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A Review of Spanish-Language Literature from Latin America on Sex Trafficking

Final Report

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FOREWORD

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Goals and Objectives

Much has been written in the English-speaking world on the topic of sex trafficking, but little is known about what researchers elsewhere have produced on this topic, particularly those in Latin America, especially considering the widely reported problem in the region. It is the intent of this study to systematically examine the body of literature produced by researchers in Latin America on sex trafficking. The overall goal of this project is to produce a comprehensive bibliography of publications on sex trafficking by Latin American researchers and to ascertain their knowledge of this pressing global problem. The specific objectives of this study include:

- 1) identifying and compiling publications by researchers from Latin America;
- 2) grouping literature according to its basic research orientation (i.e., empirical versus non-empirical);
- 3) for empirical studies, identifying and assessing study methods and designs;
- 4) summarizing main findings and policy implications; and
- 5) creating an annotated bibliography that will allow English-speaking researchers easy access to this body of literature.

Methods

The research team conducted an exhaustive literature search to locate any existing publications in the Spanish -language publications from Latin America on the topic of sex trafficking. The search included all publicly available media, including computerized data bases, library collections, and online postings by government and non-government agencies.

The criteria for inclusion in this literature review were rather broad, and included any published or unpublished papers, articles, books utilizing any qualitative (such as ethnographies,

case studies, court cases, policy analysis) or quantitative (such as a survey, field study, evaluation, or content analysis) methods on any aspect of sex trafficking (e.g., commercial sexual exploitation of children, brothels, massage parlors, and topless bars). The intent was to cast a wide net so as to capture as much useful information as possible because sex trafficking comes in many forms, and therefore studies of every possible configuration should be included in this review.

Certain exclusion criteria were imposed to differentiate between articles intended for popular and general public consumption and articles based on systematic research or analytical efforts. Materials to be excluded from the study included any popular media products, such as newspaper and magazine articles, any artistic or creative discussions/presentations of the topic, video documentaries, videos and movies on human trafficking, television news reports; research on illegal migration only; research exclusively on prostitution; and papers on reproductive rights and health. Furthermore, publications prior to 2000 were excluded because at that point in time there were no commonly accepted definitions of human trafficking, and most countries did not have laws to criminalize it.

A set of search key words and their various configurations related to sex trafficking (such as sex trafficking, sexual exploitation, human trafficking) were used for the literature search. Three major sources were utilized in this study: (1) all academic journal databases in the university library and affiliated university library networks; (2) all country government websites in Latin America; and (3) all well-known international and non-government organizations (either directly or peripherally related to human trafficking, human rights, migration, and labor).. Google and Google Scholar were also searched to ensure that all possible electronic sources were exhausted.

The content analysis of the located literature was assisted using a structured coding instrument, which was devised to extract common elements from all publications, such as year of publication, author affiliation, type of data, and methods utilized. Quality control procedures were established to ensure consistency in coding and accuracy in data entry. Common elements extracted from the located literature were entered into an SPSS data file. Substantive analysis was also conducted to extract unique findings and perspectives from these publications.

Finally, a short synopsis was created for each located publication. Whenever the original abstract was available, it was translated so as to closely reflect the authors' intent. Two types of bibliographies were created in this study: one in the format of conventional research citations for quickly locating a specific publication, and the other as an annotated bibliography to provide a rather detailed idea on what is in the publication.

Findings

A total of 72 publications were found, as shown in the following figure. The volume of publications appeared to be on a steady climb since the beginning of the decade (i.e., 2000), peaked around 2006 and 2007, and then dropped off sharply.

The majority of the literature was produced by non-government organizations, accounting for 61 percent of the total. By contrast, about 12 percent of the total located literature was found in academic journals. The vast majority of the literature was in the form of papers or articles. Book length publications (or monographs) accounted for about 12 percent of the total literature.

Analysts from international or non-government organizations analysts made up the largest group of the authors, at 42 percent. Authors from academic institutions accounted for about 19 percent of the publications. The remaining 31 percent of publications had no identifiable authors, to which the organizations that hosted the websites or published the reports

were assigned as the owners of these publications and listed in the bibliographies.

Close to two thirds of all the located literature was on the topic of commercial sexual exploitation of children (or CSEC). Well over a third of the publications, 39 percent, used primary data collection; another 18 percent used secondary data analysis. The rest were policy papers, position papers, or legal analyses that did not use empirical data. The vast majority of the empirical papers involved qualitative methods.

Many authors sought to understand the causes of trafficking, forms of recruitment, and the modus operandi of trafficking activities. Consistent with the literature in the English language, many Latin American authors were also eager to offer their opinions on why sex trafficking took place. Many offered up multiple factors as causes of sex trafficking, including poverty, gender inequality, patriarchal culture, inadequate employment opportunities, education, drug addiction, and various forms of violence.

Substantive Patterns. Four main discernible patterns emerged based on this literature review: (1) there was a sharp decline in the production of trafficking-related literature after 2007; (2) the vast majority of the publications were authored by individuals affiliated with non-government organizations, advocacy groups, and government agencies; (3) of the publications located in this study, few employed parametric procedures (so that we still don't know much about the extent and scope of sex trafficking in Latin America); and (4) the located literature was primarily focused on the sexual exploitation of children. The following sections provide some analysis about these observed patterns.

Nuanced Cultural Understandings. Some of the narratives in the literature deserve particular attention due to the authors' nuanced analysis of various cultural practices that enable and perpetuate sex trafficking activities. Some of the examples include: (1) an analysis of the

machismo culture and social tolerance towards commercial sexual exploitation of children in Latin America; (2) the culture of pimping in certain communities inside Mexico; and (3) the feminization of transnational migration as a risk factor for women and children.

Discussion

Literature produced by Latin American researchers revealed some fascinating trends and facts about sex trafficking in that part of the world. But the overall volume of literature was rather small. Much less was empirically based. Furthermore, international and non-government organizations were the dominant force in research on sex trafficking. The principal interest of researchers in this field appeared to be child sexual exploitation. Many of the articles explained that their research should serve as an initial step in understanding the complexity of sex trafficking, which implied that much more research was needed.

Perhaps the most striking finding in this study of Spanish-language sex trafficking literature was the paucity of scholarly articles. Repeated searches through a total of 35 journal databases (some very popular and others peripheral) turned up few scholarly articles. If one were to gauge the seriousness of a problem by the amount of published literature, one would draw the conclusion that sex trafficking and the related sexual exploitation of children were mainly problems of the English speaking world. Whatever was found in the Spanish-language publications suggests that the traditional academic community has paid little attention to this supposedly global problem, since the vast majority of the papers had been produced and disseminated by government agencies, non-governmental organizations, and advocacy groups.

There are several possible explanations for this. First, one may attribute this shortage of literature to the size of the academic or social science community in Latin America. Secondly, in comparison to the English-speaking world, there are relatively fewer scholarly outlets. Finally,

perhaps the anti-sex trafficking movement and the associated discourse have remained a largely Western phenomenon and failed to achieve similar levels of intensity as those witnessed in the U.S.

Most of the articles located in this study were non-governmental and international organization publications, found on non-governmental agencies' websites, or simply through Internet searches. In fact, a few international and non-government organizations appeared to have dominated the research on sex trafficking, specifically, the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the International Labor Organization (ILO or OIT), and ILO's sub-division the International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC). Many of these reports referenced each other, and much of the same knowledge was recycled through these articles. Governmental publications also quoted articles produced by these international and non-government organizations.

The fact that most of the research activities on this subject matter were concentrated within a few international and non-government organizations brings up several concerns. First, it is unclear whether the perspectives of native Latin American researchers have been adequately reflected in the literature, as these organizations operate at a transnational level. Second, while this study focused on Latin America, many of the publications did not reveal authors' names or their affiliations. Thirdly, the perspectives promulgated in the NGO publications essentially echoed one another; and there was little diversity, and few doubts or challenges in any of the publications. Such a stark lack of diversity in perspectives, ideas, and empirical findings is rather unusual in social science.

Findings in this literature review suggests that perhaps the main organizing forces behind the anti-trafficking campaign need to do a better job reaching out to the academic community

and be prepared to face dispassionate scholarly standards and measurement procedures. Regardless of one's moral compass, the anti-trafficking movement cannot become credible without the support of the academic community. Worse, prolonged and persistent claims and policy positions without well-researched empirical evidence run the risk of turning an otherwise noble campaign aimed at bringing about social justice and empowering the weak and the vulnerable into a moral crusade exuding little more than zealotry.

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I. INTRODUCTION

I.1. Goals and Objectives

Sex trafficking is a global topic that attracts wide attention and moral outrage from advocacy groups, governments, and the general public (International Organization for Migration, 2001, 2002). Numerous researchers have published on this topic. For instance, a recent study funded by the National Institute of Justice systematically reviewed a large body of English-language literature on human trafficking related topics (see Gozdziaik and Bump 2008). However, little is known about what researchers elsewhere have produced on this topic, particularly those in Latin America, considering the widespread and increasing trafficking activities reported by government agencies and international organizations in Latin American and the Caribbean regions (Langberg 2005).

Researchers in government agencies and non-government organizations in Latin America have been writing about the topic for some time (see review article by Langberg 2005). But little is known about their work in North America or elsewhere in the English-speaking research community, thus overlooking one potentially important body of literature produced by those who are closest to the field where trafficking activities are occurring and who know their socio-cultural practices the best. There have been, however, some anecdotal glimpses every now and then of the research work on sex trafficking in Latin America. For instance, researchers in Mexico explored the continued control of trafficking victims by their handlers as a result of an intense process of interpersonal subjugation linked to a woman's distorted perception of love, family, and sacrifice. In their ethnographic field work, Castro Soto et al. (2007) revealed the existence of entire communities in interior Mexico where pimps economically depended on the prostitution of women, as well as on the trafficking of women and children to other parts of the

country and the United States. Pimping became a way of life for men in these communities, who viewed women solely as sexual objects to be traded so that they could build ostentatious houses and gain social status. Such a nuanced display of cultural practices and gender inequalities as well as economic desperation is rarely made available to outside researchers. An analysis of cultural practices unique to each geographical location is sorely needed in the accumulation of our knowledge on transnational as well as domestic sex trafficking activities. It was therefore the intent of this study to systematically examine the literature on sex trafficking produced by researchers in Latin America.

This research team compiled, translated, analyzed, and summarized research papers and policy analysis reports on sex trafficking produced by researchers in Latin America. The overall goal was to produce a comprehensive bibliography of publications on sex trafficking by researchers from Latin America and to ascertain their understanding of this pressing global problem. The specific objectives of this study included:

1. identifying and compiling publications by researchers from Latin America;
2. grouping literature according to its basic research orientation (i.e., empirical versus non-empirical);
3. for empirical studies, identifying and assessing study methods and designs;
4. summarizing main findings and policy implications; and
5. creating an annotated bibliography that will allow English-speaking researchers easy access to this body of literature.

I.2. Study Background

Although trafficking for sexual or labor exploitation has been around for a long time, it

was only in recent years that deliberate efforts were made to differentiate trafficking in human beings from irregular (or illegal) migration for economic reasons. Human smuggling typically involves willing and fee-paying illegal migrants who migrate to other countries for economic reasons (Human Smuggling and Trafficking Center, 2005). The key differentiating elements for human trafficking are the presence of force and fraud. Internationally, most nations have now adopted the definition put forth by the United Nations in December 2000, with the signing in Italy of the *U.N. Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons*, which requires such elements as use of force, coercion, and deception for the purpose of sexual or labor exploitations (United Nations, 2000).

In its April 2006 report entitled *Trafficking In Persons: Global Patterns*, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime stated that “the trafficking of human beings [i]s a process rather than a single offense.” That process consists of four steps: recruitment, transportation, exploitation, and profit laundering (p. 57). In the June 2006 U.S. Department of State’s “Trafficking in Persons Report,” mandated by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA), Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice stated that “...trafficking in persons is more than a human rights objective; it is a matter of global security” (U.S. Department of State, 2006). Such statements reflect the multi-faceted nature of human trafficking as both a national and international matter requiring concerted attention.

Trafficking activities generally fall into two categories: (1) sex trafficking in which migrants are recruited, transported, harbored or held with the intent to perform sexual services, and (2) trafficking and harboring of individuals for involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery. It should be clarified that human trafficking, whether for labor or sexual exploitation, involves more than just moving individuals from location to location; it includes

any act of recruiting, transporting, transferring, harboring or receiving people for the purpose of exploitation and through the use of force and fraud and human trafficking takes place domestically and transnationally.¹

Due to budgetary constraints, this study elected to focus on sex trafficking literature, as opposed to the broader issue of human trafficking, which includes other forms of trafficking such as child labor, and indentured labor of different kinds. The emphasis on sex trafficking was also reflective of the reality that the vast majority of human trafficking literature is about sex trafficking. In their exhaustive literature review, Gozdzia and Bump (2008: 7) found that the vast majority of current literature on human trafficking was actually about sex trafficking; and the research community had paid scant attention to such trafficking activities as bonded labor and domestic servitude. In their review of nine reports from service organizations, Logan, Walker and Hunt (2009) found the same scarcity of research about labor trafficking. Reports from major international organizations (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2009; International Labor Organization 2006; International Organization for Migration 2000) have also pointed to the lopsided emphasis of current research on sex trafficking.

The definition of sex trafficking is not always straightforward. In the U.S., sex trafficking is defined in the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 (TVPA—Sec. 103.9.) as “the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act.” This definition applies a lower threshold to qualify such acts where force and fraud may or may not be present. Although the TVPA contains a section on the *severe* forms of trafficking, which include the use of deception, fraud, coercion and force, the general definition allows justice agencies greater flexibility in pursuing traffickers/smugglers that

¹ For a brief overview of the definition of human trafficking, refer to UNODC’s website at <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/human-trafficking/what-is-human-trafficking.html>.

transport women and children for the purpose of sexual exploitation (Hughes, 2000). In practice, however, the operational definition of sex trafficking remains an undefined process, because human smuggling and trafficking activities often overlap in stages from recruitment to transportation and final delivery. Such definitional overlaps have created challenges in law enforcement operations. For instance, as late as 2004, the confusion between smuggling and trafficking and the misuse of the two terms led the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), the lead federal agency with jurisdiction over human trafficking, to miscount the total number of trafficking investigations and arrests (U.S. Department of Justice, 2006).

These definitional complexities also create problems in the research community. The word “trafficking” can mean different things to different researchers, resulting in different methods of gauging the extent of the problem (Hughes, 2000; Raymond and Hughes, 2001). As will be discussed later in the findings section, such definitional challenges may have contributed to some of the findings.

Another issue worth discussion is the differing methods used by authors to gather and analyze data and to produce eventual findings and conclusions. These methods may include content analysis of police records and news media reports, interviews with law enforcement representatives, social service providers, victims, and perpetrators, or direct field observations. Empirical research involving first-hand data collection is a daunting task. Most researchers encounter problems accessing law enforcement investigations, the victim population or trafficking operators.

The nature of sex trafficking forces researchers to resort to a variety of research designs such as ethnographies and case studies. The reliability of the former is dependent upon such factors as the nature, size and representativeness of samples, sources of data, operationalization

of variables, and the ability to control threats to validity. One such threat to validity, for example, is the incentive of the various parties in human trafficking (victims, business operators, law enforcement authorities, service providers, etc.) to be deceitful when interviewed or surveyed. While qualitative studies are usually descriptive in nature, if conducted with sound procedures, they can produce useful and informative results. And given the current state of the art with respect to human trafficking research, qualitative research remains the most viable data gathering strategy. Therefore this study took into account the fact that the majority of the research literature on sex trafficking would be descriptive and exploratory in nature.

Because the source and quality of data tend to carry an overarching influence on how authors conceptualize and present a research question and produce subsequent findings, this study paid particular attention to how authors documented their data sources and research methods. Since it is always challenging to study the secretive world of sex trafficking and the associated sex industry in general, it would be of great interest to learn how empirical research is conducted in Latin America.

II. METHODS

Sex trafficking has attracted much attention from around the world, and much has been written on the subject. The challenge for this study was to stay focused on research conducted in Mexico and other Latin American countries. As Gozdziaik and Bump (2008) found in their initial screen of publications, many studies and reports were duplicated and published in various forms in different venues, making it a challenge to track down the original studies that gave rise to the various publications. Therefore, one of our first tasks was to locate and compare the publication dates or the dates any similar articles were posted online. A second mechanism was to verify the

sequence of authorships.

II.1. Literature Inclusion Criteria

The criteria for inclusion in this literature review were rather broad. We focused on any published or unpublished papers, articles, or books based on any qualitative (such as ethnographies, case studies, court cases, policy analysis) or quantitative (such as surveys, field studies, evaluation, or content analysis) methods on any aspect of sex trafficking (e.g., commercial sexual exploitation of children, brothels, massage parlors, and topless bars). In short, any systematic research on sex trafficking in Latin America that was written in Spanish and made public would qualify for inclusion in this study. The intent was to cast a wide net so as to capture as much useful information as possible. The rationale behind these inclusion criteria was that sex trafficking involves many forms, types and responses, and therefore studies of every possible configuration should be included in this review.

II.2. Literature Exclusion Criteria

Certain exclusion criteria were also imposed to differentiate between articles intended for popular and general public consumption and articles based on systematic research efforts. The exclusion criteria used in this study were:

- Any popular media products, such as newspaper and magazine articles, any artistic or creative discussions/presentations of the topic, video documentaries, videos and movies on human trafficking, and television news reports;
- Research published specifically on human smuggling (as opposed to human trafficking);
- Research focused exclusively on prostitution; and

- Research on reproductive rights and health (such as studies on sexually transmitted diseases and unprotected sex).

Furthermore, because of the evolving nature of and knowledge about human trafficking, research works produced prior to 2000 were expected to contribute little to the current state of knowledge on sex trafficking. Prior to the UN Convention in 2000, there were no commonly accepted definitions of human trafficking, and most countries did not have laws to criminalize it. Therefore, this study focused on articles published since 2000.

Also excluded are publications focused exclusively on migration. The pressures on people to leave their home countries for economic reasons are diverse and complex. Much work has been conducted on Mexican immigrants and migration from other Latin American countries. While many people may become victims of human trafficking during their migration, the movement itself is not what constitutes trafficking but the presence of force and fraud being used in the process (U.S. Department of State, 2005). Still, many migration-inducing factors may make some individuals vulnerable to trafficking. Therefore, if the two basic elements of human trafficking were explicitly discussed, then the literature would be included.

II.3. Search Keywords

As with all electronically based data searches, key search words were developed to maximize the number of “hits.” Two types of search keywords were used in this study—primary and secondary. The primary keywords included:

- sex trafficking (trata sexual),²
- human trafficking (trata de personas),

² Trafficking (as in human or sex trafficking) is sometimes translated as “tráfico” but the correct translation is “trata.” To ensure a thorough literature search, both terms were used.

- child trafficking (tráta de niños, and la explotación sexual comercial de niños),
- human trafficking and sexual exploitation (trata de personas y explotación sexual),
- sex trafficking and slavery (tráta sexual y esclavitud),
- trafficking in persons (migración por tráfico),
- and migration and trafficking (migración y la trata).

In addition to these broad search terms, we also included more specific search terms such as “child commercial sexual exploitation” (explotacion sexual comercial infantil), “child prostitution” (prostitucion de menores), corruption of minors (corrupcion de menores), and white-slave trade (trata de blancas).

To ensure that no publications would escape our dragnet, this study also used a set of secondary key words to capture studies that may be published on different topics but in fact directly linked to trafficking topics. These secondary search keywords included:

- prostitution (prostitución)
- sexual exploitation (explotación sexual)
- and reproductive rights (derechos reproductivos)

All located articles were reviewed for their pertinence to the topic of this review.

II.4. Data Sources

The basic parameters of this review were any publically available data sources. These include regular scholarly publications, research theses, reports issued by government and non-government organizations, and research manuscripts produced by any individuals for public consumption. Several main sources were employed in this effort.

Academic sources: Academic sources include university libraries and their sponsored electronic databases. The San Diego State University Library is linked with all 23 campuses of the California state university system, the 10 campuses of the University of California, and private universities in the region. The inter-library loan program further enables any faculty member to obtain publications that can be traced and located anywhere in the country. Furthermore, most universities are networked to provide online-databases where tens of thousands of academic and trade journals are stored. For this study the university-sponsored databases included:

- Academic Search Premier
- Annual Previews
- Blackwell Synergy
- Business Source Premier
- CINAHL Plus with Full Text
- Criminal Justice Abstracts
- Electronic Collections Online (ECO)
- Emerald Journals
- Ethnic News Watch
- Highwire Press Journals
- Lexis Nexis Academic
- PAIS International
- ProQuest Research Library
- PsycINFO
- Science Direct (Elsevier)

- Sociological Abstracts
- Social Service Abstracts

Some of the popular academic search engines, such as Proquest, Academic Search Premier, and JSTOR, were not very useful in producing Spanish academic journal articles. Several passes were made through these databases with the last conducted on June 15, 2010. It became clear during this search that most U.S.-based databases did not include much Spanish-language literature in social science. Some listed a few publications in Spanish, but few databases contained options to search specifically for Spanish-language publication. Most search keywords, when typed in English, yielded numerous English language publications but few Spanish language publications.

In the few cases where we were able to locate Spanish language journals (such as from PAIS International), most were produced in Spain rather than in Latin America. In short, academic journal databases were found to contain few social science related publications in Spanish. Perhaps multi-language journal compilation and search capabilities are still not widely developed in the academic library systems. The vast majority of searchable literature in the U.S. university systems remains in English.

Other databases returned tens of pages of newspaper articles on the topic of sex trafficking in Spanish. For instance, our search of Lexis-Nexis Academic yielded more than 1,000 newspaper articles, from such publications as El País, El Mundo, Expansión, and Noticias Financieras. The search hits gave a clear impression that the news media were far more productive in turning out trafficking-related reports. For instance, a quick search of sex trafficking in the Proquest database produced 631 pieces for the search period. Many of these news outlets were based in Mexico: *Reforma* (published in Mexico City, Mexico, with 160

articles), *El Norte* (published in Monterrey, Mexico, with 130 news articles), *Palabra* (published in Saltillo, Mexico, with 98 articles), and *Mural* (published in Guadalajara, Mexico, with 82 articles). Spanish language newspapers in the U.S., such as *La Opinión* in Los Angeles, *El Diario La Prensa* in New York, and *Mundo Hispánico* in Atlanta were also prolific in printing human trafficking related stories. Although the majority of these news stories dealt with Latin America, other countries were also covered such as the U.S., Spain, China, India, and Turkey.

Latin American Government Websites: Government websites in all countries in Latin America were searched in this study. All pertinent government branches such as public security, foreign affairs, welfare, health care, women, and human rights commissions were searched. A detailed roster of these agencies searched is included in Appendix A.

Non-Government Organization (NGO) Websites: All well-known international and non-government organizations related to human trafficking, human rights, labor organizations, and migration were searched in this review. A wealth of reports was uncovered from these agencies' websites. Furthermore, because these websites frequently served as conduits to articles and studies hosted elsewhere, they also led to additional discoveries of literature on sex trafficking. These agencies included (in alphabetical order):

- Amnesty International (<http://www.amnesty.org/es>)
- ECPAT International (<http://www.ecpat.net/EI/index.asp>)
- Federación de Mujeres Progresistas (
<http://www.fmujeresprogresistas.org/index2.htm>)
- Human Rights Watch (<http://www.hrw.org/>)
- Instituto Interamericano del Niño, la Niña y Adolescentes (Inter-American Children's Institute) (<http://www.iin.oea.org/>)

- International Labor Organization (ILO) (<http://www.ilo.org/global/lang--fr/index.htm>)
- International Organization of Migration (IOM) (<http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/lang/es/pid/1>)
- International Rescue Committee (<http://www.theirc.org/>)
- Movimiento El Pozo (<http://www.movimientoelpozo.org/index.htm>)
- Organization of American States (<http://www.oas.org/en/default.asp>)
- The Protection Project (<http://protectionproject.org>)
- Save the Children Suecia, Regional Program for Latin America and the Caribbean (<http://www.scslat.org/web/index.php>)
- UNICEF(<http://www.unicef.org/>)
- UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre (<http://www.unicef-irc.org/>)
- United Nations High Commission on Human Rights (<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Pages/WelcomePage.aspx>)
- United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI) (<http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/commissions/CCPCJ/institutes-UNICRI.html>)
- World Health Organization (<http://www.who.int/es/index.html>)

Other Online Sources: To ensure that we exhausted all possible electronic sources accessible to the general public, we also used Google and Google Scholar to search for additional Spanish language publications.

Data Access Limitations: Although we are fairly confident that we exhausted all available public sources, there may still be some corners that we have overlooked. As powerful and extensive as many of the academic network-based libraries are, not all research reports

produced for public consumption have been stored in these databases. For instance, graduate student theses or dissertations on sex trafficking may have been produced in Latin American universities. It is unclear whether there are established databases that share these documents. We were able to locate a few theses through Google Scholar, but none of the regular university library networks were linked with any counterparts in Latin America. Therefore, even if academic library networks in Latin American countries maintained bodies of literature on sex trafficking, there was no way of knowing or of accessing them.

We have also located a few manuscripts that appeared to have been published by non-profit organizations in Mexico; but because they were not registered with any academic, government, or commercial outlets, it was entirely by chance that they came into our possession (through personal contacts). There must be other reports, monographs, or booklets published by various organizations which for one reason or another did not enter into any of our searchable databases.

II.5. Content Analysis, Classification, and Data Entry

Guidelines for content analysis were developed and a coding form was constructed to facilitate the review, coding, and data entry tasks. The coding instruction and classification scheme are included in Appendix B. Main variables for coding purposes included:

- Year of publication
- Publication outlet (to identify the publisher)
- Location of publication (i.e., where the publication was found)
- Language in which the article was written
- Type of publication (e.g., academic journal, book, or government report)

- Whether any empirical data were used in publication
- Type of data used (e.g., primary, secondary, quantitative, or qualitative)
- Disclosure of research methods
- Authors' affiliations
- Geographical concern of the content
- Any discussion on trafficking strategies
- Any discussion on control and coercion
- Any conceptualization or theorizing of trafficking activities

Coding. Our research assistants systematically reviewed and coded all located publications. Two Spanish-speaking research assistants carried out the search and literature review, translation, and data coding and entry. The research assistants coded the substantive and methodological features of all located articles, based on the coding instrument developed to facilitate the systematic extraction of the literature.

Both assistants were cross-trained and engaged in double-coding exercises to improve inter-coder consistency and reliability. Research assistants independently extracted information from the same set of publications initially, using the coding instrument, for cross-checking and validation purposes. Coding errors were further reduced through frequent meetings and conference calls to refresh established coding procedures and resolve any emerging issues, such as unexpected categories of information. To increase validity of the coding, periodical re-coding was used to verify entered data.

Content analysis. Procedures used in this study to evaluate publications on sex trafficking may elicit criticism and questions. For instance, indicators of methodological rigor, mostly in the areas of research design, control of data collection activities, and analytical

strategies, are often debatable. Rigor in social science research can be defined in different ways. Most research projects are constrained by time, resources, or logistical problems, therefore rendering ideal designs impossible. For instance, the gold standard for evaluating any intervention or treatment protocols is randomized control trial; but the vast majority of the research in criminal justice is non-experimental.

For topics such as sex trafficking, rigorous research designs ideally should include random sampling strategies to achieve parametric estimates. However, the secretive and transient nature of human trafficking does not lend itself to such conventional sampling strategies. Each field method comes with inherent limitations and challenges. This is why the vast majority of research on organized crime and transnational crimes has thus far remained qualitative in design. However, some common variables can be used as broad barometers whereby existing literature can be systematically categorized and evaluated on “commonly accepted criteria” for good research. These criteria include:

- Clarification of research questions (e.g., development of conceptual framework and operationalization of research questions);
- Primary data collection (e.g., gathering data from subjects from the primary research populations, in this case, human traffickers, sex trade operators, and victims);
- Sample size (in general, the larger the sample the better the study);
- Sampling strategies (e.g., representative samples for quantitative designs, and variedness in qualitative-oriented sampling procedures);
- Overall considerations and procedures for safeguarding and increasing the reliability and validity of gathered data.

Data Entry. To maintain the flexibility of the coding task, this study used paper data coding forms. Coding onto paper forms facilitated the reading of written materials and minimized the equipment required to complete the coding task. The coders were able to make *ad hoc* notations about their coding decisions and these hardcopy forms were useful for pinpointing the cases and resolving emerging issues. An SPSS file was created for data entry purposes, and submitted as part of this project. Descriptive statistical analysis was conducted to systematically categorize the information collected into broad categories, as presented in the following sections.

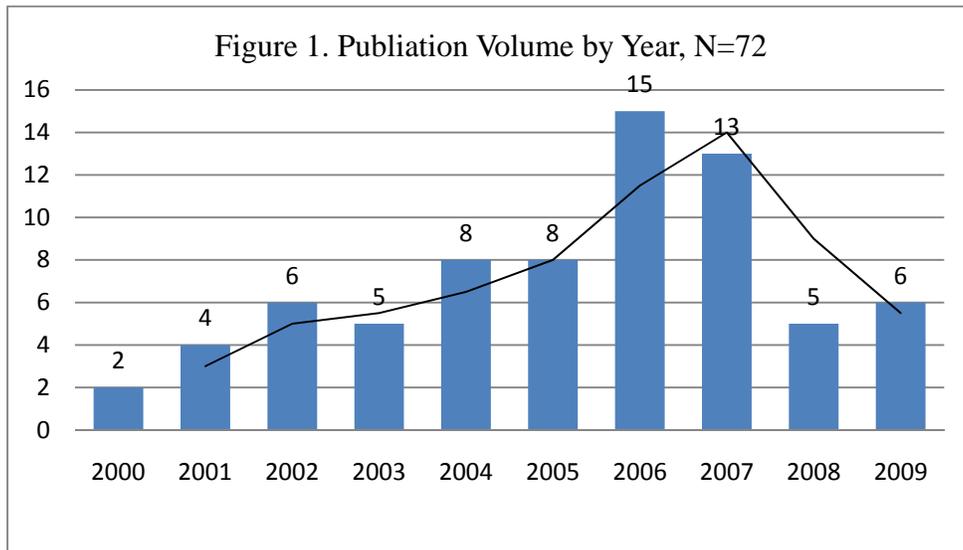
II.6. Bibliographies

A thorough review of the located literature was completed and a short synopsis was created for each publication. Whenever an abstract was available, it was translated and sometimes shortened to reflect as closely as possible the authors' original content. Two types of bibliographies were created in this study: one in the format of conventional research citations (see Appendix C: The Roster of Located Literature on Sex Trafficking Research in Latin America), and the other as an annotated bibliography (see Appendix D: Annotated Bibliography). The references in the roster, formatted in accordance with the American Sociological Association style, are intended for quick locating of specific publications or authors. The annotated bibliography is intended for readers who desire to get a quick synopsis of the content. From the annotated bibliography, one should be able to gain a rather detailed idea about what has been published in the Spanish-speaking world on sex trafficking.

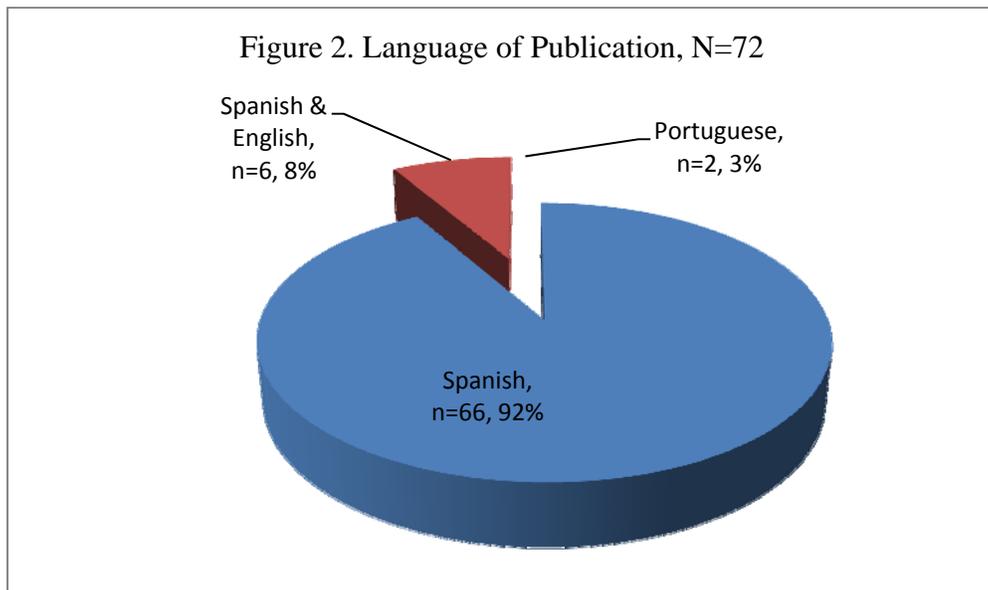
III. FINDINGS

III.1. Descriptive Analysis

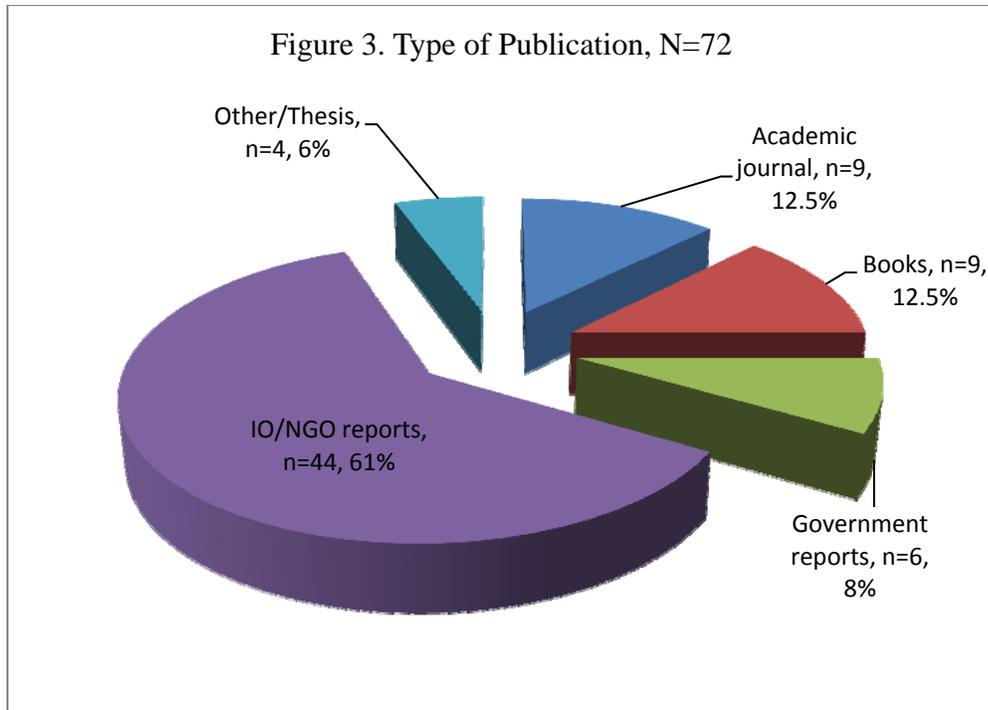
This section presents the descriptive overview of the literature located in this review. A total of 72 publications were found, as shown in the following figure. The volume of publication on sex trafficking related topics, as depicted in the number for a given year, appeared to be on a steady climb since the beginning of the decade (i.e., 2000), the start of the literature inclusion period. The publication output reached its peak around 2006 and 2007, and then dropped off sharply in the last two years of the search period. A final sweep of all previously searched data sources was completed by June 15, 2010, to ensure that no papers published in 2009 were overlooked.



Of all the located publications, the vast majority were in Spanish, accounting for 92 percent. A small number of them (8 percent) were published in both Spanish and English, and we could not determine which language version appeared first. As a result, these publications were listed as both Spanish and English.



The majority of the located publications, accounting for 61 percent of the total, was produced by international or non-government organizations. Such a large proportion of the literature suggests that these organizations were among the most active or vocal in this research field. By contrast, publications that appeared in academic journals made up only 12.5 percent of the total literature. Keep in mind these were the publication outlets, not the affiliations of the authors. The vast majority of the literature was in the form of papers or articles. Book length publications (or monographs) accounted for another 12.5 percent of the total literature. Government reports made up eight percent of the total located literature and the rest consisted mainly of student these.

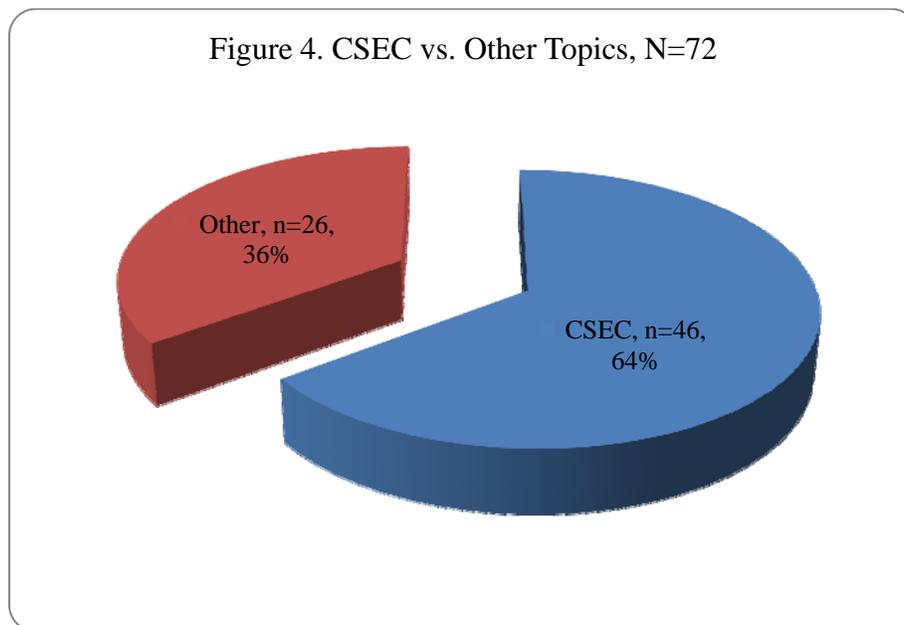


Authors' affiliations were also coded and analyzed. The pattern mirrored that of the publication outlets, as shown in the following table. Academic authors accounted for about 19 percent of the publications. International and non-government organization analysts made up the largest group of the authors, at 42 percent. A sizeable number of publications, 31 percent, had no identifiable authors. There were no by-lines anywhere on the publications. For the purpose of annotating the bibliographies, these publications were assigned to the organizations that hosted the websites that displayed the reports.

Table 1. Author Affiliation

	Frequency	Percent
(1) Academics	14	19.4
(2) Government analyst	1	1.4
(3) NGO analyst	30	41.7
(4) Agency as author	2	2.8
(5) Unable to determine	22	30.6
(6) Government & NGO	3	4.2
<i>Total</i>	72	100.0

Close to two thirds of all located literature was on the topic of commercial sexual exploitation of children (or CSEC). The large number of publications on the topic of CSEC perhaps reflects the extent of the problem that confronts Latin America. The bigger the problem, the greater the research interest. Another explanation could be that CSEC as a research topic has little legal or moral ambiguity. It was perhaps easier for researchers to engage in field work and write about child sexual exploitation. Sex trafficking of adults, on the other hand, has some definitional challenges. As Langberg (2005) pointed out, there was much confusion over the definition of trafficking in Latin America, leading to classification problems. Even the concept of trafficking as translated in Spanish is not always consistent (i.e., *tráfico* vs. *trata*), and the different linguistic connotations may sway perceptions differently.³



³ The terms “*trata*” and “*tráfico*” are sometimes used interchangeably by the general public, the same way many people in the English speaking world do not differentiate between trafficking and smuggling. However in the research community and among advocacy groups, “*trata*” equates trafficking while “*tráfico*” means smuggling, particularly when referring to moving goods or people illegally across borders.

Well over a third of the publications, 39 percent, used primary data collection; another 18 percent used secondary data analysis. The rest, 43 percent of all located literature, were mainly policy papers, position papers, or legal analyses that did not use empirical data. It should be noted that the majority, 57 percent, of the located publications either attempted to study the topic directly through primary data collection or to use other people’s data.

Table 2. Type of Data Used in Paper

	Frequency	Percent
(1) Primary data collected	28	38.9
(2) Secondary data analysis	13	18.1
(3) Non-empirical piece	16	22.2
(4) Other	15	20.8
<i>Total</i>	72	100.0

Those that gathered primary data for their analysis discussed their methods. Most of these articles relied on interviews with various players or stakeholders. Most informants in these articles were actors involved in the commercial sex industry such as taxi drivers, motel employees, and residents of neighborhoods that the researchers believed were involved in trafficking activities. Researchers also interviewed advocacy groups, government officials, as well as accessing news media reports.

Many of these studies were conducted by the regional offices of the International Labor Office in Latin America (or OIT—Oficina Internacional del Trabajo), in which researchers employed a range of methods such as survey and ethnographic field activities. For instance, OIT (2003) found, through ethnographic interviews with victims, field observations and surveys, that the commercial sexual exploitation of children in Guatemala was often seen as something normal because of the widespread poverty in the country. Violence, discrimination, and lack of gender equality were factors contributing to the commercial sexual exploitation of children. These

children and young adults were often victims of violence, sexual, physical, and psychological abuse at home. The OIT study concluded that Guatemala lacks the necessary institutions to protect the vulnerable populations and to attend to victims of commercial sexual exploitation.

Some independent researchers also reached the victims through ethnographic field work. For instance, Contreras Leal (2007) in her master's thesis examined commercial sex involving children and adolescents in the border area of Peñas Blancas, in the city of Cárdenas, Nicaragua. She conducted 50 in depth, semi-structured interviews with girls, boys and adolescents who worked in the commercial sex industry at the border town. Contreras Leal (2007) argued that that border areas such as Peñas Blancas provided amble social and economic conditions conducive to the commercial sexual exploitation of children and adolescents, and the strong state institutions were needed to combat such activities.

In the majority of empirically-based studies, researchers utilized a mixture of data sources, including interviews with stakeholders (e.g., law enforcement representatives and advocacy groups), field observations, and bibliographical and journalistic references. For instance, Casillas (2006) found in his study in Tapachula, Mexico, that 90 percent of the sex workers were from Central America, particularly from Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador. These women migrated north in search of economic opportunities, for family reunification, or to escape family problems. Many of the women were stranded in Tapachula after running out of money, having been robbed, tricked or raped by their transporters. With no social support or financial means to survive, these women became ideal targets for traffickers and exploiters. Casillas (2006) found that while some of these women migrated out of their own free will, others were forced to do so by their parents, family members or partners, who on occasions sold them into prostitution in Tapachula.

Of the 28 studies that gathered first hand data, only six employed systematic quantitative measures, such as survey research. The vast majority employed the typical qualitative field methods, which again indicates that the predominant data gathering method on this subject in Latin America remains qualitative. This is consistent with the literature on sex trafficking in the English language (Zhang 2009).

Table 3. If Primary Data, Analytical Approach

	Frequency	Percent
(1) Primary systematic quantitative	6	8.3
(2) Primary systematic qualitative	19	26.4
(3) Primary anecdotal data	2	2.8
(4) Primary hybrid-mixed data	1	1.4
(5) Non-primary data	44	61.1
<i>Total</i>	<i>72</i>	<i>100.0</i>

The majority of the published works in the literature, about 64 percent, had a clear section on methods, which indicated that the authors were aware of the practice of disclosing the procedures upon which their conclusions were drawn.

Table 4. Discussion of Method

	Frequency	Percent
(1) Method section present	46	63.9
(2) No clear presentation of methods	8	11.1
(3) Other	18	25.0
<i>Total</i>	<i>72</i>	<i>100.0</i>

A quarter of the publications dealt with the trafficking activities in a more specific manner and identified trafficking strategies. The trafficking methods identified in these articles did not appear to deviate much from the existing literature on illegal immigration (see Zhang 2007). The transportation methods identified in this literature review consisted mainly of one or a combination of three methods—by air, by sea, or overland. Overland trafficking activities

appeared to be the most prevalent, followed by mixed methods. In comparison, trafficking via maritime routes was the least common method in Latin America.

Researchers involved in these studies sought to understand the causes of trafficking, the forms of recruitment, and the modus operandi of trafficking activities. Some of the conclusions as to why trafficking occurs include economic and cultural factors, specifically poverty, a lack of education and knowledge of rights, and the patriarchal culture in Latin America. Some of the recruitment strategies included seduction, emotional manipulation, false promises of work abroad, and violence.

Table 5. Discussion of Transportation Strategies

	Frequency	Percent
(1) No	54	75.0
(2) Yes	18	25.0
<i>Total</i>	<i>72</i>	<i>100.0</i>
If Trafficking Strategies Cited:		
	Frequency	Percent
(1) Mixed methods	6	8.3
(2) Mainly overland	8	11.1
(3) Mainly by sea	1	1.4
(4) Mainly by air	3	4.2
(5) Not applicable	54	75.0

A sizeable number of the publications, close to 61 percent of the total, discussed the control methods used by traffickers over the victims. This high percentage suggests that many researchers in Latin America were aware of the key element of coercion or force that separates human trafficking from other forms of illegal migration activities. For instance, trafficking networks were often described in terms of either internal (i.e., domestic) or external (i.e., transnational). When trafficking occurred outside the country of origin, immigrant and undocumented statuses were often used by traffickers as a means of control. The clandestine

nature of their migration routes often render the victims vulnerable in the hands of the traffickers. However, such a control technique was irrelevant when trafficking took place domestically.

Table 6. Discussion of Control Methods

	Frequency	Percent
No	28	38.9
Yes	44	61.1
<i>Total</i>	<i>72</i>	<i>100.0</i>

In addition to trafficking strategies and control methods, many authors (about 38 percent) also attempted to create or present some conceptual frameworks to explain sex trafficking in their countries. Some of the conceptual frameworks, such as those presented by Castro Soto et al. (2007), provided unique perspectives on sex trafficking activities with explanations that were culturally situated and contextualized.

Table 7. Conceptualization of Trafficking Activities

	Frequency	Percent
(1) No	45	62.5
(2) Yes	27	37.5
<i>Total</i>	<i>72</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Consistent with existing literature in the English language, many Latin American authors were also eager to offer their opinions on why sex trafficking took place. Many offered up multiple factors as causes of sex trafficking, including poverty, gender inequality, patriarchal culture, inadequate employment opportunities, education, drug addiction, and various forms of violence. The long list of causal factors showed the varied attempts by researchers to explore the underlying factors that gave rise to sex trafficking activities in Latin America.

Table 8. Trafficking Causes Identified

	Frequency	Percent
(1) No	38	52.8
(2) Yes	34	47.2
<i>Total</i>	<i>72</i>	<i>100.0</i>
Number of Causes Cited:		
	Frequency	Percent
(1) Single cause	1	1.4
(2) Two causes	5	6.9
(3) Three or more causes cited	28	38.9
(4) Not applicable	38	52.8

However, within the wealth of discussions on causal factors, there was a general lack of employment of social theories in these publications to explain and analyze the macro social and economic contexts within which sex trafficking was located. Many authors interjected some economic and cultural factors in their articles, but few produced any systematic theoretical framework to explain the varied patterns of sex trafficking in Latin America. Most articles ended with recommendations for reducing trafficking activities in Latin America, such as improving education and employment opportunities, and increasing action on the part of governments (i.e., developing more laws to punish human traffickers).

III.2. Substantive Analysis

In addition to extracting common elements from the located literature, this review also attempted to deduce from these descriptive narratives a set of discernible patterns in the way research on sex trafficking was conducted in Latin America. As is the case for much of the research done on this topic, most empirical data gathered on sex trafficking were not based on parametric sampling. This makes validity an important concern. Triangulation is therefore necessary to increase the validity in such research. Triangulation typically refers to the practice

of collecting information from multiple sources in order to gain a measure of cross-checking of the information. Most qualitative researchers try to develop more than one source of information. For example, in their study investigating the role of men in commercial sexual exploitation, Salas and Campos (2004) selected 445 men from a broad range of the population in seven countries and used two methods of data collection: focus groups and face-to-face interviews with individual subjects. Not all researchers can afford multi-method or multi-location projects. Therefore, studies carried out by individual researchers need to be combined and compared for cross-checking purposes to detect trends and patterns. The following section presents the patterns detected based on the “triangulation” of these multiple studies and their findings.

Four main discernible patterns emerged in this Spanish-language literature review: (1) there was a sharp decline in the production of sex trafficking related literature after 2007; (2) the vast majority of the publications were authored by authors affiliated with non-government organizations, advocacy groups, and government agencies; (3) of the publications located in this study, few employed parametric procedures so that we still don’t know much about the extent and scope of sex trafficking in Latin America; and (4) the located literature was primarily about sexual exploitation of children. The following sections provide an analysis of these observed patterns.

First of all, the sharp drop in the volume of publications located over the years can be translated as a measure of the amount of attention the research community paid to a particular topic. Since 2000, the beginning year of this literature review, the volume of publications on sex trafficking topics rose steadily, and peaked in 2006, during which 15 distinct papers were published. In 2007, the volume remained relatively high, with 13 publications; and then came the precipitous drop in 2008, in which only five new publications were located, and six in the

following year. There were also significant repetitions and overlaps in the materials in the most recent publications from those earlier ones.

One obvious explanation for the reduction in the volume of published research could be that the subject matter has been thoroughly examined and most findings have become patterned and repetitive. Perhaps the existing knowledge has answered most, if not all, questions about sex trafficking and the field has become mature, thus, little new knowledge can be generated through further research.. In other words, whatever needs to be said has been said. This explanation seems contrary to what was discussed in the located literature. The majority of the articles claimed to be exploratory in nature and their stated objectives were to better understand the dynamics of this phenomenon, the characteristics of the actors involved, and the legal and institutional responses that exist to address this issue. Most researchers (or articles) claimed that because of the clandestine nature of the subject, it was hard to derive any concrete numbers as to how many victims there were. All reports seemed to agree that further studies were needed to better understand this phenomenon and to find ways to protect victims. So most published works found in this review pointed to a continued lack of knowledge about sex trafficking. In other words, the topic has not been over-studied; rather it has not been studied enough.

Another possible explanation is that amidst dwindling interest and financial support, maybe the anti-trafficking movement is running out of steam.. Declining interest in funding agencies will not likely sustain research interest among researchers and analysts. Whatever the reason, fewer and fewer articles were found in 2008 and 2009, the final two years of this review.

Another interesting pattern found is that sex trafficking had never gained much traction in the research community in Latin America in the first place. Considering Latin America as a major source of illegal migration to North America, sex trafficking, which is closely related to

population migration, should have attracted much wider attention than what has been witnessed in this literature review. Compared to the hundreds of publications (N=741) found by Gozdziaik and Bump (2008) in the English language outlets, the total body of literature located in this study was relatively small (N=72), roughly ten percent of that in English.

There are no obvious explanations as to the relatively small amount of literature produced in Latin America. One possible explanation is that there are simply more English-language publishing venues, as it is the most common working language in the academic world. If one were to gauge the seriousness of a problem by the amount of research it has attracted, one would likely draw the impression that sex trafficking and the related sexual exploitation of children were largely a problem of the English-speaking world. Or perhaps the main research agenda and even the entire anti-trafficking movement are instigated and dominated by the English-speaking world. The clear and drastic difference in the amount of literature produced indicates there is far more interest in the topic of sex trafficking in the English-speaking world.

Secondly, much of the research on sex trafficking in Latin America appeared to be led by people affiliated with non-government organizations, international organizations, and government agencies. There were few traces of direct involvement by academic institutions in Latin America. The traditional academic community (i.e., universities and research institutes) appeared to have paid little attention to this supposedly global problem: 12.5 percent of the publications were found in academic journals and 19.4 percent of papers were authored by people affiliated with academic institutions. Instead, non-academic players dominated the research agenda. In fact, most publications in this study were found through searches of international and NGO organizations' websites, as opposed to academic journal databases. The most notable ones include: ECPAT International (<http://www.ecpat.net/EI/index.asp>), Human

Rights Watch (<http://www.hrw.org/>), International Labor Organization (ILO) (<http://www.ilo.org/global/lang--fr/index.htm>), and International Organization of Migration (IOM) (<http://www.iom.int/jahia/jsp/index.jsp>). Because scholarly output is a common measure of level of interest in the academic community, one may suspect that researchers in Latin America were not simply interested in this topic.

Although it is not uncommon for advocacy groups and non-government organizations to lead in movements with clear moral agendas, the fact that the academic community in Latin America somehow failed to catch on is rather puzzling. There are several possible explanations. First, one may attribute this shortage of publications to the size of the academic or overall social science community in Latin America. In comparison to the English-speaking world, there are relatively fewer scholarly outlets. However, a total number of 72 publications cannot be explained away by the size of the continent, given its many fine universities and research organizations.

One may also speculate that the lack of research, particularly studies involving primary data collection, on the topic of sex trafficking in Latin America was due to limited financial resources. This is a likely cause, as most empirical studies require significant monetary commitment. Relative to their counterparts in the Spanish speaking world, researchers in English speaking countries perhaps are better funded in general. However this explanation does not seem able to explain the steady increase in the overall research output from 2000 to 2007, only to be followed by a sharp drop in the number of new publications from 2008 to 2009. More time and more exploration are required to explain the drastic drop in research output on sex trafficking.

Another, albeit somewhat elitist, explanation is that social sciences in Latin American are not as developed or advanced as those in the Western or English-speaking world, therefore lower

productivity is to blame. But again, researchers in Latin America have a long productive history of scholarly and policy-relevant research on topics closely related to sex trafficking such as international migration, rural/urban development, social and political movements, and inequalities of various kinds. When it comes to illegal migration, population research, and settlement patterns of undocumented migrants, there is no shortage of literature from Latin America. One need not be a criminologist to write about coerced movement of human beings or migration under false disguise and other extraordinary circumstances.

Finally, one may speculate that, for whatever reasons, the topic of sex trafficking has not resonated with similar levels of interests and passion in the Latin American research community as it has in the West. To state this position in another way, perhaps the anti-sex trafficking movement and the associated research agenda have remained a Western project dominated by English-speaking researchers, advocacy groups and government organizations. The anti-trafficking campaign does not seem to have elicited similar levels of enthusiasm or intensity as that witnessed in the U.S. and other Western countries. If findings in this study hold any validity, then it is clear that the main organizers behind the research and the anti-trafficking campaign (namely Western governments and advocacy organizations) need to do a better job in reaching out to their counterparts in Latin America. Regardless of one's moral compass, the anti-trafficking movement cannot become credible without the support of the academic community. Worse, prolonged and persistent claims and policy positions without well-researched empirical evidence run the risk of turning an otherwise noble campaign for justice into a moral crusade exuding little more than zealotry.

Thirdly, the use of empirical data, especially the collection of primary data, was relatively scarce and most of those who attempted it relied on qualitative methods. However, the English-

language literature on sex trafficking has the same problem (Gozdziak and Bump 2008; Zhang 2009). To gain credibility, researchers must employ parametric measures to gauge the nature and scope of the problem. Furthermore, the advocacy groups, NGOs and government agencies must be prepared to face and accept dispassionate scholarly standards and measurement procedures. Despite the logistical difficulties involved in empirical research, a credible and sustainable campaign against any widespread social ills cannot survive on rhetoric alone.

Finally, sexual exploitation of children commanded much greater attention than that of trafficking activities in general. By far, most of the literature found in this study focused on the issue of children in the sex trade. Perhaps it was because child sex trafficking or child prostitution was particularly rampant in Latin America, hence eliciting the most attention among the NGOs and international organizations.

Another possible explanation may be that CSEC was the least ambiguous topic to study because children or adolescents are generally perceived to be more vulnerable than adults and thus deserve greater protection against traffickers. According to the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) in the U.S., "severe forms of trafficking in persons" occur when "...a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such an act has not attained 18 years of age." So regardless of the existence of force, fraud, or coercion, a person under the age of 18 is automatically considered to be a victim.

On the other hand, such a lopsided emphasis on CSEC may have also resulted from the definitional ambiguity over the trafficking of adults relative to the sexual exploitation of children. As discussed earlier, adult trafficking may not be as well-defined conceptually as one would like to believe. The overlapping nature of human smuggling and human trafficking makes it difficult to carve out a clean territory for empirical research (Zhang 2007). As Langberg (2005)

pointed out, there was much confusion over the definition of trafficking in Latin America; even the translation of human trafficking in Spanish may have varied implications on research activities (i.e., *trafico* vs. *trata*).

Although one can debate on how to separate human trafficking from migrant smuggling or whether prostitution may be a viable economic activity for women, few will argue the moral and legal imperative of halting underage minors from entering into the sex trade, regardless of the circumstances. However, the same cannot be said about adult women who work in the sex trade. Because many Latin American countries have regulated, if not legalized, sex industries, the socio-political context perhaps becomes polarized on the issue of “forced prostitution.” Therefore, perhaps in the Latin American context it is easier to study CSEC. Several of the articles credited the 1996 First World Congress Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children as a critical event that brought the issue of CSEC onto the global stage. After this event, numerous non-governmental organizations gathered to commit themselves to a global partnership to fight for the rights of children. It makes sense, then, that non-governmental and international organizations produced most of the literature. The bottom line remains—no researchers in this literature have offered explanations on why the vast majority of studies focused on the topic of CSEC as opposed to any other type of sex trafficking activities.

III.3. Nuanced Cultural Understanding

The literature produced by Mexican or other Latin American researchers deserves our particular attention because of their geographical advantage and their nuanced analysis of various cultural practices that enable and perpetuate sex trafficking activities. A few examples are presented here to illustrate this point.

Machismo Culture and Social Tolerance. Several studies pinned the causes of sex trafficking, particularly the commercial sex exploitation of children (CSEC), on the *machismo* culture and the social tolerance of such practices. In a paper issued by the OIT-IPEC (2009), the authors pointed out that although the sexual exploitation of children has many causes, including poverty, and sexual and psychological violence, there is wide acceptance rooted in the patriarchal and *machista* cultures in Latin America that tolerates the practice of men paying for sex with minors and adolescents. The study was based on interviews and surveys in Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama and the Dominican Republic in 2008. The study sample consisted of a total of 8,608 subjects, ages 18 and older and a minimum of 1,200 interviews in each country. The surveys measured the knowledge and perception of commercial sexual exploitation among the subjects.. A majority of those interviewed justified paying for sex with minors and adolescents as both part of the culture and normal behavior of men in their respective countries.

Pimping as Culture. Castro Soto et al. (2007) conducted field observations and interviews in villages in Tlaxcala, Mexico, and uncovered an entrenched local culture where generations of men learned to manipulate women into prostitution and to live off the money sent home by these women working in the cities. The scheme was relatively simple, but relies heavily on the charisma and charm of the men involved. Women were duped into believing they were in “genuine” relations with these men as “wives” and “girlfriends” and that they were helping their “families.” The field study revealed that large numbers of men in some communities, such as Olextla and Tenancingo, economically depended on the prostitution of women, as well as on the trafficking of women and children to other parts of Mexico and the United States. These pimps constituted a web of criminal entrepreneurs who bought, sold, and sexually exploited women. It

became a way of life for these men and a recognized culture in the region. Residents of neighboring communities, such as those living in Ayometla and Zicohtzinco, feared that their daughters would one day be drawn into the sex trade. But few dared to contact the authorities out of fear of reprisal from traffickers and pimps.

CSEC in Latin America. Child sex trafficking takes many forms in Latin America including: child prostitution, sex tourism, pornography, and trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation. In addition, these different forms of trafficking manifest themselves in various degrees within different countries. A study conducted by the Audrey Hepburn Children's Foundation, Casa Alianza Foundation and ECPAT International (2001) found that sex tourism was especially prominent in Costa Rica. Sex tourism is growing in the region, increasingly being promoted through the Internet, which provides a cover for both traffickers and sexual exploiters. Males from countries such as the U.S., Italy, Canada and Germany were frequently cited as being among those who purposefully travel to the region in order to engage in commercial sexual activities with minors.

Another article examines the different social roles and spaces for men and women as causal factors contributing to the demand for sexual services with young girls (Codeni et al. 2005:12). Men, according to their culturally prescribed role, expect to obtain the satisfaction of their sexual “needs” and women and young girls are expected to respond to these “needs.” This demand is accepted as something common and normal. The men interviewed in the report “consider relations with teenagers something natural, there is no “forbidden” sexuality, there are no restrictions” (Codeni et al. 2005:12). Through the act of having sex with a teenager, men are able to reaffirm their “effective sexual performance,” meet their “irrepressible sexual urges,” and use women as objects of exchange (Codeni et al 2005:12). Additionally, the men interviewed in

this published study stated that they preferred having sex with adolescents because they are cleaner (not infected with sexually transmitted diseases), purer, submissive and more loving than adult women. Furthermore, many of the people interviewed in this study believed that these adolescents prostituted themselves because they liked having sex and because it is a way of getting easy money. Several articles pointed out a high degree of social permissiveness in the region. This permissiveness is sustained by social and cultural beliefs that women and adolescents choose to prostitute themselves and that they enjoy what they are doing. This belief further leads to a lax attitude in the judicial and police system towards CSEC crimes. Indeed, all the reports reviewed here make note of the lack of laws that are in place to protect victims of sexual exploitation and criminalize the exploiter/client.

Feminization of Transnational Migration. A number of reports also cite the feminization of migration as a causal factor in sex trafficking, arguing that globalization has forced women to leave their home and enter the job market where traditional female activities are undervalued (Castro Soto, 2008). This economic inequality forces women and adolescents to leave their homes in search of better job opportunities, rendering them vulnerable to traffickers who promise them better living conditions and job offers, both domestically and abroad. Rodolfo Casillas (2006), in studying the trafficking of women and children in Tapachula, Mexico, found that ninety-percent of the sex workers in the region were from Central America, particularly from Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador. These women left their countries of origin to make their way to the United States, where presumably they would be able obtain well-paying jobs and better living conditions. However, many of these women found themselves stranded in Tapachula after running out of money, having been robbed, tricked or raped by their transporters. With no social support or financial means to continue their journey, they became ideal targets for

traffickers. Casillas notes that while some of these women migrated of their own free will, others were forced to do so by their parents, other family members or partners. The majority, if not all, of these women were then stranded in a foreign country where they had no legal status and were unaware of their legal rights.

IV. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Literature produced by Latin American researchers indeed revealed some fascinating trends and facts about sex trafficking in that part of the world. But the overall volume of the literature was rather small. Much less was empirically based. Furthermore, advocacy groups and NGOs played the dominant role in research on sex trafficking. The principal interest of researchers in this field appeared to focus on developing an understanding of human trafficking in Latin America. Many of the articles explained that their research should serve as an initial step in understanding the complexity of trafficking and the commercial sexual exploitation of women and children.

The majority of the located literature was about child sex trafficking, or the commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC), rather than adult sex trafficking. Our search also revealed that reports addressing adult sex trafficking focused on women as victims and very few if any make mention of male sex trafficking victims. Many of the documents reviewed are authored by intergovernmental organizations, often in collaboration with local NGOs, and entail qualitative studies within the Latin American countries of focus. The most common methods used to gather information were interviews and questionnaires conducted with victims, intermediaries, clients/exploiters, government agencies and local agencies working with victims, field observation, and news reports.

About the most striking finding in this study of Spanish-language sex trafficking

literature was the paucity of scholarly articles. Repeated searches through a total of 35 journal databases (some very popular and others peripheral) turned up few scholarly articles. The vast majority of articles came from non-governmental organizations, international organizations, and governmental bodies. It was possible that somehow this research team missed pockets of pertinent scholarly journals or that the access to scholarly publications by Latin American academics was not subscribed to by any of the common electronic databases available in the U.S. university-based library networks.

There are several possible explanations as to why so little has been written by scholars in Latin America on sex trafficking, or human trafficking in general. An easy explanation was that little money has been invested on this topic, relative to other topics such as population migration, poverty and urban development. Fewer scholars direct their time and attention to topics where few funding sources are available through their governments or private venues.

As a last resort, this team reached several Latin American researchers through personal contacts to ascertain their understanding of whether our search had missed any major or obvious sources. The most common response was that there was indeed very little literature in Latin America on sex trafficking, although the reasons varied as to why this was the case. Financial support and safety concerns were the most frequently cited reasons.

Most of the articles located in this study were non-governmental and international organization publications, found at non-governmental agencies' websites, or simply through Internet searches. A few NGOs appeared to command a stronghold on the topic of sex and human trafficking, specifically, the International Labor Organization (ILO or OIT), ILO's subdivision the International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC), and the International Organization for Migration (IOM). Moreover, based on an examination of the

citations within the located literature, these non-governmental and international organization publications frequently referenced one another. Much of the same knowledge was cycled and recycled through articles produced by these organizations.

Governmental publications also quoted articles produced by non-governmental and international organizations, further suggesting that these NGOs have a stronghold on the topic of human trafficking, which raises several problems. First, and specific to this research project, it is unclear whether we are actually getting the perspectives of Latin American researchers since these organizations operate at a transnational level. The IPEC (a program under ILO), for example, is based in Switzerland. Moreover, while it is Spanish-speakers who were conducting the research for non-governmental and international organizations, the extent to which these researchers were involved in the writing process was unclear since a large number of the publications examined have teams of researchers and authors. Many did not reveal authors' names or their affiliations. In addition, many of these articles were also available in English, and this research team was unable to determine whether the publications were first written in Spanish or English. Second, the ideas and perspectives promulgated through these NGO publications were essentially echoing one another. We were unable to find much diversity, or many doubts or challenges in these publications. Such a stark lack of diversity in perspectives, ideas, and empirical findings is certainly a cause for concern.

If the findings of this study hold any validity, then it is clear the main organizing forces behind the anti-trafficking campaign, government agencies and advocacy organizations, need to do a better job in reaching out to the research community and should be prepared to face and even accept dispassionate scholarly standards and measurement procedures. Regardless of one's moral compass, the anti-trafficking movement cannot become credible without the support of the

academic community. Worse, prolonged and persistent claims and policy positions without well-researched empirical evidence run the risk of turning an otherwise noble campaign aimed at bringing about social changes into a moral crusade, exuding nothing but zealotry.

V. CITED WORKS

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APPENDIX A. Government Agencies Searched in Latin America

Argentina	1. http://www.argentina.gov.ar (Government of Argentina)
	2. http://www.jus.gov.ar/index.shtml (Ministry of Justice, Security and Human Rights)
	3. www.mininterior.gov.ar/ (Ministry of the Interior)
	4. http://www.msal.gov.ar/hm/site/default.asp (Ministry of Health)
	5. http://www.mrecic.gov.ar/ (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, International Trade and Worship)
	6. http://www.desarrollosocial.gov.ar/ (Ministry of Social Development)
	7. http://www.cnm.gov.ar/ (National Council of Women)
Belize	1. http://www.governmentofbelize.gov.bz/index.php (Government of Belize)
	2. http://www.Belizelaw.org (Attorney General's Ministry)
	3. http://www.health.gov.bz/moh/ (Ministry of Health)
	4. http://www.mfa.gov.bz/ (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
	5. http://www.police.gov.bz/index.php (The Belize Police Department)
	6. http://www.statisticsbelize.org.bz/default.asp (Statistical Institute of Belize)
Bolivia	1. http://www.presidencia.gob.bo/ (Presidency of Bolivia)
	2. http://www.justicia.gob.bo/ (Department of Justice)
	3. http://www.mingobierno.gob.bo/ (Ministry of Interior)
	4. http://www.sns.gov.bo/ (Ministry of Health)
	5. http://www.rree.gob.bo/ (Ministry of External Relations)
Brazil	1. http://www.presidencia.gov.br/ (Presidency of Brazil)
	2. http://www.mj.gov.br/ (Ministry of Justice)
	3. Did not locate website for Ministry of Interior
	4. http://portal.saude.gov.br/saude/ (Ministry of Health)
	5. http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/ (Ministry of External Relations)
	6. http://www.mdic.gov.br/sitio/ (Ministry of Development, Industry and Foreign Trade)

Chile	1. http://www.gobiernodechile.cl/ (Government of Chile)
	2. http://www.minjusticia.cl/ (Ministry of Justice)
	3. http://www.interior.gov.cl/ (Ministry of Interior)
	4. http://www.minsal.cl/ (Ministry of Health)
	5. http://www.minrel.gov.cl/prontus_minrel/site/edic/base/port/home.php (Ministry of External Relations)
	6. http://www.subdere.gov.cl/1510/channel.html (Secretary of Regional Development and Administration)
Colombia	1. http://web.presidencia.gov.co/ (Presidency of Colombia)
	2. http://www.mij.gov.co/eContent/home.asp (Ministry of the Interior and Justice)
	3. http://www.minproteccionsocial.gov.co/Paginas/default.aspx (Ministry of Social Protection) *Notes: A search of “Ministry of Health Colombia” brings up the Ministry of Social Protection
	4. http://www.cancilleria.gov.co/wps/portal/espanol (Ministry of External Relations)
	5. http://equidad.presidencia.gov.co/ (Counseling for the Equality of Women)
Costa Rica	1. http://www.casapres.go.cr/ (Presidency of Costa Rica)
	2. http://www.mj.go.cr/ (Ministry of Justice)
	3. http://www.msp.go.cr/ (Ministry of Interior, Police and Public Security)
	4. http://www.ministeriodesalud.go.cr/ (Ministry of Health)
	5. http://www.rree.go.cr/ (Ministry of External Relations)
	6. http://www.pani.go.cr (National Foundation for Children)
Cuba	1. http://www.cubagob.cu/ (Government of Cuba)
	2. http://www.minjus.cu/html/somos.php (Ministry of Justice)
	3. *The Ministry of Interior is not found.
	4. http://www.minjus.cu/html/somos.php (Ministry of Health)
	5. http://america.cubaminrex.cu/index.htm (Ministry of External Relations)

Dominican Republic	1. http://www.presidencia.gob.do/app/frontpage.aspx (Presidency of the Dominican Republic)
	2. A site for the Ministry of Justice not located
	3. http://www.seip.gob.do/ (Ministry of Interior and Police)
	4. http://www.sespas.gob.do/ (Secretary of Public Health and Social Assistance)
	5. http://www.mirex.gob.do/default.aspx (Ministry of External Relations)
	6. http://mujer.gob.do/ (Secretary of State for Women)
Ecuador	1. http://www.presidencia.gov.ec/ (Presidency of the Ecuadorian Republic)
	2. http://www.minjusticia-ddhh.gov.ec/ (Ministry of Justice and Human Rights)
	3. http://www.mingobierno.gov.ec/ (Ministry of Interior)
	4. http://www.msp.gov.ec/ (Ministry of Public Health)
	5. http://www.mmrree.gov.ec/ (Ministry of External Relations)
	6. http://www.mintrab.gov.ec (Ministry of Labor)
El Salvador	1. http://www.elsalvador.gob.sv (Government of El Salvador)
	2. http://www.seguridad.gob.sv/ (Ministry of Justice and Public Security)
	3. http://www.gobernacion.gob.sv/ (Ministry of Interior)
	4. http://www.mspas.gob.sv (Public Health)
	5. http://www.rree.gob.sv/sitio/sitiowebree.nsf (External Relations)
Guatemala	1. http://www.guatemala.gob.gt (Government of Guatemala)
	2. No Ministry of Justice site created (Ministry of Justice)
	3. http://www.mingob.gob.gt/ (Ministry of the Interior)
	4. http://portal.mspas.gob.gt (Public Health)
	5. http://www.minex.gob.gt/ (Ministry of External Relations)
	6. http://www.pdh.org.gt/index.php (Human Rights)

Honduras	1. http://www.gob.hn (Government of Honduras)
	2. http://www.gobernacion.gob.hn (Justice Department)
	3. http://www.gobernacion.gob.hn/ (Ministry of Interior)
	4. http://www.mp.hn (Public Ministry)
	5. http://www.sre.hn (External Relations)
	6. (Secretary of Labor and Security - only E-mail available)
	7. http://www.inam.gob.hn (National Institute of Women)
	8. http://www.conadeh.hn/ (National Commission of Human Rights Honduras)
Mexico	1. http://www.gob.mx (Government of Mexico)
	2. No Ministry of Justice site located (Ministry of Justice)
	3. http://www.gobernacion.gob.mx/ (Department of Interior)
	4. http://www.salud.gob.mx (Public Health)
	5. http://www.sre.gob.mx (External Relations)
	6. http://www.stps.gob.mx (Secretary of Labor)
	7. http://www.ssp.gob.mx (Office of Public Safety)
Nicaragua	1. http://www.presidencia.gob.ni (President of Nicaragua)
	2. http://www.ministeriopublico.gob.ni/bienvenidos.htm (Ministry of Justice is called “Public Ministry” in Nicaragua)
	3. http://www.migob.gob.ni/ (Ministry of Interior)
	4. http://www.minsa.gob.ni (Ministry of Health)
	5. http://www.cancilleria.gob.ni (External Relations)
	6. http://www.mitrab.gob.ni (Ministry of Labor)
	7. http://www.mifamilia.gob.ni (Ministry of the Family, Adolescence and Childhood)
Panama	1. http://www.presidencia.gob.pa (President of Panama)
	2. http://www.ministeriopublico.gob.pa/ (Ministry of Justice, “Public Ministry”)
	3. No Ministry of Interior site located (Ministry of Interior)
	4. http://www.minsa.gob.pa/ (Ministry of Health)
	5. http://www.mire.gob.pa (Ministry of External Relations)
	6. http://www.mitradel.gob.pa (Ministry of Labor)

Paraguay	1. http://www.presidencia.gov.py (Government of Paraguay)
	2. http://www.mjt.gov.py/index.php (Ministry of Justice and Labor)
	3. http://www.mdi.gov.py (Ministry of Interior)
	4. http://www.mspbs.gov.py (Ministry of Health)
	5. http://www.mre.gov.py/dependencias/ddhh/ddhh/ddhh3.htm (Ministry of External Relations)
	6. http://www.mtas.es/es/extras/buscador.htm (Ministry of Labor)
Peru	1. http://www.peru.gob.pe (Government of Peru)
	2. http://www.minjus.gob.pe/ (Ministry of Justice)
	3. http://www.mininter.gob.pe/ (Ministry of Interior)
	4. http://www.minsa.gob.pe/portada/ (Ministry of Health)
	5. http://www.rree.gob.pe/portal/mre.nsf/Index?OpenForm (Ministry of External Relations)
	6. http://www.mimdes.gob.pe (Ministry of Women and Social Development)
Uruguay	1. http://www.uruguay.gub.uy (Government of Uruguay)
	2. Ministry of Justice not located
	3. http://www.minterior.gub.uy (Ministry of the Interior)
	4. http://www.msp.gub.uy/index_1.html (Ministry of Public Health)
	5. http://www.mree.gub.uy/mree/index.htm (Ministry of External Relations)
Venezuela	1. http://www.gobiernoenlinea.ve/misc-view/index.pag (Government of Venezuela)
	2. http://www.mij.gov.ve/ (Ministry of Interior and Justice)
	3. http://www.mpps.gob.ve/ (Ministry of Health)
	4. http://www.mre.gov.ve/metadot/index.pl (Ministry of External Relations)

APPENDIX B: Spanish-Language Trafficking Literature Coding Form and Variable Names

Variable Name	Variable Label/Coding Instruction	Values
ID:_____	Case ID. Sequential numbering.	Numeric
Pub_Yr:_____	Publication year. If reprint, use original pub. year.	Numeric
Pub_src	Publication source (publication name/publisher) _____	String
Pub_loc	Publication locator (where the publication was found, e.g., website, database name, library name, publisher name, etc.) _____	String
Language	The language in which the article was written: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Spanish 2. Spanish & English 3. Portuguese 4. Other (specify) _____ 	Numeric
Pub_type (circle one. If “9”, fill in details)	Type of publication. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Academic journal 2. Popular magazine 3. Trade journal 4. Book 5. Book chapter 6. Online publication 7. Government report 8. NGO report 9. Other/Thesis _____ 	Numeric
C_SEC	Content mainly on commercial child sex exploitation (CSEC): <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. CSEC 2. Other 	Numeric
Data_Src: (circle one)	Data source. Identify if the paper is based on empirical data (of any source) or only opinion or policy analysis. Only citing government/NGO statistics. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Primary data collection 2. Secondary data analysis 3. Non-empirical piece (e.g., mainly policy analysis, position paper) 4. Other (specify) _____ 	Numeric
Datatype (circle one)	For papers based on empirical data, following coding scheme applies: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Primary systematic quantitative data (first hand data collection, systematic, with discussion of methodology) 2. Primary systematic qualitative data (first hand interviews, ethnographic work) 	Numeric

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Primary anecdotal data (i.e., personal interviews based on convenient subjects, such as those done by news reporters) 4. Primary hybrid systematic data (first hand data collection, involving mixed methods) 5. Secondary systematic data (others' primary data) 6. Secondary anecdotal (e.g., based on newspaper stories) 7. Both primary and secondary 8. Other (specify)_____ 	
Datatype1	Brief description of type of data used in paper	String
Method (circle one)	<p>For either primary data or secondary data analysis, discussion of data collection methodologies.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Method section present 2. No clear presentation of methodologies 3. Other _____ 	Numeric
Author_o (circle, and annotate if unclear)	<p>Authors are:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Academics 2. Government analysts 3. NGO analyst 4. Political/public opinion figures 5. Agency as author 6. Unable to determine 7. Gov & NGO 8. Other (specify)_____ 	Numeric
Author_n (fill in number, or circle one if unknown)	<p>Number of authors listed on the publication: _____</p> <p>99. Agency publication 98. Unidentified</p>	Numeric
Author_g (circle or annotate)	<p>Lead author gender</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Female 2. Male 3. Unable to determine_____ 	Numeric
Geo_loc	<p>Primary geographical location of the paper content:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. North America 2. Western Europe 3. Eastern Europe 4. Latin America 5. Asia 6. Global (coverage of multiple continents) 7. Other_____ 	Numeric
Country	<p>Primary country identified in the paper, enter name of the country: _____</p> <p>Enter "99" if the paper does not pertain to specific country.</p>	String

I. Reference Citation in Spanish, English translation in parenthesis (ASA style, <http://www.calstatela.edu/library/bi/rsalina/asa.styleguide.html>), and precise site where the publication was found:

II. Any discussion in the publication on trafficking strategies (e.g., by air, by land, by sea)?

1. No
2. Yes (writhe a short summary) _____

Variable Name: [strategy]
Variable Label: discussion of trafficking strategy
Value: Numeric
(1) No
(2) Yes

Variable Name: [strategy1]
Variable Label: if trafficking strategies cited
Value: Numeric
(1) Mixed methods
(2) Mainly overland
(3) Mainly by maritime
(4) Mainly by air
(5) Not applicable

Variable Name: [strategy2]
Variable Label: brief description of trafficking strategy
Value: String

III. Any discussion on how traffickers control/manipulate victims?

1. No
2. Yes (writhe a short summary) _____

Variable Name: [concept]
Variable Label: discussion of control methods
Value: Numeric
(1) No
(2) Yes

Variable Name: [control1]
Variable Label: control methods
Value: Numeric
(1) Mainly by force and violence
(2) Mainly via deception
(3) Both force and fraud
(4) Not applicable

Variable Name: [control2]
Variable Label: brief descrip of control method
Value: String

IV. Any conceptualization of why sex trafficking occurs (presence of coherent arguments on causal factors contributing to trafficking activities)?

- 1. No
- 2. Yes (writhe a short summary) _____

Variable Name: [concept]
Variable Label: conceptualization of trafficking activities
Value: Numeric
(1) No
(2) Yes

V. If no conceptual framework present in the publication, any causal factors presented as explanations on sex trafficking activities?

- 1. No
- 2. Yes (such as poverty, gender inequality, greed, organized crime, etc.) _____

Variable Name: [cause]
Variable Label: trafficking causes identified
Value: Numeric
(1) No
(2) Yes

Variable Name: [cause1]
Variable Label: main causes cited
Value: Numeric
(1) Single cause
(2) Two causes
(3) Three or more causes cited
(4) Other

Variable Name: [cause2]
Variable Label: description of main causes of trafficking
Value: String

VI. Abstract (include a Maximum of 500 word summary of the publication):

APPENDIX C: THE ROSTER OF LOCATED LITERATURE ON SEX TRAFFICKING RESEARCH IN LATIN AMERICA

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- Torres, Oscar Montiel. 2007. “Trata de Personas: Padrotes, Iniciación, y Modus Operandi” (Human Trafficking: Pimps, Initiation and Modus Operandi). Master’s thesis. Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, Mexico City: Mexico. Universidad de Artes y Ciencias Sociales (ARCIS) and Servicio Nacional de Menores (SENAME). 2004. “Estudio de la explotación sexual comercial infantil y adolescente en Chile” (Study of the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents in Chile). Lima: OIT/ Oficina Regional para las Américas / Programa IPEC Sudamérica. Retrieved November 15, 2009 (http://white.oit.org.pe/ipecc/boletin/documentos/dt_191_esci_chile.pdf).
- Vasquez Cordero, Luis and Capital Humano y Social Alternativo. 2006. “Situación de la aplicación de la ley N°28251 para el combate a la explotación sexual comercial de niños, niñas y adolescentes” (Status of Implementation of Law N°28251 for the Fight Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents). Retrieved December 7, 2008 (http://www.tejiendoredes.net/documentos/estudio_situacion_ley_28251.pdf).

APPENDIX D: ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY⁴

Acharya, Arunkumar. 2009. "Un análisis conceptual del tráfico de mujeres y su tipología de origen" (A Conceptual Analysis of the Trafficking of Women and Its Typology of Origin). *Andamios* 6(12):299-322.

Synopsis: The author attempts to build a conceptual framework to study trafficking. The materials are based on exiting publications. The author considers the three major nongovernmental organizations the forefront of the research on human trafficking: the United Nations, the International Organization for Migration, and the International Labor Organization. The majority of the cited sources are from English language publications. A translation of author's Spanish abstract: Migration resulting from the trafficking of women is an important social problem for two reasons: the first being that this phenomenon puts women in a migratory wave, and the second regards the violence women experience in their final destinations. Thousands of women from all over the world are trafficked daily to other cities and countries by means of deception and coercion to be exploited sexually. Although trafficking is drawing more attention from the world, the fact that it lacks a clear conceptual framework makes it difficult to distinguish trafficking from illegal migration. For this reason, this article aims to build a conceptual framework to develop a more clear understanding of the trafficking of women, and it attempts to build a typology based on the types of movement associated with women involved in trafficking networks.

Audrey Hepburn Children's Foundation, Casa Alianza and ECPAT International. 2001. "Investigación regional sobre tráfico, prostitución, pornografía y turismo sexual infantil en México y Centroamérica: un resumen" (Regional Investigation on Trafficking, Prostitution, Child Pornography and Child Sex Tourism in Mexico and Central America). Retrieved December 7, 2008

(http://www.tejiendoredes.net/documentos/ecpat_regional_investigation_resume.pdf).

Synopsis: This is a qualitative study that looks at the issue of commercial sexual exploitation in six Latin American countries: Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico and Nicaragua. The study focuses on the commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) as it manifests itself in the form of prostitution, child sex tourism, child pornography, and child trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. The aim of the study is to establish the profile of the child victim of sexual exploitation in addition to characterizing the network of sexual exploitation in which the victims are embedded. Furthermore, this study identifies and analyzes existing legislation and institutional responses to this problem, as well as offering recommendations on how and what is needed to better address and combat child sex trafficking in the countries studied. This study was conducted through a literature review of works published between 1995 and 2000, a review of reports published in two national newspapers between 1998 and 2000 and interviews with key actors, including a minimum of 15 victims within each country.

The study was able to confirm that trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation was present in all the countries studied, albeit it manifests itself

⁴A summary, typically kept to 500 words each, is provided in this annotated bibliography for all publications located in this literature review. Where an abstract was provided in the original publication, only a translation was provided.

differently in each. Regional trends identified in the report include the existence of intermediaries who negotiate between the victims and exploiters and a greater use of manipulation and fraud, as opposed to direct violence, to convince victims to travel both within and outside their country of origin. In addition, the report makes a connection between human trafficking, organized crime and the sale and transportation of drugs and weapons. The study concludes that there is a need for policies to be put into place throughout the region in order to provide prevention and protection to victims. Social awareness campaigns are needed to inform members of society, especially public institutions and law enforcement officials, about this growing phenomenon. There is also a need for continued research and investigation into the problem.

Author Unidentified. 2008. "Política nacional para la erradicación de la trata de personas en El Salvador" (National Policy for the Eradication of Human Trafficking in El Salvador). Comité Nacional Contra la Trata de Personas, El Salvador.

Synopsis: This report, which contains the national policy for the eradication of human trafficking in El Salvador, was posted on the country's public health website. This report seeks to develop a deeper understanding of human trafficking in the context of El Salvador, and to develop policy based on this understanding. The report itself is organized in seven parts. The first part characterizes the problem of human trafficking in the context of El Salvador. Next, the document describes the general and specific objectives the state hopes to reach with the proposed policy. The third part details the main concepts regarding human trafficking. The fourth and fifth sections lay out the governing principles to guide the state towards the eradication of human trafficking. The sixth part lays out the role of governmental institutions to combat trafficking. Finally, the seventh section presents some suggestions regarding how the policy should be executed.

Azaola, Elena. 2000. "Infancia Robada; niñas y niños victimas de explotación sexual en Mexico" (Stolen Childhood; Girl and Boy Victims of Sexual Exploitation in Mexico). Retrieved March 23, 2009

(http://www.unicef.org/mexico/spanish/mx_resources_infancia_robada.pdf).

Synopsis: This study is a first step in understanding the complexity of trafficking and the commercial sexual exploitation of children in Mexico. The goals of this study are to identify the nature, the extent and the causes of commercial sexual exploitation of children, to identify the forms of recruitment and modus operandi of trafficking activities, and to serve as a reference for the development of national legislation to combat the trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation of children. The study took place between September of 1999 and June of 2000 in six Mexican cities: Acapulco, Cancun, Ciudad Juarez, Guadalajara, Tapachula and Tijuana. The researchers examined 120 reported cases of child trafficking that occurred between 1998 and 1999. This study compares the state of commercial sexual exploitation in the cities studied by analyzing four different types of commercial sexual exploitation: prostitution, trafficking, pornography and sex tourism. The researchers estimate that today there are up to 16,000 children who are victims of commercial sexual exploitation in Mexico. They argue that the diffusion of the global economy and consumer society play a central role in the sexual commercial exploitation of children. The global economy has extended and deepened inequalities between people, and consumerist values allow children to be viewed as objects. The

researchers found that there are slight differences in the experiences of children involved in commercial sexual exploitation. First, there are children who are subject to any type of commercial sexual operation and who live in the street and/or mostly offer their services through public venues. Second, there are children who are sexually exploited at sites that are more or less open to sexual services, such as hotels, bars, etc. Third, there are children who offer their services clandestinely. Although the researchers note these differences, they found that three common factors between these three groups include the presences of drugs, the use of force, and the involvement of family members in the exploitation of children.

Azaola, Elena and Estes, Richard. 2003. *La infancia como mercancía sexual. México, Canada, Estados Unidos.* (Childhood as Sexual Merchandise). *Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social.* Mexico City: Mexico.

Synopsis: This study's objectives are to identify the various dimensions of the commercial sexual exploitation of boys and girls in Mexico, the United States and Canada, and to examine the modus operandi of these criminal networks. Lastly, the researchers present recommendations at national and international levels to help combat trafficking and exploitation of children. This investigation, grounded in interviews with authorities, victims, and in some cases, perpetrators, began in June 1999 and took place in a total of 27 cities, 17 in the United States, four in Canada, and six in Mexico. The researchers argue that commercial sexual exploitation in Mexico is primarily composed of young women and girls. Moreover, their findings show that poverty is the most frequently mentioned cause of commercial sexual exploitation of children, however; in the case of the United States and Canada, other factors, such as drug addiction and domestic violence, are also important. Given this study's geographic foci, research was carried out in some of Mexico's border cities, such as Ciudad Juarez and Tijuana. The researchers posit that hundreds of minors arrive in these border cities with the intention of reaching the United States. The researchers recommend that authorities adopt a change in their approach to combating human trafficking, so that states focus on punishing perpetrators and clients, instead of solely focusing on protecting victims. Although the prostitution of minors occurs in a context of vulnerability, the researchers explain that to suggest that minors lack self-determination would be an exercise in reductionism.

Barindelli, Florencia and Carlos G. Gregorio. 2007. "Estudio sobre Legislación y Políticas Publicas Contra la Explotación Sexual Comercial de Niñas, Niños y Adolescentes en América Latina" (Study of Legislation and Public Policy Against the Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents in Latin America). Instituto Interamericano del Niño, la Niña y Adolescentes. Retrieved January 26, 2009 (http://www.iin.oea.org/IIN/english/Pdf/exp_sexual/RESUMEN_EJECUTIVO_tablas.pdf).

Synopsis: This investigation was coordinated by the Interamerican Institute of Boys, Girls and Adolescents (OEA) with the support of Save the Children Sweden. The researchers intend for this study to serve as a reference guide for the States to help detect legislative gaps and to identify good practices in Latin America or other countries regarding the commercial sexual exploitation of girls, boys and adolescents. The researchers also intend for this document to serve as a reference for civil society to help

identify aspects on which it is necessary to develop proposals to the States and to further pursue measures already implemented. To meet these goals, the researchers performed an integral diagnosis with direct references to official governmental documents from the executive, legislative and judicial branches and to studies based on civil society. This information includes the penal and administrative legislation of the Latin American countries that reference all the modalities of commercial sexual exploitation of girls, boys and adolescents in prostitution, pornography and sex tourism. Furthermore, the researchers reviewed the national plans and programs that tackle this issue, as well as other complementary public policies that combat the commercial sexual exploitation of girls, boys and adolescents. The countries included in this study are: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Dominican Republic, Uruguay and Venezuela. The researchers present several conclusions and recommendations. They state that the commercial sexual exploitation of girls, boys and adolescents has multiple causes, but the weakness of family ties constitutes an important factor of risk. The researchers posit that it is imperative for states to protect against the abandonment of children and intra-family sexual abuse. Moreover, the researchers argue that empirical studies and statistical data are necessary to be able to know how trafficking operates. They argue that very few countries depend on statistical data to formulate their plans against commercial sexual exploitation. Also, the researchers posit that education is fundamental. They argue that children and adolescents must be taught how to use the Internet as a source of knowledge and as a tool of freedom and expression.

Caballero, Maria Ester. 2004. "El Marco legal e Institucional para la Protección de la Niñez y la Adolescencia ante la Explotación Sexual Comercial en Guatemala... Análisis de Situación y Propuestas para su Fortalecimiento" (The Legal and Institutional Framework for the Protection of Children and Adolescents Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation in Guatemala ... Situation Analysis and Proposals for its Strengthening). Retrieved on October 3, 2009 (<http://www.protegiendoles.org/documentacion/estante4/02%20El%20Marco%20Legal%20Guatemala.pdf>).

Synopsis: This study contains an overview of the situation of commercial sexual exploitation of minors in Guatemala, an analysis of national and international legal instruments established to combat this problem, as well as identifies the gaps that exist between national and international legislations. Within this context, the study analyzes the operation of government institutions whose mandate is to protect children and adolescents and discusses the processes for receiving complaints and the treatment of minor victims of commercial sexual exploitation. Finally, the study presents a series of recommendations for legal reforms that should be promoted in Guatemala in order to combat pornography, prostitution and trafficking of children and adolescents for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

Camacho Ordóñez, Leidy Bibiana and María Angelica Trujillo González. 2009. "La explotación sexual comercial infantil: una ganancia subjetiva" (The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children: A Subjective Gain). *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Niñez y Juventud del Centro de Estudios Avanzados en Niñez y Juventud de la Universidad de Manizales y el Cinde* 7(2):1009-1025.

Synopsis: The authors choose no moral position in their analysis of sex trafficking in this article. Rather, they seek to examine how children and adolescents understand commercial sexual exploitation, that is, the meaning that they attach to these activities. They conclude that, compared to the socioeconomic conditions from which they come, commercial sexual exploitation is a “step up” for these children and adolescents. An English translation is provided by the authors: Child Sexual Commercial Exploitation (CSCE) is an ever growing issue in our country which affects considerably the physical and psychological development of minors involved in this practice. This study developed by the CRECER research group belonging to the Psychology Program at Universidad Surcolombiana in Neiva, Colombia, summarized in this article, approached this problem in the municipalities of Neiva, Campoalegre and Pitalito, in the province of Huila, through a qualitative methodological approach. A finding from this study is that for the girls, boys and adolescents participating in it, child sexual commercial exploitation represents a subjective gain before a story of economic and affective lacks.

Casillas R, Rodolfo. 2006. “La trata de mujeres, adolescentes, niñas y niños en México: Un Estudio Exploratorio en Tapachula, Chiapas” (Trafficking of Women, Adolescents, and Children in Mexico: an Exploratory Study in Tapachula, Chiapas). Mexico: Organization of American States. Retrieved January 7, 2009 (<http://www.oas.org/atip/Reports/Estudio.Exploratorio.en.Tapachula.pdf>).

Synopsis: This is a qualitative study that looks at the conditions and circumstances under which the trafficking of migrant women and children occurs in Tapachula, Mexico. The study examines both trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation and labor exploitation. The study was conducted between September and December of 2004. Information was gathered through interviews, field observations, and a review of bibliographical and journalistic references. The study reveals that very few of the trafficking victims in the region are of Mexican origin: ninety-percent of the sex workers in the region are from Central America, particularly from Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador. The reasons these women migrate include economic necessity, family reunification, and escaping family problems in their countries of origin. Many of these women find themselves stranded in Tapachula after running out of money, having been robbed, tricked or raped by their transporters. With no social support or financial means to continue their journey, they are particularly vulnerable and ideal targets for traffickers and exploiters. Casillas notes that while some of these women migrate of their own free will, others are forced to do so by their parents, other family members or partners, who on occasions have already sold them to exploiters in Tapachula. The author further analyzes the web of organized crime networks that operates in Tapachula and are involved in the smuggling and trafficking of migrant women and children. The author argues that it is unlikely that a trafficking network will devote itself entirely and exclusively to the trafficking of persons for the purpose of sexual exploitation; most of the members of these criminal networks are also associated with drug trafficking and other crimes. In addition, the author argues that these criminal networks are able to continue exploiting women and children with impunity by recruiting members of the local government and/or paying them bribes.

Castro Soto, Oscar Arturo. 2008. *La Iniciativa Popular en Tlaxcala: Acciones Colectivas Para*

El Combate a La Trata De Mujeres (The Popular Initiative in Tlaxcala: Collective Actions to Combat Trafficking of Women). Mexico: Centro “Fray Julian Garces” Derechos Humanos y Desarrollo Local, A.C.

Synopsis: In Mexico, trafficking of women for the purpose of prostitution is a big problem which led a group of civil society organizations to initiate a social movement in order to pressure local authorities to make human trafficking a crime under the criminal penal code in the state of Tlaxcala. Called the People's Initiative, the group gathered more than 25 thousand signatures, presented them before Congress and demanded legal reform. This book analyzes the experience of the Popular Initiative in Tlaxcala as a social movement rooted in the struggle for women's rights and civil rights. It describes the problem of trafficking of women for the purpose of prostitution in the context of a globalized world and the implications this has on human rights, both in the state of Tlaxcala and the nation as a whole.

Casto Soto, Oscar Arturo, Luz Maria Rocha Perez, Liz Ivett Sanchez Reyna, Pedro Manuel Conde Flores, Federico Luis Pöhls Infnitival. 2007. *Un grito silenciosa. 2D Ed* (A Silence Scream). Taxcala, Tlaxcala: Universidad Autonoma de Tlaxcala , Centro “Fray Julián Garcés” and Derechos Humanos y Desarrollo Local, A.C.

Synopsis: This book analyzes the impact of trafficking of women for the purpose of prostitution in Tlaxcala, Mexico and surrounding communities. The first chapter of the book is dedicated to relating the story of a 39 year-old female victim of sex trafficking and the second chapter is dedicated to relating the story of a pimp. The book reveals the existence of entire communities, such as Olectla and Tenancingo, that economically depend on the prostitution of others, as well as on the trafficking of women and children to other parts of the republic of Mexico and the United States. These communities constitute a web of organized crime that buys, sells and sexually exploits women. The study found that pimping has become a way of life for young men in these communities, who view women solely as sexual objects to be used in their business of prostitution. In other neighboring communities, such as in Ayometla and Zicohtzinco, families live in fear that their daughters will be drawn into prostitution but fail to report these crimes to authorities out of fear of reprisal from traffickers and pimps.

Chávez Gutierrez, María Antonia and María de Jesús Orozco Valerio. 2009. “Costos de la globalización y los avances tecnológicos para los infantes en vulnerabilidad social extrema en México. El caso de las niñas, niños y adolescentes víctimas de la explotación sexual comercial” (The costs of globalization and technological advances on socially vulnerable infants in Mexico. The case of girls, boys and adolescents who are victims to commercial sexual exploitation). *Hekademus* 2(3):4-13.

Synopsis: This article examines the state of trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation of children in Mexico. The authors argue that globalization, the use of various technologies, and a weak application of penal codes facilitate the trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation of children. Different from many other publications on sex trafficking, this article chooses to focus on the uses of various technologies to coordinate trafficking activities. The authors explain that the most common forms of commercial sexual exploitation include sex tourism, pornography, and prostitution. Globalization leads to changes in the way people experience time and space, making it

possible for trafficking networks to cover the entire globe. Moreover, digital technologies such as the Internet are a crucial component of trafficking networks. The authors also argue that the current legal system is ineffective for combating trafficking, and they urge for greater action on part of states and nongovernmental actors.

Chejter, Silvia. 2001. "La Ninez Prostituida: Estudio sobre explotación sexual comercial infantil en la Argentina" (Prostituted Childhood: Study on Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Argentina). Buenos Aires, Argentina: UNICEF Argentina. Retrieved January 26, 2009 (<http://www.oas.org/atip/Argentina/La%20Ni%C3%B1ez%20Prostituida.pdf>).
Synopsis: This report examines commercial sexual exploitation of children in Argentina in order to understand which children are the most vulnerable to this crime and how institutional actors, both state and private, play a role in enabling the continuity of this problem. The findings of the report are meant to influence policy makers to commit to actions plans aimed at eradicating the problem. This is a qualitative study that was conducted in several regions throughout Argentina, where 326 interviews were conducted with government organizations, community organizations and adult women and children involved in prostitution.

The findings of the report question and even negate many of the prejudices and beliefs held within society about child prostitution. The author argues that children and adolescents do not engage in prostitution out of their own free will, instead, child prostitution is a manifestation of the abuse of power, specifically of males over young girls. The study found that there are no governmental or community organizations in place that specifically addressed the issue of child and adolescent prostitution. Numerous examples of the judicial system failing to adequately protect children from this situation, even when the crime was reported, were noted. In addition, the study found that intervention by the police and the judicial system are ineffective.

Chiarotti, Susana. 2003. *La trata de mujeres: sus conexiones y desconexiones con la migración y los derechos humanos* (Trafficking of Women: Their Connections and Disconnections with Migration and Human Rights). Santiago de Chile, Chile: Naciones Unidas. Retrieved March 1, 2009 (<http://www.eclac.org/publicaciones/xml/4/12554/lcl1910-p.pdf>).

Synopsis: This book presents a historical account of the development of trafficking of peoples and examines the structure of present-day trafficking and sexual exploitation of women. These practices have historical roots, primarily in wars, slavery, and in the sexual objectification of women. Chiarotti explains that during colonial times, women, particularly African and indigenous women, were trafficked for three main purposes: to provide cheap manual labor, for reproductive purposes, and to serve as sexual objects. Chiarotti argues that the modern form of trafficking is not much different from its colonial form. Chiarotti explains that trafficking activities today center around the matrimonial market, the sexual entertainment of officials and soldiers, cheap labor, commercial sex on the Internet and sex tourism.

Codeni, Instituto de Estudios para la Infancia y la Familia, Movimiento El Pozo and Redes. 2005. "¿Mercancía sexual? Cómo hemos creado la demanda para la explotación sexual comercial de niños, niñas y adolescentes en el Perú" (Sexual Merchandise? How We

Have Created the Demand for the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Boys, Girls and Adolescents in Peru). Bangko: ECPAT International. Retrieved December 4, 2008 (http://www.childtrafficking.com/Docs/ecpat_sexual_05_0708.pdf) .

Synopsis: Abstract obtained from original publication: “The approach to commercial sexual exploitation, in general, does not concentrate enough on demand, and rather it is justified through the great myths sustained and transmitted from generation to generation through time. That is why this study, a pioneer in its approach, tries to show how social constructions of sexuality and gender roles reinforce social permissiveness for the existence of the demand for sexual services. Thus, this research provides a brief summary of norms, attitudes, and information transmitted throughout the history of Peru, which has been articulating and strengthening beliefs and types of relationships between men and women who sustain the structure of commercial sexual exploitation of children and adolescents, and which has now become more evident because of its enormous impact, not only in Peru, but globally.

This article also reviews the concepts of sexuality, gender roles and prostitution to find ways to explain how it supports the commercial sexual exploitation of children and adolescents. The explanations that have been found with regards as to why a person often seeks sex with a minor through a commercial transaction are related to attitudes and behaviors of each person and the whole social entity. The findings suggest that it is necessary to recognize, disseminate and instigate fundamental changes that are within reach of individuals and society at large. The presence of a sexual disorder such as pedophilia, is not a real explanation for the scope of this problem. Rather it is the distortions or social pathologies that mask and support its presence.”

Comisión Interinstitucional contra la Explotación Sexual Comercial de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes en Honduras. 2006. “Reformas al Código Penal de los delitos de explotación sexual comercial” (Penal Code Reforms Regarding Crimes of Commercial Sexual Exploitation). Retrieved October 26th, 2009 (http://white.oit.org.pe/ipecc/documentos/plan_esc_honduras.pdf).

Synopsis: This article is a governmental action plan proposed to combat the commercial sexual exploitation of girls, boys and adolescents in Honduras. Steps in this action plan include: increased local, national and international coordination, and the prevention, protection, and re-integration of victims. One of the central goals at the regional level is to reduce poverty by 2015, primarily by strengthening social programs such as health and education. Moreover, other factors that contribute to the commercial sexual exploitation of children are domestic violence, and sexual and psychological abuse. The action plan calls for the development of policies with a renewed focus on childhood and development. The authors argue that the commercial sexual exploitation of children is a multi-faceted phenomenon with roots in various factors, both at the macro and micro levels. Some of the macro level factors they identify are poverty, economic, social, political and cultural structures, corruption, and a lack of protection for vulnerable populations. The authors explain that national and international legislation exists to persecute perpetrators and costumers involved in the commercial sexual exploitation of children.

Comité Nacional contra la Trata de Personas. 2008. “Plan Estratégico 2008-2012” (Strategic

Plan 2008-2012). Retrieved January 20, 2009

(http://www.mspas.gob.sv/comunicaciones/trata_personas/pdf/plan_estrategico.pdf).

Synopsis: This article was developed by the Salvadoran National Committee Against Human Trafficking and the research was coordinated by the ministry of external relations. The purpose of the study was to evaluate a proposed national plan to fight against trafficking in El Salvador. The researchers interviewed 19 public functionaries who are part of the National Committee Against Human Trafficking to obtain feedback regarding the proposed plan. The information gathered was used to create a time line to put the plan into operation. The strategic goals of the plan are to prevent human trafficking in El Salvador, to fight against human trafficking, to provide aid and protection to trafficking victims, and to develop a legal framework against trafficking.

Consejo Centroamericano de Procuradores de Derechos Humanos. 2006. "I Informe regional: situación y análisis del femicidio en la región centroamericana" (I Regional Report: Situation and Analysis of the Murder of Women in the Central American Region). Retrieved February 22, 2009 (<http://www.conadeh.hn/pdf/Femicidio.pdf>).

Synopsis: This article examines the murder of women in the Central American region and seeks to identify the depth of this issue in each country studied. The researchers also examine the actions taken by each state that help guarantee the safety of women by facilitating access to the judicial system, helping prevent the murder of women, and promoting structural change in society by eradicating gender inequalities. The researchers define the murder of women as an extreme form of gender violence, manifested as an exercise of patriarchy, but also as a reflection of other contextual factors particular to each country. Moreover, they argue that a central contributing factor to the murder of women is the weakness of legal frameworks. Regarding the conceptual development of the subject, the researchers posit that this area of study is still incipient in this region. Nevertheless, this early production of literature is helping clarify the problem by illuminating its various dimensions.

Contreras Leal, Luisa María. 2007. "Explotación sexual comercial de niñas/niños y adolescentes en la zona fronteriza de Peñas Blancas, del departamento de Rivas" (Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Girls/Boys and Adolescents in the Border Zone of Peñas Blancas, in the Department of Rivas). Master's Thesis. Universidad Centroamericana, Nicaragua.

Synopsis: This is a master's thesis that aims to analyze the phenomenon of remunerated sexual activities as a form of commercial sexual exploitation of children and adolescents in the border area of Peñas Blancas, in the municipality of Cárdenas and department of Rivas in Nicaragua. It seeks to characterize the experiences of the girls, boys and adolescents involved in remunerated sexual activities, and to identify the main factors that have affected the girls, boys and adolescents in this situation. The data for this thesis is based on participant observations in Peñas Blancas and on 50 in depth, semi-structured interviews with girls, boys and adolescents who are victims of commercial sexual exploitation. The author argues that border areas such as Peñas Blancas are conducive to the commercial sexual exploitation of children and adolescents. The author concludes with some recommendations, such as developing state institutions to combat the commercial sexual exploitation of children.

De Barbieri, Teresita. 2000. "Derechos reproductivos y sexuales. Encrucijada en tiempos Distintos" (Reproductive and Sexual Rights. At a Crossroads in Different Times). *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* 62(1):45-59.

Synopsis: English abstract available: "Sexual and reproductive rights constituted a central theme at world United Nations conferences during the 1990s (Cairo 1994, Beijing 1995). This article sets the problem in the context of mobilizations concerning human rights, feminism and women's health movements, and the theoretical and political debate on population growth. It systematizes these rights on the basis of documents drawn up as a result of these conferences, outlines their limitations and raises some of the problems involved in their understanding and fulfillment in Latin America" (De Barbieri 2000:45).

De Barbieri does not deal with the issue of human trafficking directly, however, she points to some of the limitations associated with the mobilization of human and sexual reproductive rights in Latin America as they originate at the international level. De Barbieri first points out that human and sexual reproductive rights are defined by the United Nations, and so in many ways these legislations are born outside of any Latin American context. Related to this issue, De Barbieri argues that because human rights and related concepts are defined in English, Spanish translations usually yield different or ambiguous meanings. Lastly, De Barbieri states that there is a lack of assistance at the international level to implement human rights legislation in countries where the state or private institutions are unable to do so.

Dobrée, Patricio and Clyde Soto. 2007. "La demanda en la explotación sexual comercial de adolescentes: el caso de Paraguay" (Demand in the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Adolescents: The Case of Paraguay). Asunción: Oficina Internacional del Trabajo. Retrieved October 25, 2009

(http://white.oit.org.pe/ipec/documentos/demanda_esci_py.pdf).

Synopsis: The objective of the study is to discover the characteristics and *modus operandi* of the demand for commercial sexual exploitation (CSE) of minors, as well as identify economic, social, cultural and psychological factors that determine the attitudes and behaviors of clients and intermediaries. The data in this study is based on interviews with minor victims of CSE, consumers, intermediaries, adults engaged in prostitution, individuals with knowledge or expertise on this issue, and ethnographic observations in the chosen study areas within the cities of Asunción and Ciudad del Este. The researcher concluded that the situation of poverty and social exclusion in which thousands of families in Paraguay live forces many children and adolescents to engage in circuits of exploitation as a means of survival. However, the researchers argue that it is equally important to point out that the values, principles, cultural beliefs and customs that are currently shared and accepted by the majority of the population also play an important role in making the inclusion of minors into the sex industry seem natural and even inevitable.

ECPAT International. 2006. "Informe Global de Monitoreo de las Acciones en Contra de la Explotación Sexual Comercial de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes: Argentina" (Global Monitoring Report on the Actions Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents: Argentina). Retrieved January 7, 2009

(http://www.ecpat.net/A4A_2005/PDF/Americas/Global_Monitoring_Report-ARGENTINA.pdf).

Synopsis: This report uses the Agenda for Actions, which arose out of the 1996 First World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC), as a framework from which to compare and analyze the actions taken, and the gaps that exist, in addressing CSEC within Argentina. Specifically, the report analyzes the progress made in the areas of coordination and cooperation, prevention, and protection. This report is based on a review of all available literature on sexual exploitation in Argentina, including reports by the government, NGOs and independent experts.

The report found that although a National Plan of Action to address CSEC was created in 2000, it has yet to be implemented by local and national agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) within the country. The report discovered that very few NGOs in Argentina are working in the field of CSEC, instead, the government is the leading force behind this issue. Although Argentina has ratified all international conventions related to CSEC, the adequacy of the country's internal legislation is questionable. This report concludes that there are significant loopholes that hinder proper prosecution of these crimes and where the acts themselves are defined as crimes, they are not criminally prosecuted to the extent that they should be. For example, the country's current penal code only sanctions those that promote or facilitate prostitution and not the client/exploiters. Current laws do not consider other forms of commercial sexual exploitation apart from prostitution and do not address internal trafficking. The report did find improvement in the creation of services to aid children and adolescents that have been victims of CSEC, including the creation of the Office of Assistance for Victims of Crime. In addition, the report found the implementation of a social awareness campaign, which includes the training of police and judicial personnel in order to prevent them from revictimizing victims that they come in contact with. This report concludes with a list of actions that need to be taken in order to better address the problem of CSEC within the country.

----- 2006a. "Informe Global de Monitoreo de las Acciones en Contra de la Explotación Sexual Comercial de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes: Colombia" (Global Monitoring Report on the Actions Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents: Colombia). Retrieved January 7, 2009

(http://www.ecpat.net/A4A_2005/PDF/Americas/Global_Monitoring_Report-COLOMBIA.pdf).

Synopsis: This report uses the Agenda for Actions, which arose out of the 1996 First World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC), as a framework from which to compare and analyze the actions taken, and the gaps that exist, in addressing CSEC within Colombia. Specifically, the report analyzes the progress made in the areas of coordination and cooperation, prevention and protection. This report is based on a review of all available literature on sexual exploitation in Colombia, including reports by the government, NGOs, and independent experts.

This report states that in December of 2005, Colombia finalized a National Plan of Action to address the problem of CSEC with the participation of governmental and nongovernmental organizations at the national and local level. The National Plan of Action has the following objectives: an analysis of the situation; improvement and

application of regulations; attention, restitution and reparation to victims; prevention; institutional strengthening. The report found widespread cooperation and participation between government bodies and civil society in their efforts to address this issue. In the area of prevention, the study notes the establishment of laws aimed at protecting against exploitation, pornography, sexual tourism and other forms of sexual abuse against minors. However, the study notes that these criminal laws need to be improved. For example, the current penal code only sanctions those individuals that engage in commercial sexual activity with victims under the age of 14, leaving those adolescents between the ages of 15 and 18 without protection. Furthermore, in regards to prevention the study found that there have been various initiatives implemented to educate the Colombian people about the existence and risk of CSEC, as well as to reduce the vulnerability of children and adolescents. However, the study notes that these initiatives are limited and insufficient. This report concludes with a list of recommended actions that need to be taken in order to better address the problem of CSEC within the country.

- 2006b. "Informe Global de Monitoreo de las Acciones en contra de la Explotación Sexual Comercial de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes: Costa Rica" (Global Monitoring Report on the Actions Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents: Costa Rica). Retrieved January 7, 2009 (http://www.ecpat.net/A4A_2005/PDF/Americas/Global_Monitoring_Report-COSTA_RICA.pdf).

Synopsis: This report uses the Agenda for Actions, which arose out of the 1996 First World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC), as a framework from which to compare and analyze the actions taken, and the gaps that exist, in addressing CSEC within Costa Rica. Specifically, the report analyzes the progress made in the areas of coordination and cooperation, prevention and protection. This report is based on a review of all available literature on sexual exploitation in Costa Rica, including reports by the government, NGOs, and independent experts.

The report found that Costa Rica has a National Plan of Action against CSEC, and many of the actions outlined in the plan have already been implemented, particularly in the area of legal reform. However, the plan gives little attention to the assistance, protection and rehabilitation of victims. The study notes that there are several examples of effective and successful coordination and cooperation between governmental and local and international NGOs. In addition, prevention efforts have been strengthened by campaigns warning of the criminal and damaging nature of CSEC and promoting the reporting of the client/exploiter and intermediaries that facilitate this crime. In regards to protection, the study notes that although Costa Rica has a law in place that specifically addresses CSEC and criminalizes the sexual exploitation of minors, there exists loopholes within the country's legislation that fail to provide protection to children and adolescents who are victims of CSEC. Furthermore, the study found that internal trafficking is not criminalized. The findings of this report conclude that while Costa Rica has taken important steps to address CSEC, specifically in regards to legal reform, several actions are still required in order to adequately address this issue and provide protection to child and adolescent victims.

- 2006c. "Informe Global de Monitoreo de las Acciones en Contra de la Explotación Sexual

Comercial de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes: Guatemala” (Global Monitoring Report on the Actions Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents: Guatemala). Retrieved January 7, 2009 (http://www.ecpat.net/A4A_2005/PDF/Americas/Global_Monitoring_Report-GUATEMALA.pdf).

Synopsis: This report uses the Agenda for Actions, which arose out of the 1996 First World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC), as a framework from which to compare and analyze the actions taken, and the gaps that exist in addressing CSEC within Guatemala. Specifically, the report analyzes the progress made in the areas of coordination and cooperation, prevention and protection. This report is based on a review of all available literature on sexual exploitation in Guatemala, including reports by the government, NGOs, and independent experts.

This report explains that in 2001, the National Plan of Action against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents was approved in Guatemala, but is not set to be implemented until 2010. This Plan of Action is set to address the issue of prevention, attention and investigation into the problem, criminal sanctions and the application of justice. The report found that the fight against CSEC does not appear to be a priority for state agencies in Guatemala. There is a lack of integral and sustainable public policies and campaigns available to address this problem at a national level. In addition, current legislations contain significant loopholes in regards to the criminalization of commercial sexual exploitation of children, although the report does mention that proposed reforms to the Penal Code were present in Congress at the time this report was being published. This report concludes with a list of actions that need to be taken in order to address CSEC within Guatemala.

Evangelista, Angelica, Tunon, Esperanza, Rojas, Martha and Fernano Limon. 2001. “Derechos sexuales y reproductivos entre mujeres jóvenes de una comunidad rural de Chiapas” (Sexual and Reproductive Rights among Young Women in a Rural Community in Chiapas). *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* 63(2):139-165.

Synopsis: English abstract available: “This study identifies and analyzes the conditions that facilitate the recognition of the sexual and reproductive rights of a group of young women from a rural community in Chiapas. Using three qualitative research techniques: individual in-depth interviews, participatory observation and field diaries, the authors explore the way these young women construct, perceive and reinterpret their sexual and reproductive sphere” (Evangelista et al., 2001:139).

Although Evangelista et al.’s article does not deal with the issue of human trafficking directly, it is useful for this study because it points to the existing contradictions between international human rights legislation and its applicability. The authors point to social, cultural and political factors that make it difficult for the young women interviewed to recognize their human and sexual reproductive rights. While there is no conceptualization of why sex trafficking occurs present in this article, the authors develop a conceptual framework that helps explain why the young women in this study do not recognize their human and sexual reproductive rights. Specifically, the authors cite gender inequality, lack of resources and education as part of their conceptual framework.

Fundación Esperanza. 2006. “Explotación Sexual Comercial de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes en

Colombia: Estudio De Linea de Base en Cundinamarca, Quindío y Valle Del Cauca” (Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Boys, Girls and Adolescents in Colombia: A Base Line Study in Cundinamarca, Quindío and Valle Del Cauca). Bogota: OIT/IPEC Sudamérica. Retrieved November 15, 2009 (http://white.oit.org.pe/ipecc/boletin/documentos/co_esci_estudio_linea_base_2006.pdf).

Synopsis: This study was conducted between March and June of 2004 in three areas of the country: Cundinamarca, Quindío and Valle del Cauca. The study was conducted through interviews and questionnaires with 60 child victims of commercial sexual exploitation and 42 officials from governmental and nongovernmental agencies. The objective of the study is to characterize child victims of sexual exploitation, analyze the dynamics of the problem and explore the knowledge, attitudes and practices of institutions that specialize in the topic and are responsible for protecting and assisting the child population in the area of study.

Garbay, Susy. 2003. “Migración, esclavitud y tráfico de personas” (Migration, Slavery and Human Trafficking). Quito, Ecuador: Revista Aportes Andinos. Retrieved January 20, 2009 (<http://www.uasb.edu.ec/padh/centro/pdfs7/Ssusy%20Garbay.pdf>).

Synopsis: This article is the result of a presentation given by Susana Garbay at a conference on globalization, migration and human rights organized by the Andean Program for Human Rights. This article is primarily an informative piece in which Garbay makes a distinction between immigration and human trafficking. Garbay posits that migration is associated with the desire to find labor abroad, while she defines human trafficking with intentions of sexual exploitation as occurring against one’s will with intentions of sexual exploitation. She also explains that trafficking primarily involves women and children. Garbay states that trafficking networks exist on several levels: at the individual level, at the national level, and at a global level. She explains that human trafficking at the global level is heavily dependent on European and Asian networks and that the majority of trafficking victims are Latin American women. Finally, Garbay explains that several Latin American countries lack legislation that punish trafficking activities, which makes it difficult to combat.

Gaspar Britos, Jose. 2002. “Políticas Sociales y Oferta Institucional Para La Confrontación De La Explotación Sexual Comercial De Niñas, Niños y Adolescentes En La Frontera Paraguay – Brasil (Ciudad Del Este)” (Social Policies and Institutional Offers For the Confrontation of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents in the Paraguay-Brazil (Ciudad del Este) Border). Retrieved November 13, 2009 (http://white.oit.org.pe/ipecc/documentos/oferta_cde_paraguay_brasil.pdf).

Synopsis: This report analyzes the social policies in Paraguay and the availability of institutional resources aimed at confronting commercial sexual exploitation of children and adolescents in Cuiudad del Este, Paraguay. The report is based on the review of legal and institutional mechanisms available to addresses this problem, interviews with stakeholders within governmental, nongovernmental and international organizations and other documentary sources. The objective of the report is to provide recommendations on how to eradicate and prevent the commercial sexual exploitation of minors in Paraguay.

Gutierrez, Rafael, Leticia Vega and Eva Maria Rodríguez. 2008. “Problemas y dilemmas éticos

en la investigación de la explotación sexual comercial de niñas y niños: (Problems and Ethical Dilemmas in the Study of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Girls and Boys). *Salud Mental* 31:403-408.

Synopsis: The article has a lengthy abstract both in English and Spanish and an abbreviated version is presented here. The article begins by defining commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) as an exercise of power that commercializes the sexual abuse of children and adolescents so that the exploiters, nearly always adult men, will obtain financial profit or some type of social, psychological or other satisfaction. The main thrust of this article is to analyze some of the problems derived from the failure to comply with the principles of research ethics when studying CSEC in the sex industry and street sex market in Mexico... A brief analysis is conducted of the problems derived from the failure to comply with ethical standards in the early covert research on CSEC in Mexico. Although a certain percentage of the research related to the issue is obviously reviewed and approved by an ethics committee that implicitly acknowledges this compliance, there continues to be a considerable number of studies with no manifest ethical support. The article ends by describing the lessons learned during this work. Recommendations include protecting the physical, social and psychological welfare of the persons studied and those with whom one works, finding out about the social context where one's fieldwork is conducted; adopting a rights and gender approach; avoiding research solely designed to detect victims without offering them protection; detecting victims within the context of inter-institutional coordination, and rescue and protection programs that will guarantee the restoration of their rights and ensure the research team's welfare.

Instituto Interamericano del Niño, la Niña y Adolescentes. 2009. "IX Informe al Secretario General de la OEA sobre las acciones emprendidas por los Estados Miembros para combatir la explotación sexual comercial de niñas, niños y adolescentes en las Américas" (Ninth Report to the Secretary General of the OAS on the actions undertaken by Member States to combat the commercial sexual exploitation of Children in the Americas). Montevideo, Uruguay. Retrieved June 10, 2010 (<http://www.iin.oea.org/IIN/Pdf/IX%20Informe%20ESCNA%20-%20v%20ESP%20%28%29.pdf>).

Synopsis: The report was prepared by the Interamerican Institute of Children and Adolescents (*Instituto Interamericano del Niño, la Niña y Adolescentes*) for submission to the Secretary General of the Organization of American States, and outlines the measures Member States have taken to combat commercial sexual exploitation of children and adolescents in the Americas. The body of the report is dedicated to updating the main actions that Member States have taken in ratifying international laws and treaties, domestic legislation, and public policies aimed at combating this phenomenon.

International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour. 2007. "Un estudio cualitativo sobre la demanda en la explotación sexual comercial de adolescentes: el caso de Perú" (A Qualitative Study on the Demand of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Adolescents: The Case of Peru). Peru, Oficina Internacional de Trabajo. Retrieved December 7, 2008 (<http://www.ilo.org/ipeinfo/product/viewProduct.do;jsessionid=0a038009cefd7218eb3dcc7480680dfa7868d0dae9.hkzFngTDp6WImQuUaNaLahD3lN4K-xaIah8S->

xyIn3uKmAiNAnwbQbxaNvzaAmIhuKa30xgx95fjWTa3eIpkzFngTDp6WImQuxah8LaN8Qc3yOa2b48OX3b4Dtgj15eMbyknvrkLOlQzNp65In0__?productId=7637).

Synopsis: This study examines the behavior of adult men who engage in commercial sexual exploitation with minors in two cities within Peru, Lima and Cusco. The research team gathered the data for analysis through participant observation, ethnographic descriptions, informal conversations and 20 in-depth interviews with authorities, minors involved in commercial sexual exploitation, adult prostitutes who were engaged in commercial sexual exploitation as adults, consumers and intermediaries. The researchers explain that previous studies have examined some of the causes behind trafficking, but little work has been done to look at the behavior and “collective imagination” of the men who are customers. The research team utilized four perspectives to frame their analysis: 1) a cultural perspective, which examines the processes of communication and constructions of meaning; 2) a power perspective, which looks at the power relations involved in commercial sexual exploitation by looking at strategies of control; 3) a normative perspective, which explores definitions of existence, life, love, and conscience pertaining to the dangers of commercial sexual exploitation; 4) and a psychological perspective, which examines the internal relations and characteristics of consumers. Several themes emanated from each perspective. From the cultural framework, the researchers conclude that the demand for commercial sexual exploitation is tolerated by society’s patriarchal structure, and they point to school and family as institutions that instill asymmetric power relations between genders. From the power framework, the researchers conclude that minors obtain their power from their young bodies, but that in relation, adult male consumers have more power from their money, age, and gender, again pointing to structure. From the normative perspective, the researchers point to the lack of legal knowledge between minors and adult male consumers involved in commercial sexual exploitation. From the psychological framework, the researchers state that consumers see themselves as having a normal sexuality, and the researchers attribute this to the fact that consumers understand their sexuality from a physio-biological perspective. In other words, consumers do not see their behavior as being socially based.

Leal, Maria Lucia Pinto. 2003. “Globalización y explotación sexual de niños, niñas y adolescentes” (Globalization and Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents). Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Save the Children. Retrieved October 12, 2009 (http://www.scslat.org/web/noticias_detalle.php?id=E&tip=P&cod=5&are=1&sare=22&gc=1&src=5&ani=).

Synopsis: This objective of this work is to analyze the relationship between globalization and the commercial sexual exploitation of children and adolescents in Brazil. The author argues that neo-liberal globalization models have restructured traditional labor roles and pushed women and children into precarious informal labor markets where they are at risk of being involved in clandestine and organized crime systems. In addition, the traditional family structure has also been impacted by globalization and has created more single-parent households, poverty, and greater family conflict and violence. These factors in the family household have caused children to become vulnerable and easy prey for recruitment into the commercial sex industry by organized crime. Furthermore, many children accept being drawn into these webs of exploitation not only because of material needs but because of consumerist desires that have been promoted by mass

communication and capitalist society.

Leal, Maria Lúcia and Maria de Fátima Leal, eds. 2003. "Investigación Sobre la Trata de Mujeres, Niños y Adolescentes para fines de Explotación Sexual Comercial en Brasil" (Study of Trafficking of Women, Children and Adolescents for Commercial Sexual Exploitation in Brazil). Brasilia, Brazil: CECRIA. Retrieved December 7, 2008 (http://www.scslat.org/web/noticias_detalle.php?id=E&tip=P&cod=39&are=1&sare=22&rgc=1&srgc=5&ani=).

Synopsis: The primary goal of this study is to examine the trafficking of women, children and adolescents for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation in Brazil through a human rights reference. The study was conducted through the collection of both primary and secondary data, obtained from governmental/legal organizations, non-governmental organizations, sex trade networks and the media (from 1996 to 2002), through semi-structured interviews and case studies. Data collection was conducted between June 2001 and June 2002 within the five regions of Brazil. The authors of the study argue that this phenomenon is a result of social contradictions, which have been intensified by globalization and weak government structures, further deepening gender, race and ethnic inequalities. The authors analyze the connection between this phenomenon and organized crime, describing how national routes of human trafficking are related to international routes of trafficking and mafias. The authors conclude that the difficulty in obtaining data on sex trafficking is due to the fact that it is linked to organized crime and corruption, and in order to address this phenomenon, it is necessary to strengthen the mobilization of social actors and government initiatives that are aimed at combating sexual violence.

Luna Nueva and Organización Internacional para las Migraciones. 2005. "La trata de personas en el Paraguay" (The Trafficking of Persons in Paraguay). Buenos Aires, Argentina: Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de la Republica del Paraguay; OIM. Retrieved December 7, 2008 (<http://www.oimconosur.org/notas/buscador.php?nota=158>).

Synopsis: This study was funded by the Organización Internacional para las Migraciones (OIM) and developed by the non-governmental organization Luna Nueva de Asuncion between September 2004 and January 2005. It is primarily a qualitative study though the researchers also utilized and systematized quantitative information. The researchers studied five cities in Paraguay: Ciudad del Este, Encarnacion, Villarrica, Colonia Independencia, and Asuncion. The qualitative data gathered comes from 186 interviews with key informants such as taxi drivers, travel agency workers, residents from affected neighborhoods, social workers and sex workers. Moreover, the researchers conducted 23 interviews with women and adolescents affected by human trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation. The goals of this study were to describe the modalities of human trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation in Paraguay, to identify the actors involved in trafficking, to analyze the legal system in relation to this issue, and to identify public institutions and non-governmental organizations who work on the issue of trafficking. The researchers conclude that human trafficking is not an isolated activity, but is highly organized and operates in many areas of the country. They also argue that internal trafficking is naturalized and it mostly affects girls and adolescents. Furthermore, these internal processes are connected to international trafficking networks.

Mallqui, Rondán and Liz Meléndez. 2005. “Diagnóstico de trata de mujeres, niños y niñas en ocho ciudades del país” (A Diagnosis of Trafficking of Women, Boys and Girls in Eight Cities in the Country). Retrieved March 23, 2009 (http://www.flora.org.pe/investigaciones/TRATA_FINAL.pdf).

Synopsis: This study seeks to collect information pertinent to the factors that influence and determine the trafficking of women, girls and boys in eight Peruvian cities. The researchers employ both qualitative (participant observations, interviews with victims and with key informants, focus groups, and an analysis of open cases) and quantitative (questionnaires, sociodemographic statistics) methodologies. More specifically, the researchers seek to examine trafficking networks, describe the modus operandi of trafficking activities, determine the magnitude of trafficking activities in Peru, and identify ways in which the state, non-governmental and humanitarian organizations can develop strategic plans to combat the trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation of women, girls and boys. They state that until now, non-governmental and humanitarian organizations have been leading the development of literature on the trafficking of women, girls and boys in Peru. From their findings the researchers suggest that situations within sociopolitical and economic contexts, such as poverty, de-legitimized state institutions, social indifference, and unemployment are risk factors for trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation of women, girls and boys. Moreover, they argue that often times trafficking occurs within family networks; the fathers typically commercialize their sons and/or daughters.

Martinez, Teresa and Lourdes Barboza. 2002. “Marco Legal para Confrontación de la Explotación sexual Comercial de Niñas, Niños y Adolescente en Paraguay” (Legal Framework for comparison of the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents in Paraguay). Retrieved November 13, 2009 (<http://white.oit.org.pe/ipecc/documentos/estlegescipy.pdf>).

Synopsis: This document provides a compilation of existing legislations in Paraguay relating to the topic of commercial sexual exploitation of children. The report provides a look at the country's Constitution, treaties and international agreements and conventions ratified by Paraguay, and national laws. An explanation of each one of these is provided, along with an analysis of the relationship these legislations have on the prevention and repression of commercial sexual exploitation of children and the care of victims.

Ministerio de Justicia y Derechos Humanos de la Nación de Argentina. 2007. “La Protección de derechos de los niños, niñas y adolescentes frente a la explotación laboral, sexual, la trata, el tráfico y la venta” (Protection of Children and Adolescent Rights Against Labor and Sexual Exploitation, Trafficking and Sale). Retrieved February 22, 2009 (<http://www.derhuman.jus.gov.ar/institucional/publicaciones/publicaciones/ddhh/CuadernilloTrata1.pdf>).

Synopsis: This article outlines some of the fundamental concepts pertaining to the trafficking and exploitation of children in Argentina, it analyzes the internal legislation in light of obligations assumed by the state, and systematizes some of the basic rights that must be respected when offering assistance and reintegration to victims. The authors intend for this article to be utilized as a tool for the work of doctors, psychologists, and

social workers who are involved in the issue of trafficking and exploitation of children. The authors argue that a first step in fighting the trafficking and exploitation of children is prevention and the sensitization of this issue to the larger population. Also, the authors argue for a change in the ingrained cultural prejudices of the Argentinian population, as these prejudices naturalize the practices of exploitation. Moreover, the state should assume more responsibility for the physical, mental and emotional care of children to assure that they develop into well-rounded adults. Finally, the authors note that these are only initial steps in the eradication of trafficking and exploitation of children and that a strong commitment is necessary on the part of the state to persecute trafficking and exploitative activities.

Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores. 2006. "Informe sobre las medidas y acciones para prevenir y sancionar el delito de la trata y explotación sexual de personas y para proteger a sus víctimas" (Report on the Measures and Actions to Prevent and Sanction Human Trafficking and Exploitation and to Protect Its Victims). Retrieved March 1, 2009 (http://www.mire.gob.pa/adjuntos/5_documentos.pdf).

Synopsis: This Panamanian government article was produced by the ministry of external relations, the ministry of social development, the ministry of labor and the public ministry. It examines current legislation at the national and international levels that exist against human trafficking. Moreover, this article explains some of the steps the Panamanian government has taken to fight against human trafficking. These steps include increased collaboration with international organizations such as the International Organization for Migration and the United Nations Children's Fund, and steps to educate the public about trafficking, which includes public campaigns warning against the dangers of trafficking. The article notes two gaps in the production of legislation against trafficking activities: first, there is a lack of understanding of human trafficking, its dynamics and its motivations. Second, there is a lack of reliable statistics on the matter. The article makes a few suggestions that may help close the gaps in knowledge regarding trafficking, such as increasing communication and collaboration in research projects between governmental bodies and other organizations. Finally, the article indicates that the process of socio-political structuring in Panama, in relation to the subject of human trafficking, is still dissimilar; however, the political will needed to obtain positive outcomes in the near future and in the long run are present in Panama.

Movimiento El Pozo. 2005. "Trata de mujeres para fines sexuales comerciales en el Perú" (Trafficking of Women for Commercial Sexual Ends in Peru). Retrieved March 23, 2009 (<http://www.oas.org/atip/country%20specific/IOM%20Peru%20Rept%20%202005.pdf>).

Synopsis: This study was organized by the Organizacion Internacional para las Migraciones (OIM) and developed by the non-governmental organization Movimiento El Pozo. The aims of this study are to shine light on the issue of human trafficking and sexual exploitation in Peru by specifically focusing on trafficking modalities and networks. The researchers utilize three perspectives to construct their analysis: human rights, gender and migration perspectives. From their analysis, based on interviews and observations throughout Lima, the researchers argue that internal trafficking in Peru is much more serious than international trafficking; eight out of ten cases correspond to situations of internal trafficking. The researchers posit that trafficking victims are

typically young women and girls from a background of poverty, who also lack education. Internal and international trafficking operate through complex criminal and informal networks, however it is also manifested in the domestic sphere. Families are commonly involved in trafficking networks; the researchers explain that many families from the Amazon region perceive their adolescent daughters as able to fend for themselves, so they give them up to strangers involved in commercial sexual exploitation and human trafficking. Trafficking involves traditional actors like pimps, owners of businesses, and tourists, but also in some cases it involves relatives, boyfriends, and neighbors. Traffickers in Peru utilize routes that revolve around industrial centers of tourist destinations. Finally, the authors explain that the state does not have the material or mental resources to effectively operationalize anti-trafficking legislation and penal codes.

Navarrete, Margarita. 2006. "La trata de personas en Uruguay" (Human Trafficking in Uruguay). Retrieved March 1, 2009

(http://www.observatoriomercosur.org.uy/UserFiles/File/conferencia_trata.pdf).

Synopsis: This study examines the general state of human trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation in Uruguay. Navarrete states that no official data or statistics exist regarding human trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation in Uruguay, so for this study the researcher relies primarily on press releases, some studies, and personal interviews. Navarrete makes some conclusions pertaining to the modus operandi of human trafficking in Uruguay, its legal and political frameworks, the situation of trafficking victims in Uruguay, and the involvement of non-governmental organizations at the community level. Navarrete posits that due to a lack of data, it is difficult to reference changes in the "modus operandi" of trafficking networks and the recruitment of trafficking victims. However, Navarrete states that some interview respondents made references to classified postings which recruited for work abroad, particularly in Spain. Regarding governmental legislation, Navarrete concludes that the Uruguayan government lacks legislation to effectively combat trafficking; however, at the level of Mercosur, regional cooperation is beginning to build regarding legislative analysis, development and coordination of joint operations. Moreover, Uruguay is in the process of implementing support programs for victims of commercial sexual exploitation in general without dealing with the trafficking of persons specifically. Finally, Navarrete notes the involvement of non-governmental organizations, particularly human rights organizations, to help victims at the community level, but there is no involvement in the formulation of public policies.

Oficina Internacional del Trabajo. 2002. "Explotación sexual comercial de niñas, niños, y adolescentes en Honduras" (Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Girls, Boys and Adolescents in Honduras). Programa Internacional para la Erradicación del Trabajo Infantil. Retrieved November 7th, 2009

(http://white.oit.org.pe/ipecc/documentos/explotacion_sexual_hn.pdf).

Synopsis: Grounded in ethnographic interviews and field observations, this study examines the modus operandi of human trafficking and the commercial sexual exploitation of girls, boys and adolescents in Honduras. The researchers define the commercial sexual exploitation of girls, boys and adolescents as the systematic violation of their human rights and as one of the most totalitarian forms of violence and physical

and emotional abuse, committed predominantly by adult men. The researchers posit that this issue is a complex and multidimensional problem, embedded in a patriarchal culture of abuse to minors and oppression of women, and that in this context its operation becomes naturalized and the sexual violence is reinforced by the social exclusion and marginalization of large sectors of the young and adult populations in a national scene of general poverty. Furthermore, the researchers argue that the commercial sexual exploitation of children is maintained by its clandestine character and by a context of permissiveness, indifference and public complicity, combined with a lack of political will and weak legal systems. The authors explain that the commercial sexual exploitation of children has various expressions, such as prostitution, pornography, and sexual tourism based on the promotion of commercial sex with girls and boys. The researchers posit that commercial sexual exploitation activities are growing in Honduras, and these activities move great amounts of money in the country and the world. Trafficking has ties with tourism services, hotels, restaurants, casinos, clubs, as well as Internet-based activities.

- 2002a. “Explotación sexual comercial de niños, niñas y adolescentes en Nicaragua” (Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Boys, Girls and Adolescents in Nicaragua). Oficina Internacional del Trabajo. Retrieved November 30th, 2009 (http://white.oit.org.pe/ipecc/documentos/explotacion_sexual_ni.pdf).
- Synopsis:** This study examines the state of commercial sexual exploitation of minors in Nicaragua by focusing on the cities of Managua and Chinandega. The data gathered came from ethnographic interviews, questionnaires and field observations. The researchers explain that in both cities, the commercial sexual exploitation of children is carried out in a clandestine manner, primarily focused in tourist bars, restaurants and night clubs. Moreover, the researchers posit that the majority of children and adolescents involved in commercial sex, having been expelled by their parents or having left out of necessity, live in parks, bus terminals, and old buildings. Most of these children and adolescents, according to the study’s findings, are also involved in drugs and many are exploited by drug dealers. The victims of commercial sexual exploitation interviewed in this study share several characteristics: lack of education, past experiences with sexual abuse, and they became involved in commercial sexual exploitation at a young age. In relation to actions to combat the problem of commercial sexual exploitation of children, the authors explain that in Nicaragua there are no legal dispositions that specifically regulate and sanction the diverse forms of commercial sexual exploitation. During the time this study was carried out, no specific policy existed to offer attention to the children and adolescent victims of commercial sexual exploitation. Although general programs exist at the national level, the researchers were not able to identify anti-trafficking and anti-commercial sexual exploitation governmental organizations at the local levels.
- 2003. “Explotación sexual comercial de niñas, niños, y adolescentes en Guatemala” (Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Girls, Boys and Adolescents in Guatemala). Programa Internacional para la Erradicación del Trabajo Infantil. Retrieved November 7th, 2009 (http://white.oit.org.pe/ipecc/documentos/explotacion_sexual_guate.pdf).
- Synopsis:** This study explores the commercial sexual exploitation of girls, boys and adolescents in Guatemala. It draws on ethnographic interviews with victims, field observations and surveys. The researchers argue that the commercial sexual exploitation

of children in Guatemala is often seen as something normal due to the country's general level of poverty. Moreover, they argue that violence, discrimination and lack of gender equality are factors closely tied with commercial sexual exploitation of children. Many young adults and children victims of sexual exploitation come from environments of intra-family violence, and sexual, physical and psychological abuse. Regarding trafficking networks, the authors describe the existence of national, transnational and international networks through which several actors, such as industrialists, have made this practice a business. In some cases, these networks have bonds with governmental institutions and government officials. The researchers explain that the recruitment methods in Guatemala are very similar to the known ones in other parts of the world. The children are drawn with fake promises of work, only to find themselves at the mercy of these intermediary actors. The researchers conclude by arguing that Guatemala lacks the necessary institutions for the protection of vulnerable populations and to attend to victims of commercial sexual exploitation.

- 2005. "Prácticas culturales que promueven la explotación sexual comercial infantil" (Cultural Practices that Promote Children's Sexual Commercial Exploitation). Retrieved March 23, 2009 (<http://www.bvsde.paho.org/bvsacd/cd61/cartas/carta4.pdf>).
- Synopsis:** This study examines the cultural practices that promote the commercial sexual exploitation of children. The authors argue that patriarchal cultures emphasize power and control in the hands of men. Moreover, patriarchal cultures repress the emotional expression of men, and the authors argue that this leads to situations that generate the dehumanization of boys and girls who are victims of abuse by the hands of adults. With the assumption that cultures are not static, the authors offer suggestions that may bring about a transformation of practices that reproduce patriarchal ideals with relation to the commercial sexual exploitation of children. Among the researchers' recommendations is the need to increase governmental and transnational coordination with organizations of civil society. The problem of trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation of children requires structural changes not only to combat the factors of social and economic vulnerability that victims of commercial sexual exploitation face, but also to create changes in the culture that generates and feeds the demand for these practices.
- 2007. "La demanda en la explotación sexual comercial de adolescentes: estudio cualitativo en Sudamérica (Chile, Colombia, Paraguay y Peru) (Demand in Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Adolescents: A Qualitative Study of South America). Oficina Internacional del Trabajo. Retrieved November 7th, 2009 (http://white.oit.org.pe/ipec/documentos/esci_demanda_reg.pdf).
- Synopsis:** This study examines the cultural practices that promote the commercial sexual exploitation of children. The authors argue that patriarchal cultures emphasize power and control in the hands of men. Moreover, patriarchal cultures repress the emotional expression of men, and the authors argue that this leads to situations that generate the dehumanization of boys and girls who are victims of abuse by the hands of adults. With the assumption that cultures are not static, the authors offer suggestions that may bring about a transformation of practices that reproduce patriarchal ideals with relation to the commercial sexual exploitation of children. Among the researchers' recommendations is the need to increase governmental and transnational coordination with organizations of

civil society. The problem of trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation of children requires structural changes not only to combat the factors of social and economic vulnerability that victims of commercial sexual exploitation face, but also to create changes in the culture that generates and feeds the demand for these practices.

- . 2007a. “Prevención y atención a niñas, niños y adolescentes en riesgo o víctimas de la explotación sexual comercial infantil en Machala” (Prevention and Attention to Girls, Boys and Adolescents at Risk or Victims of Child Commercial Sexual Exploitation in Machala). Retrieved December 4, 2008 (http://white.oit.org.pe/ipecc/documentos/esci_machala.pdf).

Synopsis: This study was developed by the Ecuadorian division of the International Labor Organization between the months of March and May of 2006 with the intention of increasing knowledge regarding the commercial sexual exploitation of children in Ecuador, particularly in the city of Machala. The goals of this study were to map high-risk areas for commercial sexual exploitation of children in Machala, to establish profiles for girls and adolescents who are victims of commercial sexual exploitation, to describe the network dynamics of commercial sexual exploitation in Machala and its surrounding areas, to establish the profiles of clients, and to develop preliminary strategies for intervention. The researchers describe difficulty in accessing information about commercial sexual exploitation of children due to its clandestine nature, to its near invisibility and to the fact that not all cases are reported. Some of the characteristics defined by the researchers which pose girls and adolescents at risk of commercial sexual exploitation include lack of education, exposure to violence, both sexual and physical, and poverty. The researchers explain that girls and adolescents are recruited primarily by seduction and are controlled through threats and violence. From the study’s findings, the researchers intend to develop proposals to affect and mobilize public and political action against the commercial sexual exploitation of children in Ecuador, and to help prevent, protect, attend and guarantee the rights of children and adolescents who are at risk of commercial sexual exploitation.

- . 2007b. “Un día te dejan de mirar y te perdés: verdades y desafíos de la explotación sexual comercial de la infancia y adolescencia” (One Day They Stop Looking at You and You Are Lost: Truths and Challenges of the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents). Oficina Internacional del Trabajo. Retrieved November 30th, 2009. (http://white.oit.org.pe/ipecc/documentos/verdades_desafios_py.pdf).

Synopsis: This study, grounded in ethnographic interviews, participant observation and focus groups, examines the state of commercial sexual exploitation and trafficking of children and adolescents in Paraguay. The authors explain that Paraguay faces increasing general violence, especially towards adult, young and adolescent women; sexual exploitation constitutes one of the most brutal forms of this gendered violence. The authors posit that the sexual exploitation of children and adolescents has deep roots in a culture built on gender inequality. The situation of sexual exploitation therefore implies the existence of sexual violence, paired in many cases with physical and psychological forms of violence. The researchers explain that although no reliable quantitative data exists on this issue, sexual exploitation and violence are not on their way out since some of the structural causes that generate it, like poverty, gender

discrimination, and consumer values, are far from disappearing. On the other hand, the legal instruments to prevent the commercial sexual exploitation of children and to sanction its perpetrators, the social collective consciousness and general level of knowledge on the matter, and the means of protecting victims and curbing future cases – all of which constitute key elements in the fight against the commercial sexual exploitation of children – are precarious and insufficient.

Oficina Internacional del Trabajo and International Programme on the Elimination of Child

Labour. 2002. “Explotación sexual comercial de niñas, niños y adolescentes: una evaluación rápida” (Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children: A Rapid Assessment). Retrieved December 4, 2008 (http://white.oit.org.pe/ipecc/documentos/es_sex_exp.pdf).

Synopsis: This report was conducted in El Salvador and sponsored by the International Labor Organization's International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour. The objective of this report is three-fold: 1) analyze the health, education and employment status of children in El Salvador, 2) characterize the commercial sexual exploitation of children in El Salvador by identifying some of its causes and consequences and 3) characterize the personal and socio-economic status of children who are victims of commercial sexual exploitation in El Salvador. The report was conducted through an analysis of secondary research covering the period of 1990 to 2001 and primary research, including field observations and interviews with 94 child victims of sexual exploitation in El Salvador.

The results of the study found that although all the children interviewed possessed a minimum level of reading and writing skills, most had dropped out of high school. Many of the children presented health problems due to their exploitation, including sexually transmitted diseases, malnutrition and drug and alcohol abuse. Causal factors presented as explanations for commercial sexual exploitation include family disintegration, economic necessity, low self-esteem of the children/adolescents, drug and alcohol addictions and excessive permissiveness of the judicial and police system towards the exploiters. The author argues that these child victims receive no specialized help and are instead stigmatized and blamed for their plight.

-----, 2002a. “Explotación Sexual Comercial de Personas Menores de Edad en República Dominicana” (Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Minors in Dominican Republic).

Retrieved October 24, 2009

(http://white.oit.org.pe/ipecc/documentos/explotacion_sexual_rd.pdf).

Synopsis: This an exploratory study of the characteristics of commercial sexual exploitation of children and adolescents in the Dominican Republic and the institutional responses available to address this problem. The study is based on the analysis of existing legislations, interviews with NGOs and other organizations that work on this issue, 200 community members and 118 children and adolescents engaged in commercial sexual exploitation. In terms of trafficking, the study notes that female children are trafficked from rural areas to tourist destinations within the country for the purpose of sexual exploitation. There were no reports of attempt to transport minors out of the country for commercial sexual exploitation. However, according to one informant in the study many trafficking victims are females on the edge of adulthood. In addition, the study notes that a search of news reports identified two cases of female adolescents being trafficked to

Argentina with the purpose of sexual exploitation.

- 2007. "Imperdonable. Estudio sobre la explotación sexual comercial de la infancia y adolescencia en Perú: Cajamarca, Cusco, Iquitos y Lima" (Unforgivable: A Study of the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents in Peru: Cajamarca, Cusco, Iquitos and Lima). Lima, Peru: Oficina Internacional del Trabajo. Retrieved December 7, 2008 (http://www.tejiendoredes.net/documentos/116estudio_esci_pe.pdf).

Synopsis: This study analyzes commercial sexual exploitation in four cities in Peru: Cajamarca, Cusco, Iquitos and Lima. The data gathered comes primarily from interviews with sex workers, NGO professionals who work on issues of human trafficking, motel employees, taxi drivers, and other actors involved in the commercial sex industry in Peru. The analysis and presentation of this study's results are organized in four sections: First, the researchers examine the actual state of research on the issue of sex trafficking and its leading conceptual frameworks. Second, the researchers identify and map the places in which commercial sexual exploitation occurs in Cajamarca, Cusco and Iquitos. Furthermore, the researchers examine the modalities of commercial sexual exploitation in these cities. Third, the researchers present the general characteristics of the victims and clients, and the general knowledge the public has regarding this issue. Lastly, the researchers characterize the institutional responses from the public and private sectors regarding commercial sexual exploitation and human trafficking. This study's main findings suggest that the majority of commercial sexual exploitation victims are not native to the cities in which the interviews took place. Moreover, the researchers determine that the causes of migration, in this case related to commercial sexual exploitation, are largely economic. This study also helped determine other reasons which lead to commercial sexual exploitation. The researchers posit that girls and adolescent women often times find themselves in romantic relationships in which they exploited by their partners, both physically and sexually. The researchers conclude with some recommendations that would help fight against commercial sexual exploitation and sex trafficking. They argue that programs that seek to combat commercial sexual exploitation of children must find ways to create strong social networks since many of the victims come from backgrounds that lack social support.

- 2007a. "Un estudio cualitativo sobre la demanda en la explotación sexual comercial de adolescentes: El caso de Colombia" (A Qualitative Study of Demand in the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Adolescents: The Case of Colombia). Bogotá: OIT/IPEC. Retrieved November 15, 2009 (http://white.oit.org.pe/ipcc/documentos/esci_demanda_col.pdf).

Synopsis: This report provides insight into the reasons and methods of operation of the demand and consumption of commercial sexual exploitation of children and adolescents in the cities of Bogota and Medellin, as well as recommendation for actions to be taken to prevent the form of exploitation. The data for this report was collected through interviews, ethnographic observations and secondary data sources. The researchers examined the data through four perspectives: a political perspective to examine issues of power; a cultural perspective that includes discourse analyses and forms of communication; a descriptive psychological perspective to examine individual actions; and a normative perspective with which to look at the judicial responsibility and the

morality of the population studied.

Oficina Internacional del Trabajo and UNICEF. 2004. "La niñez clausurada: La violencia sexual comercial contra niñas, niños y adolescentes en Bolivia (Closed Childhood: The commercial sexual violence against children and adolescents in Bolivia). La Paz: OIT/UNICEF. Retrieved November 3, 2009 (http://white.oit.org.pe/ipec/boletin/documentos/esci_final_bo.pdf).

Synopsis: This text is one of a series of publications based on research commissioned by UNICEF and OIT-IPEC and conducted in the cities of El Alto, La Paz, Cochabamba and Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Bolivia. Its purpose is to "publicize the plight of thousands of Bolivian children and adolescents involved in exploitation and violence that violate their rights, separates them from their families and denies them access and the ability to remain in school. It is also offering an approach to the urgent tasks that both the State and society have in addressing this problem and ensuring effective implementation of international conventions and declarations on prevention and eradication of child labor" (OIT/IPEC, 2004: Prologue).

OIT-IPEC. 2009. *El comercio sexual con personas menores de edad en Centroamérica, Panamá y República Dominicana. Segundo estudio de tolerancia social. Análisis de resultados, desafíos y recomendaciones* (Commercial Sex with Minors in Central America, Panama and Dominican Republic. Second Study on Social Tolerance. Analysis of Results, Challenges and Recommendations). San José, Costa Rica: Oficina Internacional del Trabajo. Retrieved June 10, 2010 (<http://www.ilo.org/ipecinfo/product/viewProduct.do?productId=10197>).

Synopsis: The paper presents the analysis of data collected by the CID-Gallup Latin America and compares the findings of the report with those of a similar report conducted three years earlier in 2005. The information presented in this report was gathered through interviews and surveys conducted in Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama and the Dominican Republic in the months of October and November 2008. The sample consisted of a total of 8608 persons, ages 18 and older and a minimum of 1200 interviews in each country. The interviews and surveys capture the knowledge and perception that the interviewed adults have about commercial sexual exploitation. The report found that there exists a high degree of social tolerance for commercial sexual exploitation among those interviewed. Although they may recognize the phenomenon as a crime, a majority of those interviewed justified certain actions as both part of the culture and behavior of the men within the countries studied. The report aims to analyze the data collected in order to identify the actions that need to be taken in order to change public perception of this phenomenon and turn the population into key allies in the prevention and reporting of crimes of commercial sexual exploitation.

Organización Internacional para la Migraciones. 2003. "Migración, Prostitución y Trata de Mujeres Dominicanas en La Argentina" (Migration, Prostitution and Trafficking of Dominican Women in Argentina). Retrieved January 22, 2009 (http://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/site/myjahiasite/shared/shared/mainsite/published_docs/studies_and_reports/trata_dominicanas_spa.pdf).

Synopsis: English abstract available: "This study-diagnosis on "Migration, Prostitution

and Trafficking in Dominican Women in Argentina" is the result of research work whose main goal was to cast light on the relation between migration, prostitution and trafficking, taking as reference a group of Dominican women who emigrated to Argentina between 1996 and 2000. The study analyzes the factors influencing this process both at source and reception communities. It traces the route of these women, who became prostitutes in Argentina, and includes recommendations to prevent the repetition of the conditions of fraud and deception involved in their journey. The problem-matter discussed is generated by the combination of two structuring dimensions: female migration, on the one side, and the business of prostitution, on the other. In turn, these dimensions are approached from the gender perspective. This perspective is crucial both to accounting for female migration and to understanding procuring and the impact of sexual work on female subjectivity. From the juridical standpoint, it summarizes the status of international norms, in particular the legal framework in Argentina regarding human trafficking and smuggling. Furthermore, it describes the several approaches taken by state institutions and the civil society in Argentina, their perception of the phenomenon and their contributions to protect victims and combat this crime. In order to elicit a modus operandi and analyze it in connection with origin and destination locations, sources include: thorough interviews of Dominican women living in Argentina; interviews of staff from NGOs concerned with the matter; systematization and analysis of the data on Dominican residents collected by the Dominican Consulate in Buenos Aires; and analysis of data provided by the National Direction of Migration in Argentina."

- 2005. "Estudio sobre la trata de personas en el Paraguay: diagnóstico sobre el tráfico de personas en el Paraguay, énfasis destino internacional" (A Study on Human Trafficking in Paraguay: A Diagnostic on Human Trafficking in Paraguay with an Emphasis on International Destinations). Retrieved March 23, 2009 (<http://campus.oimconosur.org/descarga/investigacion/Estudio%20sobre%20trata%20de%20personas%20en%20Paraguay.pdf>).

Synopsis: This study seeks to shine light on the modus operandi of trafficking in Paraguay, determine the internal and external routes of trafficking activities and examine the implications this has for public and private organizations. Based primarily on ethnographic interviews with trafficking victims and governmental organization officials, it examines the issue of trafficking and sexual exploitation in Paraguay within the framework of human rights. The researchers describe the centers of trafficking networks and describe some of the institutional weaknesses in the fight against trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation, and lastly, they signal some of the possible routes for action.

- Organización Internacional para las Migraciones and Misión con Funciones Regionales para el Cono Sur, eds. 2008. "La trata de personas en Argentina, Chile y Uruguay: estudio exploratorio sobre la trata de personas con fines de explotación sexual en Argentina, Chile y Uruguay" (Human Trafficking in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay: Exploratory Study of Human Trafficking with the Purpose of Sexual Exploitation in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay). Rosario, Argentina: International Organization for Migration. Retrieved December 7, 2008 (http://www.oimconosur.org/varios/_archivos/investigacion_trata.pdf).
Synopsis: This report is sponsored by the International Organization for Migration and is

an exploratory study of trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. The study was conducted within the three countries of focus and took place between March and December of 2006. The findings were based on both primary and secondary sources, including interviews with key informants and victims; field observations, literature review and a study of court cases and news reports published between January 2000 and April 2006. The study argues that although the phenomenon of trafficking, as well as the legal and institutional responses to this problem, has a distinct characteristic in each of the three countries there are many similarities which summons the need for a joint responses to the problem.

In each of the countries studied the researchers were able to confirm the existence of both domestic and international trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Further similarities within the three countries include the increasing presence of commercial sexual exploitation of children and the need for programs aimed at prevention, especially for vulnerable adolescents who live in high risk conditions. In addition, the report states that trafficking as a crime is only recently starting to be incorporated into legislations within the region. Furthermore, the study found that in Argentina and Chile there is a strong relationship between smuggling and trafficking, for migrants who enter illegally into a country are far more vulnerable to fall victims to traffickers either through deception or outright force.

Oropeza, Ernesto Cespedes. 2006. "Aplicación Legislativa en México del Protocolo para Prevenir, Reprimir y Sancionar la Trata de Personas, especialmente Mujeres y Niños" (Legislative Applications in Mexico of the Protocol to Prevent, Reprimand and Sanction Trafficking of People, Especially Women and Children). *Revista Mexicana de Política Exterior* 78(78):85-123.

Synopsis: This article examines Mexican legislation in the application of the United Nations protocol to prevent and sanction the trafficking of people. Oropeza argues that Mexico lacks the legislation to specifically target human trafficking. Oropeza states that in some legislation one finds mention of trafficking, but only in relation to the sexual exploitation of minors. To effectively combat human trafficking will require international cooperation in the same extent to which the subject of trafficking has been treated in the UN protocol. However, although the issue of trafficking is acknowledged at the state and federal levels, Oropeza argues that there is no certain diagnosis to take more effective action against trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation.

Ramos, Ruben and Zoila Cabrera. 2001. "Prostitución de niñas, niños y adolescentes en el Perú" (The Prostitution of Children and Adolescents in Peru). Lima, Peru: Save the Children, Sweden. Retrieved September 19, 2009 (http://www.scslat.org/web/noticias_detalle.php?id=E&tip=P&cod=65).

Synopsis: The objective of this study is to analyze the extent and characteristics of child prostitution in Peru. The study was conducted through observations and interviews with key informants in five cities within Peru: Lima, Cusco, Tarapoto, Piura and Huancayo. It argues that child and adolescent prostitution must be viewed as a social process that is due to the general breakdown of values within society, as well as the condition of poverty. The study posits that children and adolescents in Peru are in situations of neglect, arbitrariness and abuse that are conditioned by "the institutional crisis of

legality,” which is expressed by the increasing inability of state institutions to provide effective mediation in the conflicts afflicting children and adolescents. The study further argues that the “crisis of legality” is reflected in the depreciation and inapplicability of the laws and rules aimed at ensuring respect and implementation of the rights of children and adolescents.

The study found that the most widespread type of prostitution in the cities studied was that of adolescent females between the ages of 14 and 18. While the prostitution of adult women takes place in brothels, the prostitution of adolescents was found to be more widespread within places of entertainment or relaxation, such as saunas and massage parlors. On the other hand, male children and adolescents were found to prostitute themselves most often on the streets, movie theaters and other “designated” locations. Furthermore, the study identified four classes of prostitution in which children and adolescents are engaged in: 1) prostitution organized through clandestine companies that specialize in satisfying the most demanding sexual tastes of exclusive clients; 2) prostitution advertised in daily newspapers and sport magazines, and on the television under the guise of such places as saunas, massage parlors, Turkish baths and other locations where people go to relax; 3) adolescents who prostitute themselves in order to get jobs, or maintain and/or promote their careers; 4) children and adolescents in conditions of extreme poverty and broken homes who are prostituted after being offered false job offers.

Reca Moreira, Ines, Pabla Avila Fernandez and Javier Quintanilla Nieva. 2007. “La demanda en la explotación sexual comercial de adolescentes: El caso de Chile (The Demand in Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Adolescents: The Case of Chile). Santiago: Oficina Internacional del Trabajo. Retrieved November 15, 2009 (http://white.oit.org.pe/ipecc/documentos/est_demanda_esci_cl.pdf).

Synopsis: The objectives of this study is to 1) discover the characteristics and modus operandi of the demand for commercial sexual exploitation in Chile, and 2) identify the economic, social, cultural and psychological factors that determine attitudes and behaviors of the persons in commercial sexual exploitation, such as consumers and intermediaries. The study was based on primary and secondary data sources including ethnographic observations, interviews and literature related on the topic. The study found that the phenomenon of the demand for commercial sexual exploitation of children and adolescents was “naturalized” within society through various arguments. These arguments include a biological explanation for the phenomenon which appeals to the overwhelming need of the male consumer to satisfy his sexual desire. Others express moral arguments which reason that it is better to pay for sex with minors than forcing them to have sex. Economic based arguments which reason that children and adolescents “benefit” from the money they receive from this activity, which would not otherwise be available to them, were also prevalent. Furthermore, the study found an absence of opinion or perception on behalf of consumers and intermediaries that this activity constitutes a violation of the rights of children and adolescents, as well as a lack of knowledge of the type of legal sanctions associated with engaging in these types of activities.

Rocha Perez, Leonor Luz Maria, Oscar Arturo Casto Soto, Pedro Manuel Conde Flores, Bertoldo

Sanchez Munoz, Liz Ivett Sanchez Reyna, Irma Ilsy Vazquez Cardenas and Luz Perez Cabrera. 2006. *Políticas Públicas Estatales y Derechos Humanos de Mujeres en situación de trata: Agenda en Construcción* (State Public Policy and Human Rights of Women in Situations of Trafficking: Agenda in Construction). Mexico City, Mexico: Universidad Autónoma de Tlaxcala.

Synopsis: This study analyzes the role of the State in protecting, promoting and defending the rights of women, as well as the policies that are in place for dealing with the trafficking of women for the purpose of prostitution. The results of the study are based on an analysis of the public institutions and the municipal authorities responsible for enforcing human rights in the state of Mexico. The first part of the study analyzes the rights of women and the international commitments that the Mexican State has established in relation to creating public policies aimed at promoting and defending these rights. The second part of the study analyzes the trafficking of women and the human rights violations that are observed in this phenomenon. The study concludes that there is a need to establish comprehensive policies, both at the State and municipal level, that address trafficking of women for the purpose of prostitution.

Roth U., Erick and Erik Fernandez R. 2004. "Evaluación del tráfico de mujeres, adolescentes y niños/as en Bolivia" (Evaluation of Trafficking of Women, Adolescents and Children in Bolivia). La Paz, Bolivia: International Organization of Migration, Organization of American States (OAS) and Scientific Consulting. Retrieved October 3, 2009 (<http://www.oas.org/atip/oas/bolivia%20report.pdf>).

Synopsis: The purpose of this study was to assess the current situation of trafficking in Bolivia, especially of women, adolescents and children, in order to define the phenomenon and learn its characteristics, the actors involved and the economic, health, educational and cultural circumstances surrounding the problem. The results of the study were obtained through both primary and secondary sources, including in-depth interviews and focal groups conducted with victims, the families of victims, and governmental and non-governmental agencies.

This report examines trafficking for the purposes of commercial sexual exploitation, labor exploitation, domestic labor and trafficking of infants for the purpose of illegal adoptions and organ trafficking. In regards to sex trafficking the report confirmed that a large proportion of children and adolescents who are sexually exploited are tricked into this situation. Many women, children and adolescents from rural areas are attracted to the promises of high paying jobs in the cities. However, once arriving in the cities they discovered that they have been tricked and are forced to work in brothels or other commercial sex industries. The report found that debt bondage was also fairly common and it is not uncommon to find cases in which the victims are sexually exploited by their own family members. Trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation is linked to the conditions of poverty and marginalization of the women and children who are victims of this phenomenon. The victims are affected in every way: physically, psychologically, emotionally and socially. Furthermore, the study confirmed that the transfer of persons from outside the country into Bolivia for the purpose of prostitution is not uncommon, however, the majority of these individuals know that they are coming to Bolivia to work in the commercial sex industry.

Ruiz, Blanca et al. 2005. "Esclavas en tierra de nadie" (Slaves in no one's land). Retrieved March 23, 2009 (<http://www.redacoge.org/fijos/documentos/Esclavas%20en%20tierra%20de%20nadie.pdf>).

Synopsis: The present study examines the overwhelming reality of sex trafficking in modern societies, which the authors refer to as a modern form of slavery. This book adopts several perspectives to approach the issue of trafficking. It analyzes the issue from social, psychological and legal frameworks by focusing on sex trafficking as a form of gender violence. The authors analyze the insufficiency of the normative frame of the Spanish state, which lacks legislation to adequately fight against trafficking. The authors present several dysfunctions in the social and legal attendance and protection of trafficking victims. The first part of the study incorporates a psychological perspective that examines the conditions and clinical pathologies that women experience as victims of sex trafficking. The authors also differentiate sex trafficking from other connected realities, such as the illegal trafficking of people, irregular immigration, and prostitution. The authors argue that sex trafficking victims are essentially victims of gender violence. The second part of this study analyzes the legal realities with which victims are dealt from an administrative and legal perspective. The authors argue that the existing frameworks are insufficient since victims of sex trafficking are perceived as immigrants in a situation of documentary irregularity. The authors conclude by stating that sex trafficking is a modern form of slavery, and it requires integral penal, social and psychological approaches in the protection of victims.

Salas Calvo, Jose M. and Alvaro Campos Guadamuz. 2004. "Explotación sexual comercial y masculinidad. Un estudio regional cualitativo con hombres de la población general" (Commercial Sexual Exploitation and Masculinity. A Regional Qualitative Study with Men in the General Population). San Jose, Costa Rica: International Labor Organization. Retrieved September 9, 2009 (http://white.oit.org.pe/ipecc/documentos/esc_y_masculinidad.pdf).

Synopsis: The objective of this study is to better understand the factors that influence adult men to use children and adolescents for commercial sexual activities, even when this puts them at risk of going to prison. The results of this study were obtained through focus groups and in-depth interviews with adult men in the general population within seven Latin American countries: Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama and the Dominican Republic. A total of 445 men participated in the study, consisting of 35 focal groups and 40 individual interviews conducted between October 2003 and May 2004.

The men who participated in the study showed a high level of tolerance towards the diverse forms of commercialization sex. The study argues that this tolerance is based on a series of patriarchal beliefs about male sexuality, including the idea that men need more than one partner to satisfy their sexual needs. Additionally, the study found a clear tendency to justify the actions of men: they do things because it is in their nature, because of their hormones, because women do not understand or frustrate them. Rooted in a traditional chauvinistic mindset, the man is viewed as omnipotent and able to violate or accommodate laws at will, which leads him to actions that, although prohibited, he minimizes or denies, such as engaging in sexual activities with minors. The study

concludes with recommendation on how to prevent the male population from engaging in commercial sexual exploitation.

Sanchez Lang, Rosamaria. 2004. "Explotación sexual comercial de niñas, niños y adolescentes en Centroamérica y República Dominicana" (Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Girls, Boys and Adolescents in Central America and the Dominican Republic). Retrieved December 4, 2008

(<http://www.embusca.gob.mx/work/resources/LocalContent/20161/3/Explotacin.pdf>).

Synopsis: This report presents an overview of the status of commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) in Central America and the Dominican Republic and the progress that has been made in addressing this issue since the First World Congress against CSEC in 1996. This report is based on research and reports produced in each of the countries within the region. It presents key findings from regional studies on the magnitude of commercial sexual exploitation, the characterization of children who are victims of sexual exploitations, the social perception of the problem, characteristics of the exploiters, national and international laws that deal with this problem and the role of police intervention.

Santos López, Dora María. 2009. "Análisis del delito de trata de personas con fines de explotación sexual en la legislación penal de Nicaragua" (Analysis of Nicaraguan Penal Legislation Regarding the Crime of Human Trafficking with Aims of Commercial Sexual). Master's Thesis. Universidad Centroamericana, Nicaragua.

Synopsis: This is a master's thesis. It discusses human trafficking with aims of commercial sexual exploitation, a crime with no frontiers, and Nicaragua is one of the Central American countries with the necessary conditions to allow for the organized mafia to "work" freely with the victims, despite the state institutions' efforts to eradicate it. This is what motivates the present investigation, which hopes to expose some general aspects regarding this crime and to conduct an analysis of article 182 of the penal code, where this crime is typified. It also aims to uncover some of the consequences trafficking has on victims' lives and it discusses the difficulties regarding victims' collaboration in researching this crime. Finally, the thesis discusses the international instruments that serve as judicial tools to combat this crime.

Save the Children Suecia. 2004. "El cliente pasa desapercibido. El cliente, principal explotador sexual infantil. Informe periodístico" (The Customer Goes Unnoticed. The Client, Principal Child Sexual Exploiter. Newspaper report). Lima, Peru: Save the Children Suecia. Retrieved October 13, 2009 (<http://www.scribd.com/doc/6781783/El-Cliente-Pasa-Desapercibido-SCS>).

Synopsis: Abstract translated from original text: "This research stems from the will of Save the Children Sweden to understand the problem of child sexual exploitation from the customer's responsibility within the commercial sex market. The aim of the investigation is to identify what are the mechanisms that motivate adults to have sex with children and adolescents) without pretending to pigeonhole or find a single explanation for this behavior. Thus, a journalistic investigation was conducted in six cities on the coast, mountains and jungles of the country to meet the customers of this trade in their natural habitat and then, based on a series of journalistic strategies, interpret their sexual

behavior. With this research, Save the Children Sweden aims to expose the customer to society as the one responsible for the increased offer of children and adolescent in the commercial sex market. At the same time it intends to open up a space in the media where this problem can be reflected upon with a clear vision concerning the infringement of the rights of children and adolescents” (2004: 9-11).

-----, 2005. “Sistematización de las iniciativas regionales para la prevención del turismo sexual infantil en América Latina: hacia una estrategia regional” (Systematization of Regional Initiatives to Prevent Child Sex Tourism in Latin America: Towards a Regional Strategy). Lima, Peru: Save the Children Suecia. Retrieved October 12, 2009 (http://white.oit.org.pe/ipec/documentos/sist_prevenccion_turismo_sexual.pdf).

Synopsis: This study attempts to address one of the specific forms of commercial sexual exploitation of children, child sex tourism, in order to analyze what has been the most outstanding Latin American experiences in the field of prevention of child sex tourism. In addition, the study attempts to identify strengths and weaknesses in the field of prevention in order to produce recommendations for a regional strategy applicable in Latin America and especially in South America. The study takes as reference cases from Brazil, Costa Rica, Mexico, Peru and Dominican Republic.

-----, 2006. “Abuso sexual infantil y explotación sexual comercial infantil en America Latina y el Caribe” (Child Sexual Abuse and Child Commercial Sexual Exploitation in Latin America and the Caribbean). Bogota: Save the Children. Retrieved October 12, 2007 (http://www.scslat.org/web/noticias_detalle.php?id=E&tip=P&cod=260).

Synopsis: This report presents a general overview of child sexual abuse and child commercial sexual exploitation in Latin American and the Caribbean. In addition, it provides an overview of the steps taken to prevent and eradicate these social problems and remaining challenges. This report was conducted through an analysis of 225 documents related on the topic. The study concluded that the last decade has seen an increase in the concern over commercial sexual exploitation of children in Latin America and the Caribbean because of the increasing number of children and adolescents who are involved in this situation. This has been caused, in part, by the increasing number of children who have had to survive on their own on the streets or contribute to their family’s income. The study cites a UNICEF report which states that there are 100 million children abandoned in the world, of which 40 million are in Latin America (2006:28). Other NGO reports cited state that about 65% of children living on the streets in the capitals of Latin American countries are involved in sexual exploitation. Of these, 15% survive by engaging in paid sexual contact and 50% have been involved in some form of commercial sexual exploitation (2006:28).

Sorensen, Bente and Rosa Cheng Lo. 2006. *Tolerancia social en la población frente al comercio sexual con personas menores de edad en Centroamérica, Panamá y República Dominicana (Social Tolerance in the Population in the Face of Commercial Sex with Minors in Central America, Panama and Dominican Republic)*. San Jose: Oficina Internacional del Trabajo. Retrieved 10/12/2009 (<http://white.oit.org.pe/ipec/documentos/tolerancia.pdf>).

Synopsis: This document analyzes data collected by the firm CID-Gallup Latin America

about the knowledge and perception that adults in Central America, Panama and the Dominican Republic have about commercial sexual exploitation of children and adolescents. According to the report, “the information collected shows that the trend persists in much of the population to blame the victims and their families. There is an omission or invisibility of a collective responsibility and State response which are stipulated in international agreements which all States have ratified. To stop commercial sexual exploitation is a task for society as a whole, as it is a multi-causal and complex phenomenon that involves economic, political, social and cultural dimensions rooted in social and cultural patterns of socialization of men and women, adults and minors, government institutions and civil society” (2006:3).

Sprandel, Marcia, Henrique Jose Antão de Carvalho and Andriana Mourão Romero. 2004. “La Explotación Sexual Comercial de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes en las Legislaciones de Argentina, Brasil y Paraguay: alternativas de armonización para el MERCOSUR” (Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Boys, Girls and Adolescents in the Legislation of Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay: Harmonizing Alternative for MERCOSUR). Asunción, OIT/ Programa IPEC Sudamérica. Retrieved November 14, 2009 (http://white.oit.org.pe/ipecc/documentos/lleg_triplefront_es.pdf).

Synopsis: This report is a result of studies conducted by the Program for the Prevention and Elimination of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents in the Triple Border (Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay). The report presents summaries of the laws within Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay that address commercial sexual exploitation of children and adolescents. In addition, it presents a comparative table of criminal codes within the three countries. The aim of the report is to produce proposals for the improvement of laws and increased cooperation between the three countries. Furthermore, the report aims to recommend a trilateral agreement and public policies that will enable the prevention and elimination of commercial sexual exploitation of minors in the Triple Border region of Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay.

Torres, Oscar Montiel. 2007. “Trata de Personas: Padrotes, Iniciación, y Modus Operandi” (Human Trafficking: Pimps, Initiation and Modus Operandi). Master’s thesis. Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, Mexico City: Mexico.

Synopsis: This master’s thesis examines the discourses of pimps in the trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation of women and children in Mexico. This study is grounded on ethnographic interviews with pimps, and it examines their discourses to help comprehend the state of trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation in the state of Tlaxcala. Torres’ main motivation to conduct an investigation with pimps was the perception of an increase of pimps in the region, a trend that has received attention from various newspapers and some academic investigations. Torres examines the articulation between economic, political and social factors and explain the apparent increase of pimps in the region in terms of processes of industrialization in the region and its effect on gender relations. Torres describe processes by which the articulation of economic, political and social factors led to conditions that made it possible for men to begin prostituting their spouses. Later on, these men could begin specializing in the recruitment of women from other towns, regions and states. Torres describes a general dichotomous view of women involved in commercial sexual exploitation: as spouses,

they are seen as fiduciary instruments that help to produce and reproduce the share of capital with men; as prostituted women, they are solely conceptualized as merchandise.

Torres also examines the construction of the concept of pimp, its rituals of initiation, and the power mechanisms that the men use against women and girls. Torres explains that as pimps recruit women for sexual work, they rid themselves of any emotional attachment, and in the process, they acquire new forms to evaluate the women. Torres argues that this is what gives pimps the power to dominate the women they prostitute. Moreover, to recruit women, pimps generally seduce them, and convince them to conceive of their bodies as merchandise.

Torres explains that the dehumanization of women by their pimps is a necessary component of the perpetuation of the sexual violence and exploitation of women. When women are recruited, they are removed from their sociocultural contexts, leaving them without familiar communal protection. Torres explains that in order to work, women change their names and adopt new identities, which are articulated through their new conceptions as merchandise.

Universidad de Artes y Ciencias Sociales (ARCIS) and Servicio Nacional de Menores (SENAME). 2004. "Estudio de la explotación sexual comercial infantil y adolescente en Chile" (Study of the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents in Chile). Lima: OIT/ Oficina Regional para las Américas / Programa IPEC Sudamérica. Retrieved November 15, 2009

(http://white.oit.org.pe/ipecc/boletin/documentos/dt_191_esci_chile.pdf).

Synopsis: This report was commissioned by the International Labor Organization and the National Service for Minors (SENAME) and presents the results of research conducted by a team at the *Universidad de Artes y Ciencias Sociales* (ARCIS) in Chile. The objective of the study was to describe the characteristics of child and adolescent victims of commercial sexual exploitation in Chile, and estimate the magnitude of the problem in order to provide recommendation on policies and programs aimed at abolish this problem. The study took place between January and July of 2003 within three regions of the country: First Region of *Tarapaíca*, Eighth Region of *Bío-Bío* and Metropolitan Region. The study estimated that in 2003, a minimum of 3,719 children and adolescents were victims of commercial sexual exploitation in Chile. The study further found that the median age of children involved in commercial sexual exploitation was 13.5, and that 80% of the victims were girls, 18% were boys and 2% identify themselves as transgender.

Vasquez Cordero, Luis and Capital Humano y Social Alternativo. 2006. "Situación de la aplicación de la ley N°28251 para el combate a la explotación sexual comercial de niños, niñas y adolescentes" (Status of Implementation of Law N°28251 for the Fight Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents). Retrieved December 7, 2008 (http://www.tejiendoredes.net/documentos/estudio_situacion_ley_28251.pdf).

Synopsis: The aim of this paper is to identify the core issues that prevent or limit the application of Law #28251 in Peru with regards to the commercial sexual exploitation of children and adolescents, as well as make recommendations on how it can be better implemented. Law # 28251 was enacted in 2004 to amend the Peruvian Penal Code by increasing penalties for various crimes against sexual freedom and creating new types of crimes such as sex tourism and the "user-client." The study reveals that a large number

of sexual crimes committed against children and adolescents are not being reported to authorities, which in turn leads to impunity for the perpetrators of these crime. The study concludes that the implementation of Law #28251 has not produced the expected results in terms of increasing prosecution of intermediaries and clients of commercial sexual exploitation of children and adolescents, and that this is due to a number of weaknesses present within the Peruvian justice system.