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CHILD SEX TOURISM AND THE LACK  
OF DETERRENCE THAT DRIVES THE PROBLEM

by

Ian A. Voelkel

A Research Project Presented in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Masters of Criminology

REGIS UNIVERSITY  
October, 2017

CHILD SEX TOURISM AND THE LACK  
OF DETERRENCE THAT DRIVES THE PROBLEM

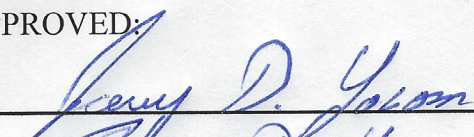
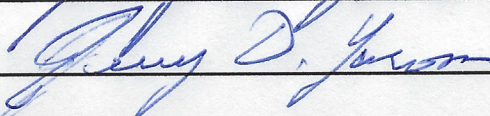
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## Abstract

Child sex tourism is a transnational issue that has grown over the past 30-years. The international community has taken numerous steps in the prevention of child sex tourism; however, there is a severe lack of statistics, research, and empirically driven data that could help deter the problem. This exploratory study will use random probability selection in an online survey to explore whether a certain level of deterrence can affect an individual's rational choice in practicing child sex tourism. By utilizing a quantitative methodology this study will identify whether an individual's knowledge of the legality of child sex tourism affects their awareness of the risks involved.

*Keywords:* child sex tourism, ECPAT, UNICEF, deterrence theory, rational choice theory

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Child Sex Tourism and the Lack  
Of Deterrence that Drives the Problem

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

In the 1990s a method of child sexual exploitation began to take form at a transnational level. Individuals were traveling to foreign countries and partaking in child prostitution. This practice quickly became known as Child Sex Tourism (CST). The definition of CST was verified by The United Nations General Assembly (2012), and is considered as “...the exploitation of children for sexual purposes by people who travel locally or internationally to engage in sexual activities with children.” (pg. 5). Thanks to both national and international news headlines, the issue of child sexual exploitation quickly circulated (Muntarbhorn, 1993). From the newfound attention being brought to the issue, the international community began to band together in order to combat the growing practice. The private organization, United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF), started to focus more on the exoneration of exploited children, and the organization, End Child Prostitution in Asian tourism (ECPAT), was formed as a campaign to end child prostitution in Asia (Skrobanek, 1990). Along with the private organizations, friendly nation’s governments initiated legislation, charters, and protocols in hopes of fighting the spread of CST. Despite all the efforts that have been put towards the prevention and abolishment of CST, the practice has grown, and has shown no signs of being quelled anytime soon (ECPAT International, 2016a).

Overview of the Problem

Throughout the years there have been international legislations and undertakings brought forward in an attempt to protect the innocence of children. The International Covenant on Civil

and Political Rights (ICCPR) – adopted in 1966 and entered into force in 1976 – prohibited slavery and ensured no person was placed into servitude, or mandated to perform forced labor (Johnson, 2011). Three years after ICCPR entered force, The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) – adopted in 1979; put into force in 1981 – was created and focused on the suppression of trafficking and prostitution of women and girls (UN, n.d.). Although the CEDAW was curtailed towards women and girls, the resolution added additional protection to those suffering from CST that was not otherwise present.

While the ICCPR and CEDAW provided some relief to the problem of CST, CST was not the focus of those conventions. This issue was remedied in 1989 during the General Assembly of the United Nations. It was at this assembly that the Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC) was established. The original CRC was brought into fruition through General Assembly resolution 44/24 on 20 November 1989, and became active on 2 September 1990 (OHCR, n.d.). This resolution contained three parts, consisting of 54 articles. Nearly a decade after the CRC's acceptance, two Optional Protocols were introduced to the resolution: involvement of children in armed conflict, and sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography. Another decade later, a third Optional Protocol was drafted – communications procedure – which outlines the parameters that allows children to come forward and submit complaints in regards to specific violations against their rights that are outlined in the first two protocols. Along with the CRC, other international institutions have been established to counter the practice of CST.

The first World Congress on the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (WC) was held in Stockholm in 1996. The WC consisted of 122 governments, and a number of non-governmental organizations. During this congregation, the Stockholm Declaration and Agenda

for Action was adopted, which aligned itself with the obligations outlined in the CRC, along with other commitments to protect children (CFR, 1996). Two more WCs were hosted in 2001 and 2008, both of which expanded upon the obligations and actions created at the first WC. Along with the efforts endured by international governments, private organizations have been built to protect children from sexual exploitation.

The most prominent private organization to come from the campaign against CST is the organization, End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism (ECPAT). ECPAT is an organization that began in 1990 to prevent the sexual exploitation of children (ECPAT, n.d.). Established in Thailand, the original goal was a three-year campaign to bring attention to the issue of child sexual exploitation in certain tourist destinations in Asia. More than two decades later ECPAT has grown into the most influential lobbyist against CST. With a network consisting of more than 80 members, spread across 75 countries, ECPAT has been able to form strong relations with multiple national governments, European and North American NGOs, and international organizations (Interpol, World Tourism Organization, Economic and Social Council, International Labor Organization, etc.) (Panko & George, 2012). ECPAT is not the only organization that has taken up the mission to protect children across the globe.

UNICEF is an organization that was established over 70-years ago. From the beginning their mission has been to be a defender of children around the world. Their mission has taken many forms, but in recent years they have provided a large amount of support towards ending CST. With support and partners in 190 countries and territories, UNICEF has been able to reach some of the most vulnerable and excluded children. They have been present in all the major international committees that were concerned with the protection of children and their rights (UNICEF, 2016). UNICEF has had a large presence in the fight against CST. The combined



efforts of UNICEF and ECPAT have created many policies and legislations that have benefited millions of children.

The international community, and nations themselves, have made continual strides towards the abolishment of CST. While the CRC, UNICEF, and ECPAT have helped highlight the serious issue of CST, there is little data available on the outcomes of the total efforts put forth since 1990. UNICEF and ECPAT offer little to no statistical data concerning the issues of CST in their reports. CRC's website – which is actually hosted by the United Nations Human rights Office of the High Commissioner – is also guilty of not providing empirical data concerning the success or failures of all the endeavors put forth to prevent CST. This lack of data illustrates a problem that has plagued every organization that battles sexual exploitation against children. While the criminal data that involves CST has often been considered “inaccurate”, due to the underground nature of the crime (Chemin, & Mbiekop, 2015), any amount of statistical data that could be utilized would be better than no data (Geden, 2012).

The CRC relies on information provided by participating States in the gathering of all their data. States parties that are involved with the CRC are required to submit an initial report when becoming a member, and another report every 5-years (OHCHR, n.d.), but the data within these reports (which is mandated by the CRC) does not cover the statistical data needed to analyze whether or not the legislation implemented by States parties are having any impact on the matter of CST. Reports provided by States parties cover previous provisions, current observations, and future goals in relation to CST. While commendable, this information does little to identify whether or not the international community has made positive progress in the prevention of CST. The CRC is not alone in their lack of empirical data.

UNICEF offers information through two different sources on their website. There is UNICEF's statistical data, and then there are UNICEF's wide range of reports that cover a multitude of subjects. The statistical database highlights multiple issues that currently plague the world's children – from birth registration to violent discipline; but none of the statistics provide any type of information on the atrocity of CST. The reports offered by UNICEF are of the same nature; none of them offer empirical data detailing the current or past state of CST. A quick search within UNICEF's publication data base offers zero results when the term "sex tourism" is entered, and only two publications are returned when just the word "sex" is searched. The only statistical data on sexual exploitation that is provided by UNICEF is in the United Nations Children's Fund's report "Hidden in Plain Sight: A statistical analysis of violence against children" (2014). Even then, this report offers no specific data on CST, but focuses on violence against children as a whole.

ECPAT has published numerous reports since the creation of their organization. Their first report dates back to 1996, which details the purpose, discussion, and outcome of the first WC. Throughout the years, ECPAT has expanded upon the reports they offer. They have published journals, factsheets, research reports, and annual reports to provide details on the issue of CST; however, like UNICEF, the impact of their endeavors are hardly, if ever, covered. These reports are often filled with information concerning what has been done to combat certain issues, what resources have been expended, and plans for future resources and programs, but they offer no empirical data on the success of the programs (ECPAT, n.d.). It was not until 2016 – 20-years after the first WC – that a report, which actually detailed the current state of CST, was published (ECPAT International, 2016a).

The report “Offenders on the Move: Global Study on Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism” is the conclusion to a 2-year study that was initiated by ECPAT International (2016a). The report is the culmination of a study from a multitude of ECPAT research partners; reports from various experts; consultations with key stakeholders; and personal interviews with victims from around the globe. The results within are disheartening to acknowledge. After 20-years of continual efforts, sexual exploitation of children in travel and tourism has been able to outgrow the reach and response of the global community in their attempts to halt its growth. Even with every effort that has been put forth in the hopes of stopping CST, more children than ever before are being affected by the practice, and no country is innocent or immune to the reprehensible carnage created by those who partake in such activities.

In order to help prevent the atrocity of CST the United States enacted the Prosecutorial Remedies and Other Tools to End the Exploitation of Children Today Act of 2003 (PROTECT Act). The legislation that was institutionalized on April 30, 2003 is a comprehensive strengthening of the country’s law enforcement’s abilities to prevent, investigate, prosecute, and punish violent, abusive, and sexual crimes against children (Van Houten, 2016). While the Act covers a wide range of legalities, one of the key aspects of the Act covers that of those individuals who practice CST. The United States Congress mandated that any individual involved in attempting to organize or participate in sex tourism would be held criminally liable. Thanks to the implementation of the PROTECT Act, the United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agency has been able to actively pursue people who travel overseas to sexually exploit a child. Since the Act’s inception in 2003, ICE’s efforts have led to the arrests

and conviction of 99 individuals who partook in CST (ICE, 2012). The PROTECT Act was only the beginning. Along with PROTECT, Congress established Operation Predator.

Operation Predator is an initiative between the United States ICE and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS). The cooperation between the two organizations has allowed for a joint endeavor against child sexual predators, which has increased the likelihood of capture and prosecution of those who travel or smuggle children for the purpose of sexual exploitation. The joint campaign has also increased efforts in partnering with foreign governments when it comes to the investigations of child pornography and CST (Fraley, 2012). The PROTECT Act and Operation Predator are two actions taken by the United States in an effort to make good on their promises to the international community to participate in the fight towards CST. These two acts are just a sample of what nations have instituted in order to combat CST.

The efforts put forth by the international community in the prevention and punishment of CST offenders is an endeavor that has spanned for three decades. Worldwide committees, transnational governments, national legal remedies, and country specific private organizations have taken the most logical measures in stopping CST. However, laws and policies against the practice can only do so much. Without the help of the scholarly community in producing empirically driven data concerning the issue, the problem of CST will fester and grow.

#### Purpose of the Project

The lack of empirical data and candid information from the CRC, ECPAT, UNICEF, State parties, and researchers, has fashioned an environment that keeps CST in the dark, away from the public eye. While all the endeavors over the past 30-years have formulated a certain level of deterrence, this deterrence has failed to reach the masses. The absence of facts concerning the law, arrests, prosecutions, and active initiatives has shaped a practice that appears

to be risk free in the eyes of those who wish to sexually exploit a child, and encourages the ignorance of those individuals who are swayed into the act when traveling abroad. From this perception of minimal risk for high, instant reward, a person's rational choice drives them to commit CST – whether the action is premeditated or situational. This project will explore the impact that deterrence theory can play on an individual's rational choice when it comes to the act of child sexual exploitation while in a foreign country.

### Definitions

#### Child Sex Tourism

ECPAT (2008) defined child sex tourism as “Child sex tourism is the sexual exploitation of children by a person or persons who travel from their home district, home geographical region, or home country in order to have sexual contact with children.” (pg. 6).

#### Child

According to numerous Articles instated throughout the years – 1986 Article 1 of the CRC; 1990 Article 2 of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child; 2000 Article 3(d) of the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons; 2007 Article 3(a) Lanzarote Convention – a child is considered to be any person under the age of 18 (ECPAT International, 2016b).

#### Age of Sexual Consent

The definition for the age of sexual consent is established strictly by the States. The international committees are silent in the States right to identify the legal age at which an individual can consent to sexual relations. However, the international committees and States agreed that “...no child should ever, under any circumstances, be able to legally consent to

her/his own exploitation or abuse. It is therefore important that States criminalize all forms of sexual exploitation of children up to the age of 18 years...” (ECPAT International, 2016b, pg. 8).

#### Delimitations and Limitations

The limitations presented within the study are caused by the use of the online survey service, Survey Monkey. As with the majority of surveys, the data presented is self-reported, meaning participants offered answers that detailed their own behavior, attitudes, views, beliefs, and or knowledge. The questions within the survey could have led to answers that are perceived as socially unacceptable behaviors, thoughts, or beliefs. This could have prevented participants from answering honestly in order to avoid embarrassment or repercussions. Furthermore, while Survey Monkey offers many options in the dissemination of self-created surveys, in order to reach the desired number of respondents, and a wide array of participants, the paid option offered through Survey Monkey was utilized. This option results in paid responses, which can consist of respondents who are attempting to complete as many surveys as possible. This could have led to respondents not reading questions fully, and providing answers as quickly as possible in order to move onto the next survey. In order to combat such instances, Survey Monkey does not provide direct monetary incentive to participants. Instead, Survey Monkey donates to a charity of the participant's choosing at the conclusion of successful surveys.

The delimitation present within the study consisted of the participant demographics sought. Since a study involving CST and deterrence theory had not been conducted previously, the goal was to reach a diverse group of participants. Because of this, very few limitations were implemented for the type of respondents. The wide demographic makes it difficult to identify whether or not deterrence has a stronger effect on one group than another group. Also, the use of an anonymous on-line survey was used in favor of an in-person written survey. While the issue

of offering answers that could upset social norms is present in both options, an in-person survey could have allowed for individuals to clarify questions, and ensured respondents actually read, or were read, the questions.

### Chapter Summary

All the policies, laws, regulations, and legislations can be traced back to the original creation of the CRC. Because of the labors put forth by the global community, the fight against CST has expanded on an international scale through the implementation of regulations, protocols, committees, and legislations governing such atrocities. Regrettably, CST has grown over the past 30-years. It is hard to pinpoint the exact cause for its growth, but the lack of statistical data concerning victims, arrests, and convictions is worrisome.

## Chapter 2

## LITERATURE REVIEW

The primary method of research was conducted through Regis University's on-line internet library, which consisted of multiple databases, such as Academic Search Premier, ProQuest Social Sciences, and LexisNexis Academic. Searches focused on multiple phrase combinations using the key words child, sex, and tourism. In order to maintain article integrity, searches were mandated to provide only scholarly articles. Initially, the date range was set from 2010 to present in order to focus on the most up to date information on how the transnational community is currently combating the practice of CST. Limiting the search in this way returned an underwhelming amount of results. In order to expand the results, the date range was removed; this, however, still brought back less than expected results with article dates only going back as far as 1993.

The articles found within the search parameters, which were identified as pertaining to original purpose of this review, were gathered and grouped into a timeline in order to better view the transformation of authors' understanding and research of the issue regarding CST. The results from the literature indicate that nations have implemented a number of protocols and treaties – such as, the World Congress, and the Optional Protocols under the CRC – in the prevention of child exploitation; however, the lack of literature detailing actual research and studies concerning the practice of CST is severely lacking, and may be a reason for CST's continued growth.

The earliest article found on the subject was dated 1993. The article, "Sexual Exploitation of Children and International Travel and Tourism" (Ireland, 1993), offers the reader a brief introduction to CST. The article itself is more or less a report on another literature study that was



conducted in order to identify the growing issue of international tourists traveling to the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Thailand and partaking in sexual activities with children that had been forced into prostitution (Ireland, 1993). The one thing the article does provide to the reader is a definition of those who travel abroad in hopes of a sexual encounter with a child. The terms “preferential” and “situational” are used to describe the two types of people that partake in child sex tourism. Preferential are those most akin to a pedophile, or those whose sexual preference lies with pre-pubertal children, and when they travel their sole intention is to experience sexual contact with a child. Situational perpetrators are those who engage in a sexual relation with a child due to the amnesty involved with being a tourist. These offenders did not travel to a foreign country with the intention to sexually exploit a child, but at some point along their trip, the opportunity presented itself, and they decided to accept the experience. With situational offenders, the precise age of the victim is not a driving factor in their decision to partake in the sexual experience; whereas preferential offenders are most often drawn to children currently within Tanners sexual development scale of I – III (Lanning, 1987).

Ireland’s article (1993) offered insight into the issue surrounding the growing popularity of CST, but did not offer much information on what was being done to combat the situation at that point in time. Munir and Mohd Yasin (1997) provide an overview of what national and international laws and treaties had been created in order to combat the situation. On an international level there were multiple conventions and summits held in order to fight the developing practice of child prostitution. The General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) in 1989, which essentially called all nations to protect children from sexual exploitation. The 1990 World Summit for Children recognized that millions of children currently live in horrible conditions – such as bondage into sexual slavery –

through their World Declaration on the Survival, Protection and Development of Children and Plan of Action. The United Nations Conference on Human Rights took place in Vienna on 1993, at which point the delegates in attendance rallied behind the need to strengthen both national and international regulations on the protection of sexually exploited children. At the time of the article, the latest international intervention had taken place in 1996 by the World Congress (WC) against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children. At the summit, the Draft Declaration and Agenda for Action was created, and it proclaimed that:

...in the case of sex tourism, state parties must develop or strengthen and implement laws to criminalize the acts of their nationals in their country of origin even when the crime has been committed against children in the countries of destination (p. 150)

While the proclamations made by the international conventions and summits discussed in “Commercial Sexual Exploitation” (Munir & Mohd Yasin, 1997) are admirable, it was unclear on whether or not nations went back home and implemented new laws to coincide with the committees’ introductions. To help provide insight into what has been done, David (2000) reviews the progress of Australia’s Crimes (Child Sex Tourism) Amendment Act 1994 – created to align themselves with 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child, Article 34 – five years after its implementation. Through David’s (2000) review of multiple cases, which have been brought to court since the laws inception, it becomes clear that the amendment had success in its ability to prosecute those who were caught partaking in child sex tourism. However, the ability of the law to deter would-be offenders, remains unknown. While those caught were prosecuted, it is still unclear on how many offenders remain at large.

In the article “Child Sex Tourism” the author, Leung (2003), expresses the same disdain for the lack of literature on the topic as this author had in the initial research for this review. Due

to the lack of information on the subject, Leung ventured out to shed some light on how the practice of CST has quickly turned into an epidemic due to the ease of traveling to certain countries that have little to no laws governing child protection (Oxfam, 2002). Leung found that there are multiple problems currently surrounding the combating of international child sex tourism, and offered future courses of action. The first suggestion is stronger relations between nations in their legislations of child abuse. While developed nations have banded together to fight such atrocities, it is also their responsibility to strengthen developing nations in their ability to fight similar issues. Secondly, Leung suggests the tourist industry involves itself in the campaign against sex tourism, as well. Not only the tourist industry but the education sector should introduce teachings to help combat CST. Many children who found themselves in the sex trade were put there due to a lack of understanding from parents, guardians, and or teachers (Ryan & Kinder, 1996). General education would help curb the issues of misunderstandings. The last suggestion brought forth by Leung is that child sex tourism itself is not the problem but the social problems found within a country are the root of the problem. In order to solve the issue of child sex tourism, the mitigation of poverty, poor education, corruption, and political inequality needs to be addressed.

Leung (2003) was not the only author to find the link between casual tourism and sex tourism. In the article “Child Sex Tourism: An Anomalous Form of Movement?” Davidson (2004) argues that campaigns against CST are likely to fail if they refuse to acknowledge its similarities with other forms of tourism. Davidson remarks that the initial problem with combating CST was in the definition of “child sex tourism”. The initial campaign against CST was headed by EPCAT, which painted the problem as one that mainly dealt with pedophiles who traveled to third world countries in order to satisfy their desires (O’Grady, 1996). While many

organizations rallied behind such a notion, the problem lies in the United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child's definition of a "child". They defined a child as any person under the age of 18. The problem with such a definition is the fact that pedophiles are only attracted to pre-pubertal children. Not all children who are victims of CST fall within the category of pre-pubertal (Tanner I). There are numerous children who are currently pubertal (Tanner II-III), or have surpassed their pubertal stage (Tanner IV). These children would fall outside the desire of a pedophile. By simply identifying pedophiles as the primary cause of CST, nations are limiting their view on how to best combat the problem (Lim, 1998).

Following the original issue behind the definition of "child", Davidson (2004) continues his comparison of tourism and CST by introducing the group: Travel and the Single Male (TSM). This group is set up as any other travel group. They offer memberships, provide incentives for joining, and publish guidebooks and monthly newsletters concerning the most recent trends and information. The only difference is that they specialize in sex tourism. TSM is not the only such organization that is in operation. Outside of these groups are the brothels that cater to the demands of tourist men, including those members of TSM (Davidson & Taylor, 2001). Davidson argues that it is important to realize the distinction of these businesses, not strictly as catering directly to sex tourists, but rather accommodating the tastes of those men who visit their establishments. Once this distinction is made then the community as a whole will be able to see how sex tourism, and child sex tourism, are tied up with tourism in general.

In order to take a more focused approach, Montgomery (2008) concentrated on the issue of sex tourism within Thailand, and what qualities perpetrators find attractive in Thai children. Conducting ethnographic fieldwork in a small slum community, which the author calls Baan Nua, the author discovered that the community survived off the prostitution of their children, and

children were often encouraged to participate by their parents. Over a 15-month period, the author was able to build relationships with the children, and was able to talk to them about their experiences. Through her discussions she found that many of the children turned to prostitution after previous jobs failed to provide what they needed. Earning money, and providing for their families, was a form of filial duties, and prostitution was a means of fulfilling that responsibility. Children viewed the relationship with their clients as one of friendship, rather than one of sexual servitude. When appeals were made for loans or money for necessities, and the clients obliged, the children merely viewed the situation as a close friend helping another friend in need. It was through the grooming process (Bennett, & O'Donohue, 2008) that the children fell victim to the men who often visited their community. Montgomery's (2008) work is one of the first to provide firsthand accounts of child prostitution, and her research provides a great deal of insight into the process of CST offenders.

After 20-years of fighting CST, a lot of progress had been made in its prevention. Pais (2010) acknowledges the strides taken in this endeavor by highlighting the 20th anniversary of the CRC, and the 10th anniversary of the General Assembly of its Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography, and in doing so calls for all nations to reenergize their commitment to the declarations. In May 2010 a campaign was launched in hopes of the universal ratification of the Optional Protocol that was introduced back 1995, which "...calls on legislative reforms to prohibit and criminalize the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography, providing sound definitions of these phenomena to help align national law with the provisions of the Protocol" (p. 559). The aim was to have full commitment by those involved by 2012. Years after the CRC was established in 1989, the transnational community is

still hard at work on combating the practice of child sex tourism; however, the success of such endeavors have not been as substantial.

Even with the amount of international support against child sex tourism, countries still struggled to combat the problem. Newman, Holt, Rabun, Phillips and Scott (2011) pinpoint some of the issues that plague the international community even after accepting sweeping protocols from conventions and summits. As mentioned earlier, developed nations have formed collations against child exploitation, but the bulk of CST takes place in developing nations, which poses a problem for those who openly fight against the practice. The nations that do recognize their international commitment to punishing citizens who exploit children when traveling abroad, are afraid to enforce extraterritorial jurisdiction (Newman et al., 2011). Another issue faced by governments when prosecuting crimes that occurred internationally are the investigative challenges. Collecting evidence, and identifying witnesses and victims can be problematic when one nation must rely on another to provide all the information. Policies and procedures vary widely from nation to nation, which can cause complex legal roadblocks, as well (High, 2005). As pointed out by Davidson (2004), the United Nations' CRC defines a child as: any person under the age of 18; but not all countries follow the same regulations when it comes to the age of consent (Age of Consent, 2009). Even though the United Nations mandates the age is 18, a defendant could argue that the age of consent in the visited nation was lower. Newman et al. provide a great deal of insight into the challenges nations have faced when implementing measures to stop CST from occurring within their borders, and preventing their citizens from committing such crimes while traveling abroad. Even with the complications that currently plague nations, many have faced the dilemma head on and have continued to fight CST.

In the article “Protecting Children’s Rights in Asian Tourism”, Johnson (2014) takes the time to review the progress that has taken place within the previous two decades in order to counter CST. Johnson (2014) explains the early steps taken in 1989 by the General Assembly of the United Nations; what lead to the drafting of Optional Protocol in 1995; how the first WC on the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of children in 1996 was established, along with the subsequent WCs held in 2001, and 2008; and finally, the reasoning for the implementation of the 2003 Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Human Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children adoption. All these actions were taken in response to the growing concern surrounding grave human rights violations, especially those involving child sex tourism. Although Newman et al. (2011) pointed out that extraterritorial legislation was not always accepted by nations, it appears countries began to see this option differently. By 2013, 44 countries had implemented extraterritorial legislations (Maala M’jid, 2013) in order to prosecute individuals who were accused of CST. Even with all the interventions put into place, Johnson (2014) mentions that there is still room for growth. Most notably in the prevention of CST. The majority of interventions occur after a child has already been exploited. He claims that future protocols should focus on the hindrance of abuse rather than the penalty.

The authors of “Addressing Child Sex Tourism: The Indian Case” (Chemin, & Mbiekop, 2015) were not so much interested in the human aspect of CST, but rather the legal side. The authors wanted to know what international policy options provided the best fight against CST. India was chosen as the case study due to it being “...one of the world’s largest federations, and interactions between member states mimic the dynamics of international relations in a global economy.” (pg. 170). Their study was done through the creation of a simple model built from the economic literature on crime. The model consisted of two economies; one where children were

at risk of abduction and sexual exploitation, and the rest of the world. Through numerous scenarios, and mathematical equations, the authors were able to come to the conclusion that, international policy coordination on the prevention of CST is essential to the abolishment the practice. Although the authors are confident in their measurements, they do mention the criminal data utilized is not always considered accurate, due to the underground nature of the crimes they were analyzing.

One of the first true studies to delve into the human aspect of CST was carried out by Koops, Turner, Neutze, and Briken (2017). The authors conducted an exploratory study in order to identify key characteristics in CST offenders. From an online survey, the researchers were able to investigate the prevalence of CST within a small German sampling. The study consisted of 8,718 adult males ( $\geq 18$ ) who were recruited through a market research panel. The authors present their research through a statistical comparison of the indicators between CST and non-CST. Breaking down the differences through identifiers such as child pornography, antisociality, sociodemographic characteristics, and pedophilic sexual interests, Koops et al. (2017) are able to display what behaviors and actions are most prevalent among those who practice CST. The results indicated that men who utilized CST differed from non-CST users by way of their experience with prior sexual abuse, child prostitution use, and previous conviction of violent offense. The study utilized the sampling method (Babbie, 2010) in order to establish a generalization of characteristics. In order to further develop the data, future research should expand the sampling, increasing the number of participants and their nationalities. Even with the smaller sampling within the study, the data provided could be valuable in identifying future CST offenders.



The last, recent article that offers research through a direct study of CST was conducted by Kosuri and Jeglic (2017). Where Koops et al. (2017) were interested in the characteristics of CST users, Kosuri and Jeglic (2017) wanted to know how Americans perceived child sexual abuse when it occurred within the U.S., Netherlands, or Thailand. The study consisted of 509 participants, who were recruited through the Amazon Mechanical Turk service. The researchers' stipulations were that participants were American, >18-years, and spoke English. After a vignette, participants were given a questionnaire consisting of 12-questions. In order to determine the differences in perception between the three countries, a one-way MANOVA was conducted. A pos hoc analysis with Bonferroni correction was accomplished after the analysis. This study helped highlight the impact that in-group bias theory can have on an individual's perception of CST (Roth, & Steffens, 2014). Also, people tend to view crimes in other countries as less severe due to their geographical separation (Henderson, & Wakslak, 2010), and people's sense of nationalism causes them to increase the severity of a crime within their own country (Hopkins, & Murdoch, 1999). As with Koops et al. (2017), Kosuri and Jeglic (2017) recognized the limitations from a self-reported on-line survey. While the service, Amazon Mechanical Turk, has been found reliable, it has also attracted individuals who seek out quick compensation.

#### Research Question

During the research for this project an article by Kelly Neudorfer (2014) was discovered. Within the article – “Reducing Sexual Exploitation and Abuse: Does Deterrence Work to Prevent SEAs in UN Peacekeeping Missions” – the author noticed a significant drop in sexual exploitation and abuse in UN peacekeeping missions between 2006 and 2007. From the study, Neudorfer (2014) concluded that the introduction of conduct and discipline units produced a deterrence within would be offenders, which altered their rational choice. This conclusion

peaked in interest in whether or not deterrence theory could play the same role in the reduction of CST offenses.

Research Question: *If an individual were given the proper information concerning United States CST laws, would it form a deterrence that could affect their rational choice to view the practice as illegal and carry a high risk compared to the reward?*

The research question explores the theory held behind deterrence and how it can effect rational choice. The root of deterrence theory can be traced back to the 1700s through the works of Beccaria (1986), and Bentham (1988). The original conception of deterrence argued that “...three key ingredients to the deterrence process are the severity, certainty, and celerity of punishment.” (Nagin, Solow, Lum, 2015, pp. 75). From this idea, Beccaria believed that laws and their punishments needed to be made clear to the general public in order to dissuade people from committing crime. The conception behind deterrence theory appeared logical, but it was flawed by the insinuation that general deterrence and specific deterrence affected different people (specific, affecting the individual, and general, affecting the overall population). It was not until two centuries later that scholars would identify these limitations.

Stafford and Warr (1993) suggested that people were affected by both the punishment of people they knew (general deterrence) and by their own experience (specific deterrence). They also found that traditional aspects of deterrence theory only focused on the effects of being punished and neglected the experiences of avoiding punishment. From this, Stafford and Warr (1993) summated that any individual could be deterred from committing future crimes through personal experience and or vicarious experience. Furthermore, the avoidance of crime, from either personal or vicarious experience, would enhance the probability of crime committal. The

reconceptualization of deterrence theory reawakened the theory within the criminology community, and harkened new research that was based upon the new work.

The three factors affecting deterrence – severity, certainty, and celerity of punishment – have been found within the foundation of nearly every theory of deterrence, but the strongest deterrent was still in question. Nagin (2013) conducted a review of the most prevalent deterrent theories in order to identify the weight each key ingredient played within deterrence. From this research, Nagin concluded that the certainty of punishment carried the most influence in crime prevention. “The more precise statement about deterrence is that certainty of apprehension, not the severity of ensuing consequences, is the more effective deterrent” (Nagin, 2013, pp. 199). Utilizing Stafford and Warr’s (1993) theory that people are vicariously deterred, and Nagin’s (2013) conclusion that the certainty of apprehension holds the most sway in deterrence, the theory of informing the general public about arrests rates, and punishments, concerning CST, would dissuade future offenders, and alter their rational choice when faced with the prospect.

Rational choice theory is one that found its origination in sociology, political science, and economics. It was not until “Crime and Punishment: An Economic Analysis” (Becker, 1968) that the theory was associated with a criminological framework. The idea behind rational choice within criminology follows the notion that an offender will weigh the benefit and risk of committing a crime to not committing a crime. If the offender views the reward to be greater than the risk then the likelihood of the offender following through with the illegal act is increased. There have been criminologist who view rational choice theory as being “too economic” and fails to seriously consider the issues that are currently at the heart of theories of crime (Matsueda, 2013), and criticism has also been laid against the theory on the assumption that weighing the costs and benefits of actions can only be attributed to miniscule kinds of

criminal acts and that it simply is not relevant to actions that are bridled with violent crimes (Dehaan, & Vos, 2003; O'Grady, 2014; Pratt et al., 2006). These arguments highlight why rational choice theory fits within CST; at its core, CST is a minor crime that is laden with multiple risk/reward choices along the way.

In its simplest form, CST is the outcome of an individual who wishes to seek sexual gratification with a child, or from the allure of a foreign country and its culture, is drawn into sexually exploiting a child. This is an action that could take place within their own country, but when they weigh the ramifications of such an action, the risk appears to far outweigh the reward. In order to satiate their desires they begin to look at other available avenues. The offender discovers what possibilities CST has to offer and begins to weigh the risk/reward. With little information concerning past CST perpetrators, the offender views the practice as having minimal chance of discovery. This leads to the belief that the reward is greater than the risk, and the offender has an increased possibility of following through with their desires. By candidly disseminating information on those who are caught practicing CST, the idea of CST carrying a low risk would subside and possible offenders would begin to view the outcome as a risk that does not match the reward.

### Hypothesis

It is hypothesized that, if an individual were given general information on child sex tourism, the likelihood of arrest, and the punishment involved for committing the crime, they would be more likely to identify the act of CST as being illegal and carrying a high risk for arrest, than compared to a person who is not aware of the law and legal ramifications involved.

### Chapter Summery

The literature that has been published on the issue of CST is rather substantial. Researchers have kept track of the laws and regulations that have been brought about by the number of organizations that have been created in response to the problem of CST. However, very few studies have been conducted that could provide the empirically driven data that may help in the prevention of child sexual exploitation. Along with the lack of research is the issue of inadequate statistical data that details the practice. This lack of information has created a blanket over CST and the laws that punish the crime. Those individuals who purposefully travel overseas to experience sexual relations with a minor, and the individuals who are drawn into the “allure” of a foreign land through solicitation, see the action as having little to no consequences. A deterrence has not been created, and this lack of deterrence drives peoples’ rational choice towards the belief that CST offers instant gratification with little risk.

## Chapter 3

### METHOD

#### Research Design

The study to be carried out is exploratory in nature, and is intended to discover whether an individual's rational choice on child sexual exploitation can be altered through deterrence. The study will be conducted through the online survey service, Survey Monkey. Survey Monkey is an online marketplace that offers a wide-range of workers who are capable of conducting surveys, object identification, data de-duplication, audio transcribing, and many other tasks for Survey Monkey to donate to a charity of the participant's choosing (Survey Monkey, n.d.). Prior research has found that Survey Monkey can be a reliable source for data collection, and offers a good representation of the United States population (Herreid, Schiller, Herreid, & Wright, 2014; Massat, McKay, & Moses, 2009).

Through the creation of two separate surveys, participants will be put into a control or experimental group. The control group will be provided with a short vignette (Appendix A), a "Warning" that will offer information on the legalities of child sexual exploitation while in a foreign country (Appendix B), and a survey (Appendix C). The experimental group will be given the same vignette and survey offered to the control group. The vignette tells the story of an individual traveling to a foreign country with a group of friends, and at one point during the trip they are solicited for sex. The survey will be constructed through the use of closed-ended questions, and interval-level responses, with a range of 1 to 10. Participants will be asked to identify the level of risk they believe is involved within the vignette. In order to ensure autonomy, surveys will be completely confidential, with the only identifiable information being the participants' age, sex, and ethnicity.

After creating the surveys on Survey Monkey's website, Survey Monkey will email eligible subjects to partake in the study. Upon following Survey Monkey's link, participants will be provided with the overall topic of the survey, and informed that there will be adult thematic questions involved. The right to quit the survey at any time, will be stressed, along with the fact that their anonymity will be protected at all times. If they wish to receive information regarding the results of the survey, participants will be provided with instructions on how to contact the researcher. Once an individual agrees to the outlined consent, they will be redirected to the survey.

### Sample

The target demographic for this study will be male, 18-years or older, and a citizen of the United States. For the purpose of this study, the race and or ethnicity of subjects will not be a driving factor in participant selection. Participants' ethnicity will only be collected for demographic analysis at the end of the study. Although researchers agree that the majority of sex tourist hail from North/South America, Europe, and Asia (Li, 1995; Robinson, 1997; Thomas, & Matthews, 2006), this study will be relying on laws established by the United States to establish deterrence, which is why United States citizenship is a requirement. While past studies have shown that female tourists have partaken in sex tourism (Taylor, 2001), there currently is not enough data on whether or not females practice CST as often as males to justify participation in this study.

This study's participants will be selected through random probability selection via the online survey service Survey Monkey. Participants will not be directly compensated for their participation. Instead, after completing the survey, Survey Monkey makes a donation to a charity, of the participant's choosing, in the participant's name. (Survey Monkey, n.d.). The

survey should not take longer than 30 minutes. The goal for involvement is 50 participants per survey, but if at the end of the surveys' lifespan 100 volunteers have not been found, the study will continue with the obtained results.

#### Data Analysis

A quantitative analysis will be conducted at the end of the study in order to convey the data. As survey results are obtained, they will be placed into two separate excel spreadsheets (controlled and experimental) for easy, clear organization. Once 100 surveys are obtained, or the specific timeframe is reached, all data will be inputted into IMB SPSS software in order to produce a univariate analysis of the information collected. At this point the data should show whether the independent variable (participant) was affected by the dependent variable (warning before the survey).

#### Chapter Summary

The study to be conducted will provide cross-sectional data on whether or not the knowledge of laws and penalties involved with CST can deter people from participating in child sexual exploitation while traveling to another country. By providing a comparative analysis between the control and experimental group, the direct effect of the knowledge of the legality of CST will be seen. While the sampling for this study will be minor, it will provide a foundation for future studies to observe the reliability of the results obtained.



## Results

The purpose of this project was to identify the effects that deterrence could play on an individual's rational choice, which would ultimately help in the prevention of CST through the question of: Can deterrence drive the rational choice of CST perpetrators (situational or preferential) to see the practice as holding a high risk for the reward involved? The study was administered through the use of an experimental and control group, with each group consisting of 50 participants. Each group was provided with an informed consent, content warning, a vignette, and a 10-question survey that consisted of basic demographic information, a few multiple choice questions, and interval level responses that determined the participants' opinion on the level of risk involved in the vignette. The control group was also given a "warning" that detailed United States law on CST, the number of individuals arrested for the offense, and the punishment involved.

The demographics which made up the study were not as varied as originally hoped. Of the 100 respondents, 84% were white males, and the other 16% consisted of African Americans, Hispanics, Native Americans, Asians, and Other. Age groups were a bit more diverse. 72% of the experimental group participants were between the ages of 45-65+, 12% were 35-44, 10% were 25-34, and 6% fell within the 18-24 range. The control group had similar age groupings, with 78% coming from the 45-65+ ages, and the last 22% being filled in with the 18-44 age range. As previously mentioned, due to the lack of data detailing the prevalence of female CST participation, the study consisted of only males.

One of the first questions within the survey asked whether or not respondents believed the actions within the vignette were illegal. The responses between the control group and experimental group were almost flipped. The control group (knew the legal warning) had a 64%

response of, yes, the actions were illegal, and 36% said, no, they were not illegal. Whereas for the experimental group (did not have access to the legal warning), only 38% found the acts to be illegal, and 62% found the actions to be completely legal. The next few questions dealt with the risk of arrest.

Respondents were asked to offer their opinion on the risk of arrest, in both Thailand and the United States, on a scale of 1-10. When the possibility of arrest was brought into question, the control group believed that there was a higher chance of being caught and arrested – in both Thailand and the U.S. – than the experimental group. The control group believed that there was a 54% moderate to high risk of arrest in Thailand (Figure 1), and a 60% moderate to high risk of being arrested within the United States (Figure 2). On the other hand, the experimental group only believed that there was a 42% moderate to high risk (in both countries) of being caught (Figure 3, 4).

Figure 1 (Control Group, Risk in Thailand)

	NO RISK AT ALL	2	3	4	5	MODERATE RISK	7	8	9	HIGH RISK
★	24.00% 12	8.00% 4	2.00% 1	4.00% 2	8.00% 4	34.00% 17	4.00% 2	6.00% 3	0.00% 0	10.00% 5

Figure 2 (Control Group, Risk in U.S)

	NO RISK AT ALL	2	3	4	MODERATE RISK	6	7	8	9	HIGH RISK
★	10.00% 5	6.00% 3	6.00% 3	6.00% 3	12.00% 6	2.00% 1	4.00% 2	10.00% 5	12.00% 6	32.00% 16

Figure 3 (Experimental Group, Risk in Thailand)

	NO RISK AT ALL	(NO LABEL)	(NO LABEL)	(NO LABEL)	(NO LABEL)	MODERATE RISK	(NO LABEL)	(NO LABEL)	(NO LABEL)	HIGH RISK
★	32.00% 16	6.00% 3	12.00% 6	2.00% 1	6.00% 3	28.00% 14	4.00% 2	4.00% 2	2.00% 1	4.00% 2

Figure 4 (Experimental Group, Risk in U.S.)

	NO RISK AT ALL	(NO LABEL)	(NO LABEL)	(NO LABEL)	MODERATE RISK	(NO LABEL)	(NO LABEL)	(NO LABEL)	(NO LABEL)	HIGH RISK
★	28.00% 14	6.00% 3	8.00% 4	4.00% 2	12.00% 6	2.00% 1	8.00% 4	2.00% 1	4.00% 2	26.00% 13

In order to compare the participants' views from one country to another, participants were asked what the likelihood of arrest would be within the U.S if the actions within the vignette were carried out within the United States. Interestingly enough, 66% of the experimental group (Figure 5) believed that if an individual were to hire a 16-year old prostitute within the United States, there would be a high risk of arrest, with 60% of the control group (Figure 6) believing the same thing.

Figure 5 (Experimental group)

	NO RISK AT ALL	(NO LABEL)	(NO LABEL)	(NO LABEL)	MODERATE RISK	(NO LABEL)	(NO LABEL)	(NO LABEL)	(NO LABEL)	HIGH RISK
★	0.00% 0	2.00% 1	0.00% 0	2.00% 1	10.00% 5	0.00% 0	6.00% 3	10.00% 5	4.00% 2	66.00% 33

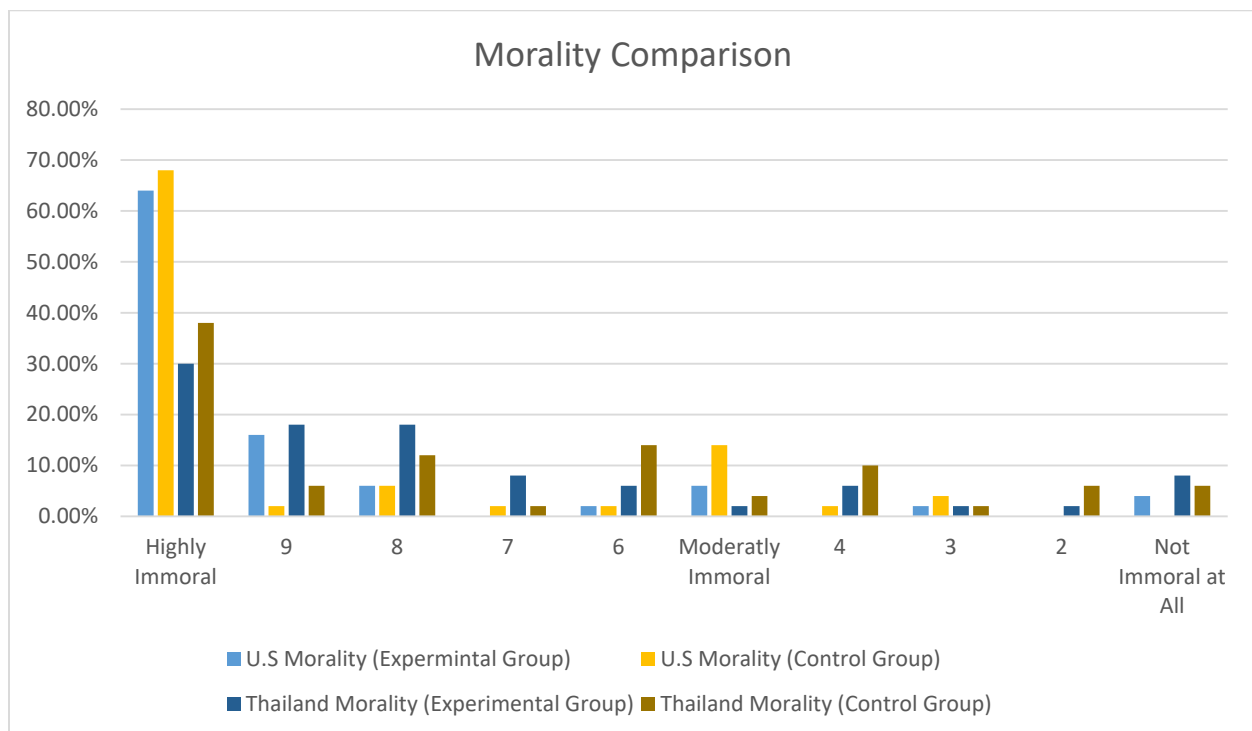
Figure 6 (Control group)

	NO RISK AT ALL	2	3	4	MODERATE RISK	6	7	8	9	HIGH RISK
★	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2.00% 1	6.00% 3	8.00% 4	2.00% 1	4.00% 2	6.00% 3	12.00% 6	60.00% 30

Due to the close relation between one's own morals and the laws that govern society, one of the last questions posed to participants dealt with their view on the morality of the actions depicted within the vignette. There are times where what the law requires could be prohibited by

moral actions. Equally, what the law forbids, may be essential to moral action. Either situation is dependent upon the individual and their own morality (Cane, 2012). For this reason, the study obtained participants' beliefs on the morality within the vignette (Figure 7). When asked how immoral the perpetrator's actions were in Thailand, the experimental group had more responses in the moderate to high range (80%) than the control group (72%). These results are in contradiction with each groups' perception on the legality of the actions of the perpetrator. Also of note is the fact that when asked about the morality of the scenario if the perpetrator were to have conducted their actions within the United States, the experimental group still found the actions more immoral (88%) than the control group – albeit by a small margin (80%).

Figure 7



## Discussion

This study assessed how the knowledge of CST laws within the United States could impact an individual's view on the act of CST. What was found was that when given the law, the consequences, and number of arrests involved with CST, respondents were more likely to acknowledge that CST is illegal. Along with realizing that CST is illegal, respondents within the control group identified the risk for arrest – in both Thailand and the U.S – as being higher than those within the experimental group. This outcome may have come about due to one of two reasons.

The first possibility stems from Stafford and Warr's (1993) reconceptualization theory of deterrence. As mentioned earlier, personal and vicarious experiences with punishment will deter future offending by increasing the believed risk of punishment. Participants within the control group were provided with details concerning CST, which could have created a vicarious deterrent that lead to their perception on the legality of the crime and the likelihood for arrest. This would explain the increased number of respondents who believed the actions within the vignette to be illegal, and also why the control group felt there was a higher risk for arrest, both in Thailand and the U.S.

The second possibility for the differences in the two groups arises from Becker's (1968) criminal offense model that proposed crime is a gamble carried out by a rational individual. From this perspective, deterrence is derived from three separate entities: social investments in police, the influence of prisons, and the strength of a labor-market that provides opportunities that detract from criminal activities (Chalfin, & McCrary, 2017). When examining the police aspect of Becker's (1968) theory, it is speculated that crime will be responsive to the certainty and severity of punishment. This could have had an effect on the control group's answers. The

respondents were provided with the details concerning the responsiveness, certainty, and severity of CST right before the vignette. The aspect of the law was at the forefront of their thoughts, and could have played a role in their responses. This immediate knowledge could taper off over time, leaving respondents feeling less certain on the responsiveness and severity of the crime, which could alter their views on the issue.

When examining the ethical nature of the vignette, it is intriguing to see the differences between each group's responses to the likelihood of arrest and the morality involved – in both countries. The majority of the experimental group believed the actions within the scenario were legal, but at the same time they also identified the actions to be more immoral than the control group, who the majority of which found the actions to be illegal. This is a bit odd due to the belief that morality is what distinguishes right from wrong (Albanesee, 2016). This could strictly be due to the random selection of participants; each of which have their own morals, ethics, and values. The morals within both groups just differs from one another (and only by a small percentage). But, it does open up a unique possibility.

The majority of participants within both groups believed the vignette to be immoral; however, due to the experimental groups' lack of knowledge on the law of CST, the bulk of the group believed the actions were legal. Because of this, their perception on the risk of arrest – in both Thailand and U.S – was lower than the control group. While the control group's rating of morality was slightly lower than the experimental, most of them said the acts were illegal, which could explain the higher rating they gave for risk of arrest. The fact that both groups found the acts immoral, but differed on the legality, is a good indication that better deterrence could play a role in the prevention of situational CST offenders.

As discussed previously, there are typically two types of CST offenders: preferential or situational. Preferential offenders are most commonly thought of as pedophiles, but due to the psychiatric nature of classifying a pedophile, pedophiles have merely been identified as a subcategory of preferential offenders (ECPAT International, 2008). As time has progressed it has become increasingly apparent that there is a flaw in simplifying CST profiles because there are numerous driving factors that create a preferential offender (Maalla M'jid, 2013). When it comes to preventing preferential offenders, Arthur Kaye, a clinical psychologist who specializes in sex offenders and pedophiles, believes that the motivations of a preferential offender are unlikely to be swayed by deterrence and laws, but the best way to prevent their ability to offend is through introducing policies which prevent their travels (as cited in Hall, 2011, p. 4). This observation is a bit dismaying in terms of deterrence preventing CST, but current reports indicate that it is in fact situational offenders that commit the majority of CST acts (Maala M'jid, 2013).

A report written by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (2006) states that: "...the majority of men who purchase sex from child prostitutes are probably "situational offenders" who do not have a distinct preference for children but may use a situation or opportunity to sexually exploit an accessible child." (pg. 9) In follow up reports made in 2012 and 2015, the same observation is made, clarifying that situational offenders are the primary sexual exploiters of children while traveling overseas. In a report generated by ECPAT International, Altamura (2013) states that:

The motivation behind their {situational offenders} behaviors cannot be attributed to a psychosexual disorder but rather to a complex interplay of individual conditions and cultural, social, political and economic factors that altogether shape the consumer demand for commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC). Recognizing this critical

concept is a necessary premise for any effort to tackle the problem of child sex offenders.

(p. 4)

If the problem is not psychosexual, the possibility exists to deter the problem by informing the general public on the growing issue, and educating people on the laws and consequences involved with participating in CST.

The study carried out offers a glimpse into what general information on CST can accomplish when distributed to the masses. Although the sample size of this study was only a fraction of the United States' population, the results indicated that the majority of participants found CST to be immoral, but the groups were split when it came to the legality and risk of arrest for CST participation. It can be assumed that the difference in opinion came from the separate information that was provided to the groups. The control group was provided all the data concerning CST laws, and the majority of that group found the actions within the vignette illegal that carried a higher risk for arrest; whereas the experimental group was not given information on CST laws, and the majority of them found the actions legal and had a lower risk for arrest; however, the majority of both groups found the actions to be immoral. This information could translate directly to a situational offender.

It is impossible to make a statement on the legal knowledge of situational offenders. However, the possibility exists that there are situational offenders (who are U.S citizens) who are, or were, unaware of the PROTECT Act, and they found themselves in a situation that offered them the experience of a sexual relation with a child – such as the one within the vignette. They may initially find the act immoral (much like the study group), but, they might be coerced into the action by being told it is legal within the country, the country's culture accepts the practice, peer pressure, or a number of other reasons. To them, they are breaking no laws, and



are merely experiencing the culture, all while maintaining their anonymity. If there were more deterrents in place (airport warnings, intercontinental documents, public awareness campaigns, etc.) that shared the PROTECT Act, and provided information on the dangers and harmful effects of CST, situational offenders may find the risk of child sexual exploitation a little too high and not worth the reward.

The results from the study confirm the original hypothesis of: if an individual were given general information on child sex tourism, the likelihood of arrest, and the punishment involved for committing the crime, they would be more likely to identify the act of CST as being illegal and carrying a high risk for arrest, than compared to a person who is not aware of the law and legal ramifications involved. This project offers a small step towards possible avenues in which a deterrence could be created in order to prevent situational CST offenders.

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## APPENDIX A

David Smith is a 30-year old white American male who has just finished law school. Before settling down, he and five of his friends decide to take a celebratory trip. They all agree on going to Thailand because they have heard it is very cheap, and there is a lot to see and do. Once everything is planned out, David and his friends head out on their 2-week trip.

During one night at a local bar, David and his friends are solicited by the bartender, who offers them cheap “entertainment” with some local girls. At first David is a bit hesitant, but with some coaxing from his friends, he gives in and they all go where the bartender suggested.

When they arrive they are greeted by an older women who welcomes them inside. She calls into the back and a line of local Thai women come out front. David, still a little unsure about this, remarks that some of the women look rather young. The older women assures David and his friends that all the girls are of age, and that prostitution is legal in Thailand. After a quick discussion between the friends, they all pick a girl of their liking. David chooses his girl, and she leads him in the back. David asks the girl her age, and she replies 16; however, the age of consent in Thailand is 15, and that he has nothing to worry about. David pays the girl, and then they have sexual intercourse.

Throughout the rest of the trip, David and his friends visit the brothel three more times, and David always chooses the same girl. At the conclusion of the trip, David and his friends part ways, and they all head back to their homes. David talks about his trip to Thailand all the time, but always leaves the brothel out of his stories.

## APPENDIX B

## WARNING

The United States PROTECT Act of 2003 has criminalized the practice of U.S. citizens partaking in illicit sexual conduct with a minor while traveling overseas. Because the United States has adopted the Optional Protocol instituted by the United Nations, a minor is considered any person under the age of 18, no matter the age of consent of the visited country. Furthermore, the Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act of 2013 extended this law to U.S. citizens who reside abroad. This means, if at any point, while traveling or living abroad, a U.S. citizen is caught have sexual relations with an individual under the age of 18, they can be charged and prosecuted as a traveling child sex offender. This prosecution carries a maximum prison sentence of 30-years. Since 2003, 99 offenders have been caught and found guilty of the practice, with many more individuals under investigation.

## APPENDIX C

1. Age

18-24      25-34      35-44      45-54      55-64      65 and over

## 2. Ethnicity/Race

White    Black/African American    Hispanic    Native American    Asian    Other

### 3. Gender

Male      Female

4. Do you believe what David did was illegal?

Yes No

5. How immoral were David's actions to you?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9-----10-----11

^                        ^   ^

Not immoral at all                      Moderately Immoral                      Highly Immoral

6. How much of a risk is there of David being arrested in Thailand for his actions?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9-----10-----11  
^                                  ^                                       ^  
No risk at all                  Moderately risky                  Highly Risky

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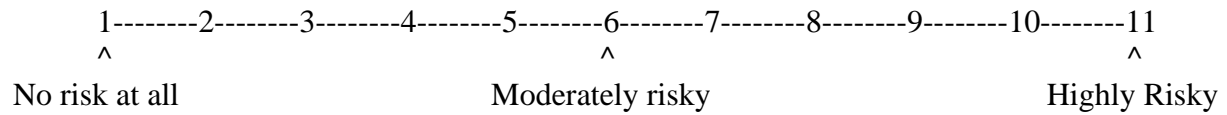
7. How much of a risk is there of David being arrested in the United States for his actions?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9-----10-----11  
^                                ^   ^  
No risk at all                      Moderately risky                                      Highly Risky

8. How immoral would David's actions be if committed within the United States?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9-----10-----11  
     ^                                       ^   ^  
 Not immoral at all                         Moderately Immoral   Highly Immoral

9. How much of a risk would it be for David to hire a 16-year old prostitute in the United States?



10. How much of a risk is there of David being arrested if he hired a 16-year old prostitute in the United States?

