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THE SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN: PERSPECTIVES OF POLICE OFFICERS

By

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Executive Summary

The sexual exploitation of children in Canada has been present for many years. It is evident that there is still a demand and therefore young victims are still the supply. These young victims fall prey to adults seeking fantasy, perpetrators who thrive on harming children and sadists who intentionally hurt children.

This study was done in an attempt to determine who the offenders are that seek children for purposes of sexual exploitation. The study included six Royal Canadian Mounted police officers from the Lower Mainland of British Columbia who had charged and convicted those who procured children, Section 212(4) of the Criminal Code of Canada.

The study was an inductive inquiry using action research to gain an understanding, from police officer perspectives, who these offenders were, their motives and behaviors for specifically searching out children on the street for sexual purpose.

To answer these questions, the research methodology chosen was interviews. This type of methodology was familiar to police officers and gave

each one an opportunity to share their stories and experiences about their investigational involvement in sex crimes against children on the street.

The police officers were willing to share their experiences. Their stories were valuable to this study and revealed that no profession is exempt from seeking children on the street for sexual purpose. Their stories told of doctors, lawyers, blue collar workers, minorities, anybody and everybody.

This study also revealed the need for training, education and awareness for police officers, lawyers and judges to provide them an understanding of the sexually exploited youth and their lives on the street.

In conclusion, this study defined the need for greater public awareness and community involvement to reduce incidence of sexually exploited youth. Crime prevention strategies must continue and communities must be involved to assist police in the reduction of sexually exploited youth.

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CHAPTER ONE - STUDY BACKGROUND

The Problem/Opportunity

In August 2001, I was transferred to Ottawa RCMP Headquarters

Community, Contract and Aboriginal Policing Services (CCAPS). Since then, I
have had the opportunity to look at issues of significant public interest, one being
the sexual exploitation of children. This issue includes child pornography, child
sex tourism, child prostitution, child luring and the trafficking of children.

While all of these topics are of great concern to me, the one involving the sexual exploitation of children is of interest. When I mention child prostitution or the trafficking of children in Canada to former colleagues and friends, the topic seems to provoke strong emotional responses including surprise, disbelief, fear and denial.

Just prior to beginning this research, I attended a workshop in Ottawa and met Cherry Kingsley, Executive Director of the International Centre to Combat Exploitation of Children. In discussion of my interest in the area of the Sexual Exploitation of Children, she indicated that little information is known about the offenders who repeatedly exploit children. As a result of that brief conversation, I chose to explore that research.

My research question is What common behaviors of offenders in child sexual exploitation can be understood through the stories of police officers working with such offenders?

My exploration of this question was guided by four sub-questions:

- 1) From what walks of life do the offenders originate?
- 2) What, if any, are the similarities between offenders who seek children for purpose of sexual exploitation?
- 3) What is the profile, stereotype or pre-conceived notion of police who deal with offenders who seek young children for purpose of sexual exploitation?
- 4) What suggestions do experienced police officers have to reduce the number of offenders who seek children for sexual purposes?

My method of research was interviews with six Royal Canadian Mounted Police officers who have arrested and charged offenders with offences related to the sexual exploitation of children.

Definitions

Child Prostitution:

From the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), (Barnitz, 1998, p.4): "child prostitution is the act of engaging or offering the services of a child to perform sexual acts for money or other consideration with that person or any other person".

Child:

"any human being under the age of 18 years" (Goulet, 2001, p.3).

Sexual Exploitation:

According to Section 153(1) of the Criminal Code of Canada, every person who is in a position of trust or authority towards a young person or is a person with whom the young person is in a relationship of dependency and who

- a) for a sexual purpose, touches, directly or indirectly, with a part of the body or with an object, any part of the body of the young person, or
- b) for a sexual purpose, invites, counsels or incites a young person to touch directly or indirectly, with a part of the body or with an object, the body of any person, including the body of the person who so invites, counsels or incites and the body of the young person,

is guilty of an indictable offence and liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years or is guilty of an offence punishable on summary conviction.

Young Person:

According to Section 153(1) of the Criminal Code, "young person" means a person fourteen years of age or more but under the age of eighteen years.

Offender:

A person who has been determined by a court to be guilty of an offence whether on acceptance of a plea of guilty or on a finding of guilt. (Section 2 of the Criminal Code).

Police Officer:

For this study, a member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police at a rank of Constable, Corporal or Sergeant.

Potential Causes of the Problem

In my opinion, there would not be a child prostitution problem if there were not a demand. Clearly, there are adults who purposely seek children for sexual exploitation. Why? What are the characteristics of offenders who intentionally search for children for a sexual purpose? What are the consequences when the offender gets caught? What are the consequences if the offender never gets caught? Research on these offenders is limited, and not surprisingly, due to the clandestine nature of the offence.

Children may end up on the street for various reasons, possibly including gang activity, drug dependence, substance abuse, sexual or physical abuse in the home or community. Life on the street can be inviting to a young person seeking a better life. Adult criminals exploit these children for property theft, break, enter and theft, as drug "mules" or for other purposes, often with the view that the young person will be dealt with far less harshly in the judicial system due to their age. The young person may not have the maturity to discern that providing these illegal services may lead to drug addiction, prostitution and a life of criminal activity they may not be able to leave when they wish. The cycle continues. The crimes get increasingly worse, and the victims eventually become young people who have observed more in their first 18 years than many Canadians will in a lifetime. The overall health of the child is also of great concern, especially for children who are victims of unprotected sex at the hands of adult offenders. Clearly this increases the innocent child's risk to HIV / AIDS.

In a recent publication, Liza Goulet (2001) identifies recommendations for protecting and assisting children and youth who are victims in the sex trade. She further states "a top priority was to protect children from entering the sex trade in the first place. This requires ongoing prevention at all levels". (p. 24) I believe research in this area is timely to help identify how police can contribute to the prevention of child prostitution and the trafficking of children.

CHAPTER TWO – INFORMATION REVIEW Review of RCMP Organizational Documents

The RCMP defines itself as (RCMP, 2000, p.1) "an organization of excellence with a goal of "Safe Homes, Safe Communities". This is best described in the RCMP document called "Build on the Legacy". It states the RCMP is Strategy Focused, Intelligence-Led, Values- Based, Bridge-Building and Accountable. To achieve the goal of safe homes and safe communities, it is important for police officers to be involved in data gathering as researchers and to analyze the data and intelligence provided by fellow police officers. The police officers who acted as participants for this study are all members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

The RCMP comprises more than 700 Detachments across Canada serving in every province and territory with a membership of more than 14,000 police officers.

The RCMP Mission, Vision and Values guide the organization's future direction. This is clearly identified in RCMP Best Practices on the Infoweb as follows.

Our Mission states that (RCMP, 1999, p.1) "The RCMP is Canada's national police force. Proud of our traditions and confident in meeting future challenges, we commit to preserve the peace, uphold the law and provide quality service in partnership with our communities".

Our Vision states that

We will be a progressive, proactive and innovative organization; provide the highest quality service through dynamic leadership, education and technology in partnership with the diverse communities we serve; be accountable and efficient through shared decision-making; ensure a healthy work environment that encourages team building, open communication and mutual respect; promote safe communities; and demonstrate leadership in the pursuit of excellence. (RCMP, 1999, p.1)

The Core Values of the RCMP are accountability, respect, professionalism, honesty, compassion and integrity.

The RCMP has operational and administrative policy guidelines available on the RCMP Infoweb, and accessible to all police officers. The Infoweb also presents the various strategic directions that determine RCMP priorities at any given time.

For the purposes of my project, I was guided by the RCMP National Youth Strategy which supported one these priorities at the time I conducted the study. The objective of the National Youth Strategy is to reduce youth crime and victimization. The RCMP National Youth Strategy promotes crime prevention through social development and encourages RCMP members to work in partnership with community members.

Administratively, the RCMP has living organizational documents such as Environmental Scans and Trimestral Reports that include information on organized crime and were beneficial as this project progressed.

While there are many organizational documents, the operational police officers are guided by policy. The following provides the overall operational policy relevant to child sexual exploitation investigations.

Review of RCMP Policy

The RCMP has both Administrative and Operational Policy Manuals, which complement each other. The references that I made relevant to this research was strictly operational and from an investigational perspective.

When a police officer enters in to a Criminal Code investigation, there are often specific areas of operational policy that cover the particular offence being investigated. To complement the National Policy created in Contract Policing Branch at RCMP Headquarters in Ottawa, there may also be a provincial or territorial policy in accordance with the policing agreements with the provinces and territories.

For example, in the Operational Manual under Criminal Code Offences, an investigation is guided by the following,

POLICY

The RCMP will subject to available resources, priorities and exercise of appropriate discretion, conduct a Criminal Code investigation:

- in accordance with the terms of policing agreements with the provinces and territories:
- when the Government of Canada or one of its agencies or Crown corporations requests an investigation, or is suspected of being the victim of a major criminal offence that affects the national interest;
- when the course of conducting an investigation under the authority of a federal statute, other than the Criminal Code, evidence supporting a relevant Criminal Code offence is present.
- when an alleged offence arises out of conduct constituting a threat to the security of Canada pursuant to Section 57, Security Offences Act, or the victim of alleged offence is an internationally protected person pursuant to Sec. 2 of the Criminal Code;
- when an offence involves national or international activities of criminals or organized criminal groups which transcend jurisdictional boundaries; or
- when directed to do so by the Commissioner. (RCMP, 2000, p.2).

This policy goes on to say:

Under the RCMP Act, and subject to the orders of the Commissioner, members have the authority to investigate any criminal offence in Canada. Members should, as a matter of courtesy and in the best interest of the administration of justice, keep other law enforcement agencies informed when working on investigations that may be of interest to them in their local enforcement responsibilities. (RCMP, 2000, p.1).

So, in general, that is the policy that guides Criminal Code investigations in Canada and the authority for RCMP members to investigate. Policy goes on to list Criminal Code offences with guidelines to follow specific to the offence. For example, when conducting a sexual assault investigation, the following general policy applies.

- A division will develop directives in consultation and cooperation with its Attorney General, Health and Social Services agencies and child protection workers to ensure that provincial / territorial requirements are fully and accurately reflected.
- A division will develop case management strategies to deal with the more complex investigations or offences involving multiple victims.
- A division will ensure members receive adequate training in sexual assault investigations and have continual access to resource and training material.
- Units will assist in the development of interagency and community protocols to identify responsibilities and ensure cooperation among participants. These protocols should remain current and be adhered to during investigations.
- Where possible, only members with demonstrated skills, proper interviewing techniques or the appropriate training should investigate sexual offence complaints. (RCMP, 2000, p.8).

And, in cases of child abuse, police officers are guided by the following:

- Each division will develop protocols which will reflect a multi-agency approach.
- When possible, only those members who have been adequately prepared or who have the demonstrated ability should investigate child abuse cases. If this is not possible, the investigator should consult with appropriate division resource personnel during the course of the investigation.

 When possible, child sexual assault interviews will be conducted by a trained investigator to help minimize the victim's trauma. (RCMP, 1997, p.9).

So, while there is no specific national policy designed for child prostitution investigations, it is my view that reviewing policy related to conducting a child abuse or sexual assault investigation would be appropriate.

The RCMP maintains statistics on many specific crimes. For example, in a sexual assault, statistics are gathered that indicate whether the victim is male or female, whether there was a weapon used, whether the offender was adult or youth and the jurisdiction of the offence. There is a mechanism so that every RCMP Detachment in Canada can enter information relevant to that offence. It is known to RCMP members as Operational Scoring Reporting (OSR). These codes capture the data and are entered in to the Police Information Retrieval System (PIRS) data base that is accessible by all RCMP members across the country. There are no scoring codes specific to "Child Prostitution" or "Sexual Exploitation of Children" but in many cases, data may be scored under the sexual assault category. Statistics may be kept at a Division level with codes specific to that Division, if child prostitution is an ongoing problem.

It is important to present the information about child prostitution as well as those who seek children for purposes of sexual exploitation. The first section of the literature review gives an overview of child prostitution which is often described today as the sexual exploitation of children. The second section of

the literature review attempts to determine who the perpetrators are who sexually exploit children as it relates to Section 212 (4) of the Criminal Code that states,

Every person who, in any place, obtains for consideration, or communicates with anyone for the purpose of obtaining for consideration, the sexual services of a person who is under the age of eighteen years is guilty of an indictable offence and liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years. (Dept. of Justice, 2002, p.31).

Child Prostitution

Child Prostitution is a topic that is getting more media attention recently in Canada. My research was designed to gain greater knowledge about the offenders who seek children for purposes of sexual exploitation through child prostitution. The information may provide innovative ideas for police to work with government and non-government agencies in an effort to reduce child prostitution. I hope the literature review of child prostitution and the perpetrators of sexual crimes against children will provide a greater awareness for police officers and assist each of us in the prevention of the sexual exploitation of children.

Barnitz (1998, p.4) explains that the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), has defined child prostitution as "the act of engaging or offering the services of a child to perform sexual acts for money or other consideration with that person or any other person". "Child" is defined in both the

CRC and authors such as Goulet (2001) as "any human being under the age of 18 years" (p.3).

In the many articles I found addressing child sexual exploitation, there was little reliable data available on the root causes and long term impact of the problem of child prostitution. For purposes of my research, I made reference to "child prostitution" acknowledging that a child is not necessarily mature enough to make a sound decision regarding consent for sexual relations. The legal age for consent in the Criminal Code of Canada is 14 years of age. However, if the offender is a person of authority or has power over a child, it is a criminal offence, consent or not.

Barnitz, (1998) asks "How many children are prostituted in the United States today?"(p.1). The answer was "somewhere between 100,000 and 3 million."

Barnitz (1998) also stated that "reliable estimates of the number of children involved in the sex trade are very hard to come by because of the underground nature of the business and because of national embarrassment over the issue".(p.1). This is also recognized by Goulet (2001) in the CRC report. In an executive summary for this report, Estes and Weiner (2001) refer to the dramatic rise worldwide in the incidence of child exploitation.

Child sexual exploitation appears to be fueled by 1) the use of prostitution by runaway and thrown away children to provide for their subsistence needs, 2) the presence of pre-existing adult prostitution markets in the communities where large numbers of street youth are concentrated, 3)

prior history of child sexual abuse and child sexual assault, 4) poverty, 5) the pressure of large numbers of unattached and transient males in communities including military personnel, truckers, conventioneers, sex tourists, among others, 6) for some girls, membership in gangs, 7) the promotion of juvenile prostitution by parents, older siblings and boyfriends, 8) the recruitment of children by organized crime units for prostitution and increasingly 9) illegal trafficking of children for sexual purposes to the U.S. from developing countries in Asia, Africa, Central and South America and Central and Eastern Europe. Common indicators for child prostitution in the articles reviewed are runaway children, demand in the prostitution communities, child sexual abuse and poverty. (p.1)

The risks most associated with child prostitution include HIV / AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases. Tragically, adults are seeking young prostitutes believing, as adults, that they will be protected from AIDS exposure. Barnitz (1998, p.2) states "prostituted children have been raped, sodomized, beaten, emotionally abused, tortured and killed by the adults that control them or by the people who use them". The risks associated with child prostitution are often violent and because of the harm caused, it is difficult to establish trusting relationships to report bad experiences to police. A child who is considered a "child prostitute" doing illegal activity is not as likely to tell police of violence for fear of being charged him-or herself. Furthermore, if a charge is laid, there may be a requirement for the child to appear in court as a victim or witness, and these children do not want the court experience for various reasons, including fear of future beatings or torture.

The literature sometimes refers to police intervention negatively but also indicates special challenges experienced by police in this area. Estes and Weiner (2001) include harassment by local police as one of the challenges

confronting street youth. Barnitz, Gallagher, Lobc, McVicker (1998) recognize that assisting prostituted children can be time consuming and difficult. Barnitz et al. (1998) further states that "law enforcement officials who must interview sexually exploited children become frustrated when children claim they can't remember what happened or where they were taken or who they were with". (p.25) From a police perspective, the information gained from the child complainant is paramount to a successful conclusion of an investigation and without co-operation from the child, it is difficult to prosecute a charge. As a result, the public perception is often that the police are doing nothing.

The problem of "exiting" child prostitution is noted among many authors. A common theme is the lack of services available to respond to the complex needs of children who exit child prostitution. Government and non-government organizations must be educated in the required care of children upon exiting the sex trade. Estes and Weiner (2001) identify their recommendations to 1) protect the children, 2) target adult sexual exploiters of children for punishment, not the children, 3) enforce more fully existing national and state laws relating to child sexual exploitation and 4) increase the penalties associated with sexual crimes against children.(p.23). Barnitz et al. (1998) shared similar views encouraging communication and co-operation between law enforcement authorities. Goulet (2001) stressed the importance for action encouraging education, resources and support and legislative action. This work can be completed through public

awareness; however, the limited research may not accurately reflect the magnitude of the child prostitution problem in Canada.

The methodology used in the studies mentioned here included surveys, questionnaires and interviews. Compliance among those surveyed was not high and researchers were exposed to research methodological challenges due to the high degree of secrecy associated with sex crimes against children.

In conclusion, there is a need for more research in Canada about the characteristics of offenders who seek children for purposes of sexual exploitation through child prostitution. Information gathered about offenders may provide awareness to the Canadian public for purposes of prevention. Agencies, including police, must work together collaboratively, share this information and promote public awareness to reduce offences related to sexual victimization of children and child prostitution.

Perpetrators of Sexual Crimes against Children

To locate any specific information about profiled characteristics of perpetrators who intentionally seeks child prostitutes, children for purposes of child sexual exploitation is simply not available and may be due to the lack of statistics available or lack of charges or compliance of perpetrators to provide the relevant information to a researcher.

The literature reveals that no profession is exempt from seeking children for purposes of sexual exploitation. An article written for Child and Family Canada in the Fall of 1996 refers to a situation in Calgary, Alberta when a young prostitute was trying to exit the sex trade and registered in a high school only to find out that one of her teachers had been one of her customers.

Joe Parker (1998), a registered nurse, wrote in an article "About Prostitution Research and Education that "Prostitution, pornography and other forms of sex are a multi-billion dollar industry. They enrich a small minority of predators, while the larger community is left to pay for the damage." (p.1). Parker goes on to say that no business can afford to create a product for which there are no buyers. He suggests the first step in understanding the sex industry is to understand the customers – the johns.

Parker (1998) identifies "the user" as the most common prostitution customer. The user is quite self-centered and simply wants what he considers as his needs met. The user may appear empathetic toward the sex workers he uses, however he is not empathetic enough to help them escape the sex industry. The user sees himself as a respectable person and works to protect that appearance. He further states that users provide a large, safe and steady income for the pimps and the other "business men" of the sex industry.

The next group that Parker (1998) defines is "sadists". He says that sadists are attracted to prostituted women and children because they are willing to get in to a car or come to a place where the sadist can be in control. Sadistic people enjoy control. Hurting people who cannot stop them is their most intense

and pleasurable form of control. It is not surprising to learn from Parker that there are pimps who specialize in supplying victims to sadists and who base their fees on the amount of damage done to the victim. He says that sadists are found at all levels of society, including the respected and powerful. They often use the saying "You are just a whore, nobody is going to believe you". If a sadist does kill someone, he is very aware that to some extent, the effort society puts in to finding the killer will reflect the value placed on the victim. To these individuals, people working in prostitution are safe victims.

Another group identified in this same article is one called "necrophiles" and they are people who can take pleasure in filth, degradation and destruction. They are the users of the sick, the old, the psychotic, the brain-damaged, the "tracked" and tattooed casualties of the sex industry, in the end stages of their lives. For necrophiles, broken bodies and broken minds are a turn on.

Then there are the child molesters who purposely sexually exploit children. Some have been aware of a sexual attraction to children, often of a particular age and sex, from some time late in childhood. Eventually, they make a choice to act on it.

It is obvious that sex offenders against children operate with varying degrees of sophistication. Some use grooming tactics by establishing relationships, supply drugs and or alcohol, and money. Parker (1998) advises that others rape children. Pedophiles will teach children that they are helpless, hopeless, worthless and are only good for sex and hurting.

Like the pimp who specializes in supplying victims to sadist, there are also specialist pimps who provide children to johns. Parker (1998) informs us that the fees vary depending on the age, sex and appearance of the child, as well as the amount of damage the child has already undergone.

So, over a lifetime, Parker (1998) says, these predators may victimize an incredibly large number of children. It also makes sense that the emotional damage the predator causes leaves a child even more isolated and vulnerable to further involvement in the sex trade.

Literature also states that a large portion of sex trade workers started out as sexually abused children therefore, this may be a continuation of what they believe to be normal.

In a recent article "Closed Doors and Childhoods Lost", Brandon Spun (2002) identifies a profile of johns from first offender data in San Francisco: 61% of johns are between the ages of 25 and 39 years.

68.3% went to college

78.2% are employed full time

54.7% have incomes exceeding \$30,000

42.9% are married

57.5% are Caucasian, 18.1% Latino, 15.9% Asian and 4.8% African American.

In the fall of 2000 in Ottawa, Ontario, there was a national meeting of Justice and Child Welfare officials. The focus of the meeting was "Children and Youth Involved in Prostitution" and produced a report with the same title. In Chapter 5 of the report, Pron (1997) states from a *Toronto Star* article in 1997

called "Dating Services Bring Boom Times to Prostitution", that the indication is that "middle-aged buyers are increasingly seeking younger and younger girls — some even as young as 11 years". (p.7). The report further states from McCune (1998) taken from an article in the Vancouver Province that one escort owner stated "police officers and politicians are some of our better customers".(p. 7) He also said that the range of buyers of young prostitutes includes school boys to grandfathers, lawyers, top civil servants, business men and the laborers next door. Most of these men are married and some are in their 70s.

It is my opinion that an incredible amount of trauma happen to young people long before they get to the street level sexual exploitation. In a Canadian article written titled "The Scourge of Child Prostitution", John Turvey (2001) told *The Province* newspaper in Vancouver that "we have heard reports of prostitutes aged 11 and even 10 selling themselves for sex. The younger a prostitute is, the greater their value. The johns pay more".(p.1) In this same article, *Toronto Sun* columnist Linda Williamson (2001) questions why a society that claims to value children above all, can tolerate child prostitution. She writes,

we are outraged when a convicted pedophile is released from jail, or when a teacher writes love notes to her 14-year-old male student. That outrage is fine – but why do we turn a blind eye to the pedophiles who are paying to exploit children every day, and the sick pimps who profit from them? (p.2)

The most disturbing information in this literature review is that parents encourage their children from a young age to trust teachers and police officers – both of whom are named as clients in the sexual exploitation of children. These types of accusations are quoted in media reports and, while the information may

not be backed up by scholarly academic research, the articles were printed for public dissemination.

It is also clear that "power" may be far more important than the actual sexual encounter, especially in categorizing the customers known as users, sadists and necrophiles. As a society, we ought to be able to prevent the sexual exploitation of children and encourage a safe, healthy quality of life.

In an effort to determine some of the behaviors associated to those who sexually exploit children, I chose to interview police officers who were candid in their descriptions of offenders they had arrested and charged under Section 212(4) of the *Criminal Code of Canada*.

CHAPTER THREE - RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research Methods

Police officers, who are in the operational field of police work, are often "action" oriented. Often, we are part of the action either in progress or soon after an offence has been committed. Personally, action research interested me because of its investigative method of inquiry. In this chapter, I hope to relate action research to the qualitative inductive method of inquiry pursued among research participants who, in my view, are operational, action-oriented police officers.

Action research can be defined as

a cyclical process which begins by asking a group of people to examine a problem within their culture and find ways of solving or reducing the problem. Each person involved, including the researcher who initiates the process, becomes part of the action research network and involve themselves fully in articulating the problem and envisioning possible solutions. (Morton-Cooper, 2000, p.2)

Qualitative research interested me from the outset due to its inductive nature. I am especially interested in the experiences of colleagues, more specifically those who are directly involved in investigations related to the sexual exploitation of children. I also had to consider the ethics and sensitive nature of my research topic and wanted to ensure the true reflections of what I was searching for would be explored in a professional and ethical manner. To do that, I decided that I

needed to concentrate on experienced police officers in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police who work closely with those children who are sexually exploited, more commonly known as child prostitutes.

Palys (1997) says "qualitative research is typically inductive, places a high value on preliminary exploration, extols the virtues of target or purposive sampling and emphasizes that one should maintain flexibility and reap the advantages of more open-ended research instruments". (p. 297).

Palys (1997) further indicates that

Qualitative researchers were also described as particularly interested in the *process* through which phenomena are produced. Phenomena are scrutinized by these researchers with an eye toward how they "unfold" or "evolve" and this view is reflected again in the belief that sensitive inductive research should similarly "unfold" and "evolve" as more and more is understood about the phenomenon or research site under consideration. (p. 297)

In my view, the data provided by the participant police officers are typically inductive due to the investigative and often chronological nature of police work. This may then contribute to the "unfolding" of potentially valuable information that will, hopefully, contribute to the reduction of the sexual exploitation of children in Canada.

Child prostitution and the sexual exploitation of children is a phenomenon that is quite complex and in some ways incomprehensible. To better understand it, as

well as potentially evolve different approaches, it was evident that in-depth personal interviews and interpretive analysis would be a useful research method.

Data Gathering Tools

Police work often requires effective interviewing in the process of solving crime. As a researcher and police officer, interviews were my primary choice of methodology. It was also my observation that police officers were not often chosen as research participants, and even less often as interview subjects of a researcher / police officer.

For the purpose of this study, I chose for my data gathering tools interpretive interviews and a researcher journal. By choosing the interview process, with a view to be flexible to the times and dates suitable to research participants, I felt they would be more receptive to interviews and I could "delve" in to their experiences more realistically given their busy work lives.

One of the essential components of an interactive interview as defined by Kirby and McKenna (1989) in "Methods from the Margins" is "egalitarian setting and relationship between the interviewer and the participant."(p.67). Kirby and McKenna (1989) further explain that "for quality interviewing, there must exist a sense of equality between the person gathering the information and the person whose knowledge is sought".(p. 67). This, in my view, was especially significant in the police world since the nature of our work is often covert, confidential and in some cases secret. I believed, as a police officer and researcher, I could gather more information from another police officer than a day-to-day researcher could given the implied understanding that the information would be protected.

Study Conduct

One of the foremost objectives in the interview was valuable information related to the chosen topic. Having previously worked in a General Investigation Section and having some interviewing experiences with sexually exploited children, I felt I could prepare questions that were open ended and could provide the information I was looking for.

I also decided to locate six experienced RCMP members working in cities, policed by the RCMP, where child prostitution was a problem. Many larger Canadian cities have municipal police forces but I chose to limit my research to include only RCMP members. To do that, I chose cities in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia due to the population base and the public perception about children being sexually exploited.

As I prepared the questions, I realized that I need to recognize my own biases and remain as open as possible to the different views that might emerge the findings. These are the interview questions that I prepared for the police officers:

1) What are your investigational experiences related to sex offenders who seek children on the street for sexual purposes (child prostitutes)? I would like you to include your involvement in three specific investigations where you have charged the offender, whether the case went to trial or not and type of sentence received.

- 2) What were the circumstances surrounding each case? For example, what charge was laid, was he or she a first time offender, age of child victim, age of offender, specific characteristics or behaviors of the sex offender and was he or she known to police prior to arrest?
- 3) Did you interview the offender? Did he or she provide a statement to police?
 If so, did he or she admit to the crime? Did the offender know the child victim?
- 4) Did you interview the child victim? Did he or she cooperate with police or court requests? Did he or she know the offender? Did police have any prior contact with the victim?
- 5) What are your thoughts and perceptions of sex offenders who specifically harm children? What, if any, influence do these thoughts or perceptions have during an interview you might hold with an offender?
- 6) From your experience, who or what do you think can assist police in the reduction of child prostitution?
- 7) What are your present crime prevention strategies related to child prostitution and are they successful?

In my endeavor to secure six police officers, preferably three male and three female, my initial contact was the Major Crime Unit in the relevant city. I made inquiry about who was the best person to contact about the sexual exploitation of children. Immediate responses included the name of an RCMP member who used to be involved in a working group in the Lower Mainland known as the Provincial Prostitution Unit. I contacted this person and he

provided other names of people to contact. Through this and other contacts, six names, three male and three female RCMP members, were secured as research participants.

The Lower Mainland of British Columbia was chosen because of the "kiddie stroll" in the Vancouver area. The "kiddie stroll" is located in the downtown area of Vancouver which is policed by Vancouver Police Department. I chose not to interview any police officers outside of the RCMP because of the small sample of six police officer chosen and the possibility that children involved in the "kiddie stroll" may leave their jurisdiction and move to the outer cities of the Lower Mainland policed by the RCMP. However, knowing there had been a Provincial Prostitution Unit that comprised Vancouver Police Department and the RCMP, I believed I could get the data I was looking for. I had considered other Canadian cities such as Toronto, Ottawa, Winnipeg, Calgary or Halifax. However, each city was policed by either a municipal or provincial police agency. I felt that the communities in the Lower Mainland of B.C., policed by the RCMP, would provide the information I was looking for given their year-round mild climate, the transient people, the large population and the various ethnic backgrounds.

In early September, I traveled to the Lower Mainland of British Columbia.

I contacted and met each of the research participants individually, explained the purpose and nature of the research to them and had them review the interview questions and the ethical procedures governing this research. Each participated in a personal interview lasting anywhere from 20 to 60 minutes. All interviews

were audio taped; most appeared comfortable with this arrangement. All tapes were transcribed by a security-cleared secretary of the RCMP and reviewed by me prior to sending a copy of the transcript to each participant.

The interviewed members had anywhere from five to over 25 years service. I felt comfortable interviewing each member and appreciated their knowledge and experience, and did not let rank interfere with the interview. Two members asked to see my identification badge; otherwise it was presented upon entry to the RCMP Detachment where the interview was conducted. The RCMP members gave chronological explanations, possibly because of the chronology of events required in court preparation. Each interview focused on the prepared questions. Often the response to the first question included answers for questions two and three.

Prior to and following each interview, I recorded my own thoughts and observations, writing what I felt pre and post interview and anticipating the link between this record of events and the data analysis.

Data Analysis

Data analysis used interpretive methods acknowledging that context is critical. I needed to explore and understand the meaning of the statements being made, let themes emerge and establish any patterns of what was being said. I also had to be aware that emotions could be recognized but not over-ride what was being stated by the members. I also used the inductive approach and found that the interviews were fairly inductive anyway and I could not go much deeper without making assumptions. I listened to the audio taped statements, read and

re-read the transcriptions of each participant and made many notes. Gradually, themes and significant points were defined. I found I defined categories first and themes came later. I defined three categories and continued to reflect, change, make notes and re-visit the data. These reflections, conclusions and recommendations will follow in the next chapter.

Trustworthiness

To ensure trustworthiness of my research, I sought to address credibility, confirmation, dependability and transferability. I feel I was privileged to interview fellow police officers and credibility, dependability, confirmation and transferability was easily attained. I also recognize the woven culture of police officers and the trust we place in each other in the best interest of the people we serve.

Credibility was ensured by a review of organizational documents as well as a comprehensive literature review. I also had the support of an experienced police officer peer auditor for discussion about biases and interpretations.

Credibility is the authentic representation of participant experiences.

Confirmation was ensured when I provided each of the participants with an electronic transcribed copy of the data they provided and requested they review it and provided a 10 day turn around time for any clarifications or changes.

Dependability was ensured by ensuring the anonymity of the research participants and to provide the participants, project sponsor and faculty advisor

with a review of the findings. As well, comparing the findings to the literature review acknowledges dependability.

Transferability was ensured by using thick description to capture the context. The quotes from participants corroborated data analysis to support the findings. Any insights yielded here were readily placed in context as it related to the sexual exploitation of children.

Ethical Procedures

Each participant was advised of the ethical review requirement for Royal Roads University and that the ethical review had been approved by the Royal Roads University Research and Ethics Board.

Confidentiality was important due to the sensitivity of the topic. Respect for privacy is very important especially when participants belong to a para-military organization. Sometimes expressed opinions may interfere in future career aspirations, so it was very important to ensure anonymity. Each participant read and signed the consent before the initiation of the interview. The participants were familiar with interviews and were assured they were voluntary and that they could withdraw from the process at any time. They were also advised that if they felt any part of the findings would reveal their identity, the data would not be used. They were assured that I would not be sharing the data with anyone other than my faculty advisor. Each participant was also informed that they would receive a copy of the final report.

CHAPTER FOUR - RESEARCH STUDY RESULTS

Study Findings

This chapter reflects the study findings and conclusions as a result of this research. The findings are categorized under three headings; Perpetrators /Offenders, Victims and Police Officer Experiences and Reflections.

Each of these categories reflects associated themes. The Offenders section addresses the behaviors associated with those who seek children for purposes of sexual exploitation. It will further describe the role played by manipulation of the vulnerable, drugs, sex, money, power and control in the activities of those offenders who purposely seek young children for sexual gratification. Although defined earlier in this paper, the relevant offence is Section 212(4) of the Criminal Code of Canada that reads,

Every person who, in any place, obtains for consideration or communicates with anyone for the purpose of obtaining for consideration, the sexual services of a person who is under the age of eighteen years is guilty of an indictable offence and liable to a term of imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years.

This section is critical because arrest charges referred to by the study participants were made under Section 212(4) of the Criminal Code.

The Victim category addresses the vulnerability of the youth and their deviant attitude.

The third category, Police Officer Experiences and Reflections, will speak to the efforts of the police officers who interviewed the offenders and victims,

their suggestions for the reduction of child prostitution and suggestions for improvement through crime prevention initiatives from their perspective.

PERPETRATORS / OFFENDERS

In this report, all offenders referred to are male. The first question asked of each police officer when interviewed was, What are your investigational experiences related to sex offenders who seek children on the street for sexual purpose (child prostitutes? I would like you to include your involvement in three specific investigations where you have charged the offender, whether the case went to trial or not and the type of sentence received.

Each police officer offered beliefs and opinions as follows.

Manipulation of the Vulnerable:

Interviewees described the offenders' manipulation of young vulnerable girls who were living on the street, searching for acceptance or troubled in some way. The young girls were hungry or in need of accommodations, and the offenders observed those needs, bought them meals and provided accommodations. This was often at a cost to these young girls, who became victims of violence, drug addiction or were drawn into the sex trade.

One police officer interviewed for this study described an offender as being, "in his late 20s, drove a BMW, drove to the 'kiddie stroll' and approached young girls on the street". The victims, when later interviewed as witnesses, informed the police officer of this man's tactics: for example, he "bought the girls

some food, then invited them to stay at his home and drove them wherever they needed to go", according to the police officer.

Another police officer was told by a 13 year old victim that the "offender befriended her for only a short time, and then requested that she steal a credit card from her parents and give it to him". The offender in this case is still before the court to deal with the resulting charges. His ability to manipulate a 13-year-old girl is evident.

In another case, the same police officer conveyed the following.

An older male, unemployed, befriended a 14-year-old and invited her to his home for a party. When the young girl arrived, the male was alone. He did this on more than one occasion and soon requested her to 'earn him some money'. The offender "groomed and manipulated" this 14-year-old girl to the point where she repeatedly went to his home, always invited to a party but was always the only one there.

The offender was unemployed and had the time to manipulate this young girl to attend parties, and eventually to work in the sex trade.

Another police officer described an offender's manipulative skills in this way: "he picked up the young girl, they went for lunch or supper, brought her to parties and slowly broke down the barriers and connections between the young girl and her parents". The police officer explained,

The offender portrayed the parents as nagging at the girl and insisting on curfew times, invited the girls to stay with him because there were no rules. The girls ate any time, partied all night, drove around in a nice car and picked up their friends as they wished. These young girls were lured in to what was presented as a better life and then introduced to drugs and alcohol.

These grooming tactics and manipulative behavior are supported in the literature review.

It is clear from the stories of these police officers that the offenders had the ability to zero in on young victims aged 13 and 14 years who were naïve and vulnerable. According to the police officers, two of these offenders were unemployed and had the time to invest and obviously a willingness to spend time developing the situation for their maximum satisfaction. According to the interviewees, offenders' manipulative tactics included building trust by establishing a friendship and offering attractive amenities to young girls.

Drugs and Alcohol for Sex

The offenders in this study had the luxury of late model vehicles and money even though they were unemployed. The offenders possibly had links to organized crime through drug trafficking. The purchase of cocaine, crack or liquor or providing a residence for consumption was easily done.

One offender who was described by a participant police officer as in his late 20s and driving a BMW, also provided the young girls with rock cocaine. The police officer stated that this offender lured the young girls into his car. Together with him they were invited to purchase drugs. They returned to his home,

ingested the drugs and then the sexual acts took place. Initially, this police officer stated "his (the offender's) basic game was sex for drugs". This same offender was known to another of the police officers interviewed who explained "He supplied liquor and drugs and provided a place for the young girls to camp out, often in exchange for sex". This police officer who was informed by the victims said the offender "bought crack cocaine, smoked crack in the car with the young girls and then went back to his residence".

In the case noted above where the offender asked the 13-year-old to steal her parents' credit card, the police officer who interviewed the victim conveyed that "the offender provided the young girl with crystal amphetamine with the intent of wearing down her boundaries to a point where she had sexual relations with him". The young girl also told this police officer that while she was under the influence of the drugs, she recalled saying "No" to sex and later called police. This case is still before the courts.

In these cases, the drugs of choice are known to be almost instantly addictive, and even if the young girls do not wish to continue with the type of lives they lead, it becomes increasingly difficult to leave the drugs and lifestyle. So, drugs drive the sex and sex drives the drugs in a vicious circle with these offenders.

Power and Control

The offenders in this study manipulated and compelled their victims through power and control. The power of money, the control of drugs, and the utterance of threats and violence involved the use of firearms or replicas to demonstrate the power and control the offenders had over these young vulnerable victims. The victims became powerless and the offenders gained even greater power and control.

The offender in his late 20s who drove the BMW according to a police officer "smelled of money". The victims told the police officer of their experience:

Sometimes they consented to sex, and sometimes not. If during the sex acts they did not wish to participate further, the offender occasionally produced a tazer style stun gun. The same offender had a replica of a handgun and told the girls he had connections in the underworld and could have them killed. He threatened to kill them or hurt them in some way.

The offender was described by one police officer as "narcissistic with very little regard for women". This officer stated that "women were basically there to serve him and he was king!" One of the victims also told police that the offender "choked her during one of the sessions with him".

The offender, in this case, had multiple victims, all of whom provided statements to police. This offender, according to the police officer interviewed, "fired his lawyer, and cross-examined the witnesses / victims in court". This is a significant demonstration of the sense of power and control exhibited by this offender. To maintain the power from the initial contact with the victim on the street to the point of cross examination in court is quite remarkable. The choking incident is also consistent with the sadistic behavior that was shown in the literature review to be common among sex offenders.

Power and control is also exhibited by the offender who repeatedly invited the 14-year-old girl to his home for parties and soon told her that she "had to make him some money by prostituting herself", according to the victim. She also told the police officer that,

a short time after she was prostituting herself, the offender became upset with her because she was not making enough money for him. When the offender got mad at her, he put her on his couch, got a knife and made her sit still while he cut a hole in her leg.

The victim further told police that "he told her while he was cutting the hole in her leg that "she better not bleed on the carpet or she would be in further trouble".

This type of behavior is also reflected in the literature review as sadistic.

The offenders can easily be described as predators that preyed on the vulnerable, displayed money and drugs, and lured young girls in to the sex trade through their power and control. The next section will help define the vulnerability of these young girls and how they initially fell prey to these offenders, based on their descriptions to police.

VICTIMS

The young people mentioned in this report are the victims of the Offenders referred to previously. The victims reported their experiences through witness statements but they were not necessarily interviewed by the police officers referred to in this report.

This section describes the vulnerability and attitudes of these young victims. Their own innocence, low self-esteem, previous abuse in the home and

drug and alcohol use are all probable causes. Their attitudes, especially towards police, may reflect a need for survival and safety necessary to maintain their lifestyle on the street.

Vulnerability

In the first case, the police officer who interviewed the 14-year-old victim who had the hole carved in her leg said she was "coerced in to prostituting herself on the street by a guy who had seduced her". The police officer said the victim "was at a social gathering with friends and the guy befriended her". The young victim told police that she went to the home of this offender. The police officer said she was "street wise but a very vulnerable girl, into drugs and had a rotten home life".

One police officer emphatically described the victims of sexual exploitation as "those with low self-esteem and who had no friends". The police officer interviewed a young girl who cried as she

thought of all the times she had to spend out in the rain in a pair of high heels, no nylons, no jacket, just in a skimpy little dress at 16 or 17 years old while the offender / pimp was sitting in a warm hotel room and if she didn't bring in 'x' amount of dollars, she would get a beating for it.

The police officer said that when this young girl was providing her statement, he

felt that only then did the girl realize how much the offender / pimp had forced on her and how much abuse she had taken. Until we explained to her "that's not normal, no girl should have to go through what you've been through, if he (the offender) really loved you, he wouldn't make you do these things and he wouldn't be beating up on you", she believed that she deserved the beatings up until that point. She testified in court and the offender received four years for the sex related and armed robbery offences. Her parents got her in to a counselor and got her totally away from him.

The police had to work closely with her to ensure she would give evidence in court. The victim in this case was vulnerable and believed she deserved the beatings.

Another police officer interviewed, while not citing specific cases, described the young girls involved in the sex trade as "being abused at home possibly by a family member or someone who is known to them". He believed that girls went to the street "to find some sort of control over their lives and often carry on in to a drug habit". He also believed that many of young victims were "runaways who participate in the sex trade to keep themselves in food, clothing and shelter and then fall prey to the pimps who turn them out to be professionals". He further explained,

These girls are sometimes turned out by their own peers and pulled in to the sex trade. Then, if they decide to get out of the sex trade, their pimps usually tell them that they must pay upwards of \$5000.00 or give them two or three of their friends.

This theme of power and control as well as systematic and strategic recruitment of children into organized crime, is reflected in the literature review.

One of the police officers interviewed that was involved in the investigation of the offender in his mid 20s who drove the BMW, said that "most of the girls / victims were in the drug trade as users and used prostitution to support their drug habit".

Another police officer interviewed the victim who took the credit card from her parents. The police officer charged her with fraud, and the young victim still continued to give a statement to police. This demonstrates the vulnerability of this young girl who had implicated herself and yet continued to talk with police.

Each of these young victims demonstrated their vulnerability by their repeated attendance at parties with men they had recently met. It seemed the young girls were oblivious to their own vulnerability and fell victim to violence, drug addiction and petty crime.

Defiant Attitudes

The attitudes of these young victims, especially to the police, were engrained by offenders. The criminals involved in the drug trade and sex trade ensured that the victims told police nothing of their own activity in the sex trade or any activity of the offenders.

One police officer spoke of stopping a vehicle one night in which the driver had an underage girl. The police officer said the young girl was "uncooperative when asked questions by police". The young girl accused the police officer of harassing her and told the officer to "leave her be and that she could look after herself". In the words of the police officer, "she told me she did not need the help of police or anyone else". The police officer drove the young girl home, and the girl accused the police officer of "interrupting her evening".

The vulnerability and defiant attitudes of these young girls seemed to be what offenders were looking for, especially to protect the offender from police. At the young age of 13 and 14 years, telling police that she did not need help and that police interrupted her evening also speaks to the vulnerability, defiant attitudes and lack of awareness of the danger encroaching upon their lives. The

police officers interviewed saw a need to protect these young victims, which is reflected in the next section.

POLICE OFFICER EXPERIENCES AND REFLECTIONS

The police officers interviewed in this study had a range of police service from five years to more than 25 years. Each appeared eager to share experiences and knowledge related to the sexual exploitation of children. The following section presents their experiences, thoughts and reflections. As well, the police officers appeared to be more than pleased to share their ideas on the reduction of child prostitution, particular crime prevention strategies they may have already implemented, and suggestions for further innovative strategies.

Interviews of Offenders

Some of the police officers interviewed in this study have had the opportunity to interview sex offenders, and some had not. As mentioned elsewhere in this study, the relevant charge for an offender involved in the sexual exploitation of children is Section 212(4) of the Criminal Code. It is the choice of the accused offender to provide a warned statement to police, but many do not implicate themselves and choose not to provide a statement to police.

The police officers' personal thoughts about sex offenders who harmed children reflected their professionalism, experiences and interview techniques. Each spoke of their influence, directly or indirectly, of their interviews with these offenders. None of the police officers shared many feelings associated with the interviews. Some claimed to affect neutrality in their interviews, perhaps

reflecting the police officer's concern for professional objectivity in dealing with criminal investigations.

One of the questions asked to each of the police officers was, What are your thoughts or perceptions of sex offenders who specifically harm children? What, if any, influence do these thoughts or perceptions have during an interview?

Four of the six police officers answered the question and two were not directly asked. The latter two had interviewed the same offender, one early in the investigation and the other when the offender and his lawyer came to the detachment to review some video exhibits that were a part of the investigation. Each interview was done while the offender was in custody after being charged with multiple offences under Section 212(4) of the Criminal Code and involving victims between the ages of 12 and 17. One police officer stated that the offender "denied all allegations. His personality came out in the interview and he was very narcissistic." The police officer further explained that the offender said that "he wouldn't be in jail very long, that he had a future and things to do". She went on to say that the offender had a "really low opinion of women and basically they were there to serve him." The offender also told this investigator that "he was Number 1 and he believed all the allegations were ridiculous, exaggerated and lies. Furthermore, the girls were crack heads and nobody would believe them." The police officer believed that the interview was not affected by any thoughts or perceptions on her part. The other police officer involved in this same

investigation with the same offender, did not have the opportunity to interview him but did have brief contact during his visit to review the exhibits. He offered no thoughts or perceptions that he may have had during that brief time together.

One police officer had not yet had the opportunity for this type of interview, up to this point in her career, but shared that "there would be a lot of negative, vile thoughts, but I think if I had the opportunity to interview somebody like that, I would obviously have to hold those thoughts because he would pick up on my professional interviewing techniques".

Another police officer indicated that he tried not to let his thoughts influence an interview. He stated "I try to go in (to the interview) as immaterial [impartial] to one side or the other. Certainly, I'm working on the victim's behalf, especially if she has identified this person (offender)".

Another police officer, who is also inexperienced at interviewing child-focused sex offenders, stated that,

I personally don't think that they're in any less of a category than any sex offender and would perhaps elevate them slightly above the familiar sex offender. Going in to an interview with them, I don't believe I have any handicaps based on my perception, because if I did, I wouldn't be able to do my job right. I choose to speak to them as I would speak to anybody because that is the best way to conduct my investigation.

One of the experienced police officers said that, while he had not interviewed the offenders involved in the youth sex trade due to his involvement in undercover operations, he felt that "these individuals are sick; they absolutely need help". The police officer went on to share his perceptions on what he believed to be the different groups of sex offenders. He stated,

There is a group who specifically want to have sex with children because they believe the children are safer because they don't carry disease and they are usually HIV free; or naïve enough to do whatever act that the adult male may request. Then there is the pedophile group and what they want is to actually have sex with a child, and it does not matter if there is disease, depending on their particular fetish, going after children for sexual favors.

One police officer conveyed his experience about an undercover operation he was a part of in 1998 or 1999 where they targeted the perpetrators and offenders. This police officer had knowledge that the johns who sought out young girls for sexual exploitation included "dentists, doctors, lawyers, minorities, blue collar workers and basically anybody and everybody out there." During the undercover operation, this police officer worked for three weeks targeting the johns in the known sex trade areas. Two young looking female police officers posed as youth sex trade workers. The purpose of the operation was to catch the johns who were attempting to buy sex from these young looking undercover police officers. This police officer described the first charge in the operation:

Within the first hour of starting this up, we had a dentist in a brand new BMW - a prominent dentist. He's making big money and he has a wife and kids. His biggest thing was 'can I pay you here now to get rid of this or do I have to go to court?'. He just wanted to bury the whole thing.

The police officer stated "I had his car towed, he had to pay \$75 to get it out of the pound, and I gave him an appearance notice to appear in court".

Each interviewed police officer appeared to do what was necessary in the best interest of a successful investigation while they conducted interviews with sex offenders who violated young victims. Professionalism was at the forefront among the officers, who made a conscious effort not to compromise an investigation by showing a dislike for offenders of this type. Clearly, however,

officers were sympathetic to the victims, and regarded offenders as "sick", "vile", "not normal" predators. However, officers also emphasized that they suppressed such feelings during investigations. It is not surprising for offenders to refuse to be interviewed or, at the very least, to deny allegations of their involvement with young victims of sexual exploitation.

Reduction of Child Prostitution

Each of the interviewed police officers was asked, from your experience, who or what do you think can assist police in the reduction of child prostitution? There are varied responses which reflect their respectful opinions and their efforts in the constant struggle to reduce the sexual victimization of children. The themes related by the police officers include the need for public awareness, education of police officers, judges, lawyers, educators and parents so that each group may be better equipped to reduce the sexual exploitation of young people.

One police officer believed that society had come a long way in the past five years towards reducing child prostitution. He cited one effective strategy used by RCMP in his jurisdiction. They were invited to convey messages at seminars or workshops with judges and crown attorneys. During these workshops, RCMP members sent strong messages saying, to the attending judges and crowns, "Look, it (child prostitution) is becoming a bigger problem and your daughter could be next". They emphasized that "the sex recruiters go to raves, supply drugs and prey on people – that's why they are out there!" In his view, this message "must be conveyed to parents of school age children as well as college age children."

This police officer also stressed the need for education among new police officers and suggested that

police must be prepared to spend more time with these sexually exploited youth, make further inquiries with them and provide them with business cards. Then, if that young person does page the police officer in the future, encourage the police officer to answer the page and follow up with the request.

The key message was to "spend time with these young girls in an attempt to gain their trust and to find out who the offenders are".

When asked about what or who could assist police in the reduction of child prostitution, one officer hesitated initially. After a long pause, the police officer responded,

there is not a lot that police can do to prevent it. These young girls come from a variety of backgrounds and each has their own problems within the family unit. These problems usually led to them ending up into drugs in the first place. The drug problem was what brought them to the street and then living on the street involves a culture of its own, where they relate to each other and tend to rely on each other. It is here that they've found acceptance and for the lack of a better word, love, that they didn't find in their families. So, police end up becoming involved when it is far too late. They're already, for the most part, heavily involved in doing what they're doing.

This same police officer stated that in his community,

we don't really have a street prostitution problem and nothing that really involves child prostitution. We do have massage parlors where a lot of Asian women come to work, and we know that there is prostitution in those locations, but they are generally out of sight and the public doesn't complain.

He stated these young girls "need a lot more than we can provide as the police". He advised that as police,

we may end up finding ourselves in a position where we may need to protect them. Some of them have pimps, and a lot of them don't have pimps because they are there to feed their drug habit, a cyclical thing. The younger girls have a cavalier attitude towards what they're doing. They think this is kinda cool, that there is nothing wrong with it. 'I can make a living at this and I'm doing okay'!

Another police officer, when asked what could be done to reduce child prostitution, promptly answered "a big combination between education and some places for these girls to go". She further suggested "mentors are extremely necessary, someone who's been through the system, who is willing to help them, to talk with them, telling them that she has been there, so that the girls have the respect and may listen".

One police officer quickly answered the question in the same way as the education system. She suggested,

talk to children, male and female starting in kindergarten, about staying safe from your parents, staying safe from your siblings, about the importance of self-respect, personal space and understanding boundaries, what is okay and what is not okay and what to do if you are in trouble.

She also strongly stressed that

as adults we teach young children to be afraid of strangers. Well, it's not a matter of being afraid, it's a matter of being cautious with everybody. If the kids understand that they have to protect themselves right from the start and take care of themselves and know who to go to for help, then that would prevent a lot of what we, as police, deal with now.

Another police officer suggested that there is a need for education and training for police officers. The education is to provide a basic understanding of how young people come to be on the street and how they came to participate in the sex trade. The police officer stated that

many of our police officers have the opinion that the kids are there because they want to be, because they find that the kids are happy to be there and because they've left good homes to be there. All three of these are wrong.

This police officer shared his knowledge of the reasons the young girls are on the street. He stated,

most of the kids that grow up to be sex trade workers have been abused at home. For those reasons, the young girls go to the street to find some sort of control over their lives, because they are runaways. They participate in the sex trade to keep themselves in food, clothing and shelter, and then, of course, fall prey to the pimps who turn them out to be professionals.

This police officer strongly stressed the need for training and education for judges. In his opinion "John schools are one of the biggest myths foisted on communities." To briefly explain, the Lower Mainland has a "john school" program designed as an alternate to the court system where the offender, who was charged with an offence related to adult prostitution, has the option to spend 8 hours in a classroom setting rather than appearing in court. The day includes speakers and lectures related to the harms caused by prostitution. John school is a confidential process. If the offender attends john school and pays a fine, he does not have to make a court appearance.

He said it is wrong

to think for a moment that it is absolutely appropriate to give men a free pass at abusing children or sex trade workers and then send them to john school if they don't have the money. We still criminalize women on a regular basis, which is a travesty, and john schools (provided to the offender) pre-charge are wrong.

He emphatically stated "John schools are an invitation to a free pass". As well, he suggested that the Crown Attorneys have to believe in the efforts of police. He said "often the charge will be reduced from Section 212(4) to simple communication". The simple communication is Section 213(1) of the Criminal Code and reads,

Every person who in a public place or in any place open to public view a) stops or attempts to stop any motor vehicle b) impedes the free flow of pedestrians or vehicular traffic or ingress to or egress from premises adjacent to that place or c) stops or attempts to stop any person or in any manner communicates or attempts to communicate with any person for the purpose of engaging in prostitution or of obtaining the sexual services of a prostitute is guilty of an offence punishable on summary conviction.

This police officer stated that "the Crowns don't want to deal with these charges.

They don't like the witnesses, they don't think they are reliable or these are not nice people to deal with".

Another suggestion was that cities must help police in the reduction of child prostitution. The police officer said "cities are pimps". He strongly believed that "cities that license escort agencies are fronts for prostitution". He clarified:

That's not sexually exploited youth, they are sexually exploited adults, although often escort agencies will employ youth. This is the city being a pimp and being a very effective one where they turn a blind eye. What they are doing is that they are allowing sexual prostitution to flourish using the workforce that has been drawn from children. You don't often find an adult sex trade worker that says to herself when she turns 18, 'I think I'll be a sex trade worker now'. They usually have been in the trade because the usual age of entry in to the sex trade is about 14 and dropping.

Each police officer shared the view that education and training for the judiciary, educators, parents and society would reduce the sexual exploitation of children. Some police officers seemed more willing than others to share feelings about the reduction of child prostitution. One wondered if it is more realistic to expend energy toward the reduction of child prostitution rather than toward persistant attempts to interview offenders who repeatedly refuse to provide statements. This observation may explain the lack of feelings shown by the police officers in the interview section earlier in this report.

Each police officer also suggested methods for improvement to the present justice and education systems which may contribute to future crime prevention initiatives.

Prevention and Suggestions for Improvement

The final question was what are your present crime prevention strategies related to child prostitution and are they successful?

One prevention method that one police officer described is DISC – Deter and Identify Sex-trade Consumers. The information obtained from the "stop check" when police stop drivers believed to be in the company of a young sex trade worker, is entered in to a DISC data bank and is accessible in future inquiries. The person's name will appear as having been stopped in the past and may be of future assistance for prostitution related investigations as well as missing person, assault, rape and murder investigations.

Also in the area of prevention, one RCMP Detachment sends what is known as a "Dear John" letter to a person who is observed in a known sex trade area of the city. The content of the letter acknowledges that the driver was stopped by police at a certain date and time in an area frequented by prostitutes. It further states that

the RCMP is committed to providing quality police service to the residents of the city and police encourage and appreciate assistance from the general public to meet our goals. The particular area of the city continues to be an area in which prostitution is a major police concern. You, no doubt, share the concerns of the persons working and residing in this area that prostitution has a detrimental effect on their lives.

This letter is then signed by a high ranking officer and mailed or handdelivered to the driver who was observed. The strategy can elicit an interesting response if a wife, mother, girlfriend or daughter inquires about the hand delivered letter or opens it out of curiosity.

Another innovative prevention technique was described as follows:

Police officers speak to front desk staff at hotels asking that if they have any trouble with prostitutes (adults) renting a hotel room, such as refusing to leave on time, to call police. In addition, they say "do us a favor and if you, as hotel staff, see a young girl here and you think that something is not right, and she is with an older guy, or if you see people coming and going and think there might be a young girl working, please call us".

Future plans in crime prevention for this police officer included obtaining a database of runaway kids and figuring out how to use it effectively. It was the feeling of the interviewed police officer that "runaway kids form a huge pool of recruited kids", so the list of runaways would be a starting point to prevent them from being recruited into the sex trade. As suggested in the literature review, increased numbers of runaway and throwaway kids are one of the reasons for the dramatic rise in the incidence of child exploitation worldwide.

The remainder of police officers interviewed indicated there was no strategic crime prevention for the sexual exploitation of children in their area. However, most indicated there was a school liaison police officer who may convey messages within schools, even though there was no structured lesson plan.

These reflections represented the beliefs of the police officers interviewed, and it was clear that these officers thought child prostitution and the sexual

exploitation of children were not easily resolved independently by police; they must be reduced by community efforts.

Study Conclusion

The Offenders described by the officers interviewed in this study are few. However, they may represent the population who seek children for purposes of sexual exploitation. Some commonalities observed in the offender behaviors included their targeting identification of victims within 13- to 17-year-old age group. Offenders appeared to have the ability to lure those victims least able to defend themselves and resist manipulation. Most victims were manipulated through the offender's pretense of a trusting, protective and loving relationship. There was an early establishment of control by physical isolation of the victim, separation from the safe location of their homes, families and friends and promises of money and freedom. The offenders further solidified their control with the introduction of drugs usually followed by the instillation of fear through threat or torture. The offenders were willing to spend time developing the situation for their maximum satisfaction, a technique also known as grooming the victims. The offenders understood the necessity to provide some sort of reciprocation or gratification for the victim, a carrot and stick pattern, to establish control that was psychologically manipulative. A final similarity was that the offenders felt they had the right to use these victims as they saw fit, that the victim had no status and was dehumanized.

The victims described by the police officers in this study were between 13 and 17 years old. The victims were easily persuaded to go to residences of older

men; a sign of their vulnerability. Many of the victims appeared to have little self-esteem which also contributed to their vulnerability. Most victims were addicted to drugs by the time police officers became involved in their cases and demonstrated a need to support that habit. Some victims became involved in the sex trade at a very young age and never learned how to be properly treated and respected. As well, some of the victims saw police as intruders on their choice of work and displayed poor attitudes toward police when they interrupted their evenings.

The police officers interviewed had the best interest of the victims at heart and demonstrated genuine concerns about the victims' safety, health and well-being. Police developed a tolerance for attitudes from victims and offenders and at the same time built relationships with both, gathering evidence from the victims and obtaining a statement from the offender in hopes of a successful conviction.

Each of the police officers interviewed were, in my view, innovative thinkers in their recommendations. They suggested mentors for the young, sexually-exploited youth; training and education for police officers, parents and educators; innovative undercover operations; and Dear John letters. Each of these innovations involved building relationships, which is paramount in effectively fighting any and all crime. Good police community relations promote safe and caring communities and, one hopes, healthy communities.

Among the police officers interviewed in this study, there appeared always to be hope for better things to come in their work, whether in law enforcement,

community or social services. This hope may be best reflected in the following quote taken from The Book of Positive Quotations (1993):

Hope works in these ways: it looks for the good in people instead of harping on the worst; it discovers what can be done instead of grumbling about what cannot; it regards problems, large or small, as opportunities; it pushes ahead when it would be easy to quit; it "lights the candle" instead of "cursing the darkness". (p287)

Anonymous

CHAPTER FIVE - RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, I have drawn up nine recommendations. Some of these come directly from the police officers interviewed. Others were based on the problems or omissions that police officers identified. All nine build on work that is currently being undertaken by the RCMP and in the communities at large.

Recommendations to Combat the Sexual Exploitation of Children

- 1) Provide more public education about the sexual exploitation of children.
 - 1.1) Require that schools include, in their health or social studies curricula, the facts associated with the sexual exploitation of children in their areas. Messages of safety should continue to be conveyed to children in kindergarten, building on that message during elementary school years in an age appropriate manner. Alert young people to the characteristics of victims who are likely to get drawn in to the sex trade to recruiting strategies and to other known behaviors of the offenders who are searching for these vulnerable youth.
 - 1.2) Educate police officers, judges and lawyers to increase their awareness of the impacts on children who work in the sex trade and the need for harsher sentences.
 - 1.3) Educate parents about the skilled sex offenders and pimps who are recruiting, grooming and luring young girls in to the sex trade.

- 2. Improve victim assistance and community services in order to provide options for youth who choose to exit the sex trade. Options, other than being charged for youth sex trade workers might encourage more to approach the police for help. The logic of this is similar to providing john schools for offenders as an option to court
- 3. As an alternative to the formal court system, use restorative justice or community justice forums to include and support the victims, who may be reluctant to appear in court. Instead, bring together the offender and supports, victim and supports, police and community services representative or addictions workers to come to a resolution and repair the harm done.
- 4. Make use of satellite imagery to take photos of known sex trade areas and "kiddie stroll" areas, zooming in on vehicle plates and driver identities. Notify the public when specific areas are under satellite surveillance, and publicize the statistics about the numbers of people caught in that area. Satellite imagery may gather intelligence for future prostitution related criminal offences and complement the Deter and Identify Sex Trade Consumers (DISC) strategy.
- Include offences involving the sexual exploitation of children in the category
 of child abuse, making it a reportable offence by teachers, nurses, doctors
 and anyone in a position of authority.
- Conduct further research about the offenders by implementing mandatory
 interviews by a counselor or psychologist as a pre-requisite for john school,
 as well as by other means.

- 7. Develop partnerships and teams to work at the street level. The team should include a social worker, a psychologist familiar with child development, lawyers including crown and defense, addictions worker, police, city worker or planner, and victim services.
- 8. The RCMP Policy Centre must designate codes for statistical purposes for those charged and convicted with Section 212(4) Criminal Code offences. Include data on victims as well as age, gender, and court compliance. Have this information evaluated by the Research and Evaluation Section of the RCMP and from this evaluation, suggest future research.
- 9. Require the RCMP to gather information from the cities with problems related to the sexual victimization of children and create a manual of "Best Practices" to be made available on the internal Infoweb for the perusal of police officers across the country.

Each of these recommendations is offered in the best interest of crime prevention, safety of children, and the development of safe, caring and healthy communities.

Organizational Implications

The RCMP defines itself as strategy focused, intelligence led, values based, bridge building and accountable. Each of these terms can be associated with the fight against the sexual victimization of children. We must have a strategy built on what we know now, gather intelligence, continue building

partnerships in communities afflicted with the youth sex trade and educate and train police officers how to best deal with these young people.

Community, Contract and Aboriginal Police Services located at RCMP Headquarters in Ottawa, is tasked with developing operational policy for police officers. Presently, the policy center is working on policy to deal with investigations related to online child pornography. Operational policy still has to be developed for dealing with victims of sexual exploitation from a national perspective.

One way to develop this policy and, at the same time, define the needs for training of RCMP members who deal with these troubled youth, may be to have a conference involving police officers, municipal police forces, judges, crown attorneys and defense lawyers, social workers or counselors who work directly with sexually exploited youth. The workshops could have guest speakers including victims, offenders, judges, crown attorneys, John school administrators, educators and parents of exploited youth. Each could share stories related to their experiences to help identify some of the reasons why these young people resort to street life or youth sex trade. Following this conference, the development of a public awareness campaign is paramount. Recognizing that this conference will be costly, the RCMP may need funds from the National Crime Prevention Center. Investing in the prevention of more children being

lured in to the sex trade may prevent future large and costly investigations, similar to those going on at the Port Coquitlam, British Columbia.

Another consideration may be to add a lesson about the sexual victimization of children to the Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.) course. That may require copyright requests from the producers of D.A.R.E., however, it may be worth the effort. D.A.R.E is designed to be taught at the Grade Six level and this may be a good age to be developing some awareness.

It may also be worthwhile for the RCMP National Youth Strategy to explore the possibilities of restorative or community justice initiatives and the perceived effects that they may have on dealing with sexually exploited youth. One criterion for any community justice initiative is that the offender must admit guilt and own the behavior. In cases of the sexual exploitation of children, the offenders may not agree to own their behavior; however it may be worthwhile to explore the options. Interviewing known victims of sexual exploitation may provide insight into their thoughts about restorative justice initiatives. It would be helpful to know whether they feel it would alleviate any stressors related to court appearances.

Future Research

The RCMP Research and Evaluation Section is involved in various aspects of research related to police work, occupational health, and community justice initiatives, to name a few. The information gathered from police officers in

my research was willingly provided and, I believe gave them a chance to be heard. It is my sense that we have to interview and audiotape police officers' stories to get the best reflections of their experiences. Unfortunately, surveys or questionnaires are often disregarded, not completed and create frustrations for researchers.

Future research about the sexual exploitation of children could provide answers to the following questions.

- 1) How many charges of Section 212(4) result in convictions? How many went to trial? What are contributing factors that prevent cases from going to trial?
- What specific skills and abilities are necessary for police officers to work with sexually exploited youth? Is it easier for female police officers to obtain witness statements or warned statements from these youth than for male police officers? Is there a need for more police officers in units specifically designed to deal with crimes against children?
- 3) What crime prevention techniques are necessary for communities to reduce the number of youth becoming involved in the youth sex trade?
- 4) What services are available for youth who decide to exit the sex trade?
 What services are necessary and how can police assist youth to exit the sex trade?
- 5) Is there a known burnout rate among police officers who deal with traumatized and sexually victimized youth? Is there a mandatory

- psychological appointment every three months for police officers who deal directly with sexually exploited youth?
- 6) How can community justice initiatives benefit the victims of sexual exploitation?

Operational police officers need to be included in research and potentially be interviewed by fellow police officers. I believe police officers can and will contribute to accurate policy development for investigations involving the sexual victimization of children. With all the information they can provide, they ought to be included in such research.

The recommendations of this study include communication between police and the justice system, the education system, health care, community service and social service agencies. Individually and collaboratively, these groups may have statistics and stories to share with communities locally, provincially and nationally.

There is a need for research related to sexual exploitation of youth, especially about the offenders. Police, judges and lawyers, in my view, have an abundance of information to share. Given the opportunity, each can contribute to the necessary research needed to build effective policy, inform the public and reduce the number of offenders at large who seek young children for purposes of sexual exploitation.

To accurately address the needs of research, there may be a need to increase the number of researchers presently employed within Community, Contract and

Aboriginal Policing Services (CCAPS). The sexual exploitation of children is a critical issue for Canada's young people, and that issue is one facet of one section within an already busy Directorate. Each section handles many important issues, and to provide adequate research support for each will require many more trained researchers.

CHAPTER SIX – LESSONS LEARNED

Research Project Lessons Learned

The experience of preparing a document outlining the requirements for chosen research, interviewing of fellow police officers, gathering and analysis of data and the final writing of this report has been an incredible opportunity for learning. The following section will reflect some of my experiences related to this study.

The most enjoyable part of the research for me was the interviews with fellow police officers and their genuine willingness to share their stories. Each one had something different to relate and it was a terrific learning opportunity for me to hear their experiences.

At the outset, and as suggested during the preparation during residency at Royal Roads University last year, detailed my own reflections in a journal. I recorded reactions of the interviewed police officers and observations made during the writing of this report. The journal had great value; when reviewing it, the recorded memories took me right back to the interview or other issue or event. This was beneficial when it came time to write the report.

I also had to be disciplined to balance work with this project, knowing that I could spend many more hours in my workplace, but also knowing that I had commitments to this study that required a deadline for submission.

I found that I required a very quiet and uninterrupted atmosphere, especially when doing the data analysis. The data analysis was intense and required a dedicated concentration.

At various times during this study, I became frustrated with our society in what seemed to be the acceptance of the sexual exploitation of children. As I was conducting my research, it became more evident to me that crimes against people carry less of a sentence than property related offences. For example, if an employee steals \$5,500 from an employer, the offence is Theft Over \$5000, Section 334(b) of the Criminal Code and has a punishment liable for imprisonment for a term not exceeding 10 years. If that same person goes out and procures the sexual services of a young child under 18 years, the person may be subjected to a punishment of a term not exceeding five years for Section 212(4) and potentially a fine not greater than \$2,000 or a maximum term of imprisonment of less than six months for Section 213(1) of the Criminal Code. I have to question which of these offences would have the greater psychological effect on someone. Is it that we are a material society and don't see the offences against humanity, or is it that we as a society are not aware of how these types of punishment compare?

I also found that right up to the time of writing this report, I realized that whenever I read any document that was remotely related to my chosen topic, I wondered where it would best fit in my final report. I already had sufficient documents, but my realization was that I remained as passionate about this topic at the completion as I was at the outset and that was a good feeling!

Technology served me well during the writing with the odd exception of email troubles that were easily corrected. It is certainly beneficial to have some familiarity with computers and the ability to repair potential glitches.

When the opportunity comes for conducting further research, I would like to gather the data, do the analysis and then take two weeks away from the workplace and dedicate uninterrupted time to the writing of the final report.

The whole experience of writing this final report has been enjoyable. I certainly learned more about myself, my colleagues and classmates in this program. I hope to continue with research projects that will benefit my workplace and the communities we serve.

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APPENDIX A

CONSENT FORM

Royal Roads University

Research Participant Consent Form

Research Project Title

Sexual Exploitation of Children: Adult Offenders - Who Are They?

Investigator: Anna Marie Mallard, MA Candidate

(Master of Arts, Leadership and Training, Royal Roads University)

Project Supervisor: Dr. Tara Fenwick

Dear Participant,

Please read the following carefully. Your signature below indicates that you consent to participate in the study that will follow the methods described below:

- The audio taped interview will take approximately one hour.

 The interview may be conducted on the telephone, and if so, will be audio taped.
- All interview data and conversations will be kept strictly confidential unless otherwise advised.
- Your participation is voluntary and you can withdraw at any time. The researcher and the project sponsor are the only individuals who will know of your participation.
- The interview will be audio taped and you will have the right to ask that the tape be stopped at any point during the interview. You also have the right to opt out of the

- study at any time. If this happens, the transcripts will be destroyed and tapes erased at that point.
- The researcher will personally transcribe the tapes. Identifiable information, tapes, and transcripts will be kept locked and secure in the researcher's home and will be destroyed once the study is complete (May, 2003).
- Interview transcripts will not contain the real names of participants. You will be identified throughout the research notes through a code number.
- You will be given a copy of the transcripts to review, verify, and revise at your discretion.
- The findings from your interview will be one part of a thesis and may also be used in other forms such as professional journals, maintaining the same standards of confidentiality and anonymity.
- There will be no monetary compensation for participating.
- A summary of the study results, known as the Major Project Report, will be made available to you at the end (May 2003) upon request.
- You should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation in this study.

Participant	Date
Researcher _	Date

APPENDIX B

Interview Questions

- 1. What are your investigational experiences related to sex offenders who seek children on the street for sexual purposes (child prostitutes)? I would like you to include your involvement in three specific investigations where you have charged the offender, whether the case went to trial or not and type of sentence received.
- 2. What were the circumstances surrounding each case example, what charge was laid, was he or she first time offender, age of child victim, age of offender, specific characteristics or behaviors of the sex offender and was he or she known to police prior to arrest?
- 3. Did you interview the offender? Did he or she provide a statement to police? If so, did he or she admit to the crime? Did the offender know the child victim?
- 4. Did you interview the child victim? Did he or she cooperate with police or court requests? Did he or she know the offender? Did police have any prior contact with the victim?
- 5. What are your thoughts and perceptions of sex offenders who specifically harm children? What, if any, influence do these thoughts or perceptions have during an interview you might hold with an offender?
- 6. From your experience, who or what do you think can assist police in the reduction of child prostitution?

7. What are your present crime prevention strategies related to child prostitution and are they successful?