation together, nor systematically examine the incidence of child sexploitation over time and multiple nations (*Trends*, 2008; Finkelhor and Ormrod, 2004).

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) released the *Trafficking in Persons: Global Patterns* report in April 2006, in which they discussed the difficulties in tracking the problem of human trafficking statistically:

UNODC does not estimate or approximate the number of victims trafficked.

Given that it is inherent to the nature of any organized criminal activity that the greater part of the activity goes undetected, that statistical goal may prove to be ultimately unachievable.

Measuring the amount of trafficking in persons should not be seen as necessary, however, to justify an action in response. (Kangaspunta, 2006, p. 45)

In some ways, this may indeed be accurate – complete and accurate numbers may indeed be ultimately unachievable, and it is true that the numbers are not necessary to justify a response. Estimations must still be obtained if there is to be any confirmation of the effectiveness of the responses enacted or of the accuracy of the factors currently used to predict child sexploitation patterns. Confirmation of effectiveness, in turn, is critical to developing more effective policies and accomplishing the wider goal of ending child sexploitation.

Although the UNODC report commented that

the quest for numbers alone will not lead to a greater understanding...and, therefore, the development of a more effective international response.

(Kangaspunta, 2006, p. 45)

A data set of numerical sexploitation estimates charting the problem over time and then comparing the existing patterns to demographic characteristics such as national fertility rates may indeed lead to greater understanding and a more effective response. Charting

the problem through time is vital to see if any shifts in patterns occur. Locating these patterns will allow for further research into why the patterns exist, and may be key to unlocking further solutions and prevention strategies, as well as better understanding of what is occurring where, why, when, and to whom.

Child sexual abuse has only recently been perceived as a problem, and even less recently been systematically examined to any degree. However, this study is a vital first step toward a wide-view analysis of a problem that exists in all corners of the world (*Report of the independent expert for the United Nations study on violence against children*, 2006, page 5). Therefore, this exploratory research will examine which countries provide reports for various categories of child sexploitation and if the available data are sufficient to track trends over time. The second step then will entail analyzing the reliability of current data, and research gaps that need to be addressed when formulating such a data set.

Literature Review

Although the term “child sexual exploitation” has been utilized by past researchers to address multiple categories of child sexual abuse, I created a new term for this research. Generally, “child sexual exploitation” has been used to describe child sexual abuse involving exploitative monetary transactions such as those seen in the distribution of child pornography, the purchasing of child prostitutes, and the trafficking in children for sexual purposes (Schieffer, 2008; Estes and Weiner, 2001). I selected the term “sexploitation” to emphasize the inherently exploitative nature of all child sexual abuse, rather than those that produce solely a physical monetary result. Though not always obvious, perpetrators of child sexual abuse always get something out of the encounter – it is why they abuse. Some profits from sexploitation include feelings of power or sexual stimulation for sadists, providing an emotional “relationship” for pedophiles, or satisfying the monetary greed of those who make a profit from child sexploitation but may not personally utilize a child for sex (Crosson-Tower, 2005).

Child sexploitation is difficult to accurately measure at the national level, much less at the international level because of varying definitions used throughout studies and subsequent measurement issues, among other factors (Hopper, 1996-2008, <http://www.jimhopper.com/abstats/#unrpt>, “Introduction”). Despite these difficulties, statistical averages have been suggested. The Report of the Independent Expert for the United Nations Study on Violence Against Children (Pinheiro, 2006) found an average of 223 million incidences of sexual violence against children each year, with nearly two-thirds of victims being female (150 million) and one-third male (73 million) (p. 10). The United States Child Protection Services (CPS) – which gathers data from smaller child protection agencies across the country – tries to maintain an accurate record of child abuse statistics, but Hopper (1996-2008) suggests that government organizations like CPS are not reliable, especially when measuring child sexual abuse. There are several reasons for government inaccuracy, ranging from victim underreporting, to many government agencies reporting only “substantiated”/“confirmed” cases (Hopper, 1996-2008, “Statistics are Human Creations”). Although the USA has been attempting to measure the problem of child sexual abuse, the wide ranges of incidence estimates over

the last several decades indicates that government researchers have encountered difficulties in assessing the real population data.

For example, 1988 National Institute of Mental Health research suggested that American pedophiles, on average, abuse 117 children. Data from 1995 however, suggest that only 30% of child molesters in therapy (n = 91) had 10 victims or more (Elliott, M., Browne, K., and Kilcoyne, J., 1995, p. 581), though “Statistics Surrounding Child Sexual Abuse” claimed the average molester will have preyed on as many as 400 child victims by the end of his lifetime (2001-2008, http://www.darkness2light.org/KnowAbout/statistics_2.asp, last paragraph). In 1987, it was estimated that there were 39 million survivors of childhood sexual abuse in the USA (“Statistics Surrounding Child Sexual Abuse”, 2001-2008, paragraph 10), but by 1993, the number had almost doubled to 60 million estimated (“Sexual Abuse Statistics”, 1996-2006, <http://www.prevent-abuse-now.com/stats.htm>, “Impact of Child Sexual Abuse”). Finally, between 1986 and 1993 the National Incidence Study (NIS-3) increased their estimate of the number of sexually abused children in America by 83% (“Child Abuse Statistics”, n.d., <http://www.yesican.org/stats.html>, paragraph 13). Hopper (1996-2008) suggests that the reported “increases” in the number of sexually abused children are extremely misleading, because government incidence reports of increased rates of child sexual abuse may not actually be a measure that rates are on the rise. It is entirely possible that higher estimates are a result of stricter laws, better enforcement, or increased case reporting due to a more informed public (Hopper, 1996-2008, “Statistics are Human Creations”).

Although not all research is reliable, “Statistics Surrounding Child Sexual Abuse” (2001-2008, paragraphs 6, 7, & 9) estimates that 70% of all sexual assaults are committed against children, and that one in every four underage girls and one in every six underage boys have been subjected to some form of sexual abuse. In addition, research by “Child Abuse Statistics” notes that the 1993 study by the American Psychological Association Commission on Violence and Youth found that children under age 18 are victimized far more than adults in every category except homicide (<http://www.yesican.org/stats.html>, paragraph 28).

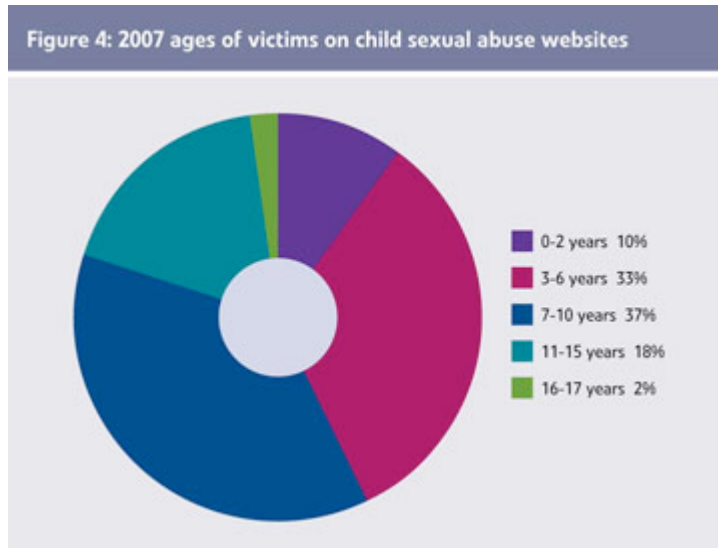
Children also risk sexual victimization on the Internet. From 1998 to 2009, CyberTipline, a USA-based reporting agency, received 581,236 reports of child pornography, and 43,156 reports of online child sex solicitations (*CyberTipline Factsheet*, 1998-2009). CyberTipline’s annual reports indicated a significant increase in reporting over the last decade – in 1998 they received a total of 4,560 reports, but the year 2008 resulted in over 100,000 child abuse reports (*CyberTipline: Annual Report Totals By Incident Type*, 1998-2009). A full 89% of all reports to CyberTipline involved the possession, manufacture, and/or distribution of child pornography. CyberTipline’s results suggested to the National Center for Missing & Exploited Children that one in seven children online would be sexually solicited (*Annual Report*, 2007, p. 6 & 7). “Statistics Surrounding Child Sexual Abuse” (1991-2008, paragraph 8) noted that one in five children online are sexually solicited, but perhaps the most detailed data set came from a study done by Wolak, Mitchell, and Finkelhor (2006), which estimated that roughly three million children were sexually solicited online in 2005 (Wolak et. al., 2006, p. 73).

An altogether different measure of online child sexual abuse can be seen in the work of the Internet Watch Foundation, which like CyberTipline is based on voluntary reports by Internet users of criminal child abuse violations. The Internet Watch Foundation (IWF), based in the United Kingdom, has as its main objective the tracking and reporting of “top-level” child pornography domains to their local police as well as international criminal justice organizations. The IWF does not measure individual child pornography images, but instead focuses on larger, more organized criminal child sexual abuse image distributors (*Trends 2007, 2008*, <http://www.iwf.org.uk/media/page.195.524.htm>). Like CyberTipline, the IWF has seen an increase in reported violations (a 10% increase from 2006 to 2007, though reporting decreased by 3% from 2007 to 2008), but has not seen any subsequent rise in top-level domains. Out of nearly 35,000 abuse reports in 2007, the IWF confirmed 2,755 as top-level child sexual abuse domains (domains with multiple indecent pictures of children, rather than sites with singular pictures). In 2008, there were 33,947 abuse reports, with 1,536 “unique domains relating to child abuse content” confirmed. The IWF has actually seen a shift in the trend – there has been a 21% decrease from 2006 to 2008 in domains confirmed to exhibit child pornography, and a 15% decrease from 2006 to 2007 in individual websites. There seems to be no change in the number of non-commercial exchanges of child sexual abuse images via message boards, etc, but the vast majority of those areas the IWF keeps track of (estimated at 80%) are commercial organizations (*Trends 2007, 2008*, paragraphs 3-5; *Trends 2008, 2009*, <http://www.iwf.org.uk/media/page.70.554.htm>, paragraphs 2 & 3).

Most interestingly, the IWF says that the “problem appears not to be on the increase despite ever-increasing global internet access, speed of connection and the widespread availability of sophisticated technologies,” which is in direct contrast to the results anticipated (*Trends 2007, 2008*, paragraph 5).

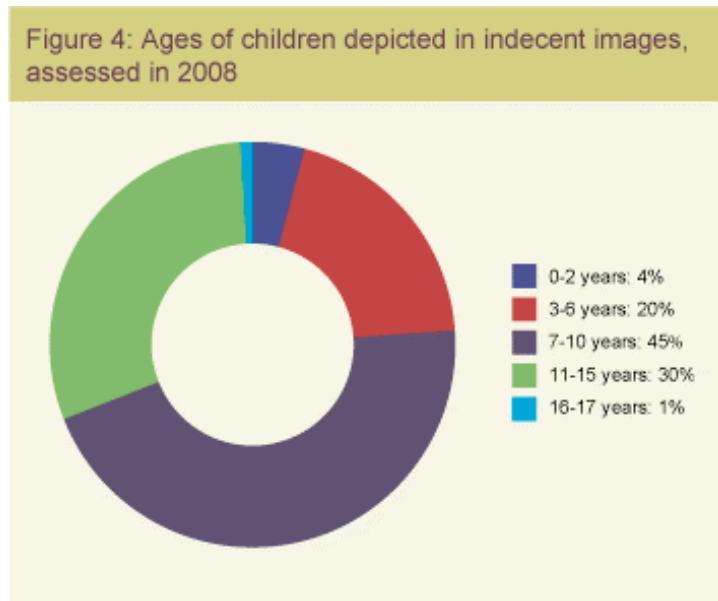
The IWF examines the age and recognizable features of the children in the sexual abuse images to assist the police in locating victims. There was a notable shift in ages of child victims: in 2007, 10% of images featuring infants under the age of two (Figure 4: <http://www.iwf.org.uk/media/page.195.524.htm> and Figure 4: <http://www.iwf.org.uk/media/page.70.554.htm> were taken from the IWF report), while in 2008 this number had dropped to 4%. Victims three to six years of age decreased, and the percentage of victims ages eleven to fifteen almost doubled (*Trends 2007, 2008*, paragraph 12; *Trends 2008, 2009*, paragraph 9).

Figure 1:



(Trends 2007, 2008)

Figure 2:



(Trends 2008, 2009)

In examining child sexual abuse images, the IWF assigns each image a number according to sentencing guidelines:

Table 1: Ranking of severity of child pornography

Level	Description
1	Images depicting erotic posing with no sexual activity
2	Non-penetrative sexual activity between children or solo masturbation by a child
3	Non-penetrative sexual activity between adults and children
4	Penetrative sexual activity involving a child or children, or both children and adults
5	Sadism or penetration of or by an animal

(Trends 2007, 2008)

Recently, there has been a visible increase in higher levels (4 and 5) of abuse in the images assessed by the IWF. In fact, in 2007, 47% of the images examined by the IWF were categorized at the highest levels of abuse, and the statistic increased to 58% in 2008 (*Trends 2007, 2008*, paragraph 14; *Trends 2008, 2009*, paragraph 10).

Another complex category of child sexploitation is child prostitution. Children are prostituted in various ways – sold by their own families to be trafficked to brothels, sold as mail-order brides or concubines, pimped out by relatives, kidnapped and trafficked, lured into prostitution either knowingly or through falsehood, and more. Child prostitutes are purchased locally, trafficked outside their borders to be sold in a foreign country, or purchased by sex tourists – people who travel from their native country to another in order to have sex with children (*Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000: Trafficking in Persons Report*, 2005; Kelly et. al., 1995; Willis and Levy, 2002).

The Report of the Independent Expert estimates that in 2000, 1.8 million children were forced into prostitution and pornography (Pinheiro, 2006, p. 10). End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and the Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes USA (ECPAT-USA) has a smaller estimate – that two million children are exploited in total throughout the world (*Fact Sheet about Child Sex Tourism*, n.d., p. 1). Though the year the fact sheet was produced is unknown, it is possible it was made earlier, when estimates were even more difficult to assess than they are today. UNICEF’s 1995 Progress of Nations report estimated the number of children involved in the sex industry to be at about one million (Kelly et al., 1995, p. 39). One of the largest estimates came from Willis and Levy’s 2002 global health study, which estimated that about one million children were forced into prostitution every year, with the total number of children involved in the prostitution industry possibly being as high as ten million. This study provided a 20-country/city estimate of the number of child prostitutes.

Table 2: Number of children exploited through prostitution for select locations

Country (city)	Estimated numbers of children exploited through prostitution
Bangladesh (Dacca)	10,000
Brazil	100 000–500 000
Cambodia	5950
China	200 000
Colombia (Bogotá)	5000–7000
Dominican Republic	25 500
India	400 000–575 000
Indonesia	42 000
Nepal	28 000–40 000
Netherlands	1000
Pakistan	20 000–40 000
Paraguay	26 000
Philippines	40 000–100 000
Russia	20 000–30 000
Taiwan	40 000–60 000
Thailand	200 000

USA	300 000
Venezuela	40 000
Vietnam	8000–20 000
Zambia	70,000
Source: ECPAT-USA, 1999.	

(Willis, 2002, p. 1417)

Child prostitutes, like all other sex workers, face higher risks of violence and disease than their non-victimized counterparts. The U.S. Department of State's 2005 *Trafficking in Persons Report* suggested that the majority of prostitutes have been raped (60%-75%), and even more have experienced physical assaults (*Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000: Trafficking in Persons Report*, 2005, p. 19). Willis and Levy's 2002 study corroborated this estimate; reporting that 62% of their study participants had been raped and 73% had experienced physical assault (p. 1419). The risk of disease is also high. Willis and Levy's 2002 study noted reports indicating that child sex workers in southeast Asia were infected with HIV 50-90% of the time, and that "in some communities, up to 86% of sex workers are infected with HIV" (p. 1418).

The U.S. Department of State's *Trafficking in Persons Report* 2005 said that 50% of all trafficking victims (total trafficking victims is estimated at 600,000 to 800,000) are children (*Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000: Trafficking in Persons Report*, 2005, p. 6). This number may be drastically underestimated – the report by the Independent Expert suggests that in 2000, 1.2 million children were victims of trafficking (Pinheiro, 2006, p. 10). *Trafficking in Persons Report* (2005) noted Burma, North Korea, Russia, and Vietnam as some of the "source" countries from young girls are trafficked.

However trafficking is measured, there is little doubt that it is widespread. Even considering the least yearly estimate of total child trafficking rates – 300,000 to 400,000, according to the U.S. government (*Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000: Trafficking in Persons Report*, 2005, p. 6) – only a small percentage of traffickers are caught each year, as seen by the 2005 Trafficking in Persons global-scale report of prosecutions and convictions for trafficking offenses shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Worldwide prosecutions and convictions of those arrested for human trafficking

YEAR	PROSECUTIONS	CONVICTIONS	NEW OR AMENDED LEGISLATION
2003	7,992	2,815	24
2004	6,885	3,025	39

(*Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000: Trafficking in Persons Report*, 2005, p. 34)

Child sex tourism, although not the main staple of the child sex industry, is booming due to the adult sex tourism industry. Legalized prostitution and active adult sex industries create openings exploited by commercial sex slavery (*Victims of*

Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000: Trafficking in Persons Report, 2005, p. 20). ECPAT-USA agreed, saying that active sex tourism industries lead to increased child sexual abuse rates. ECPAT-USA also suggested that the increased demand for younger children may be due to the belief that a younger child is less likely to have been infected with HIV/AIDS, a theory widely supported among researchers. (*Fact Sheet About Child Sex Tourism*, n.d., p. 1; Kara, 2009; Bishop and Robinson, 1998, p. 8)

At particular risk of being prostituted are orphans (*Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000: Trafficking in Persons Report*, 2005, p. 17; Kelly et. al., 1995, p. 39), children from poor rural families (Kelly et. al., 1995, p. 45 & 46; Kara, 2009, p. 62-64, 66, & 168-172), and “street children” (Kelly et. al., 1995, p. 44), because these groups either have no guardians (and thus no one to search for them) or have families whose financial burden is so great that the removal of a child or the payment for that child’s labor (even prostitution) is a welcome relief (*Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000: Trafficking in Persons Report*, 2005; Kelly et. al., 1995; Willis and Levy, 2002; Kara, 2009, p. 8, 62, 66, & 168-172). Higher child prostitution rates are likely to be seen in areas with severe gender gaps (areas where males are considered more valuable or important than females and have a social structure reflecting this belief), in which girls are seen as a burden or are otherwise unwanted (*Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000: Trafficking in Persons Report*, 2005; Kara, 2009, p. 8, 31, 76, 125 & 172-173).

Child prostitution rates may also increase as a result of natural disasters (*Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000: Trafficking in Persons Report*, 2005, p. 17), the presence of some form of military and/or war or domestic conflict (*Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000: Trafficking in Persons Report*, 2005, p. 11; Kelly et. al., 1995, p. 39 & 44; Kara, 2009, p. 23 & 169-172), and the presence of organized crime (*Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000: Trafficking in Persons Report*, 2005, p. 13-14). Child prostitution rings move from location to location in accordance with perceived rises and declines in HIV/AIDS risk (because clients aim for lower-risk areas) and law enforcement crackdowns (Kelly et. al., 1995, p. 45).

The previous literature review demonstrates that some information concerning child sexexploitation appears in readily available data. There has been a great deal of research done as to why children are trafficked, which children are trafficked, and how traffickers use and abuse them. There is an equal profusion of research on the impacts of child sexual abuse in all forms. These have had important policy implications, however there is an extreme lack of agreement on the actual numbers of child victims. This gap is due in part to the fact that victims rarely report their abuse (“Statistics Surrounding Child Sexual Abuse”, 2001-2008), and because gathering the data can be hazardous to the researcher’s health (Mutch, 2007).

Methods Section

Finding numerical data for child sexexploitation rates and mapping these rates over time requires a qualitative content analysis, an unobtrusive method to locate and assemble publicly available data, with the goal being the creation of a new data set to

measure and chart child sexexploitation rates. This particular qualitative content analysis involves locating prior studies, reports, and other research through five main resources:

- 1) Prominent research groups, such as the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC), International Labor Organization (ILO), United Nations (UN), Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), and the International Labor Organization (ILO), among others. A good portion of data came from searching the publications and research provided by these groups, and by contacting representatives by e-mail for past studies and other research recommendations.
- 2) Similarly, publications and research by NGOs and private research organizations, such as the Crimes Against Children Research Center (CACRC) yielded detailed data, and several representatives responded to e-mails by providing links to further studies or new, innovative organizations.
- 3) The Google Scholar Search Engine was particularly useful. Articles were located by utilizing search terms according to three categories:
 - a. Topic – ex., “history child prostitution” and “child sexual abuse”
 - b. Authors previously referenced by relevant articles already researched – ex., a study cited an author who wrote an article on online child solicitation. By searching the author’s name, dozens of other studies and multiple books and news articles were located, many of which had pertinent statistics.
 - c. Titles previously referenced – ex., a study cited the Trafficking in Persons Report, which led to the discovery of the U.S. Department of State’s collection of Trafficking in Persons Reports.
- 4) The Pennsylvania State University Library CAT system was particularly useful in locating compilations of articles in book form according to such search terms as “child pornography” and “child prostitution”
- 5) Scholarly journal online databases, such as SpringerLink, InformaWorld, and JSTOR yielded results best when searched by topic (ex., “child sexual exploitation”)

These articles are used to establish: 1) concrete definitions of child sexexploitation’s six categories (child sexual abuse, child pornography, child online solicitation, child sex trafficking, child sex tourism, and child prostitution in general), 2) incidence records, or concrete numbers, of children exploited, and 3) explanations for any missing statistics. The concrete numbers are then charted and graphed and information gaps noted and explained. In addition, potential problems with the data are discussed, as some data can be misleading. For example, the United States Trafficking in Persons Reports (2001-2008) had broad changes in human trafficking estimates since the program was instated, and provide little information on how these estimates were obtained. Several studies speculate that reports providing similar estimates were merely making “guesstimates,” and cannot be taken as factual numerical observations (*How Many Juveniles are Involved in Prostitution in the U.S.?*, n.d.).

The combined data set appears in the Findings section with background information as to how statistics were obtained or determined to be absent for each country. For child sexexploitation categories that lack concrete numbers, a content analysis of past studies was conducted to discuss current and past estimated severity of child sexexploitation for each country. The Discussion Section of this paper then details any

potential problems which may have skewed the data results – for example, United States child sexual abuse is measured here according to confirmed child sexual abuse cases, which do not always include stranger rape, molestation by someone other than a family member, and do not signify the actual number of sexually abused children for any given year (Finkelhor, Hammer, and Sedlak, 2008).

The countries themselves were initially selected according to three factors. In order of selection these were: 1) United States Trafficking in Persons Report rankings – two countries per tier, 2) Under-5 Mortality Rates (as reported by UNICEF) – selecting those countries with the highest and lowest rank from each tier, and 3) Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as reported by the CIA: World Factbook – again selecting the highest and lowest nations. As this study progressed, however, it became evident that certain countries were better-researched and therefore more likely to have gathered statistics or, at least, adequate rationale for statistical absences. Other countries were ruled out due to unique attributes that may have skewed the data results. For example, 80% of Nigerian women trafficked to Italy are from the Edo culture. They do not run from their captors or speak to human rights groups or police because prior to being trafficked they swore in a juju ritual that they would not. The Edo culture believes that if they break the juju promise, they and their families will suffer horribly. This unique aspect of Nigeria means that it may be impossible to accurately evaluate the situation at the present time (Kara, 2009, p. 89-92). As a result, the final country selection was based on the availability and validity of the data as well as time constraints (the research was done over an eleven-week period) and includes: the United States of America, Thailand, and Japan.

Findings

In order to determine the availability of data focusing on the sexexploitation of children, three sources were examined: the Internet, published research and reports, and books. Many of these sources had problems of reliability and validity. The following is a summary of the data available by country.

Japan: Child Sexual Abuse

The Japanese legally define child sexual abuse as rape of a child under the age of eighteen (punishment varying if the child is above or below the age of thirteen) or engaging in “indecent acts” with a child under the age of eighteen (*Legislation of Interpol member states on sexual offences against children: Japan, 1999*).

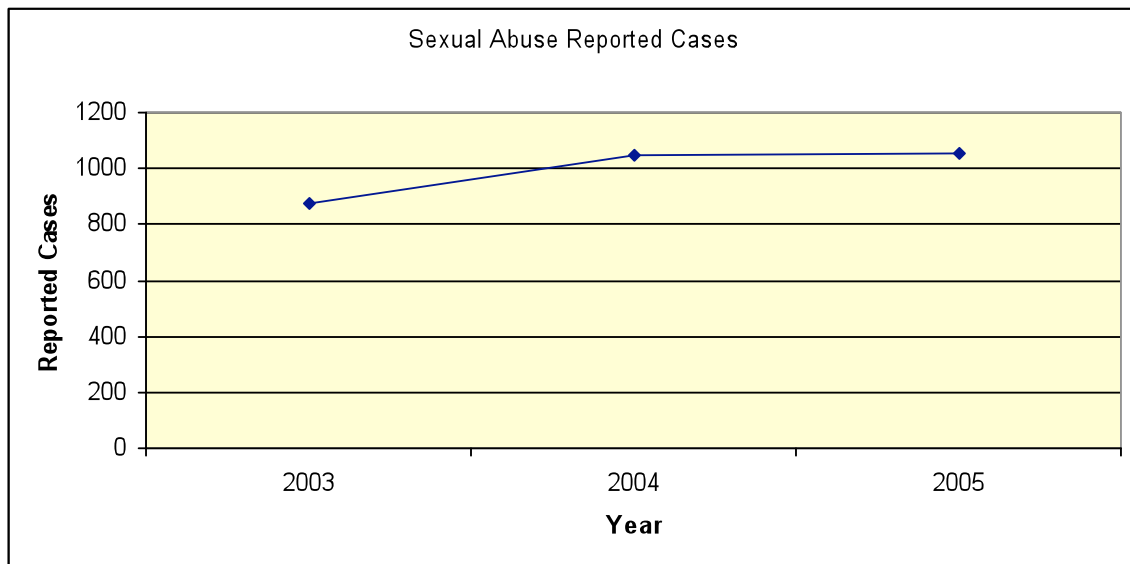
Until recently, the Japanese were either unaware that child sexual abuse existed, or routinely ignored it. It was not until the 1990s that Japan began working to correct child abuse in general (before that, concern revolved around children abusing their parents). Child sexual abuse is generally an even more difficult topic to address, which makes it unlikely that Japanese have, in the span of only two decades, obtained reliable national estimates on the extent of the problem. (Kouno and Johnson, 1995; WuDunn, 1999; Koza, 1999)

Child sexual abuse is a particularly difficult topic to study in Japan due to the cultural beliefs that 1) the man of the house has a right to do as he pleases with the lesser members and 2) parents are the ultimate authority over their children, and the children

exist to honor their parents (Kouno and Johnson, 1995; WuDunn, 1999; Koza, 1999; Diamond and Uchiyama, 1999). In a recent case, the Japanese Supreme Court threw out a lawsuit brought by a daughter, on the grounds that her father had the right to grasp her breasts to measure her sexual growth in order to foster the ‘trust’ that creates a healthy parent-child relationship (Shibata, 2006, paragraphs 2-8). Women and girls in Japan also experience a patriarchal culture that believes the value of a woman is in her virginity and chastity. Thus, rape and sexual abuse are generally underreported for fear of the public shaming that is brought to bear on the victim for letting herself be assaulted (the assumption being that she somehow asked for her rapist to harm her) (McCoy, 2003; Koza, 1999; Musselman, 2003; Burns, 2005). Japanese law does not address the rape of males, and the age of consent is thirteen, though adults are defined as those eighteen years and over (Diamond and Uchiyama, 1999; *Legislation of Interpol member states on sexual offences against children: Japan*, 1999).

Japan’s extreme lack of child sexual abuse data is perhaps indicated best by the fact that the Japanese government does not appear to maintain national child sexual abuse statistics. The next viable option was a child protection group known as the Children’s Rainbow Center, and their data provides only the cases voluntarily reported to the Center over the period 2003-2005 (see Graph 1).

Graph 1: Sexual Abuse Reported Cases



(“Child Abuse in Japan Today, and Measures for its Prevention”, 2005)

A related problem in Japan is the high level of molestation that occurs in Japanese trains and subways – the 2000 General Social Survey of Japan revealed that 75% of Japanese high school girls had been groped on trains and subways on their way to school in the past year, and 1,854 men were arrested in 2000 for molesting women and girls on trains (Davidson, 2005, p. 102).

A particular child sexual abuse problem that is believed to be increasing in Japan is father-daughter incest (Shibata, 2006). The increase in this problem is particularly worrisome in light of the fact that as of 1999, incest was not illegal (Koza, 1999, p. 52).

Reliable national estimates do not exist at this time; at the moment Japan's reported rates of child abuse and child sexual abuse are very low (see Graph 1). Researchers are divided as to the reasons behind this, with some arguing that Japan is naturally less inclined to child abuse, and others arguing that Japan likely has child abuse rates equal to Western cultures. The latter group suggests that the Japanese rates appear low because 1) the problem has only recently been recognized, 2) the Japanese cultural inclination to leave family matters to the families, 3) lack of public understanding that child abuse is a crime (because it has only recently been recognized), 4) shame and fear of repercussions preventing victims from seeking help, and 5) lack of assistance for victims who may be returned by the courts to abusive families (Kouno and Johnson, 1995; WuDunn, 1999; Kozu, 1999; Burns, 2005, p. 49; Kitamura, Toshimori, Kijima, Nobuhiko, Iwata, Noboru, Senda, Yukiko, Takahashi, Koji, Hayashi, Ikue, 1999; Goodman, 2000, p. 171).

Japan: Child Prostitution

The [Japanese] sex industry accounts for 1% of the GNP, and equals the defense budget.

(Hughes, Sporcic, Mendelsohn, and Chirgwin, n.d.)

One third of all reported cases of prostitution are teenagers.

(Hughes et al., n.d.)

The Japanese define child prostitution as

[t]he act of performing sexual intercourse, etc. (i.e. sexual intercourse an act similar to sexual intercourse, or an act for the purpose of satisfying one's sexual curiosity, of touching genital organs, etc. (i.e. genital organs, anus and nipples; the same shall apply hereinafter) of a child or of making a child touch one's genital organs, etc.; the same shall apply hereinafter) with a child in return for giving, or promising to give, a remuneration to any of the persons listed below:

- i. the child;
- ii. the person who acts as an intermediary in sexual intercourse, etc. with the child;
- iii. the protector of the child (i.e. a person who exercises parental power over the child or who is the guardian or suchlike and who is taking actual care of the child; the same shall apply hereinafter) or a person who has placed the child under his or her supervision.

(*Legislation of Interpol member states on sexual offences against children: Japan, 1999*)

Child prostitution, like child sexual abuse, is an underreported crime in Japan. In the case of child prostitution in particular, the Japanese culture frequently places the blame on the child. Many Japanese prostitutes are wealthy/middle-class, popular, well-liked, smart, and socially active teenagers. In general, these teens have dysfunctional families and feel lonely. To assuage their loneliness and need for acceptance, they advertise themselves for sex on dating sites or through phone clubs, which enables them to obtain companionship and extra money so they can keep up with their peers. This phenomenon, known as *enjo kosai* ("compensated dating") began roughly around 1974, and appears to be flourishing. As a result, the Japanese frequently view these teenage

prostitutes as selfish, greedy, manipulative and morally corrupt individuals, and do not see them as victims (McCoy, 2003). No concrete data appears to exist to indicate exactly how many children are prostituted in Japan, but in the 1980s it is believed that Japan saw a massive increase in the number of prostitutes, especially in the form of trafficking victims from the Philippines and Thailand, and up until 1997 it was still legal to have sex with children in two major Japanese prefectures (Monzino, 2005, p. 24-25; Hughes et al., n.d.).

Japan: Child Online Sexual Solicitation

About a quarter of female students aged from 12 to 15 have taken part in telephone chat clubs... The phone conversations usually fix a date to meet and are often a straightforward agreement on the details and price of the particular sexual act to be performed.

(Hughes et al., n.d.)

As of 1999, Japan did not have a law prohibiting child online sexual solicitation, save for a law against utilizing the Internet to commit illegal sex crimes against children (*Legislation of Interpol member states on sexual offences against children: Japan, 1999*). Online Child Solicitation in the United States is frequently noted as occurring in chat rooms. In Japan, this more usually seems to take place on dating sites. Instead of pedophiles pretending to be fourteen years old to lure a child into a relationship, Japanese teenagers frequently initiate contact to deliberately seek out a *enjo kosai* arrangement of companionship for money or gifts (McCoy, 2003; Hughes et al., n.d.).

No research was found that indicated specific estimates of how many teenagers seek out these transactions, but in future research this may be pseudo-estimated by examining research on the rates of Japanese teen dating site usage, the percentage of Japanese teenagers who have met a dating site personality in real life, and the number of current and past dating sites available to Japanese teenagers.

Japan: Child Pornography

In Japan, child pornography

means photos, videotapes and other visual materials which:

- i. depict, in a way that can be recognized visually, such a pose of a child relating to sexual intercourse or an act similar to sexual intercourse with or by the child.
- ii. depict, in a way that can be recognized visually, such a pose of a child relating to the act of touching genital organs, etc. of the child or of having the child touch someone else's genital organs, etc. in order to arouse or stimulate the viewer's sexual desire; or
- iii. depict, in a way that can be recognized visually, such a pose of a child who is naked totally or partially in order to arouse or stimulate the viewer's sexual desire.

(*Legislation of Interpol member states on sexual offences against children: Japan, 1999*)

Possession and purchase of child pornography and downloading child pornography off the Internet is not illegal in Japan, although the production and sale were

banned in 1999 and 2004 respectively. Legislation was proposed to ban child pornography possession in 2008, though it had not yet passed as of March 31, 2009, possibly because the Japanese are believed to see these laws as humoring Western moralists rather than as necessary legislation. Many oppose banning possession of child pornography because it may infringe on the right to free expression (Schieffer, 2008; Johnston, 2009).

Regardless of existing legislation, Japan is frequently cited as a haven for child pornography, both online and otherwise (Johnston, 2009; Jenkins, 2001, p. 106; McCoy, 2003). Despite these citations, the data appears to exist based on opinion and hearsay; there is no existing estimate for the amount of child pornography possessed, created, or distributed within the country. One news story suggested that Japan is the world's second largest child pornography consumer, and one of the world's biggest child pornography suppliers (McCurry, 2008; McCoy, 2003). In fact, in 1998, Japan was considered the biggest child pornography producer in the world (Hughes et al., n.d.). Although there are no concrete estimates, and Japan only began keeping records on child pornography in 1999 (McCurry, 2008), there are several ways in which future research can attempt to measure the severity of the problem: number of arrests for child pornography law violations (though it should be noted that this does not necessarily include those who violated both child pornography laws and some other form of child sexual abuse who may be charged solely under the child sexual abuse law), number of victims identified (not number of victims total), and number of child pornography films approved for sale each year. For example, Hughes et al. noted that in 1997 it was reported that 5,000 pornographic films are approved each year by an ethics commission, while 1,000 unapproved (illegal) films are produced each month. These numbers may have decreased following the outlawing of child pornography production in 1999, but the decrease may have been minimal as one pornography producer noted "police don't really bother us" (Hughes et al., n.d.).

Recently, it has been noted that pornography featuring father-daughter incest in particular is on the rise, and has been used several times to facilitate instances of incestuous sexual abuse (Shibata, 2006, paragraphs 13-15).

Thailand: Child Prostitution and Child Sex Tourism

More than in any country I visited, it was nearly impossible to avoid sex solicitation in Thailand. At times, the country felt like a giant brothel, even though prostitution is illegal...Thai cultivate sex as business.

(Kara, 2009, p. 153 & 154)

Sex isn't sold everywhere in Bangkok, but [it is sold enough that it is as though] the whole city is an erotic theme park.

(Bishop and Robinson, 1998, p. 7)

There are prostitutes in every country but not to this degree. Not to the extent that men come from all over the world looking for women. Do we want to be a world power in this respect?

(Bishop and Robinson, 1998, p. 21)

Thailand has not become a world sex power, but it has certainly become a world sex magnet.

(Bishop and Robinson, 1998, p. 21)

Thailand defines prostitution as

The acceptance of sexual intercourse, the acceptance of any other act, or the commission of any act for sexual gratification of another person in a promiscuous manner, in order to gain financial or other benefit, no matter whether the person who accepts such act and the person who commits such act are of the same or opposite sex.

(Legislation of Interpol member states on sexual offences against children: Thailand, n.d.)

Legal punishments are proscribed against those who have “sexual intercourse” with children under eighteen in “a place of prostitution”, though the punishments vary depending if the victim is fifteen to eighteen years old or under fifteen years of age *(Legislation of Interpol member states on sexual offences against children: Thailand, n.d.)*.

Child prostitution is extremely prevalent in Thailand – so much so that prostitutes solicit customers outside hotels, airports, and restaurants in major urban centers like Bangkok, Chiang Mai, and Chiang Rai. Taxi and tuk-tuk drivers can transport a customer to brothels hosting children of any age desired. Many child prostitutes are refugees or trafficking victims from other countries. Most child prostitutes are post-pubescent; Thai teenagers engaging in sex for money to provide financial support to their parents (Kara, 2009). Despite prostitution being extraordinarily widespread throughout Thailand, exactly how many children (or even adult prostitutes) are involved in the trade is currently impossible to accurately ascertain – in part because the Thai government claims to have no prostitutes, because all prostitution is illegal according to The Act to Deter Prostitution, passed in 1960 when the United Nations abolished legal prostitution (Kabilsingh, n.d.; Bishop and Robinson, 1998, p. 5; Kara, 2009, p. 167). Ironically, the number of prostitutes and the number of child prostitutes “increased noticeably” after this law was passed. Specifically, prior to the Act, about 15% of prostitutes were between ages fifteen and nineteen. After the Act, it increased to 25% (Kabilsingh, n.d.).

One reason it is believed girls may actively seek to become prostitutes is the potential for higher income – prostitution can pay about twenty-five times the average monthly salary, and it is considered the highest paying female occupation in Thailand. This number varies widely however, and while many female prostitutes do make a significant amount of money, many more do not (Bishop and Robinson, 1998, p. 9). This is important however because the chance to be a high-paid prostitute may contribute to increased numbers of girls seeking the occupation, and more parents encouraging daughters to keep such a job, particularly in times of economic crisis.

Large-scale prostitution catering specifically to foreigners began chiefly in 1964, when the USA installed military bases in Thailand, and in 1967 with the Vietnam War when Thailand agreed to provide “rest and recreation” for American servicemen (Bishop and Robinson, 1998, p. 8). As a result, Thailand began advertising and catering to the foreign sexual appetite. After the Americans pulled out of Thailand, their places as brothel customers were filled by tourists (Monzino, 2005, p. 30).

Thailand had legalized prostitution from at least 1350-1960, and at least one source suggests that prostitution increased in 1905, though child prostitution rates did not appear to be recorded (Lim, 1998, p. 130-131; Kabilsingh, n.d.).

Gender inequality in Thailand and other Asian countries are cited as one of the main reasons for high prostitution and sex tourism rates. With increasing rights for

women in the West, males feel that women are too “aggressive”, and thus they seek out the myth of the “docile and submissive” Asian girl. This contributes to the number of girls working as prostitutes as this myth of passivity brings customers to the country (Hall, 1994; Bishop and Robinson, 1998, p. 5 & 10; Lim, 1998, p. 136).

Interestingly, female sexual subjugation in the Thai economy has led to families becoming more appreciative of the birth of daughters, who may now have more social mobility than sons because of their potential sexual value (Bishop and Robinson, 1998, p. 11; Lim, 1998, p. 181).

Thailand’s anti-child prostitution campaign launched in 1992 under Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai, who was known for his efforts to improve the living conditions of children. Thailand’s 1992 crackdown on child prostitution is believed to have been in part due to the United States threatening to consider revoking trade concessions if Thailand did not address its child labor problem (Lim, 1998, p. 172 & 175; Phongpaichit, Piriyaarangsarn, and Treerat, 1998, p. 177). A crackdown by Thai police in 1993 did scare child and slave brothels into hiding, but this only means that it is more difficult for law enforcement to find them, and in the end these efforts needed more time and government dedication, a goal thwarted in 1995, when Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai left office. The administration that followed, instead of continuing efforts to eradicate child prostitution, reverted back to the prior government’s waffling between ignoring and actively encouraging the Thai sex sector (Phongpaichit et al., 1998, p. 178; Bishop and Robinson, 1998, p. 216; Monzino, 2005, p. 30; Campagna, 1988, p. 147).

Despite the possible decline in the use of child prostitutes in rural areas (Lim, 1998, p. 183), the literature available seems to indicate that it is still unproblematic to find child prostitutes (Kara, 2009, p. 153-156), though some local children have been replaced by increased usage of foreign or ethnic minority youth due to police crackdowns, increased education, and the Thai AIDS epidemic (Phongpaichit et al., 1998, p. 176 & 196). In addition, a survey of rural prostitutes indicated that about one-fifth of the surveyed prostitutes were initiated into prostitution when they were minors. This number can be used as a very rough guide to the number of child prostitutes in Thailand. According to Phongpaichit, the number of prostitutes in 1998 was most likely 150,000-200,000. One-fifth of this number is 30,000-40,000 child prostitutes, which is similar to some prior estimates (Phongpaichit estimated between 25,500 and 34,000 in 1998, and Guest estimated between 30,000-35,000 in 1993) (Lim, p. 183; Phongpaichit, 1998, p. 200). Other estimates, however, have varied so widely (from 13,000 to 400,000) that a seminar was held in 1992 in an ineffective attempt to force social workers and researchers to come to an agreement on a single number (Lim, 1998, p. 172; Reich and Otero, 1996, p. 2; Campagna, 1988, p. 147; Hughes et al., n.d.).

Research on prostitution in Thailand generally blames sex tourism on the prostitution boom, though foreigners are only a small percentage of customers. Sex tourism forms the backbone of the Thai tourist industry, which is Thailand’s main international commodity and provides a significant amount of the government revenue (Lim, 1998, p. 183 & 185; Phongpaichit, 1998, p. 196; Kara, 2009; Monzino, 2005, p. 26 & 30). In the 1980s several countries outside of Thailand advertised “package” child sex tours, but it is believed to have declined since, though it is possible they are just more difficult to identify (Lim, p. 184).

The current increased demand for child prostitutes is also believed to be in part due to the AIDS scare and local myths. Thailand has a serious AIDS problem, and as a result virgins and young children are under increased demand under the supposition that they have not yet been exposed to the virus. In addition, rural healers often cite the sexual use of children as “cures” for sexually transmitted diseases like AIDS, and promote the idea that sex with a virgin will renew a man’s virility and increase his monetary wealth (Bishop and Robinson, 1998, p. 8; Davidson, 2005, p. 31).

When the sex services industry became an issue in Thailand during the 1960s, many technocrats and policy-makers brushed it aside. They took the view that when the Thai economy grew, prostitution would become less of a problem, just as in Japan and other more developed countries. Over thirty years have passed. Yet there is no sign that prostitution in Thailand is in decline. Indeed with economic development, increased wealth has *raised* the demand for sex services. (Phongpaichit et al., 1998, p. 196)

Thailand: Child Online Sexual Solicitation

Thai legislation does not provide a legal definition for child online sexual solicitation, but research indicates that most children solicited online in Thailand are in situations similar to those solicited in Japan – the children (usually teenagers from upper-middle class) locate online chatrooms in search of *enjo kosai* (“compensated dating”) relationships of goods/money in exchange for sex or companionship, however no numerical estimates were provided (McCoy, 2003).

Thailand: Child Sex Trafficking

Around 80,000 women and children have been sold into Thailand’s sex industry since 1990, with most coming from Burma, China’s Yunan province and Laos... In 1996, almost 200,000 foreign children, mostly boys from Burma, Laos and Cambodia, were thought to be working in Thailand.

(Hughes et al., n.d.)

The internal traffic of Thai females consists mostly of 12-16 year olds from hill tribes of the North/Northeast. Most of the internally trafficked girls are sent to closed brothels, which operate under prison-like conditions.

(Hughes et al., n.d.)

Like India, Thailand [is]...the primary destination for its own trafficked slaves.

(Kara, 2009, p. 161)

The Thai legal system prohibits trafficking of persons for sexual purposes. In this context, a trafficker is defined as a person who “procures, seduces, or traffics the other person to commit the act of prostitution, even with consent of the other person, no matter whether the commission of various acts which constitute the offence are committed inside or outside the territory of the Kingdom” (*Legislation of Interpol member states on sexual offences against children: Thailand*, n.d.).

Thailand has been trafficking young people out of the country for decades. Phongpaichit’s (1998) work suggested that trafficking for sexual purposes increased in the late 1970s, as this was discovered to be more profitable than other forms of

trafficking. By the mid-1990s, Phongpaichit (1998) noted, traffickers increased imports of young foreign women as sex slaves because they were less costly. As a result, young Thai sex workers agreed to be trafficked out of Thailand to seek better pay. In addition, though nearly all child prostitutes in Thailand used to be native Thai, increasing education has led to fewer available child prostitutes. As a result, the late 1990s showed signs of increased trafficking of ethnic minorities and foreign children into Thailand for use in child prostitution (Phongpaichit et al., 1998, p. 176 & 186-187; Hughes et al., n.d.).

United States of America: Child Sexual Abuse

The age of consent in the United States is sixteen years of age, though a child is defined as a person below eighteen years. Sexual abuse of a minor is legally defined as engaging or attempting to engage in a “sexual act” with a person above the age of twelve but below age sixteen who is at least four years younger than the person committing the crime. The legal punishment doubles if the victim is less than twelve years of age (*Legislation of Interpol member states on sexual offences against children: USA*, n.d.).

Of all the countries examined in this study, the United States appears to have the most reliable data. This is due, in large part, to Americans acknowledging in the 1970s that child abuse and child sexual abuse was an issue. Other countries, including Japan, did not truly begin assessing the problem until the 1990s or later. Gaps of course exist – for example, no accurate statistics were taken prior to the late 1900s, so although child sexual molestation was prevalent in New York City in the 1930s (Rush, 1980, p. xii), there is no way to know if this trend was national-level, or concentrated solely in New York City. In addition, although the United States appears to have the most reliable and consistent data, the data cannot be taken as an accurate national representation of all cases of child sexual abuse for various reasons

First, child abuse in general and child sexual abuse in particular are extremely underreported – an estimated 90-99% of sexual abuse cases are never reported to the police (“Child Sexual Abuse Goes Vastly Underreported”, 2007, p. 1; Flinn, 1995, paragraph 10; “Adults’ Responsibility in the Prevention of Child Sexual Abuse”, n.d., paragraph 1; Winters, 1998, paragraph 3), and as a result most studies acknowledge that the data observed are a mere fraction of the real problem (Winters, 1998, paragraph 6).

Second, child sexual abuse reports depend on A) someone reporting it, B) someone following up on the report, and C) the follow-up determining if the case is substantiated or unsubstantiated (if sexual abuse is occurring or not). If it is not reported, if the case gets lost in the system, or if the caseworker mistakenly believes it to be unsubstantiated, child sexual abuse cases can be overlooked. In addition, caseworkers, police officers, lawyers, and judges often have different personal definitions of what constitutes child sexual abuse. For example, some organizations consider the crime sexual abuse if perpetrated by a guardian or by someone else in charge of the child (i.e., a babysitter, scout leader, or teacher), but may consider it sexual assault and not sexual abuse if the crime is perpetrated by a stranger or acquaintance. In addition, it may be considered neither sexual abuse nor sexual assault, but rape of a juvenile, which is an entirely separate category (Finkelhor et al., 2008, p. 2-3).

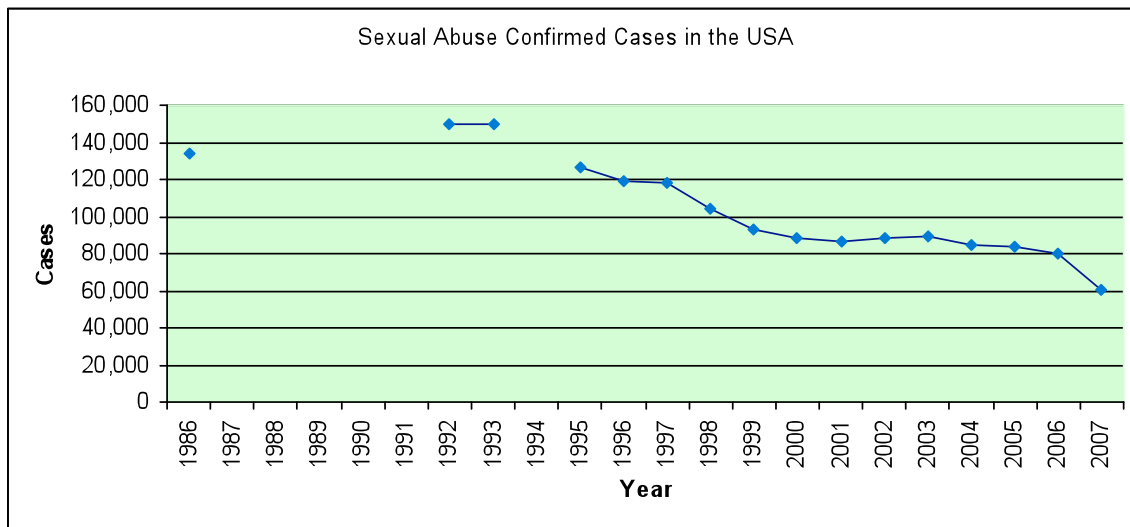
Third, not all states and regions are included in the nationally reported estimates of child abuse victims – the National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System (NCANDS)

collects reports from only 43 to 49 states, varying by year (Jones and Finkelhor, 2001, p. 3).

Fourth, victim recall deteriorates the longer the crime goes unreported (Finkelhor et al., 2008, p. 2).

Finally, estimates are collected from multiple local-level agencies, which send their reports to (in some cases) the National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System. As a result, there is no way short of an extremely vigilant oversight committee to know if these agencies are reporting accurately. Despite this, the national statistics are useful, as they provide a peek at the bigger picture (see Graph 2).

Graph 2: Sexual Abuse Confirmed Cases in the USA



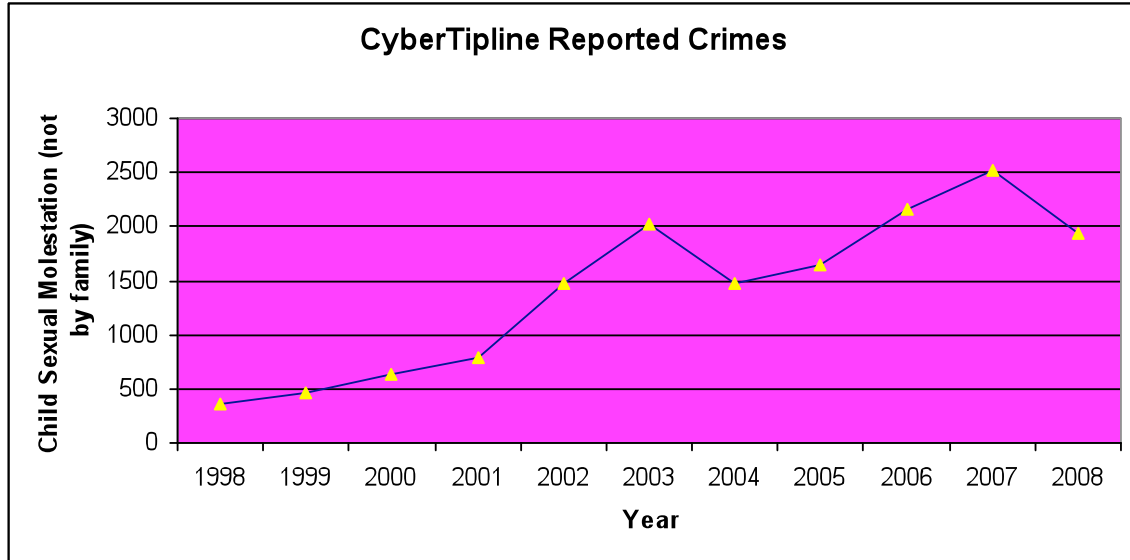
(*Child Maltreatment*, 1999; *Child Maltreatment*, 2000; *Child Maltreatment*, 2001; *Child Maltreatment*, 2002; *Child Maltreatment*, 2003; *Child Maltreatment*, 2004; *Child Maltreatment*, 2005; *Child Maltreatment*, 2006; *Child Maltreatment*, 2007; *Child Maltreatment Report*, 1995; *Child Maltreatment Report*, 1996; *Child Maltreatment Report*, 1997; *Child Maltreatment Report*, 1998; Jones and Finkelhor, 2001; Finkelhor, 1994)

Initial rate increases are frequently attributed to increased reporting as a result of better public understanding of the child abuse problem, though most researchers believe that increased reporting is only a fraction of the reason behind the rise in rates and that child sexual abuse was indeed on the rise. Interestingly, child sexual abuse rates declined rapidly from the 1990s to the present, though researchers are still investigating the cause of the reduced rates of incidence (Jones and Finkelhor, 2001).

The organization CyberTipline, a subsidiary of the National Center for Missing & Exploited Children (NCMEC), provides law enforcement with reports of incidences of child sexploitation. One of their reporting categories is child sexual molestation (not by family members). Graph 3 does not provide an accurate estimate of the number of child sexual molestation incidences per year in the United States, but it does provide a measure of reporting. Theoretically, this also provides some measure of both public awareness of child sexual molestation as a problem, and a measure of public interest in preventing crimes against children. CyberTipline does not investigate these reports, but merely

provides the information to the appropriate authorities. Their main function is as a mediator between the police and the people reporting potential crimes against children (*CyberTipline: Annual Report Totals By Incident Type, 1998-2009*).

Graph 3: Child Sexual Molestation (not by family)



(*CyberTipline: Annual Report Totals By Incident Type, 1998-2009*)

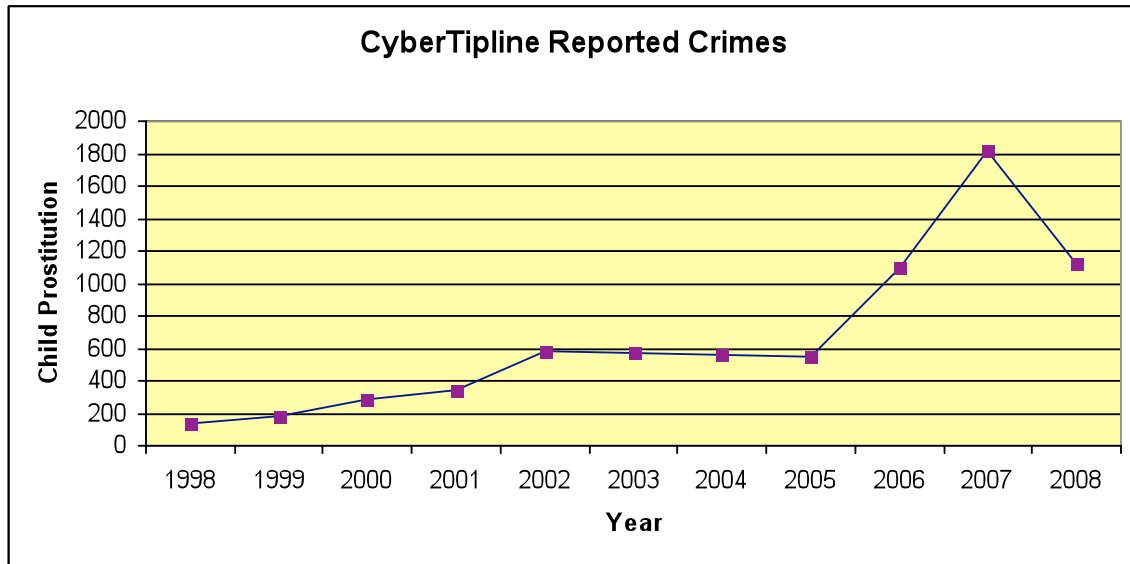
United States of America: Child Prostitution

The United States legally prohibits any person from persuading, inducing, enticing or coercing any child under the age of eighteen into prostitution or any other illegal sexual act (*Legislation of Interpol member states on sexual offences against children: USA, n.d.*), but child prostitution, like child sexual abuse, is not a new phenomenon in the United States. For example, Jenkins’ work *Beyond Tolerance: Child pornography on the Internet* noted a scandal in Los Angeles in the 1930s involving the trade in underage girls, and that the sale of underage boys was a known problem even in the late 1800s (2001, p. 30).

Many studies have attempted to estimate the number of child prostitutes in the United States. These estimates vary widely, from 1,400 to 2.4 million (*How Many Juveniles are Involved in Prostitution in the US?, n.d.*). What these estimates frequently lack, however, is replicable methodology. These estimates are frequently little better than “guesstimates” and as a result no real numerical national average is known at this point in time (*How Many Juveniles are Involved in Prostitution in the US?, n.d.*).

CyberTipline maintains voluntary reports of incidences of child prostitution, but it is impossible to know who reported each incident, the number of times each incident was reported, or what law enforcement action, if any, was taken to address the reported crime. CyberTipline is strictly a police-assist agency, receiving reports of crimes against children and then disseminating that information to the appropriate authorities. For this reason, the chart below does not demonstrate a real estimate of the problem, but does show increased reporting rates from 2005-2007, with decreased reporting in 2008 (*CyberTipline: Annual Report Totals By Incident Type, 1998-2009*).

Graph 4: Child Prostitution



(CyberTipline: Annual Report Totals By Incident Type, 1998-2009)

Kara (2009) believes that there is less prostitution in the United States in general due to lack of accessibility.

[M]arket demand for prostitutes appeared greater in [Europe, Asia, and Latin America] than in the United States. This market demand is assuredly driven in large part by greater supply-side forces. There was more pornography for sale at street corners in Europe, more prostitution visible and easier to access in Asia, and of course, in several of these countries, prostitution is legal in some form or another

(Kara, 2009, p. 184).

Kara's (2009) work suggested that less corrupt law enforcement and judicial systems and the fact that prostitution is illegal in all states save Nevada have led to lower prostitution rates (and therefore potentially lower child prostitution rates) than in many other countries, if only because it is harder to hide (p. 183).

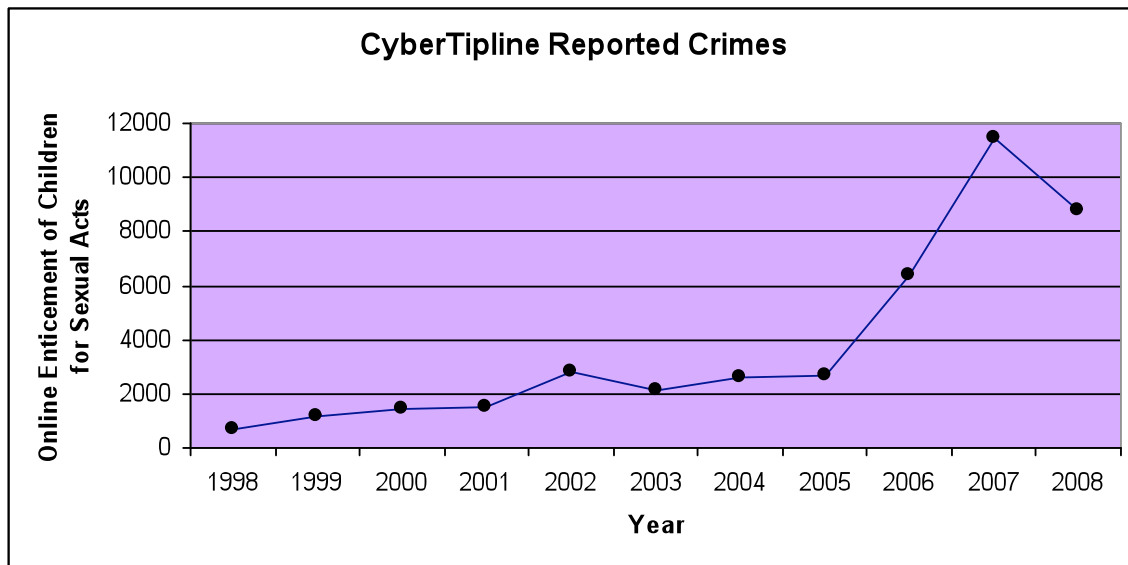
United States of America: Child Online Sexual Solicitation

Sexual solicitation of children online is a known problem in the United States, and though few researchers have provided reliable estimates of the number of children victimized in this manner, some data are available. Two particularly significant studies performed by Wolak, Mitchell, and Finkelhor (2006; 2001) provide some estimate of the problem. These studies measured, among other things, sexual solicitations of minors online, defined as “[r]equests to engage in sexual activities or sexual talk or give personal sexual information that were unwanted or, whether wanted or not, made by an adult” (Wolak et al., 2006, p. 3). In 2000, the Online Victimization Survey found that of 1,501 ten to seventeen year olds surveyed from a nationally representative sample, 19% had received unwanted sexual solicitations online within the last year (Wolak et al., 2001). In

2005, that had dropped to 13% (n = 1,500), or approximately 2,970,000-3,720,000 children (12%-15% with p = .05) total in the United States (Wolak et al., 2006).

These two studies involved telephone surveys, and the population was known. CyberTipline also received reports, but the reports to CyberTipline are not solicited samples, but rather the voluntary reporting of concerned citizens. Thus, it is impossible to know exactly what sample of people reported incidents of online child sexual solicitation. It is also not known if any of these numbers indicate multiple reports by the same person, or if any of the reported incidents were substantiated cases of online child sexual solicitation – that is, CyberTipline alerts authorities to any reports they receive and is not informed of the results of any given case; therefore, it cannot be known if these reports resulted in an arrest. Graph 5 therefore cannot be relied upon as a real estimate of the problem, but it does indicate an enormous increase in reporting rates from 2005-2007 (*CyberTipline: Annual Report Totals By Incident Type, 1998-2009*).

Graph 5: Online Enticement of Children for Sexual Acts



(*CyberTipline: Annual Report Totals By Incident Type, 1998-2009*)

United States of America: Child Pornography

Child pornography in particular is very difficult to observe....[There have been] nude photographs and prints of young teenagers and pre-pubescent children from the Victorian period....It is a fair guess that the first such images appeared very shortly after the invention of photography.

(Jenkins, 2001, p. 31)

Legally, child pornography is “any visual depiction, including any photograph, film, video, picture, or computer...picture, whether made or produced by electronic, mechanical, or other means, of sexually explicit conduct” involving a child (*Legislation of Interpol member states on sexual offences against children: USA, n.d.*). “Sexually explicit conduct includes sexual intercourse, bestiality, masturbation, sadomasochistic

abuse, and lewd exhibition of the genitals or pubic area” (Burgess and Clark, 1984, p. 83).

Ann Burgess (1984) stated that there is no way to accurately calculate the amount of physical child pornography in existence. Due to the hidden nature of sex crimes, especially sex crimes with children, collectors and photographers naturally keep these images hidden. Every year however, police raids result in the seizure of hundreds of thousands of photographs suggesting that child pornography is a booming business (Burgess and Clark, 1984).

The seized photographs, however, may not represent hard copy selling and trading of child pornography – frequently, these photographs (as well as films and audiotape) represent collections either downloaded and printed off the Internet or created by the arrestee (Jenkins, 2001, p. 14).

There is little media coverage of child pornography, online or otherwise, and even less research – mostly due to the fact that it is illegal for anyone other than law enforcement to even view child pornography online. This lack of research is a major problem because it means that law enforcement may not be aware of the changing nature of online child pornography “enthusiasts” and will therefore be unable to catch them. Jenkins’ research suggested that the vast majority of these “enthusiasts” are never caught, and most are contemptuous at police attempts at pursuit. It is possible, he wrote, that those who are caught by the police are novices who make silly mistakes or do not yet know the ins-and-outs of child pornography collection. Their mistakes mean that the population of “enthusiasts” under arrest are not the “typical” offender as the police believe, thus leading police to target the minnows while the bigger fish hide in the shoals (Jenkins, 2001, p. 13-16).

Another reason Jenkins believed the majority of offenders are never caught is because law enforcement has yet to adapt to the difficulties of tracking offenders online. For large criminal problems such as drugs, trafficking, smuggling, and money laundering, police infiltrate and take out the leaders to effectively destroy the entire organization. Child pornography collectors do not operate that way. Online child pornography is disorganized, and “enthusiasts” generally have no way to identify one another in real life. “The exceptions to this rule,” argued Jenkins, “account for the major law enforcement successes, such as the destruction of the so-called Wonderland child porn ring in 1998” (Jenkins, 2001, p. 16 & 17).

Despite the lack of concrete numbers, analysis of reports over the period of several decades may indicate patterns over time. Jenkins’ (2001) work indicated that the “free love” period of the 1960s resulted in temporary acceptance and legality of child pornography throughout the United States and Europe. This resulted in the “ten year madness” period of 1969-1979 in which the production, selling, and purchase of child pornography boomed. The majority of child pornography was believed to have come from Europe and then imported into the United States, though some material was created and sold domestically. Child pornography was extremely prevalent during this time period, such that it was openly sold in stores in various large cities (Jenkins, 2001, p. 31-32).

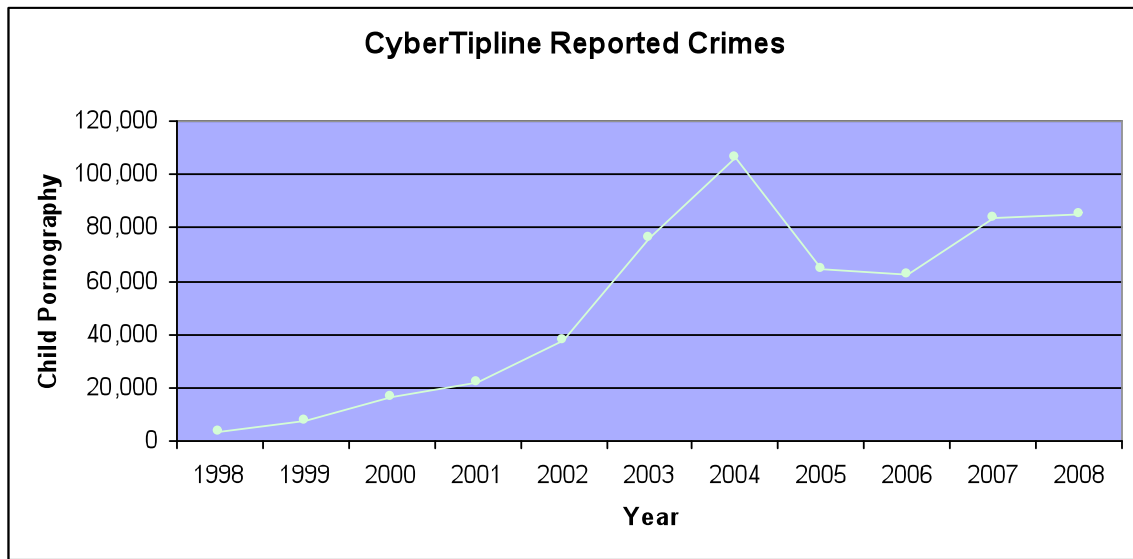
The child pornography boom alarmed moralists who then aroused the American public to prohibit this form of child exploitation in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The

Chicago police indicated that the pornography they were seizing at the time depicted increased violence and depravity against the child victims (Burgess and Clark, 1984).

Since the advent of the Internet however, the selling of physical child pornography such as magazines and hard-copy photographs seems to have decreased significantly, while child pornography moved online due to the anonymity afforded by webpages, e-mail, and chat rooms (Jenkins, 2001).

As in other areas of child sexploitation, the organization CyberTipline receives voluntary reports on incidences of child pornography. While these numbers still do not provide a measure of the actual problem, they demonstrate reporting and public response levels, as well as increasing awareness of CyberTipline as a resource. As evident below, unlike the other CyberTipline charts, reporting levels peaked in 2004 instead of 2007 (*CyberTipline: Annual Report Totals By Incident Type, 1998-2009*).

Graph 6: Child Pornography



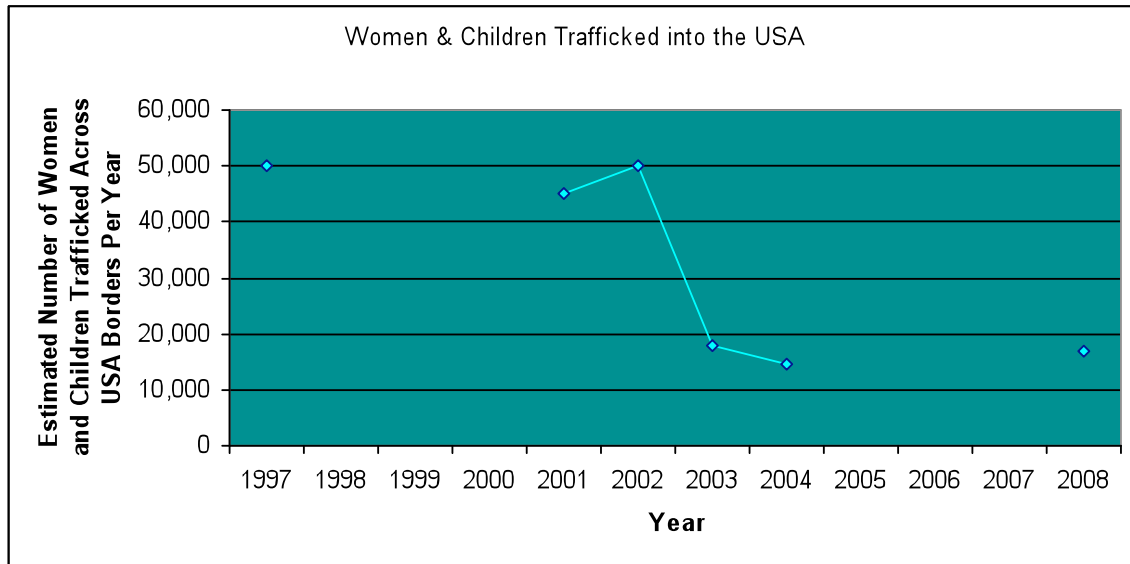
(*CyberTipline: Annual Report Totals By Incident Type, 1998-2009*)

United States of America: Child Sex Trafficking

It is illegal in the United States to transport a minor for the purpose of engaging in “criminal sexual activity,” and illegal again to traffic children for sexual purposes through “force, fraud, or coercion,” which includes harboring, enticing, recruiting, transporting, obtaining, or providing a child for that purpose (*Legislation of Interpol member states on sexual offences against children: USA, n.d.*).

The United States Trafficking in Persons Reports provides estimates for the number of women and children trafficked into the United States during the years 1997, 2001-2004, and 2008 (see Graph 7).

Graph 7: Women & Children Trafficked into the USA



(*Trafficking in Persons Report*, 2001; *Trafficking in Persons Report*, 2002; *Trafficking in Persons Report*, 2003; *Trafficking in Persons Report*, 2004; *Trafficking in Humans*, 2009)

The problem with these data, however, is that the *Trafficking in Persons Reports* do not indicate their methodology. As a result, this study is not replicable and researchers cannot determine the Reports' calculations to ascertain the validity or reliability of these estimates (Clawson, Layne, and Small, 2006, p. 44). However, Ph.D.-candidate Walter L. Layne suggested in a conversation with me in July of 2009 that the methodology may in fact exist, but may not be available to the public. He proposed that it might be a matter of knowing the right department to ask for the data. He also suggested that the year 2001-2002 estimates may be the most reliable due to the high level of government investigation into all areas following the 9/11 attack in the United States.

One experimental study attempted to statistically chart the number of people trafficked into the United States from South and Central America. Their results indicated that around 25,647 females are trafficked into the United States each year from these origin countries – a number greater than the current *Trafficking in Persons Report* estimate of victims from all locations, but possibly fairly accurate considering the 2002 estimate of 50,000 women and children trafficked into the United States in any given year. However, this was a singular study with experimental methodology. Until the study has been replicated, it is impossible to establish a claim as to its validity and reliability (Clawson, Layne, and Small, 2006).

The number of people actually trafficked into the United States is further complicated by smuggling. Bales' book *The Slave Next Door* (2009) strongly indicates that a significant number – and possibly the majority – of U.S. trafficking victims (though it does not suggest what percentage of these may be trafficked for sexual purposes, or provide a concrete number of victims) smuggle themselves into the United States, upon which they are seized by traffickers and taken cross-country to their destination of

exploitation; thus saving traffickers the cost of smuggling them into the country in the first place (Bales and Soodalter, 2009).

Another gap in the research is seen in the lack of data on inter- and intra-state sex trafficking. Prostitutes and slaves are frequently circulated through cities and states to satisfy customer demand and to avoid police detection. This clever criminal enterprise is difficult to track, and difficult to estimate the scope of (Raymond and Hughes, 2001, p. 54).

Finally, authorities and the public tend to view sex trafficking as the trafficking of foreigners. American prostitutes and sex slaves are frequently ignored, placed outside the scope of statistical estimates, and generally viewed as criminal prostitutes rather than sexual victims (Bales and Soodalter, 2009, p. 80).

Overall, however, despite increased awareness of sex trafficking as a problem, the United States is generally not perceived as a hot-spot for sex trafficking. Where “in most of Europe and Asia, sex trafficking represents 30 to 45 percent of the total amount of human trafficking in a country...in the United States, it represents closer to 15 to 20 percent” (Kara, 2009, p. 183). Sex trafficking appears to be less of a problem in the United States because of the difficulty in transporting people across borders; the increased expense of airplane tickets for trafficked victims from Europe, Asia, and Africa; the fact that all prostitution (save in thirteen counties in Nevada) is illegal in the United States means traffickers cannot hide trafficked victims by claiming them to be “legal” prostitutes; the United States law enforcement and judicial systems are comparatively less corrupt than mainstream sex trafficking nations; and aggressive anti-trafficking legislation (Trafficking Victim and Protection Act – TVPA) created in 2000 (Kara, 2009, p. 183).

Although there has been a great deal of research done on the topic, numerical estimates consistently evade researchers – the data do not exist.

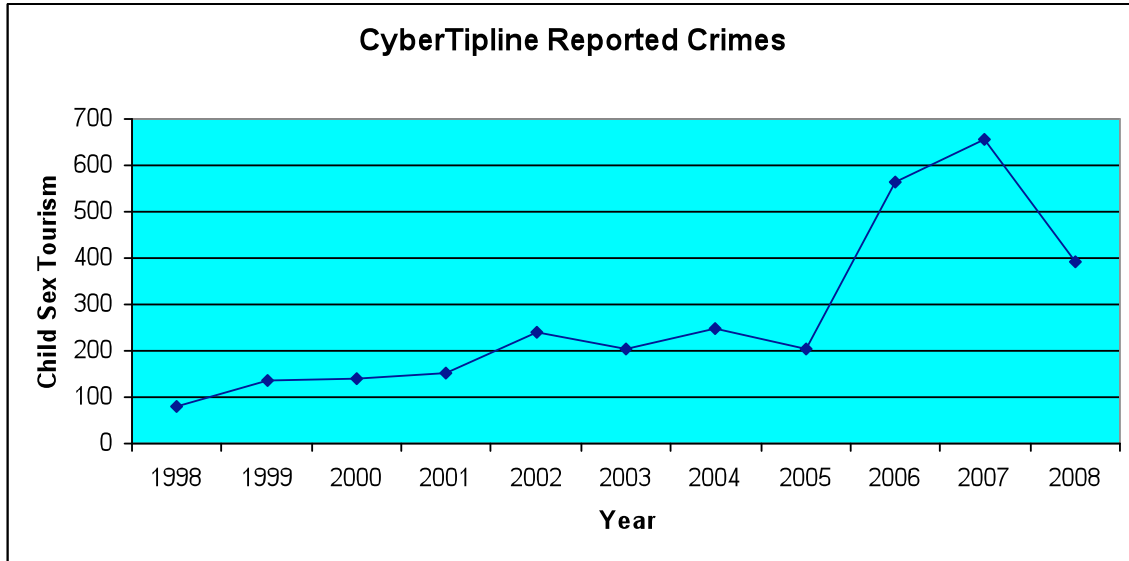
United States of America: Child Sex Tourism

It is illegal in the United States for any one to “travel with intent to engage in sexual act with a juvenile,” and this is further defined as criminal when “[a] person who travels in interstate commerce, or conspires to do so, or a United States citizen or an alien admitted for permanent residence in the United States who travels in foreign commerce, or conspires to do so, for the purpose of engaging in any sexual act...with a person under eighteen...years of age that would be in violation...if the sexual act occurred in the special maritime and territorial jurisdiction of the United States” (*Legislation of Interpol member states on sexual offences against children: USA*, n.d.).

Although it is widely reported that Americans travel outside of the United States to engage in sex tourism (Bales and Soodalter, 2009, p. 92;), the incidence of foreigners traveling to the United States to have sex with American children, and the number of American children prostituted outside the country is virtually unknown (Bales and Soodalter, 2009, p. 95). No concrete numerical data exists to suggest how many American (or foreign and trafficked) child victims are used for sex tourism purposes (Bales and Soodalter, 2009, p. 92-95), however CyberTipline did receive reports from 1998-2008 that indicated an increase in reporting in 2006 and 2007, though it decreased dramatically in 2008. These figures do not, however, represent the actual number of

cases, and although CyberTipline defines child sex tourism as Americans traveling abroad to have sex with children, logically speaking there may have been reported cases of not only Americans abroad, but of foreigners within the United States, and of children involved in sex tourism either domestically or abroad (“Reporting Categories”, n.d.; *CyberTipline: Annual Report Totals By Incident Type, 1998-2009*).

Graph 8: Child Sex Tourism



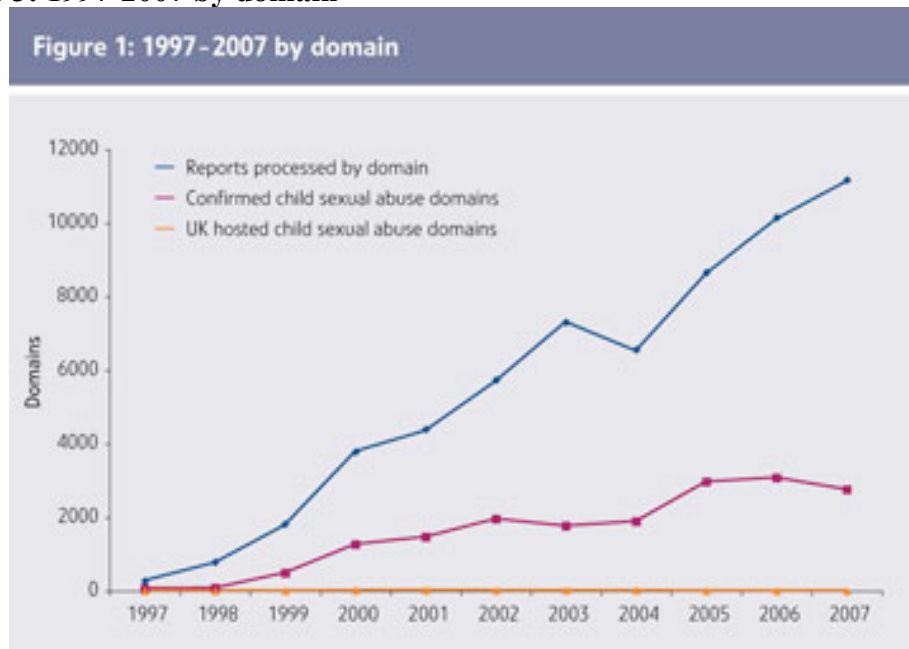
(*CyberTipline: Annual Report Totals By Incident Type, 1998-2009*)

Findings: Non-country specific

Online Child Pornography

Similar to the CyberTipline program based in the United States, the Internet Watch Foundation (IWF) from the United Kingdom collects reports on child sexploitation, however their focus is solely on online child pornography websites and not individual pictures. Due to alterations in their data collection methods and definitions, the IWF permitted me to access data solely from reports prior to 2008 and 2009. The 2008 report did, however, provide a measure of the online child pornography problem over time, as seen in Figure 3.

Figure 3: 1997-2007 by domain



(Trends 2007, 2008)

As noted earlier in the literature review, it appears that while reporting is still on the rise, the actual incidence of child pornography online has been fairly stable since 2005. The 2009 report goes a step further, noting the decrease in confirmed child sexual abuse websites over the last two years (*Trends 2007, 2008; Trends 2008, 2009*).

Discussion

The goal of this research was to determine if sufficient data currently exists to create a data set that could, in conjunction with a causal independent variable data set, describe the frequency of child sexploitation by country and to test whether or not variables such as infant mortality rates, fertility rates, and GDP are in fact factors in causal relationships with the data set. The qualitative study of child sexploitation data indicates that either the data do not exist or when data do exist, they have serious reliability and validity issues. In fact, the only categories that appear to have some form of reliable numerical data are child sexual abuse in the United States and online child pornography as confirmed by the Internet Watch Foundation.

This study was limited, in scope and duration. The focus was on three countries in two continents, and not all measures of child sexploitation were examined (child marriage, child temple prostitutes, sexual assault, etc.), however the materials obtained within the course of this research indicates upon review that currently any attempts to assemble adequate data are flawed for various reasons.

First of all, any researcher attempting to replicate current data on this subject would encounter immediate difficulties. Some groups, projects, and researchers have in the past failed to provide sufficient or clear methodology to indicate how their data were gathered, such as the United States Trafficking in Persons Report, ECPAT, and some individual researchers (*Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000*:

Trafficking in Persons Report, 2000-2008; LS, 2003; *Fact Sheet about Child Sex Tourism*, n.d.). Lack of methodology is a serious problem for several reasons. First, lack of methodology means that if the study generates numbers (for example, *Trafficking in Persons Report* of 2002 stated that 50,000 women and children were trafficked into the United States each year) it is impossible for future researchers to replicate the study because detailed data collection information are not presented. As a result, researchers cannot confirm the findings of prior studies, meaning those studies cannot be considered reliable. While it is hoped that researchers do not simply guess to obtain these estimates, without a methodology it is impossible to tell if the researcher has a solid reason for using this numerical estimate. Furthermore, the average, unvigilant reader is likely to assume the researcher is a credible source. The average citizen's belief in the infallibility of research leads to unreliable numbers being cited in the media, in policy formulation, and in future research, especially if the numbers were generated by the government – the *Trafficking in Persons Report* is a case in point. If these numbers have no evidentiary basis, data can be horribly skewed, and it becomes impossible to ascertain the validity of research.

A particularly controversial area of child sexploitation measurement involves estimating the number of child prostitutes in the United States, which according to *How Many Juveniles Are Involved in Prostitution in the U.S.?* is based almost entirely on “guesstimates” such as the following:

The General Accounting Office (1982) found that the “general perception” estimates ranged from “tens of thousands to 2.4 million.” One set of estimates from 1982 seemed to trace back to the “gut hunches” of Robin Lloyd, the author of the 1976 book, *For Love or Money: Boy Prostitution in America*, who used a working figure of 300,000 male juvenile prostitutes. The President of the Odyssey Institute adopted this figure, then doubled it to cover female juvenile prostitutes, increasing the estimate to 600,000. Because the Odyssey Institute president believed that only half of juvenile prostitutes were known, the 600,000 figure was doubled; the estimate was doubled once more to 2.4 million because the president believed that the estimate did not include 16 and 17 year old prostitutes. These were all just hunches without scientific basis.

(How Many Juveniles Are Involved in Prostitution in the U.S.?, n.d.)

If policy makers, law enforcement, researchers, the media, and the general public are not receiving accurate statistics, misleading conclusions are formed. It becomes impossible to accurately assess the problem, and continuous citation of faulty statistics grants these numbers an air of validity, reliability – in effect, the numbers gain a life of their own, corrupting the data of the unsuspecting researcher. In essence, rather than promoting the agenda of child protection groups, research that lacks scientifically supported methodology serves to effectively tie the hands of those working to end child sexploitation. Unable to determine the accuracy of hypotheses, policy makers must then rely on conjecture and “guesstimates,” leading to the creation and maintenance of ineffective laws that might have been avoided had correct research been conducted.

Secondly, some of the available data are not dated. The report *Child Sex Tourism in Thailand* (n.d.) by ECPAT UK says that child prostitution declined in Thailand “over the last three years”, but without a date to indicate when the report was released, it is

impossible to know which three years were implied in the results. A similar case involved the *Fact Sheet about Child Sex Tourism* (n.d.) by ECPAT-USA, which indicated that two million children are exploited worldwide, but did not provide a date for when they considered this data to be applicable.

Third, due to a lack of concrete definitions of the ‘child’ and of the various exploitation categories (in particular ‘sexual abuse’), many studies may have skewed or not entirely inclusive data. For example, some studies provide estimates of the number of women prostitutes in Thailand (Muecke, 1992, p. 892; Phongpaichit, 1998, p. 197-201;), but reviewing these studies and various newspaper articles on Thai law has indicated that fifteen-year-old girls are generally considered ‘women’, and no definition of ‘woman’ is provided in the research (Bishop and Robinson, 1998, p. 7; Phongpaichit, 1998; Kara, 2009). Related to this is the problem in many child abuse surveys, which frequently only involve children between certain age groups. For example, the National Crime Victimization Survey applies to children ages 12-17, and the Online Victimization Surveys of 2000 and 2005 were administered to children ages 10-17 (“Crime and Victims Statistics”, 2008; Wolak et al., 2001; Wolak et al., 2006).

Fourth, media hype and overzealous attempts to generate support to fight child exploitation may have led to corrupted data. This may have led to the decline in providing replicable methodology. The creation of these “guesstimates” has led to the media repeating non-replicable numbers to the uninformed public, and has resulted in other researchers citing these unscientific statistics over the past several decades (*How Many Juveniles Are Involved in Prostitution in the U.S.?*, n.d.). As a result, research is bogged down by unreliable data and information which cannot be replicated. This has led to the hysterically repeated mantra of “children as young as” three, four, five, six, or seven; “have sex with as many as” ten, twenty, forty; and claims of the child sexual abuse “epidemic” used to try to generate public outrage (Jacobs, n.d.; Walker, 2002, p. 183; Baker, 2004; *Brief Analysis and Business Model*, n.d.; Russell and Bolen, 2000; Back and Lips, 1998; *Debt Bondage*, 2005-2009). On average, commercially exploited children are around the age of fourteen, particularly if they are involved in prostitution (Donkor, 2007; Schetky and Green, 1988, p. 159). It is children who are sexually abused (not for money) that are generally under age 12 (Estes and Weiner, 2001, p. 15). Although it is true that extremely young children have been brutally raped (*Debt Bondage*, 2005-2009; Baker, 2004; Jacobs, n.d.; *Brief Analysis and Business Model*, n.d.), they are not the majority, and their abuse can be perpetrated by anywhere from having sex with one man in a year to forty in one night, depending on each child’s particular situation. Most importantly, while there may or may not be child exploitation of “epidemic” proportions, it does not need to be proclaimed “epidemic” to generate support. Child sexual abuse is a horrific crime, but it is still “unnecessary and unethical” to attempt to generate fear in order to generate support for a cause (Montgomery, 2001, p. 33-39). This is not intended to attack the integrity of every study concluding or citing child exploitation as “epidemic,” but is intended as a warning to those studies that lack sufficient methodology to support their findings.

Fifth, many countries have only recently recognized child exploitation as a social problem, such as Japan, which is still debating the potential severity of child sexual abuse in their country. A related issue to this is the tendency to undercount teenage victims of prostitution, sex trafficking, sex tourism, and online sexual solicitation because of the

belief that these victims were the perpetrators of the crime or were otherwise “asking for it” to happen.

Sixth, data are difficult to find. For example, when searching for statistics on estimated numbers of child prostitutes, much research on estimating child prostitutes provided no numerical estimates at all (reliable or otherwise), and instead I found a list of estimated child prostitutes in a study on the global health burden of child prostitution (Willis and Levy, 2002).

Seventh, there may be no real way to obtain solid numbers needed for much of the data set. It is impossible to find every abused child, and even those found may not be willing to admit to their abuse. Even fewer are likely to be willing to tell a stranger what happened to them, particularly if that stranger is likely to report the crime (and thus make life more difficult), and if the abuse was committed by a relative or friend.

Reporting rates also depend heavily on who victims believe is conducting the survey or interview. In particular, fewer incidences of child sexploitation are reported in the Uniform Crime Reports (police reported data) than in the National Crime Victimization Survey (volunteered data). This is generally due to the fact that sex crimes are severely underreported to the authorities. Volunteer surveys allow anonymity for victims who are unwilling to press charges or who fear retaliation or embarrassment should they admit to their abuse to the government (Weisel, 1999).

Due to the hidden nature of crime in general, and sex crimes in particular, it is difficult to discover if that nice restaurant in Bangkok had a child purchasable by the hour, or if this or that massage parlor was actually a legitimate business (Burgess and Clark, 1984, p. 1). In addition, studies of this magnitude (national-level research, and international cooperation for sex trafficking and sex tourism research) would require significant amounts of money, manpower, and time. Increased research and policies also face difficult civil rights questions – Japan, for example, is reluctant to legislate against downloading child pornography off the Internet for fear it conflicts with citizens’ right of expression (Johnston, 2009). However, many of the current research issues can be addressed in future research attempts.

Policy Implications

Solution 1: The lack of clear methodology can be corrected simply by including a methodology. Even if the study is tentative and based on ‘guesstimates’, researchers can still provide explanations for the rationale behind each guess.

Solution 2: Always include the date that the research was conducted and published, either in a forward, on the title page, on the copyright page, or at the head of every page in order to avoid confusion such as that seen in the *Child Sex Tourism in Thailand* (n.d.) study noted earlier.

Solution 3: At minimum, each nation should have a specific definition for “child”, “sexual abuse”, “sexual assault”, “child prostitution”, “child sex trafficking”, and all other categories of child sexploitation. Research conducted in that country should be legally required to either use the national definition (and indicate this in their methodology) or if researchers choose to use a different definition they must indicate it specifically in their methodology, as well as providing the legal definition. All studies involving “men,” “women,” “young adults,” and “adults” should also define these terms,

and surveys of all categories should specify the age group that responded so that the reader can determine what proportion of the population was actually involved in the study.

Solution 4: Researchers should not exaggerate results, even if they think it necessary to garner public interest. Exaggerated results are, statistically speaking, useless results. To examine how this problem evolves over time, researchers need to have numbers and attitudes as close as possible to reality. Skewing the data is tying the hands of people who want to help end child sexploitation.

Solution 5: Countries that have recognized child sexploitation as a serious issue should encourage other countries to acknowledge it as well. Instead of restricting research findings to colleagues, sexploitation research should be prominently displayed for other countries to see, so that myths of children tempting adults to sexually abuse them can be swiftly exorcised.

Solution 6: There is very little that can be done about the problems inherent in all research – and particularly in criminal justice-related research – save for researchers to do the best they can, for research to be replicated in new studies, and for a continuous open debate concerning all research results. As for civil rights issues, countries will need to determine for themselves which is more important – the right to download child pornography, or the right of the child to not be a pornography model.

All of these research issues need to be addressed, but initiatives must also be made at the grassroots, national, and international levels to improve understanding, reporting, and information sharing. For example, at the local level the general public needs to be more informed, local police need to be educated and kept up-to-date on research and policy advances, and definitions and crime severity should be made clear, and mistaken notions of the child ‘criminal’ prostitute disabused.

At the national level, countries need 1) universal definitions on ‘child’ and the various aspects of sexploitation, 2) large yearly surveys of a nationally representative random sample of children, 3) annual child sexual abuse and sexual assault reports in conjunction with providing annual statistics on how many people were arrested for each sexploitation crime, how many victims were determined for each crime by category, victims’ citizenship status (to determine if some might be trafficked), perpetrators’ citizenship status (to determine if some might be sex tourists), and the amount of pornography seized (or in the case of countries like Japan, observed entering and leaving the country) and pornography victims identified. These annual reports in particular should be a singular national report with all the data in one easy to find location. Local-level efforts to dispel incorrect beliefs about child sexploitation and all future sexploitation research rely on this data being available to everyone. These reports should be as prominent and reliable as the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS).

At the international level, there should be an organization, possibly a new subsidiary of the United Nations, or even maintained by UNICEF, that operates (at the very least) a website containing multiple translations of all available research on child sexploitation. These translations should be stored in a searchable database. A international databank of sexploitation research is necessary to fully analyzing the problem and creating a true data set. Once enough information is obtained, this data set can be translated into graphs, allowing the problem to be tracked nation-by-nation and internationally, eventually globally. Graphed data will also mean that instead of mere

hypotheses and logic, researchers can obtain a solid statistical view as to what structural factors either impact or are impacted by child sexploitation. This would be an invaluable resource to policy makers and law enforcement, because then there would be fuller understanding of what social problems must be addressed to eventually eliminate child sexploitation.

One of the main reasons cited for the 9/11 disaster in the United States was lack of communication between agencies. Child sexploitation will persist in part because research is scattered, difficult to obtain, inadequately categorized, and has non-replicable methodology. A topic as complex as child sexploitation requires not only law enforcement cooperation, but cooperation between researchers – to share both data and methodology in a comprehensive manner.

Plans for Future Research:

Time constraints and the lack of an acceptable numerical data set resulted in a reduced data set on sexploitation of children. In the future, I would like to examine more countries (such as India, Germany, and Australia) and all categories of child sexploitation. In the meantime, I expect that research can begin to create an adequate data set that can be utilized in future papers.

Specifically, I would like to conduct a larger study with a two-part methodology: first through a qualitative content analysis to collect the child sexploitation numerical data set, and second through a quantitative data analysis.

Several hypotheses can be postulated from prior research. A visual depiction of these hypotheses can be seen in Appendix A, but the hypotheses themselves are as follows.

Hypothesis 1: Countries with 1) higher Infant Mortality Rates and 2) more boy than girl infants indicate 1) lack of child support (nutrition, medicine, etc.) by the government, 2) poverty leading to lack of nutrition, disease, and increased danger (*Report of the Field Visit to Kenya by Members of the Bureau of the Executive Board*, 2009, p. 3), and 3) patriarchal society valuing boys over girls, in which girl children in particular are likely to be seen as a financial burden (Kara, 2009, p. 8, 31, 76, 125, & 172-173). Thus, I hypothesize that countries with higher IMR will have higher child sexploitation rates: poverty means increased stress, parents out of work, and parents escaping their troubles through alcohol/drugs, and thus parents will be more likely to abuse their children (Joubert, P., 2007, paragraphs 22-24). Increased likelihood of abuse means increased likelihood of sexual abuse. Poverty also means there may be a need for the children to work and support their families financially. Parents are more likely to send their children to find work in cities, sell their children outright, or to agree to send them with an ‘agent’ promising a good-paying job. This makes them vulnerable to exploitation, kidnapping, and trafficking, and thus vulnerable to being sexually exploited through prostitution and sex trafficking. If they are prostituted, children are also more likely to be used in child pornography and be subject to sex tourism. Since IMR may indicate a lack of government support, it can logically follow that law enforcement may 1) be corrupt or 2) be understaffed or lack training and thus unable to quell higher rates of child sexploitation. If the society is patriarchal, valuing boys over girls, parents may either willingly send their daughters into situations where they are more likely to be prostituted

in exchange for her paycheck or a single lump sum, may sell their daughters outright, or may (upon discovering the ‘job’ was actually prostitution) instruct the girls to continue working so that they can continue to receive a portion of their daughters’ paychecks. Finally, countries in which the practice of paying dowries upon a daughter’s marriage is still in practice may result in parents selling their daughters simply to avoid having to pay a dowry they cannot afford (Kara, 2009, p. 8, 30-32, 52, 60-64, 66, 71, 76, 173-174, 181-182, & 184).

Hypothesis 2: Following the same logic for Infant Mortality Rates, I hypothesize that countries with higher Under-5 Mortality Rates will have higher rates of child sexploitation.

Hypothesis 3: I expect that higher rates of people living with HIV/AIDS will result in greater rates of prostitution in general. Greater rates of prostitution indicate greater rates of child prostitution, and therefore of child pornography and child sex tourism. Higher rates of HIV/AIDS may also indicate not only increased rates in children born with HIV, but reflect increased sexual abuse of children by infected adults. Also, higher rates of HIV/AIDS among prostitutes generates more demand for younger prostitutes in the belief that the younger the prostitute, the less likely the prostitute has had the chance to contract HIV/AIDS, therefore less risk to the customer. In this way, HIV/AIDS generates greater demand for child prostitution. Countries with increasing HIV/AIDS rates will have increased child sexploitation (Kara, 2009, p. 49-50).

Hypothesis 4: Poverty-stricken countries are frequently those with dramatic increases in population. A rapidly increasing population means the largest proportion of the population will be children, which means more mouths to feed and fewer workers to support them. Impoverished countries with too many children may lead to children having to work (and thus being more vulnerable to exploitation and trafficking) or parents being forced to sell their children or make their children find work – making them vulnerable to exploitation (Kara, 2009, p. 8, 62-64, 66, 108-110, 113-117, 164, 168-172, & 191; Harris and Robinson, 2007, p. 6). Chronic poverty and stress may lead more parents to sexually abuse their children (Joubert, P., 2007, paragraphs 22-24). Finally, increased populations may mean more girl children having children of their own as a result of being sexually exploited (through prostitution, rape, sexual abuse, or child marriage) (Lim, 1998, p. 131;), so I hypothesize that country population booms will be accompanied by increased rates of child sexploitation.

Hypothesis 5: Countries with low Gross Domestic Products (GDP) are more likely to have impoverished, stressed populations vulnerable to exploitation, trafficking, and domestic violence. Thus, I anticipate that countries with chronically low GDPs will have higher child sexploitation rates (Kara, 2009, 108-110, 113-117, 164, 168-172, & 191; Harris and Robinson, 2007, p. 6). In contrast, countries with higher GDPs may mean more people with computers, and thus more Internet access. It can thus be hypothesized that countries with high GDPs will have higher rates of online child sexual solicitation.

Hypothesis 6: Countries with low life expectancies are likely countries that have poor standards of living, poverty (increasing malnutrition, medical problems, and economic desperation), exploitation (leading to early death through overwork), and stressed populations (Feinstein, 1993, p. 279; Harris and Robinson, 2007, p. 6). Earlier adult death may mean that there are more orphans, who are particularly vulnerable to exploitation and abuse (*Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000*:

Trafficking in Persons Report, 2005, p. 17; Kara, 2009, p. 113-117). All of these factors foster the hypothesis that countries with low life expectancy will have higher rates of child sexploitation (prostitution, sexual abuse, sex tourism, pornography, and sex trafficking).

Hypothesis 7: High fertility rates indicate rapidly growing populations, which can lead to too many children for parents to afford. This puts parents at risk for sending their children to find work, or contracting with an ‘agent’ to take their children to a job elsewhere. Both situations increase the odds that children will be sexually exploited (Kara, 2009, p. 8, 62-64, & 66). In addition, mothers with multiple children but no male partner may not have enough income. If they gain a male partner who can provide them with the means to survive, the mother – and therefore the child – may find it necessary to stay in his household even if he sexually abuses the child (Joubert, 2007). I hypothesize that countries with high fertility rates will also have high child sexploitation rates.

Hypothesis 8: Countries with low school life expectancy may be countries riddled with poverty and illness. Children may not be able to attend school either because they cannot afford school, they cannot afford school materials, or they need to work to provide money so their families can eat, or so that younger siblings may attend school instead (Ranjan, 1999). Children who must work are more vulnerable to being trafficked and exploited, so I hypothesize that countries with low school life expectancy will have higher rates of child sexploitation. In addition, if the country has higher school life expectancies for boys than girls, it means that girls do not get an equal education, either because they become pregnant at an early age (and have already been sexually exploited), because the culture does not believe girls need an education, or because if the school costs money and boys are considered more valuable than girls, the boys get priority. The only value girls may have to their families in a patriarchal society is their ability to earn money (Kara, 2009, p. 8, 164, 175-176). Therefore, I expect that countries with higher school life expectancies for boys than girls can expect higher rates of sexploitation of girl children.

Hypothesis 9: Poor countries generally mean a lower profit from agriculture. This results in rural farmers moving to large cities in search of work. If work is not available, economic desperation may drive parents to sell their children, send their children to find work, or agree to let another adult take their children to a ‘job.’ Though some jobs are valid, children risk being trafficked or exploited into virtual (or real) slavery, and increase their risk of being sexually exploited. Since, theoretically, increased urbanization may be an indication of increased economic desperation; I hypothesize that highly urbanized populations will also have high rates of child sexploitation (Kara, 2009, p. 8, 62-64, & 66; de Janvry and Sadoulet, 2000).

Hypothesis 10: Countries with: 1) police human-trafficking units, and 2) good funding for these units, are likely to be more invested in the success of preventing human trafficking. Therefore, they are likely to be more aggressive when investigating, prosecuting, and convicting (Kara, 2009, p. 80, 167, & 183-184). I expect that countries with good funding for human trafficking police units will have lower rates of child sex trafficking.

Hypothesis 11: I hypothesize that the number of Internet users will be directly proportional to the number of children sexually solicited online.

Hypothesis 12: Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) are extremely vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. Refugees are impoverished and lack stability. Children in particular are vulnerable if they are separated from their families or are orphaned. They may be kidnapped or persuaded to leave with a sex trafficker. They may be forced into prostitution. Since refugee camps are filled with poverty-stricken people in stressful conditions, sexual abuse and rape are also more likely (Kara, 2009, 169-172; *Sierra Leone*, n.d., <http://www.dol.gov/ILAB/media/reports/iclp/tda2001/sierra-leone.htm>; Harris and Robinson, 2007, p. 6). For these reasons, I hypothesize that high numbers of refugees will mean higher rates of child sex exploitation in prostitution, sex trafficking, pornography, sexual abuse, and sex tourism.

Hypothesis 13: Governments that devote a higher percentage of their GDP (purchasing power parity) to preventing human trafficking are, theoretically, more invested in seeing human trafficking cease. This means more investigations, a more informed public (and thus ‘good Samaritans’ helping trafficking victims), more prosecutions, and more convictions (Kara, 2009, p. 196). Therefore, I expect that countries with a greater percentage of anti-human trafficking expenditures will have lower child sex trafficking rates, and possibly lower child prostitution, child sex tourism, and child pornography rates.

Hypothesis 14: When countries are engaged in war or civil conflict, some portion of the population may be displaced, abducted by the enemy, or killed. More refugees will mean higher sex exploitation rates (Kara, 2009, p. 169-172). Abduction of children by the enemy increases children’s likelihood of being prostituted to the enemy or raped while doing forced labor, or being sold either within the country or into another nation. Being sold increases the likelihood of prostitution (and thus pornography and sex tourism), sexual abuse by an owner, and sex trafficking (*2002 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: Sierra Leone*, 2002, <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2002/18225.htm>). The death inherent in war means children may be orphaned, making them more vulnerable to sexual abuse by relatives, being sold or otherwise exploited by relatives (such as in the Haitian “restavec” system), being trafficked by a stranger, or tricked into working in a brothel (Sage and Kasten, 2006, p. 12; Bales, n.d., p. 107). Also, militaries generate high demand for prostitutes, which leads to more sexual exploitation and rape (Kara, 2009, p. 23). I hypothesize that war and civil conflict will lead to increased child sex exploitation rates.

Hypothesis 15: I hypothesize that countries with laws prohibiting child sex exploitation coded (see content analysis coding procedure in Appendix C) at three or below will have higher sex exploitation rates because it is likely that countries with weak laws will have weak enforcement. Weak laws and weak enforcement will translate to greater crime, and a larger number of illicit but not nationally illegal activities – for example, if it is not illegal in that country to have sex with a child (Kara, 2009, p. 78-79, 103-104, & 195).

Hypothesis 16: I hypothesize that countries coded with a four or below in Women’s Status/Rights (see content analysis coding procedure in Appendix C) will have higher sex exploitation rates, because if women are considered to have little to no value, children may be even less valued – especially girl children. The most value these children may have is in how much money they can provide their parents, leading them to be more vulnerable to sexual exploitation. In addition, violence against women and girls

may drive them to flee the country in any way they can, even if it means risking being trafficked into slavery or prostitution (Kara, 2009, p. 8, 31, 125 76-77, 124-125, & 164).

These hypotheses would be tested through quantitative data analysis of both numerical data and a content analysis coding procedure (see Appendix C). The quantitative analysis would involve an Ordinary Least Squares Regression procedure ($y = a + bx$) by comparing Independent Variable structural factors to the Dependent child exploitation data set. The structural factors, charted over the same time period as the data sets and selected according to the research-supported hypotheses indicated above, are defined in Appendix B.

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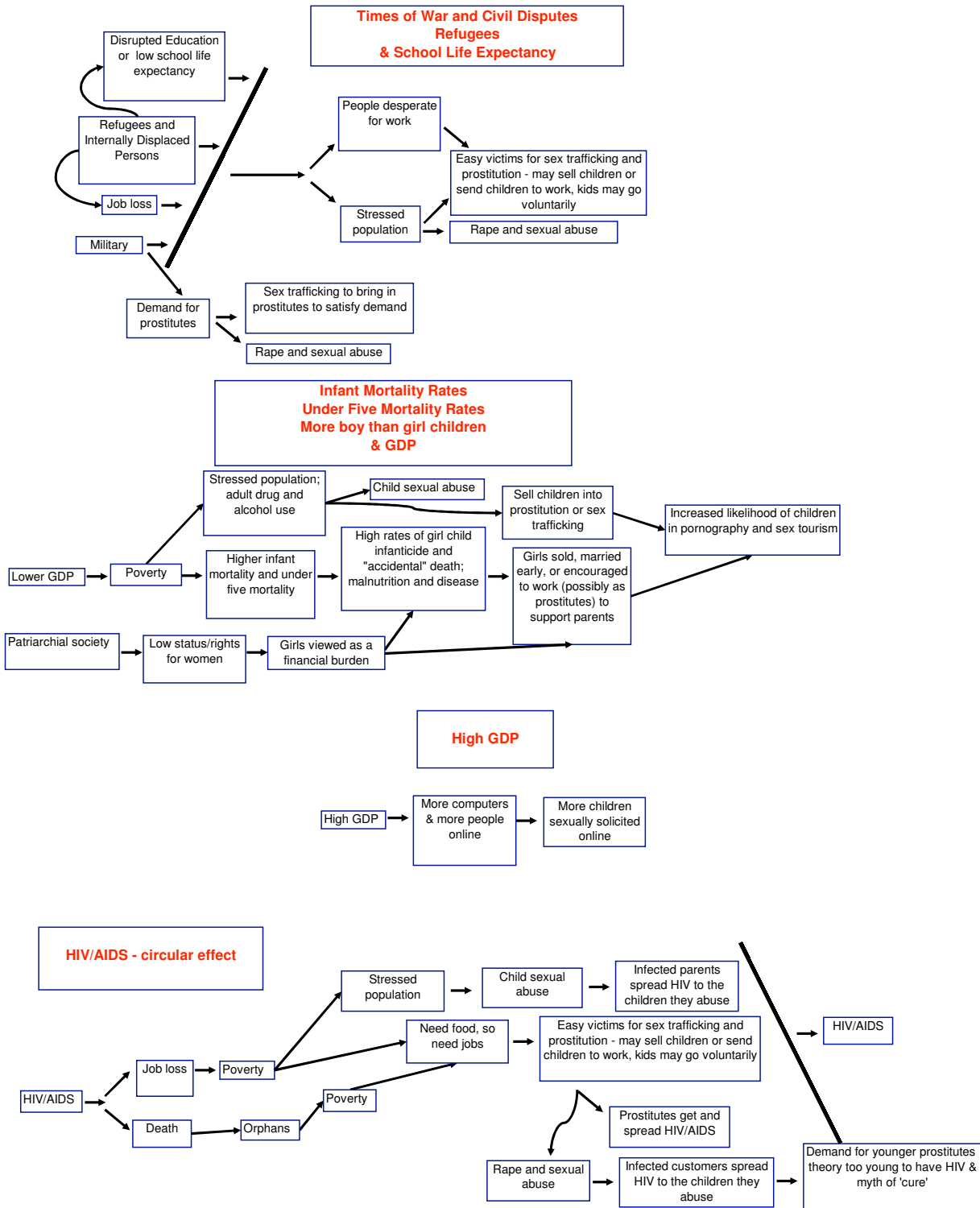
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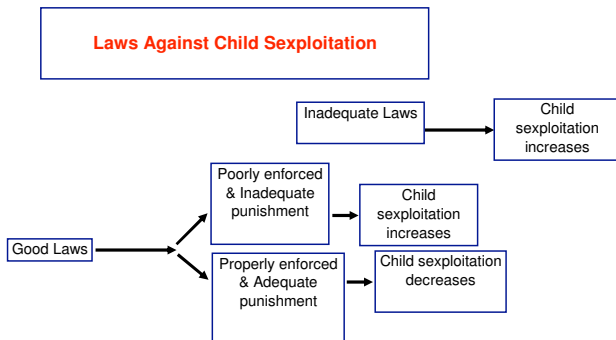
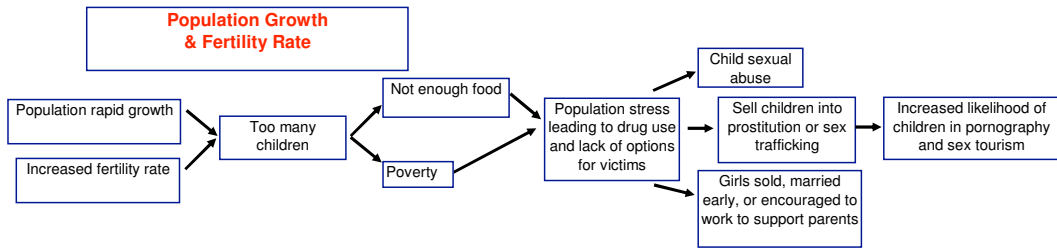
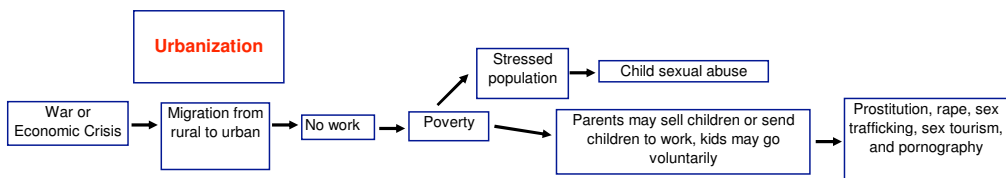
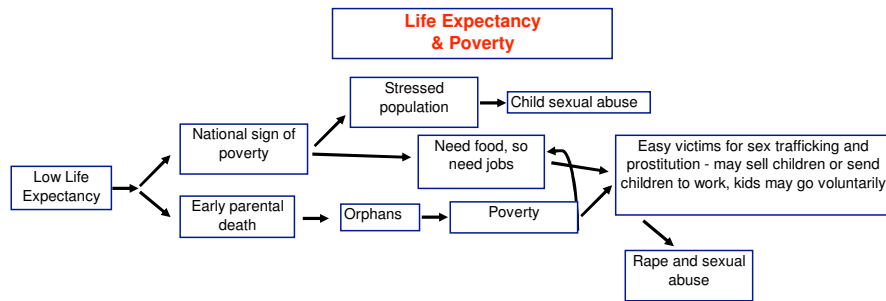
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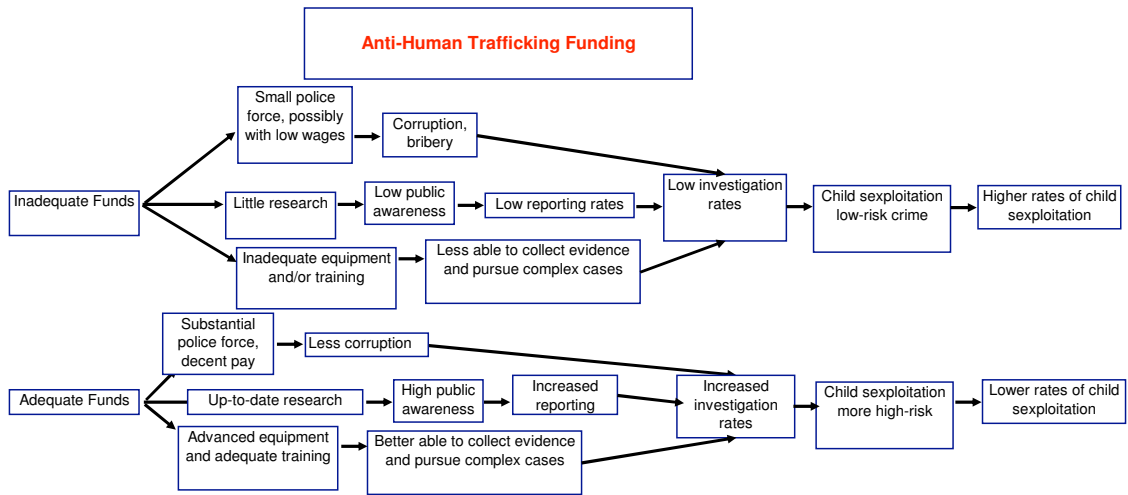
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Appendix A







Appendix B Definitions of Hypothesis Terms

- 1) Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) and IMR separated by boys and girls: “This entry gives the number of deaths of infants under one year old in a given year per 1,000 live births in the same year; included is the total death rate, and deaths by sex, *male* and *female*. This rate is often used as an indicator of the level of health in a country” (“Infant mortality rate”, 2009, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/docs/notesanddefs.html?countryName=United States&countryCode=US®ionCode=na#1>).
- 2) Under-5 Mortality Rate (U5MR) and U5MR separated by boys and girls: “Probability of dying between birth and exactly five years of age expressed per 1,000 live births” (“Under-5 Mortality Rate”, 2009, http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/stats_popup1.html).
- 3) Number of People Living with HIV/AIDS: “This entry gives an estimate of all people (adults and children) alive at yearend with HIV infection, whether or not they have developed symptoms of AIDS” (“HIV/AIDS – people living with HIV/AIDS”, 2009).
- 4) Population: “This entry gives an estimate from the US Bureau of the Census based on statistics from population censuses, vital statistics registration systems, or sample surveys pertaining to the recent past and on assumptions about future trends. The total population presents one overall measure of the potential impact of the country on the world and within its region. Note: Starting with the 1993 *Factbook*, demographic estimates for some countries (mostly African) have explicitly taken into account the effects of the growing impact of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. These countries are currently: The Bahamas, Benin, Botswana, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Republic of the Congo, Cote d’Ivoire, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Thailand, Togo, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe” (“Population”, 2009).
- 5) Gross Domestic Product (GDP purchasing power parity): “This entry gives the gross domestic product (GDP) or value of all final goods and services produced within a nation in a given year. A nation’s GDP at purchasing power parity (PPP) exchange rates is the sum value of all goods and services produced in the country valued at prices prevailing in the United States. This is the measure most economists prefer when looking at per-capita welfare and when comparing living conditions or use of resources across countries. The measure is difficult to compute, as a US dollar value has to be assigned to all goods and services in the country regardless of whether these goods and services have a direct equivalent in the United States (for example, the value of an ox-cart or non-US military equipment); as a result, PPP estimates for some countries are based on a small and sometimes different set of goods and services. In addition, many countries do not formally participate in the World Bank’s PPP project that calculates these measures, so the resulting GDP estimates for these countries may lack precision. For many developing countries, PPP-based GDP measures are multiples of the official exchange rate (OER) measure. The differences between the OER- and PPP-

denominated GDP values for most of the wealthy industrialized countries are generally much smaller” (“GDP (purchasing power parity)”, 2009).

- 6) Life Expectancy at Birth: “This entry contains the average number of years to be lived by a group of people born in the same year, if mortality at each age remains constant in the future. The entry includes *total population* as well as the *male* and *female* components. Life expectancy at birth is also a measure of overall quality of life in a country and summarizes the mortality at all ages. It can also be thought of as indicating the potential return on investment in human capital and is necessary for the calculation of various actuarial measures” (“Life expectancy at birth”, 2009).
- 7) Total Fertility Rate: This entry gives a figure for the average number of children that would be born per woman if all women lived to the end of their childbearing years and bore children according to a given fertility rate at each age. The total fertility rate (TFR) is a more direct measure of the level of fertility than the crude birth rate, since it refers to births per woman. This indicator shows the potential for population change in the country. A rate of two children per woman is considered the replacement rate for a population, resulting in relative stability in terms of total numbers. Rates above two children indicate populations growing in size and whose median age is declining. Higher rates may also indicate difficulties for families, in some situations, to feed and educate their children and for women to enter the labor force. Rates below two children indicate populations decreasing in size and growing older. Global fertility rates are in general decline and this trend is most pronounced in industrialized countries, especially Western Europe, where populations are projected to decline dramatically over the next 50 years” (“Total fertility rate”, 2009).
- 8) School Life Expectancy (primary to tertiary education), and School Life Expectancy by boys and girls: “School life expectancy (SLE) is the total number of years of schooling (primary to tertiary) that a child can expect to receive, assuming that the probability of his or her being enrolled in school at any particular future age is equal to the current enrollment ratio at that age. Caution must be maintained when utilizing this indicator in international comparisons. For example, a year or grade completed in one country is not necessarily the same in terms of educational content or quality as a year or grade completed in another country. SLE represents the expected number of years of schooling that will be completed, including years spent repeating one or more grades” (“School life expectancy (primary to tertiary education)”, 2009).
- 9) Urbanization: “This entry provides two measures of the degree of urbanization of a population. The first, *urban population*, describes the percentage of the total population living in urban areas, as defined by the country. The second, *rate of urbanization*, describes the projected average rate of change of the size of the urban population over the given period of time. Additionally, the World entry includes a list of the *ten largest urban agglomerations*. An *urban agglomeration* is defined as comprising the city or town proper and also the suburban fringe or thickly settled territory lying outside of, but adjacent to, the boundaries of the city” (“Urbanization”, 2009).
- 10) Police Anti-Human Trafficking Unit Funding: The amount of money expended per year by any given country’s police anti-human trafficking unit or equivalent organization.
- 11) Number of Internet Users: “This entry gives the number of users within a country that access the Internet. Statistics vary from country to country and may include users

who access the Internet at least several times a week to those who access it only once within a period of several months” (“Internet users”, 2009).

- 12) Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons: “This entry includes those persons residing in a country as *refugees* or internally displaced persons (*IDPs*). The definition of a refugee according to a United Nations Convention is "a person who is outside his/her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his/her race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution." The UN established the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in 1950 to handle refugee matters worldwide. The UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) has a different operational definition for a Palestinian refugee: "a person whose normal place of residence was Palestine during the period 1 June 1946 to 15 May 1948 and who lost both home and means of livelihood as a result of the 1948 conflict." However, UNHCR also assists some 400,000 Palestinian refugees not covered under the UNRWA definition. The term "internally displaced person" is not specifically covered in the UN Convention; it is used to describe people who have fled their homes for reasons similar to refugees, but who remain within their own national territory and are subject to the laws of that state” (“Refugees and internally displaced persons”, 2009).
- 13) Anti-Human Trafficking Government Expenditures – Percent GDP: The percentage of the annual GDP reserved for anti-human trafficking measures, policy, enforcement, and prevention.

Appendix C Structural Factor Coding

Some structural factors, collected through content analysis, are coded in order to be graphed quantitatively:

- 1) War/Civil Conflict – coded 1) yes and 2) no for every year examined.
- 2) Laws prohibiting each child sexploitation category – coded from zero to five:
 - a. Lack of any real laws or punishments
 - b. Poor quality of laws or punishments
 - c. “Good” laws and punishments, but poorly enforced because the government has no real interest in enforcing them
 - d. “Good” laws and punishments, but poorly enforced. However, poor implementation may be out of the government’s control (lack of funding, etc.)
 - e. “Good” laws and punishments; significant government efforts to enforce
 - f. “Good” laws and punishments; well-implemented and enforced by the government
- 3) Women’s Rights/Status – coded from zero to six:
 - a. No rights; treated like chattel/objects subordinate to men in all things; women’s earnings in comparison to men is less than a 3 to 10 ratio.
 - b. Few rights; treated like chattel/objects, literacy rate is 1/3 that of men; women’s earnings in comparison to men is less than a 3 to 10 ratio.
 - c. Few rights; inferior to men; lower literacy rate than men; women’s earnings in comparison to men is at least a 3 to 10 ratio.
 - d. Some rights but generally considered inferior to men; literacy rate is nearly equivalent to men; women’s earnings in comparison to men is at least a 3 to 10 ratio.
 - e. Some rights, may be considered inferior to men; literacy rate is nearly equivalent to men; women’s earnings in comparison to men is at least a 4 to 10 ratio.
 - f. Full legal rights, may be treated inferior to men in practice, literacy rate is nearly equivalent to men; women’s earnings in comparison to men is at least a 4.9 to 10 ratio.
 - g. Full legal rights and complete or near-complete equality in practice (not just in law); literacy rate is equivalent to men; women’s earnings in comparison to men is at least a 5.1 to 10 ratio

Each country’s code ranking would be accompanied by supporting rationale for its categorization. For example, the United States is currently a code 5 or 6 in the Women’s Rights/Status category because although gender disparities and domestic violence still exist, women experience near-equality in work, are generally accepted as equal to men, and the vast majority of American women are literate.