

The Client goes unnoticed

This investigation grew out of Save the Children Sweden's desire to understand the problem of child sexual exploitation from the standpoint of the client's responsibility in the commercial sex market.

The objective of the investigation was to identify the mechanisms that motivate adults to have sex with children and adolescents, without trying to pigeonhole them or find just one single explanation for their behaviour. This journalistic study was done in Peru, specifically in six cities of the country's coastal, highland and jungle regions to meet the clients of this trade in their natural surroundings and, using a series of journalistic strategies, interpret their sexual conduct.

Save the Children Sweden's goal for this investigation is to make the client publicly visible as the person primarily responsible for the increase in the supply of children and adolescents for commercial sex, as well as to encourage the media to reflect on the problem with a clear understanding of how the rights of children and adolescents are violated.

The Client goes unnoticed

Save the Children Sweden

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The Client

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The Client, the Greatest Sexual Exploiter of Children

Journalistic Investigation

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Prologue

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The marvellous thing about investigative journalism is that it allows us to discover and explain the social phenomenon we are studying as we go along in order to ensure that our reading and analysis is presented in a responsible fashion.

To do so raises several challenges. The aim is to become as involved as possible, without losing sight of the nature of the study and to maintain anonymity in order to freely observe, ask and investigate without passing any value judgments as we search for an interpretation from several perspectives as it is precisely these that will allow us to clarify the general panorama and provide a new vision.

It was in this vein that we took on the challenge of approaching clients who frequent the adolescent sex trade in Peru. Our objective was to find out what goes on in the minds and hearts of human beings capable of violating the rights of other human beings who are the victims of commercial sexual exploitation.

However, just as it is difficult to identify the needle in the haystack, it is also a journalistic challenge to try and understand and explain a behaviour that lies within some Peruvian men, in particular when, in the majority of registered cases, he himself is not aware that he has such a behaviour as a tendency regarding commercial sex with adolescents. We tried to explain a reality that jumped out at us and which represented similar characteristics regarding the sex trade consumer, the client, in the Peruvian coast, highland and jungle. They were no specific cases but rather regular behaviour regarding sex with

adolescents that differed in the way that sex was consumed but not in the type of client. Our field work demonstrated this on a daily basis.

Given the journalistic characteristics of the field work carried out in six cities in the country that involved observing and monitoring clients in different places where there is a sex trade, we were able to glean an understanding about the way sex in general is viewed and the perspective Peruvian men have regarding sex with adolescents.

For this reason we cannot categorize the client based on a "personality type" with specific psychological, physical, psychic features. To the contrary we found men from different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, whose only objective was to have sex. The faces of these clients as well as the jobs they held demonstrated, to the amazement of the entire investigative journalism team, that they could be our fathers, brothers, husbands, boyfriends, uncles, cousins, grandparents and friends. The first observation in the field was the client could be anyone regardless of their socioeconomic condition and level of education.

This made further investigation necessary. For this we held in-depth interviews with clients identified through our follow-up as consumers of commercial sex with adolescents. While this was a particular group, our field experience showed that a broader universe was interested in having sex with adolescents that was not simply reduced to a group of men who frequented these sexual circuits in Lima and the provinces on a regular basis.

These interviews allowed us to approach the particular thinking of clients who carried out this type of sexual activity in a periodic fashion. First we spoke with them informally and later formally, with the consent of each client, we began to investigate their sexual habits and the reason they sought sex

with adolescents. This valuable material served to establish sex consumption tendencies with adolescents and gave rise to the idea of attracting clients in a more open, less controlled fashion.

The in-depth evaluation of these interviews gave rise to the idea of creating a fictitious sex trade magazine as an exploratory space that would make it possible to attract a broader universe of men, a proposal that would make it possible to attract clients who sought sex and hid an interest in having sex with adolescents, which had never before been revealed.

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Thanks to this strategy we found three defined groups: men who fantasized about having sex with adolescents, men who had at least one experience having sex with adolescents and men who practiced it constantly. The first were "potential clients," the second were "occasional opportunist clients" and the third were "systemic clients."

Logically this strategy which involved publishing an employment advertisement in a national newspaper also attracted men who did not fall into any of these categories, whose only interest was to form part of a new business project and above all to obtain or change jobs. These were swiftly identified in the first pre-interview and they were immediately disqualified as we knew that their need for work could affect the trustworthiness of their responses. Moreover, in the majority of cases their position regarding the sex trade was to sanction and question. They were excluded from the sample and therefore their good will was not compromised.

Certainly, the concept of "working" in Latin America is very different than the concept that is understood in the rest of the world. Latin men seek to obtain a job that represents both a personal and monetary gratification and generally look for balance between both requirements. In Third World countries like ours men are capable of falsifying their data and interests

in order to obtain “work” but in this case, detecting false information as well as lack of experience in sexual issues was an easy task.

In this particular case, men who sought a job and passed each stage of the evaluation were able to do so because they identified with the philosophy of the company. They were not only interested in working for money but in doing so in a space they found interesting. The idea of working in a pornographic magazine that profiled like the new “Peruvian Play Boy” generated, according to the men themselves, status and enthusiasm in their close circles. Moreover, these men felt they could contribute to the success of such a publication from their own sexual experience and contributed ideas so that the new sex product would be accepted in the Peruvian market.

It would be prejudicial on our part to affirm that this work gave them “pleasure” but, according to their responses and attitudes, it was extremely personally gratifying. It allowed them to “boast” with other men in their close circles about their efforts in this new project and this was true for those applying for management positions to those applying for the simplest jobs. This enthusiasm was not only because the job offered them the possibility of earning a higher salary than the average market wage but because it allowed them to learn more about the issue and to be spokesmen for the latest novelties about sex. In summary, this work within the sex industry did not cause them shame but rather earned them approval.

Throughout the months that we developed the journalistic ruse of creating a fictitious pornographic magazine that sought personnel to integrate it at all levels of professional formation, from managers to messengers, a universe of possibilities opened up regarding explanations for the behaviour of clients who consume commercial sex with adolescents.

We received 200 applicants of whom 130 were personally interviewed and finally we created 7 focus groups with 85 clients of the sex trade between the ages of 20 and 64, as these were the age range of the applicants that were selected. There were no minors under the age of 18.

The sample was applied to all socio-economic strata. As a result we were able to identify the consumer who is most difficult to visualize in the general panorama of field work: "the potential client" a man who is not aware that to have sex with a minor under the age of 18 is a violation of children's rights as these children and adolescents are not prepared to assume responsibility for their own bodies, even those whose physical characteristics, in some cases, are fully developed giving them the appearance of adults. It is a violation of their right to sexual indemnity as children and adolescents do not have the capacity to freely decide about their bodies. They are the victims of sexual exploitation in which their bodies are bought and sold. In this cycle, the main exploiter is the client who buys sex to satisfy their instincts while the "pimps" are economic exploiters who make a profit off children and adolescents under the age of 18.

Another two types of clients: the occasional opportunist client and the systemic client were also located within the focus group, helping to establish their tendencies and the way they consume sex with adolescents.

Certainly, there could be ethical questions about the camouflaged strategy used to obtain confidential information, but we believe that we would never have been able to reveal so closely what clients who seek sex with adolescents think and feel otherwise. Open interviews run the risk of obtaining overacted responses, subject to pressure on the part of interviewers. In such highly controlled circumstances it would be difficult for Peruvian men to reveal what they truly

think and feel, as there is always a margin of self-censorship. Moreover, this strategy played a vital role in identifying the "potential client", men who do not have clear awareness of what it means to have sex with adolescents and to have them reveal their fantasies and dreams in an open and truthful manner.

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This methodology together with the traditional methodology allowed us to obtain more spontaneous and profound responses, without any type of repression or censure. In the end it was a conversation among men about the way they consume sex, their fears, tastes, preferences, fantasies and taboos. Moreover, the fictitious magazine made it possible to talk about the "sex trade consumption" which is to say "guy talk" about sex in exchange for money. The journalistic investigation does not include any type of sexual relationship between a client and a minor under the age of 18 that is not commercial.

We recognized that the responses these men gave regarding the sex trade could be impelled by their desire to obtain work and certainly this could be an important variable to evaluate the truthfulness of their responses. While we do not deny this possibility, we were able to reduce this margin by incorporating a series of questions aimed at evaluating their previous responses in order to determine the truthfulness of their convictions and motivations to talk about sex.

As a result, we were able to identify if it was about the way they think or if they were trying to ingratiate with the interviewer. The design of the sequence and the structure of the questions was the result of interviews with psychologists, psychiatrists, gynaecologists and gynaeco-obstetricians who were able to help demystify the myths about the physiological function of the bodies of men, women, children and adolescents. This list of questions also helped identify whether the client had had

sex with adolescents even once or if it was just part of an intimate fantasy.

All of the results emerging from this study served as a foundation to continue observing how the sex trade operates involving adolescents in the interior of the country. While we found specific features among clients in each city there were common denominators, such as the way sex was consumed. Moreover, above all there was a lack of awareness on the part of the client that they were violating the rights of the adolescent as the vast majority of minors involved in sexual exploitation are between the age of 14 and 18 and accept payment for sex. The fact that it involves a commercial transaction allows clients to legitimise their actions in their own minds and convince themselves they are not violating any human rights.

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It would be irresponsible on our part to affirm that children and adolescents who are the victims of sexual trade can wash their hands of their families who induce them into this practice or their pimps who watch over them and protect them from delinquents in the zone so they can work freely, above all, in the case of domestic sexual exploitation that we find in the interior. It is essential that we understand within our very souls the lack of love and abuse that these human beings have suffered throughout their lives in order to understand the enormous need for affection and protecting they require, a need that forces them to remain in the clutches of a cycle that imprisons them and converts them into fragile human beings hiding behind an adult appearance, incapable of protesting when their only short term objective is to live and eat each day as if it were their last.

The domestic sexual exploitation we found in the city of Puerto Maldonado, hidden behind domestic service, is validated by the adults responsible for these minors, as it is considered

part of the service and in this case the price for sex is their monthly salary and the possibility of keeping the job.

In the case of sexual tourism, a type of commercial sexual exploitation that we found in the city of Iquitos, sex for tourists is explicitly offered in different forms that range from tourist packages over the internet to onsite contact.

We believe that it is important to differentiate that clients who seek commercial sex with adolescents are not paedophiles. A paedophile is someone whose fundamental characteristic is a sexual disorder considered a type of paraphilia aimed at abusing children no older than 8 in order to integrate them in a network of sexual exploitation or to elaborate pornographic material for private or internet distribution. The client of the sex trade with adolescents does not present these features; rather it could be any man according to our results.

Finally we believe that the true value of our journalistic investigation is that thanks to our Campaign that began with this publication sponsored by Save the Children Sweden, and with the help of diverse local institutions and marches on the part of children and adolescents, today there is a law that sanctions the client of the sex trade with adolescents. This is a new law within our Peruvian Penal Code that sanctions these clients with 4 to 6 years in jail. A law alone will not solve the problem as there is a need for a public policy, however, we can modestly say our work has contributed to developing a culture of the rights of the child in this part of the continent. The goal is to stop demand from clients who seek sex with adolescents and this strategy of awareness-raising justifies our journalistic work.

Now it is up to the Peruvian state to implement a social policy that will allow us to dream of a close future where the rights of children and adolescents are respected. A future where

children play an active role in their history and are respected by adults whose exercise of power, in the case of commercial sexual exploitation, denigrates and violates their rights. A world with equal opportunities where economic violence and exclusion finally cease.

Verushka Villavicencio

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Save the Children Sweden is a not-for-profit organization without religious or political affiliation, which has approximately 90,000 members. Since its being founded in November, 1919, it has focused on the promotion and defence of children's rights, assisting children in high-risk situations and raising public awareness about child right issues.

Save the Children Sweden bases its work on the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. It is a member of the International Save the Children Alliance, the largest independent movement in the world that is committed to fighting for the rights of children and adolescents.

The Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean is located in Lima, Peru, and works through partners, mainly non-governmental organizations. The goal of the regional program is to ensure that the rights of children and adolescents become reality through the creation of conditions, in society and the state, that are conducive to this. This is done with respect for the socio-cultural context of each country, always promoting a gender perspective, non-discrimination and tolerance for local and national values. Save the Children Sweden seeks to increase knowledge and the exercising of children's rights in society, fostering the qualitative participation of children and adolescents.

Foreword

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If we review most of the information that circulates in the media, we find that the issue of the sexual exploitation of children and adolescents is disguised as prostitution. News reports identify the children and adolescents, directly or indirectly, as infractors and sometimes even present them as the only people involved in this situation, which degrades them as human beings. They are seen as having chosen this lifestyle, and the other people involved in the commercial sex circuit are completely ignored. Clients, pimps, networks and the state receive minimal mention in the media. In other cases, the children and adolescents are presented as victims of circumstances; in this way, the client who seeks their sexual services “goes unnoticed.” Children and adolescents under age 18 who are involved in this activity are never clearly identified as the weakest links in a chain of sexual exploitation.

This journalistic investigation arose from Save the Children Sweden’s desire to understand the problem of child sexual exploitation from the standpoint of the client’s responsibility in the commercial sex market. It has not been easy to come to an understanding of the nature of the adult who hires the sexual services of a child or adolescent, because sexual exploitation occurs in both commercial and non-commercial contexts. This complicated the work of the team of investigative journalists in charge of the study, which was headed by journalist Verushka Villavicencio.

The objective of our investigation was to identify the mechanisms that motivate these adults to have sex with children and adolescents, without trying to pigeonhole them or find a single explanation for their behaviour, and without classifying them as “paedophiles.” We needed to get as close to them as possible. A journalistic investigation was carried out in the country’s coastal, highland and jungle regions to meet the clients of this trade in their normal surroundings and then, using a series of journalistic strategies, to interpret their sexual behaviour. Our purpose was to understand them, not to judge them.

Save the Children Sweden’s goal in this investigation was to make the client visible to society as the person mainly responsible for the increase in the supply of children and adolescents for commercial sex, as well as to encourage the media to examine this problem with a clear understanding of how sexual exploitation violates the rights of children and adolescents, by placing on the client responsibility he deserves as an adult who demands sex from a child or adolescent.

The results of this investigation offer us the opportunity to play an active role in building a society in which children and adolescents are identified as the weakest participants in a sexual marketplace driven by adults, which will continue to expand as long as there are clients who demand this degrading service, especially while these clients remain anonymous.

We are certain that this journalistic investigation will not only help all of society become involved in defending the rights of children and adolescents, but will also, above all, help us reflect on our role as citizens who are able to help build a just society.

Save the Children Sweden

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Choosing the way

Introduction

“The Client Goes Unnoticed” is a journalistic investigation the purpose of which is to understand how a client who has sex with children and/or adolescents really thinks, feels and acts. The idea was to take an unprejudiced look at the attitudes of adults from various socio-economic levels in different parts of the country, which would largely reflect the mindset of the client of child and adolescent sex.

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This glimpse opens the door to many interpretations of adult behaviour, but does not absolve these people from responsibility for their behaviour with children and adolescents. Our investigation aimed to provide information about the client in order to give the media a new way of looking at the issue of the sexual exploitation of children and adolescents, helping society in general to become aware of the role of adult clients who justify this sexual practice by using various arguments, forgetting that those children or adolescents could be their own children, siblings or grandchildren.

We offer the results of this intensive, nine-month investigation in six of the country's major cities in hopes of contributing to a change in attitudes toward children in the sex market. We also hope that “The Client Goes Unnoticed” will help us ask why the client always goes unpunished by society, and what we can do to break this chain of violence against children and adolescents.

A difficult route: Research methodology

Direct and indirect sources in the commercial child sex market.

As in all serious investigative journalism, the main element of this journey into the world of sexual exploitation was the direct testimony of people immersed in the commercial sex

market. A pertinent number of testimonials were gathered from minors, people involved in economic exploitation (intermediaries, people who make their living from the activity, etc.), authorities (lawmakers, directors of NGOs, health care personnel, church workers, etc.), clients, etc. We therefore speak of differentiated *sources*: some *direct* (those involved in the experience), such as clients, exploited children and adolescents, etc., and others *indirect* (those who are familiar with the issue and have developed concepts about the people involved in the sexual exploitation of children): pimps, owners of establishments, neighbours, taxi drivers who cruise areas where the child sex trade occurs, police, etc.

It should be noted that the objective of all the interviews was always to understand the client — what the client thinks and feels, whether the client feels remorse for what he does, if he imagines that the child or adolescent could be his own child or grandchild, if he is from a particular socio-economic group, if he has a higher education, if it is a behaviour that crosses all socio-economic levels, etc. We were interested in interviewing children and adolescents in order to see the client through their eyes. This gave the children and adolescents, for the first time, a valuable opportunity to freely describe the client based on their own experience.

From their different perspectives within the sex market, each source helped reveal the face of the client.

We must add that while the client is not the only exploiter, he is the most important, because he activates the sex market. For that reason, we consider pimps, bar owners and brothel managers to be involved in economic exploitation, but not always in sexual exploitation. In a later section, we will explain the difference.

Taking aim:

Designing a fictitious pornographic magazine

Attitudes toward and discourses about the sexual exploitation of children

As we will see, the problem of the sexual exploitation of children is not found only in the bars, discotheques and streets where it occurs; rather, it is part of the very fabric of society. The media bombard us with images that associate beauty with youth, and with models who are younger and younger. It was conceivable, therefore, that many adults who consumed this information would also be clients of sex with children and adolescents. Based on this premise, we could also hypothesise that adults who read pornographic magazines would also be clients.

In order to determine how deeply rooted the concept of child sexual exploitation is in male attitudes toward sex, we had to find a way to reach the clients while going unnoticed ourselves. The investigation required us to develop a strategy for determining how the client thinks. We decided to create a fictitious pornographic magazine called "Sex in the Street," with the goal of gathering the clients' various arguments and discourses about the sexual exploitation of children.

Three different ads were placed in a national newspaper, requesting personnel for all areas of the magazine (managers, administrators, sales executives, lawyers, writers, drivers, etc.). The ads attracted a large number of people. Every ad was aimed at a specific socio-economic group so as to ensure a representative sample in the city of Lima. Our research team evaluated the candidates and chose a total of 85 adults with whom seven focus groups were held as the main way of gathering direct testimony from people immersed in the commercial sex market.

Because the 85 men who we chose believed that they were being interviewed for jobs at a pornographic magazine and not as part of a focus group, their responses were completely open.

This strategy enabled us to discover previously unknown attitudes and discourses about the client's views of sex with children and adolescents. The qualitative information that we gathered enabled us to gain a better understanding of the client and his mindset.

The results were compared with the reality of the sex market in each city by using traditional research methodology. "The Client Goes Unnoticed" is the result of both approaches.

The findings of our journalistic investigation are described in this journey through the world of the child sex market and take us into the mind of the client, who is the principal figure in the sexual exploitation of children.

Verushka Villavicencio

Social communicator and investigative journalist

Understanding the market for sex with children and adolescents

Analysis of the investigation of the commercial sexual exploitation of children and adolescents

Prostitution will always be a hot topic for the media, but the approach taken in the media that shape public opinion in our country never refers to the enormous commercial marketplace in which one product — sex — is bought and sold. Even less attention has been paid to the sexual exploitation of children and adolescents in this market. Children and adolescents are seen as people who engage in prostitution. There is no concept of children and adolescents being prostituted and forming part of a market in which they are sexually exploited and whose magnitude extends beyond our country's borders.

Our investigation highlights the “the law of supply and demand,” seeing the prostituted children and adolescents as the supply and the clients who have sex with them as the demand.

1.1 Technical specifications

- The objective of this investigation was to understand the client who has commercial sex with minors.

- The investigation was carried out in the following cities:
 - Lima: capital of the country
 - Ayacucho: city in the central highlands
 - Cajamarca: city in the northern highlands
 - Iquitos: city in the northeastern jungle
 - Madre de Dios: city in the southeastern jungle
 - Chiclayo: city on the northern coast

- In the cities we investigated, we found two constants: a high level of poverty among people involved in sexual exploitation and/or the existence of an economic activity that had transformed the development of the city and its inhabitants.

- The “law of supply and demand” follows similar parameters in the six zones, according to our investigation. What changes is the idiosyncrasy of local customs and traditions and, in this context, acceptance of commercial sex with minors. In some areas, this behaviour is seen as “natural and normal” and is very visible, while in others it is “hidden or disguised,” according to circumstances. In Lima, the sex trade with minors is more open and less clandestine than in certain provinces on the coast and in the highlands. Iquitos, in the jungle, is a special case because of the local population’s “openness” about sex.

1.2 Analysis of supply: THE CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS

We always hear that prostitution is the easiest way to get money. In the case of children and adolescents, however, we know it is not the easiest. Rather, it is the fastest, according to our in-depth interviews with them. Children and adolescents consider prostitution to be a way of life and have “a particular way of thinking” about it, based on their own experience.

Among the most significant conclusions:

- Children and adolescents consider this a “job” they perform for the following reasons (explained by them during the field research):
 - Need for money to meet basic needs. They need the money immediately.
 - Pressure from close relatives (fathers, mothers, others)
 - Forced by third parties (pimp, organised crime rings, etc.)
 - Lack of guidance and education
 - A minority considers it an “odd job;” others see it as paid entertainment
- Children and adolescents from different geographical areas have their own attitudes toward sexual exploitation. For example, in Iquitos, an ambiguously permissive society with regard to sex, children are initiated at an early age, and their attitudes do not display the undercurrent of aggressiveness found in children from other areas.
- The conditions of exploitation also depend on cultural factors (in machista societies such as that of Cajamarca, sexual exploitation occurs according to social hierarchies) and economic factors (in Ayacucho, the presence of companies that have a very Western origin and mindset).

1.3 Analysis of demand: THE CLIENT

According to our investigation, the client who has sex with children and adolescents could be any man. There is no specific stereotype, but he is influenced, in the case of Peru, by a permissive education that gives men greater freedom than women in decision-making in general. There is, therefore, no criticism or judgment of his sexual activity.

The client may also be from any socio-economic group and have any level of education.

Nevertheless, while we found no single type of client, there are three major groups:

- a.** The man who does not know he has this preference and discovers it by accident, because of the influence of his surroundings.
- b.** The man who seeks and has sex with adults as well as with children and adolescents (between ages 14 and 18), as the opportunity presents itself. He does not have a marked preference for children and adolescents.
- c.** The man who has a preference for children and adolescents and has sex only with this group.

Despite the diversity of situations in which a sex market exists, we see clearly in all cities that the man who has sex with children or adolescents seeks, according to his own discourse, the following:

- To reaffirm his manhood, *machismo* or masculinity.
- To prove to himself and others that he can still perform sexually.
- To exercise power and dominance.
- To increase his self-esteem in the presence of an innocent, defenceless person who is unable to question his sexual performance.
- Greater excitement and pleasure because of a girl's characteristics (tightness). Novelty, experimentation with supposedly virgin (less-used) bodies. Trying new sensations.

We find that the client takes marked pleasure in the taboo. Public places and those that are somehow “hidden” are thus the preferred locations for engaging in this clandestine activity: streets, bars, pubs, saunas, massage parlours, discotheques, etc.

1.4 The weakest link: THE CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS The vulnerability of the supply

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One of the questions we asked most frequently throughout the investigation is whether the prostitution of children and adolescents would disappear if there were enough jobs for everyone. As we looked into the issue more deeply, we found that the answer was NO. The underlying problem is not the lack of jobs, but the increasing demand by clients who seek this service. If there were no demand, children and adolescents would have to find another activity. It is simply the application of the concept of “the law of supply and demand” within the sex market.

To mention the conditions that make it easier for minors to become involved in sexual exploitation is to talk about many living conditions. According to our investigation, however, the breakdown of the nuclear family is the principal factor contributing to the spread of this situation. We are basically referring to households that have disintegrated, that are subjected to poverty and extreme poverty, in which the adults have little or no formal education, in which there are many siblings and there is sexual abuse, violence, etc.

We find other factors, such as lack of opportunities, consumerism and cultural characteristics, that also facilitate the immersion of children and adolescents in the commercial sex market.

Meanwhile, neither civil society nor the state has responded with solid proposals for stopping the advance of the exploiters

and the involvement of minors in the sex trade. It is alarming to view the impunity with which networks trafficking in minors operate in the interior of the country, in full view of authorities who not only do nothing, but who, in the cases we encountered, also do not consider that children and adolescents are people who need to be defended and protected.

There are few organisations currently assisting prostituted children and adolescents, and it is very disturbing that there is no effective support from the state to incorporate these young people into the country's labour force.

1.5 Players in the market for sex with children and adolescents

Sexual exploiters and economic exploiters

So far, we have clearly identified the client as the main figure in the sex market. The client engages in sexual exploitation, because he obtains sex with a child or adolescent in exchange for money or material goods. There is usually no physical violence in this exchange, although there could be verbal aggression against the child or adolescent at some point during the physical relationship. The sexual exploiter — the client — is the main figure in the circuit of exploiters, because thanks to him the business is profitable for others.

The circuit also includes people involved in economic exploitation, who benefit from the activity of the children and adolescents. These include a variety of people who play more or less differentiated roles.

Pimp: Economic exploiter who receives a monetary benefit based on the number of clients that each child or adolescent obtains every day.

Caficho: Economic exploiter who receives money and/or material goods in exchange for providing protection for the

child or adolescent. Usually has an emotional relationship with the child or adolescent.

Recruiter: Economic exploiter who receives a monetary benefit in exchange for involving a child or adolescent in the commercial sex circuit. Usually connected with networks and/or organised crime rings that traffic in children and adolescents and operate in various geographic areas.

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Parent and/or guardian: Economic exploiter who receives a monetary benefit with or without knowledge of the activity performed by the child or adolescent. Directly or indirectly pressures the child or adolescent to obtain a certain amount of money every day.

All of these types of economic exploiters, who are part of the commercial sex market, believe that the activity in which the children and adolescents are involved is a lifestyle. According to our investigation, they make no judgment or criticism that would imply that it has negative aspects. Moreover, in many cases the negative judgment was toward children and adolescents who do not engage in this activity.

1.6 The umbilical cord: the link joining supply and demand Intermediation

In each of the six cities where research was done, we found different avenues linking children and adolescents with clients. Supply and demand are connected by a link that is difficult to identify at first glance, through intermediaries who are responsible for maintaining the flow by providing new children and adolescents for commercial sex circuits.

Intermediation, therefore, is the process by which children and adolescents are introduced into the commercial sex market. We have been able to identify the following types of intermediation:

- a. Non-exploitative intermediation. This consists of third parties or friends who know the sex market and who, without compensation, connect children and adolescents with circuits of exploitation.
- b. Recruitment. Third parties or friends who receive an economic benefit in exchange for finding, gathering and helping to incorporate children and adolescents into an exploitative organization.
- c. Direct exploitation by relatives. Fathers, mothers, uncles, godparents or guardians who exploit children and adolescents.
- d. Indirect exploitation. Third parties who seek out children and adolescents to exploit them.
- e. Exploitation by a pimp: Usually a pimp who, taking advantage of an emotional relationship with the child or adolescent, lives off the money that minor obtains.
- f. Recruitment by professionals. These are organisations that use adults to ensnare children and adolescents. They employ various strategies. The best known are employment ads seeking personnel for various types of jobs (receptionists, hostesses, masseuses, etc.), which are only a front for an exploitation network. These are usually connected with networks trafficking in children and adolescents.

1.7 The tentacles of the trade Networks of exploitation

While our journalistic investigation did not cover the entire scope of the business nationwide, we identified a series of networks trafficking in children and adolescents in the interior of the country.

The first recruits girls and adolescents from Iquitos, transporting them to Chiclayo and later to Lima, where they are exploited in nightclubs in residential areas.

The second takes adolescents from the capital to Chiclayo, where they are sexually exploited in brothels and nightclubs.

The third takes children and adolescents from Cusco, Puno and Abancay to the mining area of Puerto Maldonado. The boys are sent to the mines, while the girls are put to work as kitchen help in the mining camps or local bars.

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Finally, there is a network that recruits girls and adolescents to exploit them in pubs and karaoke bars in residential districts in Lima, where the exclusive clients are ships' crews (mainly Asian) who go ashore for entertainment and are only in the city for a few hours.

As the network focuses on satisfying the demand from an increasingly exclusive clientele, the criminal level becomes higher and more sophisticated. In those cases, the system of threats used by the network to keep the adolescents from fleeing become more violent. At this point, we find a criminal organisation whose tentacles not only have a nationwide reach, but probably also extend beyond our country's borders.

Caught in the act: Unmasking the greatest sexual exploiter

Towards a profile of the client

One myth that we have destroyed through our investigation is that the client who demands sex with a child or adolescent is an adult with pathological traits or a paedophile.

A paedophile is anyone over age 16 who is sexually attracted to boys or girls and who is at least five years older than the victim. The activities that give a paedophile away range from simply watching to gradually touching, which generally leads to an aggressive act of penetration. Paedophiles often seek out children who are about 8 years old to involve them in sexual exploitation networks or create pornographic materials that are consumed by a closed group of adults who share the same preference. They do this through various means, of which the Internet is the one most frequently used.

The client we found in our investigation is not a paedophile, and while it is difficult to define a clear profile of the adult who demands sex with children and adolescents, we can draw a general picture. There are cases of adults who want sex

only with children and adolescents, opting exclusively for girls under age 18, but they are not the great majority. This is a marked preference that cannot necessarily be classified as pathological because of various cultural and social factors that influence the behaviour.

According to our investigation, the majority of clients are men who have sex with adult women and also with girls under 18, depending on the opportunity that presents itself.

Their ages range from 18 to 60, and they come from all social sectors and may have any type of profession.

It is interesting to note that these clients perceive sex with minors as natural; there is no concept of "prohibited" sex. On the contrary, it is unregulated sexuality without restrictions. Whether or not one has sex with children is a personal issue (each person decides based on his own values) and a matter of opportunity (whether someone is available).

Finally, there is a group that has no idea that this is their preference. They have never had commercial sex with a child or adolescent, but they fantasise about it. These adults are potential clients who are constantly influenced by the images they see around them.

According to our investigation, however, there is an age at which the trend tends to increase: among men over age 35, and more among single men than among those who are married.

We also found that clients do not seek a set stereotype of a child or adolescent. Rather, they are reaffirming certain masculine sexual identities, such as the confirmation of their own sexual vitality (power over someone who has less sexual experience) or demonstrating their dominance and

superiority (over those who are generally considered inferior, including minors, women, peasants, indigenous people, etc.).

Clients who have sex with children and adolescents offer various discourses about it. For some, it is a matter of trying to increase excitement (“morbid,” in their own words); for others, minors are simply treated as objects, and the situation is mainly commercial. In all cases, however, there are characteristics associated with *machismo*:

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- The possibility of having power over the minor (sexual, social, etc.).
- Reaffirming their capability for efficient sexual performance.
- The “need” to satisfy irrepressible sexual urges.
- The possibility of the woman being an object of trade.

We sought out the opinions of health-care experts who could provide a medical perspective on the client who has sex with children and adolescents. While they did not always agree, the common denominator was that they considered all adults who seek sex with children and adolescents as having certain emotional shortcomings that have diverse and complex explanations. What is clear to the experts, however, is that these adults are unaware of their responsibility in the sex act and use commercial sex with children and adolescents to provide themselves with pleasure.

Finally, the clients do not recognize that the adult who has commercial sex with a child or adolescent has responsibility, because to them the commercial transaction legitimises their right to have sexual relations. They also say that because they do not use violence to force the child or adolescent to have sex, the situation does not violate the minor’s human rights. They do not identify the children and adolescents as victims of sexual exploitation.

According to the investigation, the client who demands sex with children and adolescents could be any man. And as long as this behaviour continues, the market for sex with children and adolescents will continue to be big business for organised crime rings, networks and pimps, in which children and adolescents will continue to be sexually exploited. As long as he remains anonymous, the client will continue to go unnoticed, legitimising the violation of the rights of children and adolescents.

2.1 “Sex in the Street”: Behind the mask

The client: attitudes toward and discourses about the sexual exploitation of children

To understand how deeply rooted the sexual exploitation of children (and sex with children in general) is in the adult male view of sexuality, it was necessary to develop a strategy for approaching the client that would not inhibit him. The great limitation of an in-depth interview was the need to overcome the natural defence mechanisms that go up when people talk about sex. We needed to design a flexible strategy that would enable us to find out what adults who have sex with minors under age 18 really say (discourses) and think (attitudes) about sex with minors.

2.1.1 Strategy

The result was the creation of “Sex in the Street,” a fictitious pornographic magazine that supposedly was to be launched soon in the country with the aim of becoming the Peruvian “Playboy.” In this strategy, the magazine was supposedly seeking administrative and creative staff members. Thus, through a series of selection processes, we recruited people who spoke openly about their sexual experiences, thinking that they were being interviewed for jobs.

2.1.2 Methodology

We placed three ads in a national newspaper. In order to attract interviewees from different socio-economic levels, the call for personnel was made in different districts, seeking communication experts, journalists, photographers, layout and design specialists, administrative personnel, a manager, office manager, accountant, lawyer, sales people, drivers, messengers, etc.

Offices were set up in each district with a secretary, personnel manager and administrative manager in charge of receiving the candidates — 200 people who sought jobs with the magazine.

We did a first round of interviews with 130 people, of whom we selected 85. These people were more open to sex with minors and became the nucleus of our focus groups.

2.1.3 Quantitative data

Sample size:	85 people
Age range:	20 to 64 years
Average age:	34 years
Birthplace:	61.37% coast
	28.21% highlands
	10.42% jungle
Marital status:	37.93% married
	60.07% single
	2.00% other
Educational level	29.65% secondary
	15.05% technical
	55.30% higher education

2.1.4 Main issues discussed

The focus groups discussed a series of issues related to the participants' involvement in the sexual exploitation of children and their sexual preferences. Our investigators were able to keep the interviewees from becoming defensive and referring to their own tastes as other people's preferences. This was possible because of the interviewers' skill in determining the moment at which the questions became "personal" and eliciting frank personal responses from the participants.

We were able to get the interviewees to express their own opinions about the following issues. These are their responses:

- **Sexual fantasies**

The on most frequently mentioned by the adults involved having sexual relations with people younger than them or under age 18.

The interviewees suggested that the magazine cover should have certain characteristics. They suggested that it show a girl under age 18 who resembled "Anita," the title character in a popular Brazilian soap opera.

Among their ideas:

" You have to show the face of a girl who is wearing really short clothes that reveal something."

" I'd make her a schoolgirl ... like in the case of teachers who seduce their students."

" You can't put a girl under 16 on the cover just to put her there. It has to be a girl who suggests innocence and who charms with her gaze."

" I'd put a caption with her thoughts, something like 'I'm ready to learn the first lesson'."

" I'd put a group of schoolgirls reading a pornographic magazine, looking at the photos and reading the text."

- **The issue of dominance and power**

Preference for minors is not only a matter of aesthetics (what the adult finds attractive), but an issue of being able to dominate a woman.

“ Why do we like girls? I think it’s because we can protect them somehow, because the adult has the luxury of controlling the situation with a minor. I mean, it’s what you don’t get at home, because a relationship with an adult woman is unbearable at times.”

“ In general, our culture is more characterised by *machismo*, so a man’s domination of a woman is logical.”

“ It’s easier to dominate a younger woman.”

- ***Machismo***

Domination of a woman is not valid in itself; it must be validated by other men.

“ The man who seeks a young woman does so to win a competition with other men who are younger than he.”

“ I have more experience than I did when I was 17. I have what I would have liked to have had at 17. When I’m with a girl who is a girl-woman, I can live out my fantasy and do what I couldn’t do years ago.”

Many men see domination of a woman through commercial sex as giving them prestige or as something that is done only by those who have prestige.

“ Just being in a certain economic position gives (a man) certain advantages over women.”

- **Girls seen as adults**

Part of the fantasy of sex with girls is related to another *machista* fantasy, which divides women into two groups, *madonnas* (mother/virgin) and prostitutes. The girl falls

midway between the two, and the man has the power to control her, even when girls who are sexually exploited actually have more experience than other women.

“ The idea would be: I know all this and she doesn’t know anything, so I’m going to teach her.”

“ A girl is more pleasurable mainly because of her innocence, her affection, her tenderness and her possible virginity.”

- **Sexual prowess**

Sex with minors is also a way for men to reaffirm their masculinity by demonstrating that they’re still able to perform sexually, even though this is measured by how the man functions rather than by the woman’s satisfaction.

“ He can still satisfy a girl who is much younger than he is, and that lets him know that he’s still capable of performing sexually.”

Male sexuality is uncontrollable and sexual satisfaction is a way of liberating oneself and staying healthy.

“ Men between ages 30 and 40 have a lot of stress ... so the first thing they look for to get away from it is fun, sex, things like that.”

- **Lack of understanding of the concept that a child is a minor.**

Although Peruvian law states that a person is an adult at age 18, the interviewees did not clearly identify the age range for adulthood.

“ To me, a 14-year-old isn’t exactly a girl; she’s an adolescent who is exploring sexually.”

“ To me, a girl who’s 16 is already a woman. Paedophilia involves those under age 15.”

“ I understand that paedophilia is when you have sex with kids who are 11 or 12 years old. That doesn’t apply here, because it’s a representation.”

Although there is rejection of sex with minors, some consider it an option, but they identify it as paedophilia and believe that it involves girls under age 8.

“ Paedophilia is a sexual option ... it’s natural, because some men seek it. It’s a niche that has to be exploited, and it’s the gentleman’s option.”

“ (The magazine) should provide information about where to find minors.”

- **Views of commercial sex with children**

When sex with children is considered as a purely commercial issue, they do not consider the minor to be a partner in the sexual relationship. They are more interested in what happens to the man. For example, when we talked about an educational section, they said men should be educated to have more enjoyable safe sex and avoid diseases.

“ *Have sex, but safe sex.* I let education guide me. Drugs kill; sex doesn’t kill. Commercial sex with girls doesn’t kill! Promiscuity and lack of psychological, physiological or sanitary safety, that’s what kills. But if you’re careful about all those things, it won’t kill you. Otherwise, people all over the world wouldn’t be having sex with minors.”

“ Cigarette commercials have a message that says ‘*smoking is hazardous to your health,*’ and so do alcoholic beverages. If we see a girl, and ‘*if you have her, the consumer’s age doesn’t matter,*’ that’s an educational slogan.”

“ I think you should put mild warnings, such as the rape of a minor can lead to so many years in prison.”

Commercial sexual exploitation in six Peruvian cities**3.1 Lima: In the lion's den**

With more than 8 million residents, Lima is the country's largest and most dynamic city because it is the focal point of most of its economic, technological and political power. But it is also the place where the diversity of supply in the sexual market place is most explicit. While poverty is a decisive factor in this, the precarious nature of the nuclear family is also an element. This combination pushes children into circuits of prostitution. Throughout our investigation, we found that the market for commercial sex with children and adolescents and the clients' behaviour had different characteristics in different cities. Sometimes these were difficult to believe.

In Lima, we found various forms of exploitation, from sophisticated ones, such as exclusive nightclubs, to the streets and use of the Internet.

3.2 Geographical area of sexual exploitation

The following table shows how the investigation progressed, considering the districts and the activity that seemed most relevant. Sexual exploitation is even broader and probably has a particular commercial focus in each district of the capital. Nevertheless, we placed priority on certain districts for various reasons: demographics, proximity to the Historic Downtown area, information provided by clients, etc.

District	Street	Brothels	Nightclubs	Sauna/ massage parlour	Bars	Agencies	Networks
Lima							
La Victoria							
San Juan de Miraflores							
Lince							
San Borja							
San Juan de Lurigancho							
Miraflores							
San Miguel							
Surco							
Callao							
Los Olivos							
Surquillo							

The order in which the districts are listed reflects the chronological order of their inclusion in our study, according to the investigation carried out by our team.

3.3 Brothels where minors are sexually exploited. Huachipa: Open circuit

Located near the centre of the province of Lima, Huachipa is a low-income district that boasts one of the city's few ecological parks. Since it was opened in 1997, this has become a zone dedicated especially to the exploitation of minors in places that appear to be restaurants or bars, but which are actually brothels with makeshift rooms made of plywood.

These brothels are constantly being shut down by the police and media campaigns, but they continue to operate. Not all the women who work there are underage, but it is not difficult to find minors. We found one girl who was between 13 and 14 years old. The lack of hygiene is a constant in these places, and neither the police nor the municipal security service (Serenazgo) does anything to eliminate the sex trade.

3.4 Infiltrating the sexual exploitation networks

Finding places in Lima where sexual exploitation occurs is as easy as opening a newspaper. Every day the sporting papers (which are mainly read by men), the popular or "*chicha*" tabloids (which are the most widely read) and the most serious newspapers carry a series of ads offering the "services" of "young women" in massage parlours or simply offering sexual services. We first approached these circuits through phone calls. We then followed up the ads that, by their language and insinuations, offered "young women" or "*jovencitas*." The strategy was simple but dangerous: to infiltrate researchers posing as underage girls seeking work.

In the first few months of 2003, numerous calls were made to more than 40 agencies that had placed a large number of ads in various media. Some placed as many as 66 ads in four national daily newspapers in a period of 20 days.

These agencies operate in various districts of Lima, in places that are relatively central, but hidden behind facades that ensure a certain degree of discretion. They use various strategies for camouflage.

Once contact was made, the procurers (men and/or women) offered jobs to the researcher who was posing as a minor, and even to the sister that she claimed to had. One agency operating as a massage parlour offered her work, but only on Sundays, because the police tend not to do raids on that day,

according to the recruiters. Other agencies assured her that they had “arrangements” with the police or that the owners of the establishment had influence with the municipal government. One person offered the women posing as minors jobs in a discotheque in Chiclayo and promised to lend them money for the bus fare.

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These agencies provide “delivery” service of women to hostels and hotels, but when they accept minors under age 18, they prefer to keep them within their establishments and only for exclusive clients.

We updated our information in August and found 16 agencies that were accepting girls under age 18.

These are massage parlours and agencies that sexually exploit girls and adolescents under age 18, whose networks extend into the country’s provinces.

3.5 Print and on-line publications

Peru’s pornographic publications are not well known, but they do exist. They are sold at newsstands and have suggestive titles. Both are the type of pornography known as “hardcore,” and the print quality is poor. It is not unusual to find in them girls who appear to be younger than 18 having sexual relations with older men.

Equally graphic material is available via Internet. We found about 100 Web sites offering photographs of minors and some offering commercial sex with minors. In one case, a person offered, by email, sex with boys between ages 10 and 15 for US\$50.00.

After a media scandal over the arrest of a couple engaged in paedophilia, the offer vanished.

There is a long list of Web sites that openly offer photos of Peruvian minors. Many of these pages last only a short time, because they tend to violate the norms of the Internet service providers that are hosting them, and they constantly change addresses to avoid being discovered by authorities.

In the Polvos Azules market, we contacted a vendor who offered to provide us with a video of minors for 30 soles. According to that person, there are five different tapes circulating in video shops in the area.

Finally, one researcher posing as a minor working in prostitution contacted men entering chat rooms who were seeking women regardless of their age. Although they knew the adolescent's age, they all became involved in explicit sex games and asked for a date.

Using the Internet, one of our researchers attempted to find a woman seeking sex with a male minor, without success. Nevertheless, that does not mean that such demand by women does not exist in the country.

3.6 The client from the viewpoint of those who are exploited

When the media address this issue, they constantly ask the exploited children and adolescents to recount their dramatic experiences. The goal of our investigation was different. We wanted to understand how they saw their relationship with their "clients." The objective was to get to know the clients through their eyes and see the clients from a new perspective, through the minds of the children and adolescents who are sexually exploited.

3.6.1 Exploitation in the street: Open circuit

The first interview was done by a researcher with a 16-year-old whose addiction to "Terokal" glue drove her into the sex

trade. In 1999, she escaped from an orphanage for abandoned children. Since then, she has lived in a hotel in the centre of Lima, in an overcrowded area where prostitution is common. She dropped out of school in her first year of high school.

The girl spends every day in the street, awaiting potential clients. She earns an average of 100 soles a day, of which she uses 25 to pay for her room and board.

Only once, she said, has a client hit her. When asked to define her clients, however, she said, "It depends. There are good people and bad people. You see it in their faces." She said that most of her clients are taxi drivers who approach her before returning their vehicles at the end of a shift. Others are vendors who arrive after they have closed their stands in nearby galleries. Finally, there is a large number of students from institutes in the area. The ages range from 21 to 30.

She is not alone. Across the street from the corner where she waits, two youths watch her. A woman selling hot drinks a few metres from the corner said they were "gang members who take care of her and charge her five soles per client." They were not the only ones, however. At the entrance to each hotel were two women over age 45 who were selling underwear. They watched every client who entered the hostel. These women give the girls garments on credit, then charge them a percentage of the debt depending on the number of clients the girl has. Both of these groups of people are economic exploiters who make their living from the exploited girl.

The second interview was done by a researcher with two girls, one age 13 and the other age 17, who are exploited in the district of San Juan de Miraflores. They wait for clients in the street, escorted somewhat surreptitiously by pimps who pretend to be eating at street vendors' stands.

Sexual relations take place in hostels in the area, where a room costs five soles a session. This circuit is extremely dangerous. People standing guard both at the entrance and in the halls were signs that this was a criminal environment.

The 17-year-old said of her clients, "Most of the people who come here are boys. Some hire you to tell you about their problem, about their house, about their wife, that this or that has happened, that somebody died. I just listen to them." She said her clients want to finish the sex act quickly and they use highly erotic language for rapid arousal.

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Her companion added, "All kinds of people come here — normal people, crooks, old, young, all sorts. Most are working people. I don't know what they do, but they're basically OK. Some tell you that they've fought with their wives. Or they say they're bored with their wives so they're looking for young girls." The clients who frequent this area are merchants with various signs of economic success, bus or truck drivers, gang members, employees, etc., whose ages range from 16 to 60.

3.6.2 "Date house": Closed circuit

Through an ad in a nationwide daily newspaper, we found four adolescents who live in a "date house" and who agreed to be interviewed. The house is not exactly a brothel, because the girls live there and care for it as if it were their own home. Their encounters with clients take place in their own rooms, and they have only one day off during the week. They form a sort of family and respect the person who runs the house, a 35-year-old woman. That respect, however, is born of fear of reprisals from the woman or from criminals if they try to escape from the sex circuit. There is a circuit of various houses of this type that are interconnected in a network that extends throughout various districts of the capital.

Three interviewees described the clients as men from the top two socio-economic sectors (A and B). The youngest said she was 18, but her real age was probably 16 or 17. They said, "Sixteen-year-old boys come here with their fathers, as do 70-year-old men. We get cute guys, older men, all or them are professionals, doctors, congressmen, university students." The adult men may be married, single or divorced, they said.

They said that the main reason clients seek them out is because they are well-kept, and they suggested that the preference for young women was due to "their soft skin and pleasing figure. In the street, they look for what they can't get at home." They said that young men and adolescents "come here for the sex."

One alarming statistic is that of 10 telephone calls from clients that day, three requested sex with a girl of 15 or 16.

While it is impossible to generalise, the women said that at times certain clients ask them to play out the fantasy of "having sex with their own daughters."

They also said that the custom persists of some fathers taking their minor sons (between ages 14 and 16) to have their "first" sexual experience. "The ones who go with their fathers are from class B ... Jesús María, Breña, Pueblo Libre."

All the clients they described were men who had the characteristics of adults with a respectable lifestyle and a higher education.

3.6.3 Agencies: Closed circuits and open circuits.

Agencies offer "women for delivery." Men call to request an adolescent. Meanwhile, the girls wait in a room to be chosen by the manager, usually a woman. These agencies place ads in sporting papers, tabloids and serious newspapers.

The administrators may sometimes call a girl on her cell phone and tell her to go to a particular place, usually a hotel, where a client is waiting. For this reason, if police raid the agency, they find only a telephone console and an operator. This is typical of an open circuit.

Closed circuits are agencies that appear to be homes, where the young women, always including some under age 18, live. Although they constantly change names, addresses and even telephone numbers every two months, some modify their names only slightly.

The girls live in slavery to sex service for exclusive clients who are known to the agency. The clients are always looking for new girls. The privacy and confidentiality that characterise these agencies are due, we were told, to the fact that the clients are of the highest socio-economic level — businessmen, politicians, congressmen and generally adults with a great deal of prestige in society. For this reason, the agencies take security measures, including private garages with guards, to protect their clients' identity.

One adolescent no older than 16 from one open-circuit agency seemed dissatisfied with what she was doing. "I'm going to save my money to study," she said. "I don't like this. Actually, doing this disgusts me." Like the other girls who were interviewed, she said it is difficult to describe a single type of client, because they are of all ages and classes. "There are some who are needy, who have sex first and then talk to you and tell you about their problems. I listen to them. The kids who are 18 are more fanatical about sex."

We found a newspaper ad from a girl who said she was 18, but who appeared to be no older than 17. She said she had just turned 18 and that she had a child. She came from the jungle and answered an ad purportedly seeking hostesses for

a discotheque, which was really a front to ensnare girls for sexual exploitation.

Of the difference between the sex trade in the jungle and in Lima, she said with a great deal of resentment, "Here in Lima, sex is dirtier. (...) in Pucallpa, people have more feelings. It's different. They do it with affection." To her, clients in Lima are crass and vulgar and, above all, treat her coldly.

3.6.4 Nightclubs: Closed circuits

We identified circuits of bars in the city's Historic Downtown area that offered non-stop strip-tease shows attended by clients who sought commercial sex afterward, and we identified adolescents who were part of this circuit.

After some investigation, we identified a network of traffickers who ensnare adolescents in the jungle and take them to the city of Chiclayo, where they remain for several months under the tutelage of a person who teaches them certain ways of satisfying clients. They are then taken to exclusive nightclubs in residential areas of Lima. The girls live in the house, guarded by security personnel to ensure that they do not escape, and especially to make sure that they do not tell anyone how the network operates. In these nightclubs, there are also older women whose ages do not exceed 28.

The clients of these houses are men of all ages from the top socio-economic sector (A). Most have been going to these houses for years and are considered "regulars," so they are given the opportunity to "try out" the newly arrived girls and adolescents sexually. This is known to be a privilege of the regular clients.

3.7 The clients speak

As we have said, it is difficult to arrive at a set profile of the client, because their characteristics vary. For this reason, and to obtain their own accounts about sex with minors, we decided on in-depth interviews with a diverse group of men from Lima with the following characteristics:

Coki	age 34	Peruvian Army captain	Single
Peter	age 24	Son of a retired Army colonel	Single
Antonio	age 55	Retired Army commander	Married
Pepe	age 26	Chef and restaurant owner	Single
Pablo	age 21	Owner of an public Internet establishment	Single
José	age 41	Advertising salesman Not only has commercial sex with minors, but likes to sexually initiate young girls	Divorced
Eduardo	age 39	Business manager	Single
Rodrigo	age 35	Legal financial adviser	Engaged

3.7.1 *Machismo*

The interviewees recognised that they live in a *machista* society, but they felt no guilt about having commercial sex with minors, seeing that as just another characteristic of the society. “To me, if you reach a certain age and get involved with a minor, it’s because you want to know you’re still virile, you want to feel that you can still do it.” They see the girls as objects. “They [prostitutes] aren’t clean. Nobody likes to be with a girl when you don’t know how many men have had sex with her. (...) i think the man [who frequents commercial sex establishments] may be clean, [but he still goes to those places] because men in our society are *machista*.” For these men, the girl is an object that has to be used, even though it’s dirty.

Regarding the reasons why men prefer sex with minors, they say that it’s a matter of opportunity, although it is more

common among men over age 30 because Peruvian men are “*machista*” and therefore must find themselves in a situation of dominance. “Girls do whatever the man says.”

3.7.2 The child as an object

All the clients interviewed agreed that because a commercial transaction is involved and there is no violence in the sex act, the minor’s rights are not being violated and she is not being abused. They see the girl as someone with whom business is being done. The sex is in exchange for goods, generally money, and all reject the idea that the girl under age 18 could be their daughter, sister, girlfriend or granddaughter. Dehumanisation and the assigning of adult characteristics to minors are constants in these cases.

Nor do these men perceive that their concepts of beauty correspond to very young models. They assimilate these models, which are proffered by the media, as natural. There is no reflection.

They also give the “object” values shaped by their own *machista* mindset. For example, they say the girl “likes what they do.”

3.7.3 Money

One of the interviewees, Coki, said that he is aroused by minors. “I’m 34 and I’m not going to deny that I thought it was a little morbid that she was 17. In normal life, what man of 34 is going to be with a 17-year-old girl?” But he justified his actions as an act of generosity on his part. “What motivated me to get involved with her was first, that I liked her, and second, to help her. (...) she was fighting to make a living, to get ahead. She wasn’t fighting to support someone, but because she wanted to get ahead.” Strangely, he considers it more noble to dedicate oneself to prostitution as a way of getting ahead economically than to survive difficult

circumstances by engaging in some other activity. "I was motivated more by the fact that she told me she didn't have kids, that she was studying. That was what impressed me, because most girls who are doing that have kids and are doing it because they need the money. She was doing it to get ahead." That argument not only justifies the activity, but also legitimises it, and the client becomes an adult who is helping a minor get ahead in life.

To these men, what matters is "the business relationship." "(She must do) what I ask because I'm paying her, right?" "(She must) do everything I ask; otherwise, I'll take my money back." To them, it's a commercial exchange with obligations on both parties, and they see it as a business.

3.7.4 Machista fantasies

The fantasy of the girl in the adolescent stage is alive in the interviewees' mentality. "To me, a schoolgirl in her tartan uniform is especially easy on the eyes."

In general, their mindset divides women into two classes: *madonna* (mother and/or virgin) and prostitute. The adolescent is midway between the two. "(I'm attracted by) her face, which *seems to be* innocent." That is, in the eyes of the interviewees, she appears to be a virgin, but the men see her as a possessor who is sexually voracious.

3.8 Puerto Maldonado: No-man's land

Although Puerto Maldonado is one of the most important cities in the country's southern jungle, it is economically and socially backward. Economic activity revolves around the timber industry and small-scale traditional or "artisanal" mining, and the town is a place where the workers (from labourers to managers) go for rest and relaxation. Commerce is another activity.

The educational level is low because of poverty and the lack of opportunities. People tend to be traditional, and there is no viable possibility for development. Although there are three universities, there are no jobs because there is no business or industry except a few clothing stores, drugstores and public Internet booths. The area has the highest rate of teenage pregnancies in the country. It is estimated that 33 of every 100 adolescent girls become pregnant every year.

Sexual exploitation in this area is paradoxical. It is public, because it is tacitly accepted by the adult population, but it is also discreet, because it always occurs behind closed doors. According to reliable sources, there is a street trade in sex with girls under age 18, but this represents only 10 percent of the total sex trade with children and adolescents. The other 90 percent takes place inside houses, behind closed doors, disguised as child domestic labour and converted into domestic sexual exploitation.

3.8.1 Circuits

The best-known circuit for sexual exploitation of girls and adolescents is in an area known as the "Red Zone," which is located behind a police station. It consists of an area of shabbily furnished bars. Some of the minors who go to the area are local and some are from other parts of the jungle (usually small communities) or from cities such as Arequipa, Cusco, Chiclayo, etc. Their ages range from 12 to 17. According to our observations and our sources, the most frequent clients are members of the Armed Forces and National Police. Others are loggers who come in from the forest in search of fun and sex and who are willing to spend the money they've earned. The bar owners are economic exploiters, providing liquor and sex to ensure that their clients spend as much as possible.

Nearby, we found a group of about 45 shabby buildings that by day are simply ordinary houses, but at night turn into rustic bars with no more than four tables and a plastic curtain to divide the bar area from rooms where clients can have sex with minors. Here the mothers and close relatives of the girls and adolescents are the sexual exploiters. In this circuit, the activity is completely explicit for all involved.

The third circuit consists of discotheques and bars frequented by people from the city, particularly the middle and upper socio-economic groups. It is not unusual to see adult men at the tables drinking liquor with minors. It is also possible to find mothers taking their daughters, whose ages range from 13 to 15, to these places and offering them to the men going to the discotheques.

There are also discotheques with rooms that cater to the lower classes, where we found a mix of minors and adult women being prostituted. As we will see in other areas, the mining zones of Masuko, Laberinto, Huaypetue and Choque in Puerto Maldonado have created areas for the sex trade, where it is common to find minors who are the victims of trafficking networks that take them from one community to another to offer them to the artisanal mine workers and bar owners. In Masuko, there is a network that traffics children and adolescents from Cusco, Arequipa and Puno, dodging police control posts, to put them to work. The boys are sent to the mines and the girls become domestic workers in the mining camps and bars. The step into sexual exploitation is just a matter of time, because they are required to provide sexual services to clients.

3.8.2 The family circle

There are several factors that explain why sexual exploitation occurs. The *machismo* in this area has pre-modern

characteristics; this is a patriarchal society like the one that existed at the beginning of the 18th century, where the woman is seen as an object, reduced to her reproductive capacity and relegated to secondary tasks in the productive apparatus. Not only is this the men's attitude, it is also accepted by the women, whose most ambitious hope for the future is to get away from the area through marriage or as the lover of an older man from a higher social class.

3.8.3 Early sexual initiation

It is a deeply rooted native custom for women to become pregnant shortly after they begin to menstruate (probably because of the short life expectancy in native communities in the jungle). Girls are also encouraged to learn household chores from an early age, as it is assumed that they will soon be mothers.

This cultural characteristic paves the way for girls to be seen as sex objects from an early age, and for society to accept this as "natural." In the eyes of local people, therefore, the sexual exploitation of girls becomes a valid solution to the problem of poverty.

This lays the groundwork not only for the sex trade, but also for the abuse and rape of minors. In this *machista* society, men are allowed to subjugate anyone they consider inferior (even within their own family).

The woman of the household must accept this situation, as she usually is economically dependent on the adult male, not only because she has neither a job nor an education, but because she has no possibility of finding employment that will enable her to meet the family's basic needs.

3.8.4 Characteristics of sexual exploitation

3.8.4.1 The permissiveness of sexual exploitation

For all these reasons, it is not surprising that sexual exploitation becomes the source of ready cash in this area, to such an extent that the authorities pay no attention and even participate in the system.

Exploitation occurs not only through the sex trade, but also in surreptitious ways. Girls are hired as domestic help in households and are forced to have sexual relations with their employers; if they do not submit, they risk being fired. In many cases, their own mothers force them to keep quiet so they will not lose their jobs. This usually occurs with the consent of the adult family member who is responsible for the girl. According to our sources, domestic sexual exploitation accounts for 90 percent of all sexual exploitation in the area.

There are even extreme cases in which a father permits his underage daughter to be raped in exchange for cash. One investigator found a case of a father who filed charges against another man because he had not paid the 100 soles he had promised in return for being allowed to abuse the father's minor daughter.

This is also a region where there is little presence of state or other authorities. Many of the people interviewed referred to the area as a "no-man's land," both because of the absence of public authorities and because of the lack of a moral value system that would protect and govern the behaviour of all members of society.

3.8.4.2 The absence of state policy

As we have indicated, the state does nothing to stop or prevent the problem. There is no sex education and virtually no use

of contraceptives or condoms. Although no studies have been done, a large percentage of the sexually active population is probably at risk or has already contracted the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV).

The nuclear family is also completely unprotected. It is very common to find families in which the father is not present. One source told of women who have as many as five children by different men.

3.8.4.3 **The client**

In this region, the man who seeks sex with minors can be defined as an extreme version of the average Peruvian male. Not only does the society turn masculinity into a positive social value, it makes it an economic value, because women, especially the most impoverished, are unable to support themselves economically. Thus there is not the least guilt about sexual exploiting girls and adolescents. Added to this is the complete ineffectiveness — or complacency — of the state system, which permits all types of abuses and takes no action to respond or prevent them.

3.9 **Cajamarca: The realm of silence**

Located in Peru's northern highlands, Cajamarca has been affected in recent years by a series of phenomena that have transformed the city. The economic crisis affecting the country and the opening up of markets to foreign investment have contributed to a change in local society. This has also involved the sexual exploitation of children and adolescents.

3.9.1 **Circuits**

The presence of a large mining company has led to development of a sex trade in Cajamarca, which can be seen in circuits that have appeared in recent years. There is a nightclub whose large infrastructure aims to draw clients from the top

socio-economic level. Others are aimed at different sectors, down to the most base and sordid.

A client from the top socio-economic sector spends an average of 100 to 300 soles whenever he goes out. In these places, we saw minors camouflaged among adult women.

The second circuit we identified consists of brothels that are usually found at the edge of the city. The third circuit is located in the main plaza of the city, where women (both minors and older women) wait for someone to approach them. The deal is not necessarily for money; sometimes they ask only for a meal in exchange.

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3.9.2 Characteristics of the exploitation of minors

3.9.2.1 *Machismo*

Like many Peruvian cities, Cajamarca is under the influence of a *machista* mentality that relegates women to second place. It is also one of the areas with the highest rates of domestic violence against women. According to National Police statistics, between January and May 2003 there were 33 cases of violation of sexual liberty and aggression against adult women and minor girls. These figures included an alarming number of cases of incest.

The domination of women is so common that it is even reflected in women's language. In other words, they justify men's attitudes. As a result, cases of abuse are not denounced as often as they should be.

3.9.2.2 The impact of the mining company

The main clients of the sex trade in this area are employees of the mining company. Because they have the greatest disposable income and because of the prevailing *machista*

mindset, they are an attraction for women who want to improve their economic situation.

3.9.2.3 **The client**

As in other areas of the country, the client is impossible to define. We find, however, that most clients are mining company employees of varied rank (from top managers to labourers). There is also demand from local men who try to compete with the foreigners as a way of demonstrating their manhood. They also go to nightclubs and brothels, but because they have less disposable income, they cannot go as frequently as the mining company employees, who also outnumber them.

The client who is a native of Cajamarca and who has sex with children and/or adolescents from the area is marked by a *machista* upbringing that has taught him that having sex with minors reaffirms him in the eyes of others. Clients who work for the mining company, who generally live far from their families, go to the city looking for fun, knowing that no one there knows them. They say openly that they go in search of sex and alcohol.

3.10 **Ayacucho: Forgotten by God**

Until just a few years ago, most clients involved in the sexual exploitation of children and adolescents were foreigners or Peruvians who came to Ayacucho for Holy Week. That changed, however, with the arrival of international companies involved in the development of the Camisea gas project and the downturn in tourism. Most of the clientele is now local.

Children and adolescents are sexually exploited in a series of circuits. Most adolescents between ages 14 and 17 are found in nightclubs and discotheques, where they are mixed in with older women. The clients' ages vary. Some places draw young men of ages 15 to 22, while in others the ages range up to

about 45. As in Cajamarca, the business has become more sophisticated and it is possible to find bars for different types of clients, from clubs called *peñas* for people from the upper economic classes (sectors A and B) to bars in very dangerous areas for men from sectors C and D.

The girls and adolescents are recruited to work as hostesses in bars and discotheques, many of which operate on the ground floor of a hotel or hostel. Little by little, the owners lure the girls and adolescents into the commercial sex circuit. According to our sources, many of the bar owners also own brothels and hotels.

As in Cajamarca, the clients include people from the area and from the companies; the latter are most easily identified.

This is the second case we found in our study in which the arrival of a transnational company has resulted in an increase in commercial sex with children and adolescents.

3.11 Chiclayo: Magnet for development of the sex trade

We were drawn to Chiclayo because of an investigation that began in Lima, where one of our researchers posed as a minor seeking work in a nightclub. She met a man who offered her a job in a group of nightclubs that he managed in both Lima and Chiclayo. The recruiter offered her room and board in an area of Chiclayo where there are a number of brothels where men can have sex with adolescents.

We followed this lead and found that this network was also recruiting girls in Cajamarca, offering them room and board and jobs as domestic workers, receptionists, etc. When they reach Chiclayo, however, they discover that the job does not exist and they are stuck with a debt that they cannot repay. That is when some “friends” appear whose job is to seduce them and introduce them into the world of sexual exploitation.

These are two recruitment systems with the same goal: the sexual exploitation of children and adolescents.

Another child-trafficking network was identified through an exclusive nightclub located in a residential area of Lima. The members of this network recruit girls from the jungle and take them to Chiclayo. The girls are later taken to Lima to provide sex services in that nightclub.

The exploitation of girls and adolescents is clearly visible on some streets in Chiclayo. The girls are protected by certain street vendors in the area; some have emotional ties with the vendors, who charge them a fee for each client.

There are also nightclubs where it is not unusual to find minor girls (between ages 16 and 18, approximately). An alarming number of these girls are also found in brothels. In fact, of all the cities we investigated except Lima, this was the place where we found the greatest number of exploited adolescents in a brothel.

The clients are merchants who are passing through the city as well as local men. They are from different socio-economic classes and of different ages. There is no particular time of day when they solicit sex; the activity can be seen at any hour of the day.

3.12 Iquitos: Sex paradise

Iquitos has a large number of working children and adolescents. In the main plaza alone, we found about 50 school-age children at work shining shoes, selling sweets, cleaning motorcycle taxis, selling newspapers, etc. Among them, it is not unusual to find some who have been sexually exploited from an early age. The clients are Peruvian and foreign tourists, as well as local men.

This is a form of sexual exploitation known as “sex tourism,” which takes advantage of the Internet to offer tourist packages that include sex with children and adolescents.

3.12.1 Circuits

Unlike other cities where the sexual exploitation circuits are generally more hidden, or at least more discreet, in Iquitos the sex trade is out in the open. It is easy to find plazas, brothels, nightclubs, bars, etc., where both underage girls and adult women offer commercial sex.

In Iquitos it is easy to identify these “transactions” between children of both sexes and adults, usually either Peruvian or foreign tourists. In the former case, the children begin by acting as guides for the tourists and are later exploited by them. The latter case usually involves a homosexual relationship with boys whose ages range from 8 to 17. It is surprising how naturally this activity is considered to be and the complicity that exists, not only on the part of the children, but also on the part of bystanders, merchants, authorities and the general public. Many local people make a living by serving as contacts between children and adolescents and tourists. These people are economic exploiters.

Foreign and Peruvian tourists often rent boats in which they take children out on the river not only to have sex with them, but also to tape pornographic videos. In the Polvos Azules market in Lima we had access to one of these videos, which showed commercial sex with an adolescent who was no older than 14.

In the city’s many nightclubs and discotheques, it is always possible to find minor girls, especially adolescents of 14 or older, who are not only exploited in exchange for cash, but who sometimes also offer sex in exchange for clothing or food. There are also groups of adolescent boys who go to

discotheques and bars frequented by adult men who demand sex in exchange for liquor and cigarettes. For these clients, the sex circuit reaffirms their virility.

During our investigation in Iquitos, reliable sources mentioned the existence of underground agencies whose Web pages appear on the Internet and that offer tour packages that include sex with children and adolescents. This service is generally hired by tourists who sometimes take advantage of the opportunity to film the children and adolescents and later sell the videos in closed markets. This is a case of child pornography. Our investigative team found one of these videos in the Polvos Azules market.

3.12.2 Characteristics of the exploitation of minors

3.12.2.1 Early sexual initiation

As in many parts of the Peruvian jungle, sexual initiation usually occurs shortly after the onset of puberty, between ages 11 and 12. There are cultural reasons that could explain this (a common custom in native communities), but the problem is also related to overcrowding. In Iquitos, poor families live in houses of one or two rooms shared by parents and children.

Thus the involvement of minors in sexual exploitation not only begins early, but also occurs almost naturally. Neither the exploiters nor the children themselves consider sex with minors to be a crime.

Of all the areas covered by our investigation, Iquitos was definitely the place where we found the largest number of minors being sexually exploited, not only by pimps but also by their own parents. This situation is accepted by society.

3.12.2.2 **The permissiveness of society**

In Iquitos, society is very open to issues related to sexuality. Part of the region's identity is linked to pleasure in direct, explicit sexuality. This, however, can lead to the propagation of less acceptable behaviours (from sexual exploitation to ignorance about contraceptive methods) with no criticism from society's institutions.

The exploitation of minors, therefore, is fairly common in the city's streets, and many members of society participate in it. In other words, child sexual exploitation is not clandestine.

In this area, society has not become aware of the sexual exploitation of children and adolescents. This has shaped the attitudes of many parents, who see their children's involvement in commercial sex as a legitimate way of making a living and contributing to the family income.

3.12.3 **The local clientele**

Foreign and local tourists are the main clients for the sexual exploitation of children and adolescents, but they are not the only ones. Thanks to its sexual permissiveness, Iquitos has become the "paradise" of the country's sex trade.

The local client is the one who has the least interest in using condoms, making this area a potential focal point for sexually transmitted illnesses and HIV.

Peruvian legislation on the exploitation of children

Although it seems unbelievable, the term “sexual exploitation” does not appear in our legislation, and the only sanction applies to “pimping,” meaning the pimp. Nevertheless, neither the Public Ministry nor the Judiciary keeps statistics on the number of cases against pimps or how many are arrested in police raids on brothels. In addition, the sanctions against pimps only apply when the minor is under age 14. What happens in the case of adolescents between ages 14 and 17? Nothing. They are completely unprotected.

In countries such as Costa Rica, under current legislation, having sexual relations with minors under age 18 is a crime punishable by up to 10 years in prison. The paying client, who promises economic or some other type of compensation, is punished. Sweden’s criminal code prohibits the sexual exploitation of minors under age 18 and punishes the client.

Some Peruvian legislators have begun trying to remedy the situation by presenting draft laws that would reform

the Criminal Code. These drafts have languished in the legislature, however, because of a lack of political will. As a result, debate in Congress focuses on current events, and defence of the rights of children and adolescents is ignored.

4.1 What does our legislation say?

4.1.1 Child pornography

Article 183-A protects minors, making it a crime to possess, promote, manufacture, distribute, sell or exhibit pornographic material involving minors.

4.1.2 Child prostitution

Article 179 of the Criminal Code sanctions anyone who promotes or encourages the prostitution of another person; aggravated prostitution involves a victim under age 14, and the sanction increases from four to 12 years in prison.

4.1.3 Child sex tourism

There is no legislation on “child sex tourism,” and representatives of associations and institutions working in tourism admit that there is no political will to eliminate it.

4.1.4 Rape of minors

Article 173 of the Criminal Code sanctions the rape of children under age 14.

4.2 National draft legislation

4.2.1 Draft Law 4478 introduced by Mercedes Cabanillas (Child pornography)

- Objective: to consider all minors, not only those under age 14, to be passive victims of crimes against public decency.

- Introduced on November 14, 2002.
Not yet approved.
- Draft Law 4478 would modify article 183, Chapter XI, “Crimes against Public Decency,” of Title IV Crimes against Liberty, of the Criminal Code.
- The draft law includes the transmission of obscene information (images, objects, books, written material, information by Internet) to minors. It also includes people who incite minors to engage in obscene acts and/or participate in obscene performances.
- According to the draft, the spirit of this law is part of the doctrine of comprehensive protection, which makes issues involving minors a social priority requiring preferential attention from state authorities.

In juridical terms, this is a matter of protecting legal rights of wards of the court.

- This draft law is based on the following international legislation:
 - International Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations), approved by Peru in August 1990.

4.2.2 Draft Law 6472 introduced by Rosa Marina León Flores (child pornography)

- Overall objective of the draft law: proposes drastic sanctions for the sexual exploitation of children.
- Specific objective: to include the Internet and new technologies in the Criminal Code.
- Introduced on April 15, 2003. Has not been approved.
- Draft Law 6472 would modify article 183-A, Chapter XI, “Offences against Public Decency,” of Title IV Crimes against Liberty, of the Criminal Code.

- This draft law aims to define the Internet and new technologies as means for the exploitation of children for pornography.
- This proposal is based on the following international legislation:
 - International Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations), approved by Peru in August 1990.
 - Convention on the Civil Aspects of International Child Abduction, approved by Peru in June 2000.
- It also takes into consideration:
 - Article 2, section 24 b) of the Peruvian Constitution on personal freedom and security.
 - The National Action Plan for Children and Adolescents 2002-2010 (PNAI)

4.2.3 Draft Law 5236 introduced by Antero Flores-Araoz (child pornography)

- Objective of draft law: to include the Internet in legislation on child pornography.
- Introduced on January 13, 2003. Has not been approved.
- Draft Law 5236 would modify article 183-A and add article 183-B, Chapter XI, "Offences against Public Decency" of Title IV Crimes against Liberty, in the Criminal Code.
- This draft law aims to define the Internet and new technologies as means for the exploitation of children for pornography.
- The draft law would punish people who promote, distribute or sell pornography and includes measures to ensure that public Internet establishments demonstrate their rejection of child pornography.

- This proposal arose in response to an increase in this type of pornography reported in the media.

4.2.4 Draft Law 6379 introduced by Dora Núñez Dávila (aggravated child pornography)

- Objective of the draft law: to protect minors from people who exploit them and who have family ties or are in a position of authority.
- Introduced on April 8, 2003. Has not been approved.
- Draft Law 6379 would add article 183-C to Chapter XI, "Offences against Public Decency," in Title IV Crimes against Liberty of the Criminal Code.
- This law would punish people who, as members of a criminal network, sexually exploit minors.
- The legal basis of this draft law consists of:
 - The Peruvian Constitution.
 - Law N° 27337 of the Code for Children and Adolescents.
 - The Convention on the Rights of the Child.
 - Leg. Res. N° 25717, by which Peru ratified the Rome Statute on the International Criminal Court.

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4.2.5 Draft Law 4498 introduced by Mercedes Cabanillas (child prostitution)

- Objective: to sanction adults (clients and exploiters) who promote the prostitution of minors under age 18.
- Introduced on November 6, 2002.
Has not been approved.
- Draft Law 4498 would modify section 1 of article 179 and would add article 179-A to Chapter X, "Prostitution of Minors," of Title IV Crimes against Liberty, of the Criminal Code.

- This draft law aims to sanction those who foster or promote the prostitution of minors under age 18 (modification to section 1) and those who hire a minor between ages 14 and 18 for sex (article 179-A).
- This draft law is based on the following international legislation:
 - International Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations), approved by Peru in August 1990.
 - Spanish Criminal Code: comparative legislation.
 - Costa Rican Criminal Code: comparative legislation.
 - Swedish Criminal Code: comparative legislation.

4.2.6 Draft Law 3867 introduced by

Rosa León, Elvira de La Puente (prostitution of minors)

- Objective: to increase sanctions for people who promote or foster the prostitution of minors under age 18.
- Introduced on September 11, 2002.
Has not been approved.
- The authors are:
Rosa Marina León Flores, Elvira de la Puente Haya, Susana Higuchi Miyagawa, Dora Núñez Dávila, Luz Sánchez Pinedo, Ana Elena Townsend Diez Canseco, Rosa Yanarico Huanta, Martha Lupe Moyano Delgado.
- Draft Law 4498 would add article 179-A to Chapter X, "Prostitution of Minors," of Title IV Crimes against Liberty, of the Criminal Code.
- This draft law aims to sanction those who foster / promote the prostitution of minors under age 18 (modification of section 1) and those who hire minors between ages 14 and 18 for sex (article 179-A).
- The spirit of this proposed legislation is to protect minors between ages 14 and 18 who are currently unprotected by the law (which covers only minors under age 14).

- This draft bill is based on the following international legislation:
 - International Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations), approved by Peru in August 1990.
 - Spanish Criminal Code: comparative legislation.
 - Costa Rican Criminal Code: comparative legislation.
 - Swedish Criminal Code: comparative legislation.

4.2.7 Draft Law 1409 introduced by Julia Valenzuela Cuéllar.
Co-signer: Luis Gonzales Reinoso (prostitution of minors)

- Objective: to consider children and adolescents under age 18 as minors covered by laws related to the prostitution of minors.
- Introduced on November 22, 2001.
Has not been approved.
- Draft Law 1409 would modify articles 179 and 180 of Chapter X, "Prostitution of Minors," of Title IV Crimes against Liberty, of the Criminal Code.
- This draft law aims to correct current legislation, which protects only minors under age 14 against prostitution.
- This draft law is based on the following international legislation:
 - International Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations), approved by Peru in August 1990.
 - Law N° 27337, approving the Code for Children and Adolescents.

4.2.8 Draft Law 6472 introduced by Rosa Marina León Flores
(Prostitution of Minors)

- Overall objective of the draft law: to propose drastic sanctions for the sexual exploitation of children.

- Specific objective: to increase the age range of victims of prostitution (minors under age 18) and include those who foster and/or promote the prostitution of minors.
- Introduced on April 15, 2003. Has not been approved.
- Draft Law 6472 would modify article 179 of Chapter X, "Prostitution of Minors," of Title IV, Crimes against Liberty, of the Criminal Code.
- This draft law would expand the definition of rape to include a series of situations not contemplated under earlier laws (godparent relationships, victim's age between 14 and 18, victim's state of unconsciousness, victim's inability to resist, use of objects as tools of rape).
- This draft law is based on the following international legislation:
 - International Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations), approved by Peru in August 1990.
 - Convention on Civil Aspects of International Child Abduction, approved by Peru in June 2000.
- It also takes into consideration:
 - Article 2, section 24 b) of the Peruvian Constitution on personal freedom and security.
 - The National Action Plan for Children and Adolescents 2002-2010 (PNAI).

4.2.9 Draft Law 5521 introduced by Cecilia Tait (Prostitution of Minors)

- Objective: to sanction those who foster and/or promote child prostitution and to expand protection to all minors under age 18.
- Introduced on February 4, 2003. Has not been approved.

- Draft Law 6472 would modify article 179 and add article 179 to Chapter X, “Prostitution of Minors,” of Title IV, Crimes against Liberty, of the Criminal Code.
- Would correct current legislation, which protects only minors under age 14. This law would also punish those who hire the sexual services of a minor (clients).

4.2.10 Draft Law 5065 introduced by Luis González Posada Eyzaguirre (Prostitution of Minors)

- Objective: to define crimes that promote the sexual exploitation of children.
- Introduced on December 18, 2002. Has not been approved.
- The legislative initiative would add articles 180-A, Pimping of children by criminals (*rufianismo*); 181-A, Pimping of children; and 182-A, Trafficking of minors.
- Would punish people who promote child prostitution in various forms defined in the law.
- This draft law is based on the following international legislation:
 - International Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations), approved by Peru in August 1990.

4.2.11 Draft Law 6472 introduced by Rosa Marina León Flores (Child sex tourism)

- Overall objective of the draft law: to propose drastic sanctions for the sexual exploitation of children.
- Specific objective: to include child sex tourism in Peruvian legislation.
- Introduced on April 15, 2003. Has not been approved.

- Draft Law 6472 would add section 181-B to the Criminal Code.
- This section would punish anyone who directly or indirectly promotes tourism for the purpose of hiring minors for sex.
- This draft law is based on the following international legislation:
 - International Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations), approved by Peru in August 1990.
 - World Tourism Organisation norms for travel agencies.
- It also takes into consideration:
 - Article 2, section 24 b) of the Peruvian Constitution on personal freedom and security.
 - The Stockholm Action Plan against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents.
 - The National Action Plan for Children and Adolescents 2002-2010 (PNAI).

4.2.12 Draft Law 5557 introduced by Antero Flores-Aráoz (Sex tourism)

- Specific objective: to include the crime of child sex tourism in Peruvian legislation.
- Introduced on February 11, 2003.
- Draft Law 5557 would add article 181-A to the Criminal Code and give the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Tourism 60 days to issue complementary administrative regulations that all providers of tourism services must meet to prevent and combat child sex tourism.
- The draft law was prompted by news reports that appeared shortly before it was introduced.

4.2.13 Draft Law 6472 introduced by Rosa Marina León Flores (Rape)

- Overall objective: to propose drastic sanctions for the sexual exploitation of children.
- Specific objective: to broaden the definition of rape (including rape of minors).
- Introduced on April 15, 2003. Has not been approved.
- Draft Law 6472 would modify article 170 of the Criminal Code. It would also eliminate article 175 of the Criminal Code on the seduction of minors.
- This draft law would expand the definition of rape, detailing a series of situations not included in earlier legislation (godparent relationship, victim's age between 14 and 18, victim's state of unconsciousness, victim's inability to resist, use of objects as tools for rape).
- This draft law is based on the following international legislation:
 - International Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations), approved by Peru in August 1990.
 - Convention on Civil Aspects of International Child Abduction, approved by Peru in June 2000.
- It also takes into consideration:
 - Article 2, section 24 b) of the Peruvian Constitution on personal freedom and security.
 - The National Action Plan for Children and Adolescents 2002-2010 (PNAI).

4.2.14 Draft Law 6416 presented by Dora Núñez Dávila (aggravated rape of a child)

- Objective of the draft law: to severely punish those who, by committing the crime of rape, infect with a sexually transmitted illness or cause the death of a minor under age 14.

- Presented on April 9, 2003. Has not been approved.
- Draft Law 6416 modifies articles 173-A and 177 of the Criminal Code.
- This draft law aims to avoid the spread of sexually transmitted illnesses and HIV.

4.3 Laws approved in the last two legislative periods

4.3.1 Law establishing the installation of software in public Internet facilities (child pornography)

- Approved in the Second Ordinary Legislative Session.
- Key points:
 - Owners and managers of public Internet facilities are required to install special software that restricts access to Web pages with pornographic content and/or information.
 - Municipalities are responsible for ensuring compliance with the law through registration and oversight of public Internet establishments.

4.3.2 Law on the prevention and sanctioning of sexual harassment

- Approved in the First Ordinary Legislative Session.
- Key points:
 - Within a series of norms related to labour relations, Chapter III Article 17 on the punishment of sexual harassment in schools refers to sanctions for teachers and principals.

4.3.3 Law regulating extraordinary administrative measures for teachers or administrative personnel implicated in crimes of violation of sexual liberty.

- Approved in the First Ordinary Legislative Session.

- Key points:
 - This law addresses the consequences for teachers and administrative personnel who commit sex crimes.

4.3.4 Additional information

- Of the 882 bills drafted in ordinary commissions of Congress (August 2001 to July 2002), only two became laws specifically referring to children and adolescents.
- Of the 1,929 bills drafted in ordinary commissions of Congress (August 2002 to July 2003), only two became laws specifically referring to children and adolescents.

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4.4 Other

Ordinance N° 12-2003-MDSM, issued by the Municipal Government of the District of San Miguel, requires that minors using public Internet establishments be prevented from having access to pages with pornographic content. Within 24 months, special software must be installed to ensure that access to Internet pornography in general is restricted. The same ordinance requires that the establishments post a sign warning that minors are prohibited from viewing Web pages with pornographic content and sets fines for failure to comply with the regulations.

- The client, who is the main sexual exploiter of children and adolescents, is impossible to define and does not fit a single behaviour pattern; rather, this is a behaviour of adults who use their power (economic, social, etc.) to take sexual advantage of children and adolescents. It is both an economic transaction, prostitution or pornography, and a relationship in which children and adolescents are required to have sex through coercion using threats or gifts. This is the case with minors who work as domestic employees and whose employers ask them for sex under threat of loss of their jobs. This is domestic sexual exploitation.
- Just as we cannot pigeonhole the client, it is impossible to say he has pathological characteristics or is a paedophile. Our investigation found many adults who are “potential clients” and who have no awareness of this preference, which they have learned throughout their lives. In the case of clients who take advantage of opportunity and those who have a preference for children and adolescents, we can only say

that it is necessary to highlight the fact that the children and adolescents are people with rights, not objects or bodies offered for sale.

- While the client is often not really aware of what he is doing, he clearly benefits from a society that not only does not judge him, but that in many cases celebrates his taking sexual advantage of children and adolescents; thus he uses the exploitation to reaffirm his masculinity.
- The client of sexual exploitation with children and adolescents often acts to reaffirm the *machista* values of Peruvian society: the possibility of dominating a person who he considers inferior (a child, a woman, a poor person, etc.), demonstrating that he is still able to perform sexually, satisfying male sexual desires, demonising unrestrained female sexuality symbolised by prostitutes, etc..
- The client of the sexual exploitation of children is not necessarily a paedophile, as paedophiles are those who constantly and pathologically seek out children (including infants).
- The clients of child sexual exploitation deny the rights of the children and adolescents by using them as objects, as “goods” exchanged in a business transaction.
- Most people do not perceive sexual relations with minors as “prohibited” sex. The option of engaging in this type of sex is considered a personal issue (each person makes the decision based on his own values) and a matter of opportunity (if someone is available). The lack of sex education and adequate legislation in this area favours the sexual exploitation of children and adolescents.
- The sexual exploitation of children and adolescents in Peru is frequent and occurs in different ways. Depending on the

social structure, the exploitation may be open or more discreet. For example, in a society like that of Iquitos, which is open to sexual issues in general, the exploitation is public, while in more conservative societies, like that of Ayacucho, it takes place “behind closed doors” and in many cases is not even recognised as such.

- Minors are unable to decide whether to enter the sex market; they are pushed into the exploitation circuit, in one way or another, by adults. The commercial exploiters who make a living from the children and adolescents are not aware of where they come from. There is no awareness, based on morals or education, of the psychological risks and consequences for the children and adolescents.
- The economic exploiters profit from and/or live off the sexual exploitation of the children and adolescents. These include not only the pimps (*cafichos* and *mamis*), but also, in many cases, the children’s parents, older brothers, relatives, employers, etc.
- Peru’s sexual exploitation networks operate with impunity, transporting children and adolescents from depressed area to the country’s major cities to exploit them. The trafficking of children is a form of sexual exploitation, as is “sex tourism.”
- National legislation punishes pimps when the minor is under age 14, but leaves adolescents between ages 14 and 17 unprotected.
- While punishing the client will not provide a definite solution to the problem, it would help discourage clients. Nevertheless, it is also necessary to develop government policy that includes the rehabilitation of children and adolescents who have been sexually exploited, as well as campaigns to raise public awareness in order to involve all of society in the search for long-term solutions.

- Efforts by members of Congress to modernise legislation related to the sexual exploitation of children are inefficient, not only because of a lack of interest by the full Congress in debating issues other than those that are of immediate importance, but also because of a lack of joint work on the issue.
- Sexual exploitation occurs in full view of authorities, and little or nothing is done about it. The Public Ministry and the Judiciary do not keep official statistics of the number of cases against pimps or how many pimps have been detained in police raids.
- The sexual exploitation of children and adolescents appears in the media in news reports that tend not to mention the person who is mainly responsible for the problem: the client. This silence contributes to the impunity that characterises this type of behaviour.

- **Child pornography:** This is generally defined as the explicit description or exhibition of sexual activity involving minors, in printed form, film, photographs, Internet or other media, to stimulate the instinctive desire for sexual contact more than aesthetic or emotional sensations.
- **Child prostitution:** The commercial exchange that an adult makes to take sexual advantage of a minor. Children between ages 14 and 17 represent the largest and most vulnerable group of prostituted minors.
- **Child sexual abuse:** The imposition of sex acts through physical contact between a child and an adult for the adult's sexual gratification. Sexual abuse involves a wide range of sexual behaviours, from exhibitionism to touching or anal and/or vaginal penetration.
- **Child sexual exploitation:** The behaviour of an adult who, through the use of power (economic, social, job-related, physical, etc.) takes advantage of a minor's sexuality to obtain material benefits or personal pleasure, whether as a pimp or as a client.
- **Client:** An adult who, through an economic transaction, demands sexual services in exchange for money, clothing, etc., to obtain personal pleasure.
- **Criminal pimp (*rufián*):** An adult dedicated to the trafficking of women for profit.
- **Criminal pimping (*rufianismo*):** The activity in which adults exploit the earnings obtained by a woman engaged in prostitution. The women may be dominated by force, threat or base seduction.

- **Domestic sexual exploitation:** A form of non-commercial sexual exploitation that occurs inside the home and is characterised by an adult, usually an employer, who takes sexual advantage of a domestic worker using his economic power over her.
- **Domestic violence:** Violent acts committed in the home by family members. Although not all violence is committed by men, those cases constitute the majority.
- **Economic exploiter:** An adult who profits from taking sexual advantage of a minor. This involves not only the typical pimp (commonly known as a *caficho* or *mami*), but also people who have a direct relationship with the minor, such as parents, boyfriends, relatives, etc.
- **Incest:** A transgression that involves sexual relations between relatives. Although some forms of incest are taboo in all societies, the degree of the relationship in which sexual relationships are prohibited varies considerably depending on the culture and historical moment. In general, it can be said that sex is prohibited between mother and son, father and daughter, and sister and brother.
- **Intermediary:** The person who recruits minors for sexual exploitation. Includes not only people who seek to profit from the minors, but also friends, relatives, etc., who receive no benefit.
- **Paedophilia:** Sexual attraction to children who have not reached puberty. Refers to desire, and initially does not necessarily include sexual contact. This phenomenon mainly affects men.
- **Paraphilias:** Sexual perversions, referring to the sexual behaviour of certain people who become aroused by

inappropriate stimuli, defined as those that are not socially accepted. Sexual problems of this type fall into two categories: dysfunction (sexual incapacity) and deviation. It is believed that paraphiles should be classified as deviants.

- **People smuggling:** Facilitating the irregular or illegal migration of people.
- **Pimp:** The person who ensnares, seduces or abducts a person to give him or her to another person for the purpose of having sexual relations.
- **Prostituted children and adolescents:** Children and adolescents who, without the possibility of deciding for themselves, are forced by another person to enter the sex market.
- **Prostitution:** Refers to sex acts exclusively for profit. Prostitution occurs among both sexes, and the services may be heterosexual or homosexual, although historically this activity has mainly involved women (with male clients), reflecting the woman's traditional socio-economic dependence and the tendency to exploit female sexuality. There is a growing tendency to involve children and adolescents in sexual exploitation. The children most likely to be drawn into prostitution are those who have no source of income other than the exchange of sexual favours for money.
- **Seduction:** In legal terms, seduction is the act by which an adult subtly persuades another person to engage in an activity that is counter to good customs and morals.
- **Sensory sexual violence:** Sexual violence using stimuli such as gifts, pornography or other types of images.

- **Sex market:** A series of transactions or agreements between people who buy and sell sex in any form (pornography, prostitution, etc.). In contrast with a simple sale, the market implies regular, regulated commerce in which there is a certain competition among the participants, linking the mechanisms of supply and demand.
- **Sex tourism:** The practice of travelling to places other than one's local area to satisfy sexual desires through commercial sex. There are places in the world that are considered "sex paradises," where tourists have commercial sex with children and adolescents.
- **Sexual exploiter:** An adult who takes sexual advantage of a minor. Sexual exploitation occurs not only in exchange for money (commercial exploitation), but also in exchange for favours or gifts, or because of threats, etc. (non-commercial exploitation). The client of commercial sex is the most obvious sexual exploiter, but not the only one. There are adults who take sexual advantage of minors who live in their houses, their employees in the workplace, etc.
- **Sexual perversion:** Refers to various sexual behaviours that society considers abnormal or unpleasant; in psychology, this concept has basically the same meaning, but recent usage refers more to violent behaviour. From the standpoint of clinical psychological diagnosis, unusual expressions of sexuality are no longer termed perverse; they are only considered a psychological problem if they create an imbalance in the person who engages in the behaviour or in those with whom such a person has sex.
- **Sexual violence:** Sexual relations without the consent of one of the participants or sexual relations imposed by violence.

- **Sexual violence by action:** Sexual violence involving non-genital penetration using objects.
- **Sexual violence by stimulation:** Sexual contact by “touching” that does not necessarily involve the genitals, but which does involve intimate parts of the body.
- **Sexuality:** A series of emotional and behavioural phenomena related to sex, which have a decisive impact on human beings at all stages of development. The concept of sexuality includes both the sexual urge, aimed at immediate pleasure and reproduction, and various aspects of the psychological relationship with one’s own body (feeling oneself to be male, female or both) and expectations related to social roles.
- **Trafficking:** The recruitment, transportation, purchase and sale of people under threat, the use of violence, fraud, deceit or coercion for the purpose of exploitation.
- **Trafficking of minors:** An activity that consists of promoting or facilitating, through commitment, seduction, abduction and transportation, the entry to or exit from a country by one or more women or minors for the purpose of prostitution, under the guidance and direction of professional pimps from the same country or abroad, for profit.
- **Violence:** Forcing a person to do something against his or her will. Violence is not only the use of brute force, but can also be subtle; in that case, it is referred to as psychological violence.