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ANALYSIS OF POLICY AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS, INTERVENTION MODELS AND INTERVENTION PRACTICES ON COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN IN CHILE: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS APPROACH.

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DECLARATION

Declaration in accordance with University regulations.

I hereby declare that this thesis, titled 'Analysis of policy and legal frameworks, intervention models and intervention practices on Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Chile: A discourse analysis approach' has been composed completely by myself and that the work contained herein is my own except where explicitly stated otherwise in the text. This work has not been submitted for any other degree or personal qualification.

Edgardo Toro Quezada

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ABSTRACT

Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) is a serious violation of the Human Rights with global and local implications. The multidimensionality of CSEC requires us to understand its historical elements, legal definitions, and psychosocial characteristics. International agencies, states, and national agencies (statutory and voluntary sectors) have agreed on an agenda of responses including research on CSEC, partnership and collaboration, legal changes and adjustment, promoting criminal prosecution, social policies and interventions for children and young people that have been made subject to CSEC. These interventions are diverse in their approaches, purposes, types of services, models, and critical points.

In accordance with international agreements, the Chilean State recognised CSEC as a social problem and developed social policies, legal changes and intervention programmes across the country. In this context, practitioners have built a "know-how" of social intervention in CSEC based on technical guidelines (social policy on CSEC), institutional directions and pragmatic decisions from fieldwork reflexivity. However, there is no clear evidence about the rationale, models, practices, strategies and critical points in the interventions and weakness in the monitoring and evaluations.

Applied Discourse Analysis was conducted to explore the relationship between different levels of social intervention on CSEC: policy, intervention models and practices. The research purpose was to describe, understand, and analyse the programmes of social intervention in CSEC, the social intervention models, and the interdisciplinary practices in Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children, implemented in the decade of 2004-2014 in Chile. Government and alternative documents were analysed (13 each), discussion groups with interdisciplinary professional teams in CSEC (3), and a focus group (1) composed of policymakers, academics, researchers, police and judicial representatives was undertaken. These

materials were data-managed and analysed using the software dedoose. All University of Edinburgh Research Ethics procedures were followed.

The findings indicate that Government documents highlight two discursive styles: Mandatory and Pragmatic, regarding the intervention and the approaches used. These discourses (1) defined the interventions as a part of a system or building a network of services, (2) established a condition of the intervention that recognised children as a subject of law or recognised the specialised character of the intervention, and (3) based interventions on guidelines and ethical principles or challenges, and evidence-based approaches.

Alternative documents developed a discursive style of Monitoring and Evaluation that emphasised (1) the complexity of CSEC and the need to develop responses, (2) then recognised challenges such a making visible CSEC and problems with the interventions; and finally (3) recommended the basis for the intervention.

Mixed Stakeholders group (1) emphasised CSEC characteristics, and the institutional responses (2) specified the structure of the intervention, and (3) identified tensions and challenges in the adjustments of social policies and intervention practices, methodological needs, and the judicial system rationale and practices.

These findings are significant because they help us to understand the processes involved in building appropriate and situated responses for children and young people that have been made subject to CSE on a local, regional and global level.

LAY SUMMARY OF THESIS

Commercial sexual exploitation of children is a serious violation of the Human Rights with global and local implications. CSEC requires a complex understanding and multi-agency responses.

In this context, Applied Discourse Analysis was conducted to explore the relationship between policy and legal framework, intervention models and practices implemented in Chile. Government and alternative documents and a focus group composed of a mixed stakeholders group were analysed.

Government documents discourses highlighted "the intervention as a part of a system and a network of services", "the intervention recognises children as a subject of law and the specialised character of the intervention", "guidelines, ethical principles and evidence-based approaches for the intervention". Alternative documents discourses emphasised "the complexity of CSEC and the need to develop responses", "the recognition of challenges in making visible CSEC and intervention problems", "the basis for the intervention". Mixed Stakeholders group emphasised "CSEC characteristics and the institutional responses", "the structure of the intervention", "tensions and challenges in the adjustments of policy and legal framework, social policies and intervention practices".

These findings allowed to identify the "CSEC recognition" as an axis that articulates policy and legal framework, models and practices, providing the basis to develop situated responses for children in CSE.

THESIS PRESENTATION

The structure of the thesis is developed as follows. Chapter one introduces the general context of CSEC in a global level. It is also explained the historical and political context in childhood, policy and legal framework in the case of Chile as context to the specificity of CSEC in the local level.

Chapter two-point outs the literature review in two sections. Firstly, a discussion of child sexual abuse and commercial sexual exploitation of children in a historical, legal and psychosocial approach. Secondly, a review of the main elements contained in CSEC intervention.

Chapter three develops the ontological understanding (social ontology) and the epistemological position (hermeneutic). Then both elements are connected with the methodological options, in this case, qualitative tradition and Applied Discourse Analysis.

Complementary, Chapter four Methods identifies the research design, the processes in doing data productions and data analysis and the ethical considerations.

Chapter five, six and seven present the main findings. Chapter Five Government documents discourses, Chapter six Alternative documents discourses and Chapter Seven Mixed Stakeholder group.

Chapter eight, discussion, integrates the findings with the literature review and the context in CSEC and Chapter nine concludes the thesis reflecting on the research process, the study, limitations, projections and applications.

The following sections present the references and the appendices.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN (CSEC)

1.1 General context of CSEC

In the last decade socio-political and cultural changes in Latin American societies, including in Chile (PNUD: 2017), have promoted awareness of violence as a central element in social spheres and includes domestic violence, child sexual violence, and other manifestations of violence. Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) is considered to be one of the most severe social problems involving children. International organisations, such as the United Nations, have positioned it as a modern-day form of slavery. CSEC is defined as, "A fundamental violation of children's rights. It comprises sexual abuse by the adult and remuneration in cash or kind to the child or a third person or persons" (ECPAT 1996:2).

In a global context, the World Congress against CSEC in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1996 was the first global action in which government, international agencies and global and local NGOs achieved a common 'Agenda to Action'. This global plan encouraged member countries to implement actions at a local and regional level to recognise and measure the phenomenon of CSEC, prevent its occurrence, recover and reintegrate victims, sustain international cooperation, and evaluate actions. (Muntarbhorn: 1996). In 2001, the Second World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children took place in Yokohama, Japan. This event reinforced and strengthened the global alliance of the first congress and recognised a different scenario in the combat against CSEC. From this standpoint, countries and NGOs were encouraged to persist in the effort to prevent and eliminate CSEC, give support to victims, and as a novel response, include children's participation in the different actions to be taken. The Third World Congress against CSEC took place in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in 2008. On this occasion, preparations were more elaborate: several consultations and discussions took place between 2004 and 2005 to prepare reflections for the Congress. The work was developed by thematic panels, considering, for example:

new dimensions of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children, legal frameworks, law enforcement and integrated inter-sectorial policies, the role of the private sector and corporate social responsibility, and strategies for international cooperation. In each panel advances, challenges and best practices in that theme were discussed.

However, the global agreement recognising CSEC as one of the most severe social problems facing childhood was not enough. Countries and international organisations were required to address other structural social issues, which in some cases interact with CSEC, such as poverty, discrimination, migration, civil wars, wars, and forced displacements.

Some of the elements that configure CSEC as a social problem are:
i) CSEC as a serious violation of Human Rights, and considered as an international and domestic crime in different bodies of law: in global conventions, statutes, and protocols, regional conventions, charters, and domestic laws. Examples of these include:

- Art. 19, 34,35, Convention on the Rights of the Child
- Art. 7, 8, 29   Rome Statute International Criminal Court
- Convention 182 International Labour Organisation
- Optional Protocol Relative to the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution, and Utilization of Children in Pornography
- Optional Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime
- Optional Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air
- Inter-American Convention on International Traffic in Minors
- Inter-American Convention on the International Return of Children
- European Convention on the Adoption of Children
- European Convention on the Repatriation of Minors

- European Convention on the Exercise of Children's Rights
- Council of Europe Convention on the Protection of Children against Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse
- African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child
- Chilean Law 19.927 of Sexual Crime, Art. 366, 367, 374 Penal Code
- Chilean Law 20.507 about Trafficking

ii) CSEC's manifestation as a market with multiple modalities. The relationship between sexual violence against children and economic transactions is the central characteristic of CESC. It recognises the economic dynamics that maintain exploitation (Toro: 2010, Robert: 2011). These relationships are also based on traditional cultural beliefs such as children as the property of adults, a lower value given to women and children (Runge: 2012, Ramaswamy and Shekar: 2017), and post materialist beliefs based on the power of money and the value of desire and transgressions of social norms (Lipovetsky and Charles: 2006).

Furthermore, four international types of CSEC have been identified: commercial sexualisation of children; child sex tourism; child sexual trafficking; and abusive sexual images of children. As well, new modalities of CSEC have been identified such as online sexual grooming of children, and other expressions that result from technological changes and cultural practices (ECPAT: 2009).

iii) CSEC is understood as a form of Child Sexual Violence, and as an expression of social violence. An understanding of the connection between these is relevant to the explanation of some processes and specific characteristics of CSEC. For instance, CSEC shows specific characteristics when is combined with situations such as a civil war (Williams et al.: 2012, Sossou: 2009), armed conflict (Tiefenbrun: 2007) or political changes (Estrada: 2012).

iv) CSEC as a networking practice. Based on different network theories (Castells: 1996, Lozares: 1996, Dabas: 1998), it is possible to expand our understanding of CSEC

from a child-centred view to a network and community-centred view, in order to highlight the contextual elements that maintain these practices (Lechner: 1999, Giorgi: 2012).

v) CSEC is a global problem defined by international organisations and national agencies. It is necessary to recognise the influences and processes of agreements between global agencies and national agencies from statutory and voluntary sectors. These processes have involved monitoring, adjusting and transforming social policies, services and laws.

In the following section, these elements will be analysed at a domestic level, taking the example of how the phenomenon of CSEC has evolved in Chile.

1.2 Chilean context

To better understand tensions and dynamics in these processes of adjustment between global and local realities, it is necessary to introduce the context of the Chilean perspective of childhood and CSEC from a synchronous, diachronic, and institutional point of view. Firstly, I describe a historical, socio-political view, then the current reality of childhood in Chile, and finally the development of responses to CSEC.

1.2.1 Childhood a general discussion

Chilhood has been used as a construct to understand the place of children within broader social structures and the social relationships. This construct includes dimensions such as age, gender and class in the conceptualisation of childhood as a stage of life, as a social group and as a social category. From a legal point of view, childhood is a category that applies to human beings under 18 years old. In addition, this legal construction has usually been complemented by developmental, cognitive,

psychoscial, and psychosexual considerations. Regarding gender, there is a recognition of the sexual differences between boys and girls (in the Spanish language implies a change for the generic word "niños" meaning children for "niños y niñas" boys and girls) and also the social constructions of roles associated to these differences. The consequences of these differences are a negative index in poverty, education, and violence that highlight the position of inequality of girls in Chile (Consejo Nacional de la Infancia: 2018; Butler: 1997).

The concepts of "minor" and "childhood" distinguish two different realities for children in South America. In a tutelary or guardianship position, "minors" are a group of poor and troubled children (abandoned children, street children or those seen to be involved in criminal activities) and are the objects of care and control for state agencies or the voluntary sector (Cree and Meyers: 2008). On the other hand, from a child rights perspective, "childhood" positions children as subjects of law *and* protection (Jaramillo: 2007).   Finally, the category "childhood" covers two aspects which in the Spanish language are expressed by different words. One is "Infancia" which refers to a more abstract social category and "Niñez" which describes a social group that has diverse characteristics and historical authenticity (Llobet: 2013). The following sections will provide the historical and social evidence to these discussions.

1.2.1.1 Historical socio-political view

The understanding and representation of childhood, and the tension between being an object of care and control and being a subject of law, are social constructions based on the historical development of the position of children in societies. In order to contextualise the discussion on CSEC, I will set out a brief history of how children were viewed and treated in different periods of Chilean history.

i) Pre-Hispanic period

There is little evidence about childhood and childrearing in pre-Hispanic societies in what are the current Chilean territories. Most knowledge of this period has come from narratives of early conquerors and traditional oral stories. Based on archaeological evidence, Jackson (2008) suggested that children are actively present in the social life of pre-Hispanic cultures. Given the importance of reproduction and short life expectancy, children were the bedrock of the native population.

Furthermore, Jackson found cultural evidence from toys and plays that taught adult responsibilities, such as hunting, fishing and cooking, to children. These plays also gave insight into the different rites of passage from childhood to adulthood.

Several native groups lived in the territory at that time (Atacameños, Diaguitas, Changos, Pascuenses, Picunches), and could be classified into two groups: those that formed part of the Inca Empire (North and North-Centre) and those that were denominations of Mapuches and Patagon people (Centre-South and South). Toledo and Zuniga (1991) noted that Inca children were cared for by the tribal community: different members of communities were involved in the rearing of children and shared childcare responsibilities. Furthermore, Toledo & Zuniga identified different life stages and roles for tribal children, which are summarised in Table 1:

Table 1: Child activities according to age

Age		
From	**To**	**Main activities**
0	2	Parents care
3	9	Play and community care
9	12	Protecting birds and ground
12	18	Care of sheep

There is evidence in the case of Mapuche people (Bengoa: 1985) of the kind of education that children received. In Mapuche culture, the family was the central economic and social organisation. In this context, Mapuche education was centred around memorising details on the natural environment that could be useful for feeding, medicine and religious rituals, such as the names of plants, hills, animals and birds. De Ercilla (1569) and Molina (1795), in their early narratives by Spanish conquerors, highlight how physical education was an essential part of the development of Mapuches children, oriented to both war and daily life. Patagons were also taught the skills of sailing, fishing and diving.

ii) Colonial period

Colonial society (1560-1810) tried to reproduce a lifestyle and social structure that was like that found in Spain. The main social spaces in this period were small cities in which public life, commerce and services were developed, and the farm (Hacienda, Estancia, Latifundio) in which farming and private life were developed. During this period, two phenomena were built around children which had social consequences for their understanding of childhood. Firstly, the concepts of 'huacho' and 'mestizo' and secondly the experience of abandonment. Salazar (1990) and Montecinos (2007) explain the phenomenon of the 'huacho'. Huacho is a Quechua word used to refer to illegitimate and orphan children. The huacho is usually a mestizo (a hybrid between Spanish men and native women). The mestizos did not have a legal status during the first colonial period due to the strong ideal of non-interracial relationships. However, this ideal was not realised and, as a consequence, different social statuses and castes were created to differentiate between children (Castillo-Gallardo:2015). Illegitimate children were the most common phenomenon during this period and across the history of childhood in Chile. The polygamous structure of the colonial family (the 'barragania', meaning the Spanish man, his wife and concubines) produced several sub-families and an economy based on agricultural and mining activities stimulated the phenomenon of the "huacho". In both cases, men were no longer able to support

the family or play a role in the process of socialisation. Mothers and motherhood, therefore, became an influential cultural institution across social classes.

The second reality was the abandonment of children. Salinas and Delgado (1990) discussed a large-scale study of 200 years of abandoned children and highlighted that abandonment was the other face of illegitimacy. They described factors that influenced such abandonment: Catholic morality that prohibited children outside of marriage (even though a specific tax to get married, 'the marriage tax', was quite expensive for the general population); poverty; and the extensive use of abandoned children in rural agricultural work and domestic service. Milanich (2001) describes how, as a result of the increasing number of abandoned children, the Santiago Orphan House (1758) was created. It was controlled by an order of nuns called the 'Sisters of Providence'. This residential care home was initially oriented towards children between five and six years but was later opened up to older children. The user profiles of the residents were children that were abandoned, illegitimate, poor or caught up in a family crisis. Orphan houses became a formal and informal component in the provision of children for domestic services.

iii) Independence and early republic

The nineteenth century was a period of political transition, military conflict (the War of Independence, the Pacific war, the Araucanía pacification), and the development of the early independent Chilean state. Furthermore, it was the beginning of state powers and social institutions. In the case of children, there was no provision of special care or special protection for them (Castillo-Gallardo 2015). In contrast, the colonial situations towards children (abandonment and illegitimacy) were maintained (Delgado: 2001; Rojas: 2002). Rojas (2010) highlighted a process of the 'sentimentalisation' of childhood through arts which occurred during this period. Children were represented through artistic expression which mostly involved sons and daughters of the social elite. These portrayed an image of pure and innocent

childhood which contrasted with the lives of a significant number of children living in the streets, working or being exploited, and reflected two representations of childhood at that time: children and minors. Children were the object of protection, education and family socialisation, whereas minors were the object of care and control (Salinas: 2001). At the end of the nineteenth century, most child protection activities were provided by charities, philanthropists, and the State that were based on shelters, orphanages, residential care, and church activities.

iv) Twentieth century

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the social and economic situation became bankrupt (between 1900 and 1920) under the 'Chilean social question'(in reference to the social question in the Industrial revolution). This situation was triggered by an international economic crisis, the contraction of the mining industry due to diminishing exports (by artificial saltpetre substitution), a local political crisis, exploitation and poor working conditions (Valdes: 1910). There was significant migration from the countryside to cities, which had urban consequences such as health crises and overcrowding, and an emergence of pressing social movements such as the working-class movement and socialist movement (Concha: 1918). At this time, two-thirds of children were illegitimated. Some of them were given in servitude to upper-class houses; others worked in farming, mining or commerce; and other were street children (Schonhaut: 2010). This last group of children developed different activities to survive: informal commerce, begging, and robbery in some cases.

By the early twentieth century, most laws and social policies focused on health (nutrition and child mortality), education (mandatory primary school) and the protection of children from cruelty and neglect (Rojas: 2010). For instance, in 1901 a law was created to regulate child labour, and in 1912 legislation was developed to protect childhood in risk. In 1920, primary schooling was mandated and was followed

in 1928 by legislation on the physical care of children. Over the first half of the twentieth-century, special social services to care for children were developed, including a children's hospital, a national housing service for children and early care for children. Primary education was actively promoted, and family planning methods were developed.

In 1967 the Minors' Law was published, and the Minor National Council (MNC) was created. Both were fundamental steps in the development of state protection of children. The Minor's law firstly created the MNC as a public department dependent on the Justice Minister. Its responsibility was to organise, coordinate and develop the services for minors who were living in an 'irregular situation', meaning protection problems, poverty, abandonment or conflict with the justice. Furthermore, this law organised the judicial system for Minors, defining its responsibilities and its structure. Another element included in this law was the development of the Minors' Police, a special police department engaged in the situations in which children were living, which specialised in protection and investigation.

Another element defined in this law was the structure in which organisations delivered services for children who were living in an 'irregular situation'. One was the 'Minors' House', a transitional residence to assess and suggestion advise the Minors' judicial system about alternative ways to protect children. The others were private partner organisations that provided mostly residential care and protection.
The last legislative developed was a penal regulation, for cases of maltreatment, abandonment, exploitation and one category that implicitly considered CSEC, the idea of 'child corruption'.

The Minor National Council was replaced by the National Services for Child Welfare (SENAME) in 1979, and the Minors' Law was reinforced by the introduction of the Family Law in 2004 that established the Family Court (Law 19.968, 2004) its structure, and its functions. The Family Court was designed by law to be in charge of all matters

regarding the child and family: for instance, marriage and divorce, child care, protection, the rights of children, neglect and maltreatment, and domestic violence. The laws established the procedures to gain access to the court and the mechanisms needed to support the judicial processes, such as oral testimony, mediation and the provision of psychosocial technical advice.

Currently, SENAME remains active and is the organisation responsible for leading, promoting and strengthening a national system of Child Rights Protection. SENAME reports to the Minister of Justice and is organised into two areas: Child Rights Protection and the Juvenile Justice System. Each area is responsible for the design of social policies and works in collaboration with the justice system.

1.2.1.2 Childhood in Chile: Current reality, institutional schemes and social policies

i) Demographic structure and main social situations

Chile has undergone a demographic shift in last fifty years. There is evidence that the population is ageing and this has repercussions for the numbers of children being born: since 1990, the child population has decreased from 34.4% to 24.39% (4,437,956 children) of the general population (INE: 2016). The gender distribution is quite similar to the general population (50.9% male and 49.1% female) and the majority of them, 88.7%, live in urban areas. According to the Minister for Social Development, and based on the National Socio-economic Representative Survey (CASEN: 2015), poverty affects 23.3% of children in Chile (1,022,447 children). This survey classified people as extremely poor, poor and not poor, according to monthly income, access to services, and social support (multidimensional poverty). More than 90% of the population between six and seventeen years old attend school (Ministerio de Educación: 2015, 2016).

UNICEF has conducted a national survey on violence towards children in Year 8 of the school system (12-years-old) every six years since 1994. The evidence shows that over 70% of students consistently disclose that they suffer violence (whether psychological, mild or severe physical violence). Furthermore, the percentage of those students suffering from severe physical violence has remained at 25% over the last three surveys.

Figure 1: Trends in violence against children 1994-2012

TREND OF VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN (%)

● 1994   ● 2000   ● 2006   ● 2012

	No violence	Psychological violence	Mild physical violence	Serious physical violence
1994	22.5%	14.5%	28.7%	34.2%
2000	26.4%	19.7%	28.5%	25.4%
2006	24.7%	21.4%	27.9%	25.9%
2012	29%	19.5%	25.6%	25.9%

The prevalence of violence has decreased since 1994, but the three most recent measurements showed that serious physical violence has not changed.

Adapted from: UNICEF 2012

According to the fourth and most recent study (UNICEF: 2012), 8.7% of children surveyed said that they were sexually abused, of which 75% were girls, and 25% were boys. The majority (75%) of the perpetrators were men, of which 88.5% were known to the victims, and 50.4% were victims' relatives. In 2014, there were 16,841 police reports about child sexual abuse (SENAME: 2016).

Therefore, considering the historical evidence of violence in childhood, alongside data related to domestic violence (Ministerio Publico: 2017), it is reasonable to consider violence against children as an historically central characteristic of the relationships between adults and children in Chile.

ii) National Services of Child Wellbeing (SENAME)

SENAME has developed a mediated relationship between the national policies concerning childhood, and the third sector organisations that deliver services. Programmes have been privatised; they are funded, monitored and evaluated by the state and developed by private agencies from the third sector (such as Foundations and non-government organisations (NGOs).

The following diagram illustrates the relationship between the third sector and the statutory sector in relation to children:

Figure 2: Scheme of statutory and voluntary sectors for children
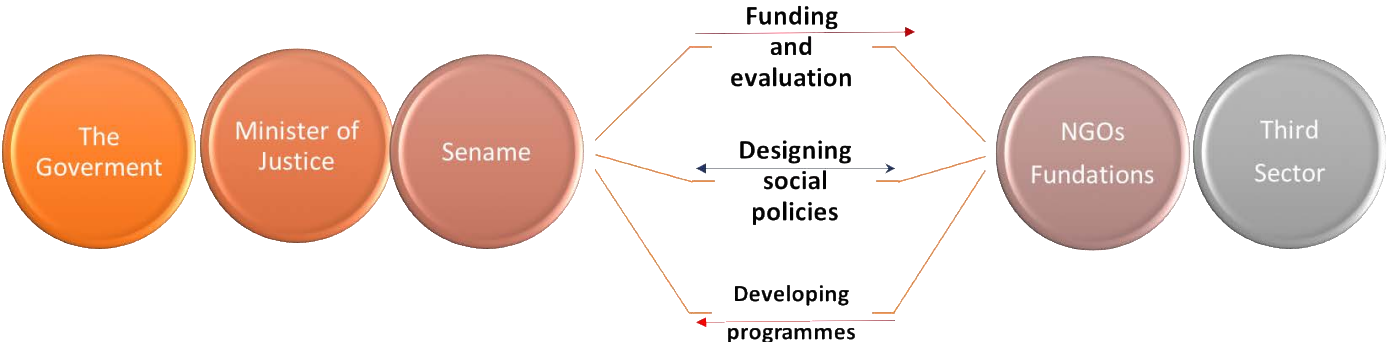
Regarding its structure, the Service organises its Rights Protection Programmes in terms of the following levels and categories (SENAME: 2010):

Table 2: SENAME programmes according to level of protection

Level of protection	Level of concerns regarding violation of children rights	Subject	Types of programmes
General Protection and Prevention.	General promotion of children rights. Low level of concerns regarding violation of children rights.	All children and their families.	Local office of Rights protection. communitarian projects of promotion of children rights.
Specific Protection and Prevention.	Mild level of concerns regarding violation of Children Rights.	Children with complex problems or special requirements.	Centre brief psychosocial intervention. Centre of psychosocial assessment. Residential care. Foster care.
Specialised Protection and Prevention.	High level of concerns regarding violation of children rights.	Children's victims of situation that produce damage, such as violence.	Centres that provide services to victims of Child Sexual Abuse, CSEC, practices of sexual abuse by pairs. Specialised residential care to victims of child sexual violence.

Own creation, 2016

In 2015, the National Services of Child Welfare (SENAME) provided support and services to 136,767 children in 1634 programmes across the country. That corresponds to 3.07% of the child population this year (based on the total population 4,445,426 children).

Of this group, 85% of children were engaged with the Child Rights Protection division, and 15% by the Juvenile Justice division. Since 2012, there has been a legal project in the Chilean Congress to reorganise the structure of SENAME and separate the organisation into two different services: a national child protection service and a

national juvenile justice service. The former would be responsible for programmes related to restitution of rights (prevention and treatment) and the second would be responsible for rehabilitation programmes and Juvenile Justice.

The creation of a new National Childhood Council (2014) has been associated with a change in the structure of social policy in relation to childhood. The main aim is to advise the Chilean president of ways to identify, design, and develop policies, programmes and activities to promote and protect the rights of children. A law on Integral Protection of Children's Rights (2015) has been developed and is currently is being debated in the National Congress. This discussion seems to mark a change in the traditional model of child protection (tutelary model), but as yet, it is unclear what will be the final results of these changes insofar as services provided for victims of CSEC are concerned. These changes have been brought about in the last two years due to pressure from what is perceived as a crisis in the Chilean child protection system: in the past ten years, 865 children in residential care managed by SENAME have died.

However, other criticisms of the child wellbeing system came to light in different reports over the last decade. For instance, UNICEF and the Supreme Court in 2012 identified severe difficulties in the management of residential care systems and in the work of the family courts. These related to a lack of measures put in place to prevent violence and delays in procedures. A special commission of the Congress in 2013 reinforced this finding. A human rights report (UDP: 2008, 2009, 2014) highlighted the limits of the procedures of the Family and Criminal Justice system to provide care and support in cases of domestic violence and sexual violence.

The National Childhood Council (2015) also identified weaknesses in the judicial procedures which were put in place in order to avoid secondary victimisation in cases of child sexual violence. Espejo and Lathrop (2015) suggested critical areas for improvement to the child protection system: (i) the current system maintains a tutelary approach but ought to have a human rights approach; (ii) social policies need

to be centred on the individual rather than approached systemically; (iii) there is a current lack of services in some areas, such as early pregnancy health, mental health and treatment for drug abusers; (iv) there are problems with funding due to the State not prioritising this area; and (vi) there is a weak level of coordination between stakeholders regarding childhood-related issues. Andrade (2010) notes the difficulties in the relationships between the State and civil society because of the way that funding is allocated. As the State provides the main source of finance for Child Protection NGOs, it is possible that they may take a less critical role in the development of social policies and assume a more active role in their implementation.

The current scenario of the provision of services for children is being shaped by the creation of a new government post, a sub-secretary of childhood who will be working with the Minister of the Social Development of Children's Ombudsmen. In 2018 this will replace SENAME and the National Childhood Council."

1.2.1.3 The specific context of CSEC

After becoming a signatory to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1990, Chile embraced the actions initiated by the First Congress in Stockholm (1996) and designed an Integral Plan against CSEC in 1999. The main goals were to make visible the phenomenon of CSEC on a social scale, to adjust the local legislation to international standards, and to provide support for the victims (Ministerio de Justicia: 1999).

In the next decade, both statutory and third sector agencies developed initiatives regarding legal changes, social policies, knowledge exchange, social impact and awareness raising, and specialised interventions. Examples of these include:

i) **Policy and legal frameworks.** This was developed in adherence to the main international instruments related to CSEC, such as the CRC Optional Protocol and

Palermo Protocol; specific national social policies in CSEC; First Framework to the action in CSEC (1999) and Second Framework to the action in CSEC (2012); and changes in the local legislation to incorporate systematically almost all kinds of expressions of CSEC. CSEC is legally addressed in the Penal Code art. 361, 363, 364, 365, 366; Law 19,927 that modified some articles and introduced child pornography as a form of CSEC and Law 20,507 on child trafficking. A scheme of the policy and legal framework can be seen in Appendix 1.

ii) **Prevalence studies in CSEC.**

Regarding prevalence, the invisible character of CSEC makes difficult to identify what is the extent the phenomenon CSEC. Even though global and local agencies report statistics related to different modalities of CSEC. A criticism concerning these numbers is that they are more an expression of the commercial demand for sexual exploitation rather than prevalence and incidence of victimisation (Koonce: 2017). Evidencing the presence of CSEC is largely achieved through two forms of data collection. On the one hand, national surveys of population samples have been used to identify prevalence (Finkelhor et al.: 2013; Jimenez et al., 2015). On the other hand, institutional databases are used to collect information about cases in different systems (Blakenmore et al.: 2017) and most of the time in the judicial system (Dilacio: 2012; Salisbury et al., 2015).

In the case of Chile, there are few examples of surveys to identify the prevalence of CSEC. The most emblematic was a national study conducted by the International Labour Organisation (OIL) and the National Child Wellbeing Service (SENAME) in 2004 whose purpose was identifying the prevalence of CSEC in Chile (OIT-SENAME: 2004). The methodology used identified CSEC cases based on key informants in three regions of the country. Then, the characteristics of the territories (demographics, socioeconomics, vulnerability) were analysed to project the number of cases at a national level. From this it was determined that there was a prevalence of 3719 cases of CSEC in Chile. The obvious limitation was the probabilistic character of this number

considering the cultural, social and geographical heterogeneousness of the country. A second example was the studies developed by the International Organisation for Migrations (IOM) that conducted descriptive/exploratory studies in 2006 and 2008 to identify the prevalence of trafficking of children.

In both cases, IOM used key informant information and observations from the places where victims were identified. In 2006, they identified 99 cases of which 11% were under the age of 18. In 2008, they identified 147 cases in which 17.7% were children (OIM: 2006, 2008). A final study by the National Child Wellbeing Service (SENAME), NGO PAICABI and the School of Social Work of Pontifical University Catholic of Valparaiso was conducted in 2007. The purpose was to identify the prevalence of child sexual violence in a specific region of the country (Valparaiso). The methodology used was identifying cases of child sexual violence in different agencies such as the health system, child protection agencies, the education system, and specialised programmes using a cross data strategy in order to avoid duplication within the sample. According to this study, they identified 586 cases of child sexual violence, 481 of child sexual abuse and 101 cases of CSEC (SENAME- Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso: 2007). In all of these studies the gender distribution is relatively similar with around 80% of the victims of CSEC being female and 20% male.

The importance of the Chilean national study was the country-specificity and the impact of the results in the development of social policies. The main weakness of this survey was the probabilistic sampling of the data which considered just a section of a heterogeneous country. The latter examples produced primary sources based on key informants and agencies related to childhood. In all the cases, there was no methodological rigour or continuity in the process of identifying the prevalence of CSEC.

Regarding existing databases, since 2007 the National Child Wellbeing Service (SENAME) has developed a system of auditing information (SENAINFO) in which

information about children in the different programmes related to childhood is centrally collected. This database indicated that, between 2007 and 2014, 4112 children were subjected to CSEC and were registered in CSEC-specific programmes. In every subsequent year there are on average around 900 children that have attended these programmes. The main limitation of this database is that while they indicated the number of cases that were in the system, the number is defined by the social policies that are applied and which determine entry into each program.

iii) **Knowledge exchange**. During the last ten years, studies funded by international agencies and the central government have been conducted. These studies produced data regarding a) the prevalence of CSEC (OIT-SENAME: 2004); b) difficulties and good practices in judicial procedures in cases of CSEC (Torche and Crettier: 2006); c) the first regional mapping of sexual violence against children, in which the number of victims and the psychosocial dynamics of CSEC were described (SENAME-Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso: 2007); d) the demand, modus operandi and cultural values of 'clients' and exploiters (Reca: 2007); e) exploratory studies in trafficking (OIM: 2006 and 2008); f) an exploration of new modalities in CSEC   and the reality of male victims (Toro et al.: 2011); and CSEC in relation to tourism (Retuerto and Araya: 2012); (e) alternative reports on CSEC: International agencies and local NGOs have developed reports on social policies and legal advances regarding CSEC. End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking for Sexual Purposes (ECPAT 2009, 2014) evaluated the advances of the Action Framework on CSEC and the modification in international law related to the CRS Optional Protocol and the Palermo Protocol.

iv) **Social impact.** This has been achieved through a campaign to prevent CSEC through sensitising the general public, which was developed in the early 2000s. The campaign was called 'No Excuses', and it has been the basis of a sustainable campaign which is celebrated every 18th May: the national day against the CSEC.

v) **Specialised intervention**. From a pilot study in 2001, eighteen programmes of intervention were implemented around the country by specialised and interdisciplinary teams established within third sector organisations. Between 2007 and 2014, they provided psychosocial intervention to 4,112 children, and in 2016 for children and young people that had been subjected to CSEC.

Specifically, programmes providing intervention for children and young people that have been subjected to CSEC have been configured as centres localised in the main cities of the country. They implement a psychosocial and community model (Toro: 2010) that includes social workers, psychologists, teachers, and artists as part of the professional team. According to the technical standards determined by SENAME, interventions should consider the complexity of the phenomenon of CSEC; gender, age, territorial and cultural characteristics of the victims; a methodology that considers multi-level assessment; a theoretical hypothesis to guide the intervention; and an individual plan (SENAME: 2007; Williams et al.: 2012). In this context, practitioners have built a "know-how" of social intervention in CSEC based on technical guidelines (social policy on CSEC), institutional orientations and pragmatic decisions based on fieldwork reflexivity.

1.3   Chapter conclusion

Taking the general context of CSEC into consideration which described the global responses to CSEC and provided a first conceptual framework of the Chilean historical context to understand the phenomenon, the structure and rationale for the child protection system in Chile was developed. This allowed a first reflection about conceptual understanding of childhood and acknowledged the tensions between the tutelary or guardianship provision and rights-based approach. At the end of the chapter, the situation of CSEC in Chile was developed, identifying the challenges of

characterising the phenomenon, and the social responses to make visible and provide specialised services for children and young people that have been subjected to CSEC.

In order to develop a better understanding of the phenomenon of CSEC and the responses to interventions, the next chapter will discuss from the specialised literature, the distinctions and specificities of CSEC regarding other modalities of child sexual violence and the main elements that emerge in the interventions for victims of CSEC.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this chapter is to develop a critical understanding of areas related to CSEC based on specialised literature and empirical studies. I used systematic searches as a means of organising the process of defining the questions and aims that guided the literature review (Booth: 2008; Aveyard: 2008).

Considering CSEC in a local context, the researcher's interest and background, and the research aims, two areas to be explored were defined. The first one was in the early stage of the research in the process of building the research proposal. It was a discussion about child sexual abuse (CSA) and CSEC, their similarities, common areas and distinctions. The second was developed in parallel to the analysis based on the discussion of the main elements involved in the intervention in CSEC, approaches, models, methodologies and critical points in those interventions.

In both cases, the process was conducted in three stages. Firstly, an exploratory phase that included open readings of literature related to the searches (reports, grey literature, relevant journals). As a consequence of this exploratory phase, I defined areas to research and a group of keywords. Secondly, an intensive phase that organised the search defining databases, combinations of keywords, Boolean operators, and identifying and selecting articles based on inclusion/exclusion criteria, classifying results as total number of articles, selected articles, useful articles and used articles, according to their relevance to the study. Finally, in a reflective stage I systematised the information, building arguments and writing reports on the literature review. A detailed description of this process can be reviewed in Appendix 2: Literature review process.

The next section develops both literature reviews. The first one is entitled 'Commercial Sexual Exploitation and Child Sexual Abuse in an Interdisciplinary literature review' and the second 'Interventions in CSEC'.

2.1 Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and Child Sexual Abuse in an interdisciplinary literature review

This review analyses the main discussions on Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) and Child Sexual Abuse (CSA) in the specialised literature. I will define three disciplinary areas: an historical approach, a legal approach, and a psychosocial perspective.

I provide a brief history of child sexual violence in the first section to offer a critical examination of the emergence of CSEC and CSA. The analysis of the legal perspective shows the tensions in the process of recognition of childhood as a subject of law and protection and the recognition of child sexual violence as a crime. Finally, I discuss a psychosocial perspective that recognises the diversity and heterogeneity in psychosocial perspectives on CSA and CSEC, and the impact of the distinctions between the two.

2.1.1 Brief history of child sexual violence

This section aims to offer a critical examination of CSEC and CSA's emergence in contemporary historiography, focusing on childhood and childrearing history. The main claim defended in this analysis is the long-term persistence of CSEC and CSA as social phenomena. Furthermore, a transition to this persistence started with the ideas of modernity, intensifying through the development of the Human Rights perspective during the 20th century. The relevance of an historical approach to CSA and CSEC lies in the possibilities it offers to break with the naturalisation of these situations (Lechner: 2002). Des-naturalise CSA and CSEC meaning to expand the understanding of CSEC and CSA as contemporary phenomena identifying their historical path. Thus, when the social and cultural character of CSA and CSEC is recognised, due to there are no natural phenomena, CSA and CSEC can be modified.

Braudel (2009) proposes an analysis of the long-term history approach, which is denominated as the "structure". The significance of using this category lies in an analytic instrument, in which the different temporalities are recognised, connected and assembled in complex sequential relationships of facts and processes (Declerq: 2004; Lucas: 2008; Binford 1968). Facts and processes are the basis of event and structure: events configure structures and structures allow events (Braudel: 2009). In this perspective, the long-time structure is reflected in civilisations and cultural matrices that crystallises in mentalities (Rockwell: 1999). Those civilisations maintain the rhythms of the different temporalities, the routine of social practices called 'invariant' (Harding: 2005), and the discontinuities, changes or social innovations that these civilisations create, resulting in social conditions called 'variant' (Braudel: 1950).

By using this approach, different themes have been analysed, including (i) economic phenomena, such as capitalism (Braudel: 1980), and the beginning of merchant capitalism (Mielants: 2000); (ii) political phenomena, such as the French Revolution, or the independence of India (Goberna: 2003); and (iii) cultural phenomena, such as archaeological studies of civilisations (Binford: 1968; Lucas: 2008) or childhood history (Demause: 2010; Pinto: 2009; Sari: 1991; Aries: 1962; Pollock: 1983; Cunningham: 1995). Following the long-term historical approach, I firstly describe the context of the historical study of child sexual violence. Secondly, I discuss the main arguments and some critical views that explain the long-term persistence of child sexual violence.

Thirdly, I illustrate the transition of this persistence, and finally, I relate these elements to the historical reality of Chilean.

2.1.1.1 The context

Childhood studies were stimulated by the gender agenda at the end of the 1960s. In parallel, a series of epidemiological studies regarding child physical and sexual violence were conducted, and both generated a basis from which to understand child sexual violence from a historical point of view. Changes after the Second World War impacted the spheres of women's social life, related to freedom and civil rights (Milla: 2001; Evans: 2009; Studer: 2011; Mittelstadt: 2008; Wiesner-Hanks: 2009; Lewis: 2011; Peters: 2004; Nachescu: 2008); self- determination (Studer: 2011; Kaufel: 2009; Mittelstadt:2008); traditional women's roles (Studer: 2011; Kaufel: 2009, Milla: 2001; Bejarano: 2002); views and experiences of sexuality (Pasley:2001; Evans: 2009; Pasley: 2001); incorporation of woman into the labour market (Rosenberg: 1990, Clark: 2007; Milla:2001; Denton:2012; Federici: 2001); political participation (Clark: 2007; Freeman: 1973; McCallum: 2007; Suckle: 1985; Lewis et al.:2011); and domestic and sexual violence (Frazier:2009; Andrade:2011).

Feminist historians subsequently reinterpreted childhood history based on different approaches, (Wiesner-Hanks: 2007; Clark: 2006; Nachescu: 2008; Hyder: 2007), realising that girls and boys were equally as exploited as women (Sangster: 2006; Smaal: 2013; Wiesner-Hanks: 2011; Lacovetta: 2007).

The aforementioned was organised in two axes:

i) Women analysed in relation to the family. These studies refer to: a) domestic abuse (Horn: 1991; Suckle: 1985; Rosenberg: 1990; Thapar: 2006; Andrade 2011; Lewis: 2011; Gilmore: 2003); and b) institutional violence (Kandiyoti: 2007; Ticktin: 2011; Federici: 2011). This violence connects with children as a witness of violence (Mager: 1996; Zraly: 2013; Katayun: 2014), and as direct victims, for both mothers and children (Mager: 1996; Kenway: 2008; Rodriguez: 2002; Roded: 2014).

ii) Epidemiological studies conducted about violent life history. These studies started with women and veterans of Vietnam in a mental health services context. They described the 'Rape Trauma Syndrome' to emphasise how mental pathologies are associated with the experiences of rape (Herman: 1986). Then these studies continued with life history and adult consequences of child sexual abuse (Herman &Hirschman: 1977; Denov: 2001).

Furthermore, studies about child sexual violence were conducted. These studies began in the sixties in the paediatrics area based on earlier antecedents to bone damage in children (Caffey: 1946; Wolley and Evans: 1955). The development of the Battered Child-Syndrome (Kempe: 1962, 1983, 1984) produced a turn in the perspective of neglect and maltreatment as a health problem and as symptoms of social circumstances (Dubowitz: 2013). In addition, Finkelhor's and other scholars' work developed longitudinal studies in child abuse, and surveys using different scales (Finkelhor: 1979, 1982, 1984; Cantwel: 1981; Baker 1985; Wild: 1986, De la barra: 1994; Murray: 1976; Rush: 1980; Cornell University: 1987).

Those studies explored the incidence of child sexual violence (Mae: 2001; Palusci: 2013; Kline: 2006; Reid: 2011; Sullivan: 1989); the context in which sexual violence took place (Seekings: 1991; Hyder: 2007); class, racial and ethnic factors related to violence (Mittelstadt: 2008); the setting of this violence (private or public spaces) (Shah:2004; Kelly: 1988); and risk factors and consequences of child sexual violence (Finkelhor: 1979; Kempe: 1984; Angelides: 2003).

Even though child sexual violence was not the main claim to the feminist movement, this gave enough impetus, along with the epidemiological studies, to establish a discourse about the violence of child abuse as a social and historical problem (Gordon: 1988; Smaal: 2013).

2.1.1.2 Child sexual violence as an historical invariant

Scholars and historians (Hodson: 1987; Blackburn: 1997; Demause: 2009, Pinto: 2009; Sari and Büyükünal 1991; Rupp: 2004; Laskowski: 2003; Sampaio de Oliveira: 2006) have argued that different types of sexual violence have been continuously present in the history of childhood, in forms such as infanticide, abandonment, neglect and sexual abuse, and child brothels, among others. These situations have been present in ancient societies, the Middle Ages, and modern societies, showing a historical continuity in which children were used by adults to have intercourse. For instance, a form of sexual abuse was regulated by law in ancient Greece, and formalised in child marriage in Eastern societies or as part of rituals in pre-Hispanic cultures (Sari and Büyükünal: 1991; Hodson: 1987; Blackburn: 1997; Briggs: 2006; Santos: 2005). Lloyd Demause (2009) has documented the history of child sexual abuse. The idea of CSA and CSEC as a continuity based on historical evidence is used to explain current child sexual abuse (Jenks: 2005; Gordon: 1988). Furthermore, there is a group of studies that have their focus on specific historical periods. For instance, Ginnis (1982), Robertson (2006), and Devlin (2005) reconstruct different types of crimes in France in the 19th century, including child sexual abuse, the appearance of rape against boys in New York at the end of 19th century, and incest in the United States post the Second World War. Furthermore, the reconstruction of the history of child sexual violence in the Catholic or Christian churches have been documented by different scholars (Maguire: 2007; Terry and Ackerman: 2008; Pine et al.: 2017; Ring:2017). They selected these periods and those contexts in order to illustrate how sexual violence against children happened in apparently protective and civilised societies.

Critics have argued that these approaches have been built on a romantic view of childhood history. Aries (1962), Pollock (1983), and Cunningham (1995) are representatives of a perspective about childhood in which the focus is the relationship between the representations of childhood in history and social childcare institutions. Their institutional approach avoids the idea of violence in childhood as a

persistent or a common behaviour. They note the adverse contexts to childhood, such as poverty, abandonment, children living in the streets, child labour and in some cases cruelty, but they remark that institutions such as hospitals, hospices, orphanages, and in-house apprenticeship industry or school industry solved these situations (Cunningham: 1995). Rojas (2002) has identified some problems with the previous perspective: (i) there may be a bias in the information that was based on the registers of organisations that provided care to children, and emphasised those events; (ii) the intention and interest in highlighting the facts that agree with their perspective; and (iii) a further criticism of the trends to victimise childhood history is related to the intellectual context in which it started: the feminist agenda, epidemiological studies, and more currently the Children's Rights agenda, rather than the scope of the real facts (Pollock: 1983).

Despite these considerations, Lloyd DeMause (1998) has provided detailed evidence that supports the concept of child sexual violence as a historical invariant in childhood development. First, he provides evidence to sustain the idea of the universality of incest, against the common idea of the incest taboo, quite common in sociology and anthropology (Leavitt: 2013). Examples of mother's masturbation, incest by parents and by relatives, or in servant's contexts, temples of boys and girl prostitution and child marriage, were common behaviours in western, and eastern societies (DeMause: 1991).

He also identifies the relationship between modalities of childrearing and how types of child sexual abuse developed. Six childrearing modes are represented in the following table (DeMause: 1998, 2002, 2010):

Table 3: Childrearing modes adapted from DeMause (1998; 2002; 2010)

Childrearing mode	Times	Violence	Beliefs
Early infanticide mode Late infanticide mode	Small kinship groups Early states	Infanticide, maternal incest, body mutilation, child rape. Child rape, pedagogic pederasty.	Based on ritual and magic beliefs. Child as a poison containers
Abandoning mode	Early Christianity	Abandonment, child sacrifice, child servant, pederasty in monasteries, girl rape.	Child was born full of evil, therefore there is necessary to purify.
Ambivalent mode	Twelfth century	Children market, child rape, boy and girls brothel.	Began child instruction manuals, punish child rape, expanding schooling, paediatrics and child laws protection. Ambivalence love and hate children feelings.
Intrusive mode	Sixteenth century	Decline domestic violence and increase physical violence against children. Private child sexual abuse is developed, over all manipulating genitals.	There is a controlled context in childrearing from parents to children in order to influence in the development of them.
Socializing mode	Eighteenth century	Child sexual abuse is developed in socializing contexts, that means in institutions or justified by institutional knowledge. For instance, rape in school and industry school, rape to cure sexual disease, and youth brothel in industrial context.	Children are object of protection and care by society based on laws, polices and scientific knowledge. However, in these same institutions, contexts and argument are made to maintain abusive practices.
Helping mode	Twentieth century	Child sexual abuse, child exploitation, child image abusive, child marriage.	Parents are involved in the childrearing. Appear the idea of unconditional love and empathy for the children, and also the influence of the disciplines regarding the childrearing increase.

To summarise, child sexual violence is a historical invariant in the shape of incest, children used in sexual intercourse, children's brothels, the sale of children for sexual purposes, child sexual abuse to cure venereal disease, and child sexual abuse in institutions to protect children. This violence has been possible as a network of practices among adults, institutions, and children.

In the Chilean case, a similar process has occurred in both the historiographical and the historical level. Studies on the history of childhood started at the beginning of the 1990s. Additionally, the tension was maintained between a conservative or explicit position regarding child sexual violence in history. Following a timeline, it is possible to identify evidence of violence and cruelty against children during the period between colonisation and current days based on family structure, socioeconomic factors and political contingences:

i) The colonial period in which the Illegitimacy of children and abandonment were the most common reality for children (Salazar: 1989; Toledo: 1991).

ii) The republican period associated with the structure of the "latifundio" (small farm), in which child servants were sexual objects of the master (Montecinos: 2007).

ii) The nineteenth century, dominated by two wars, the Pacific war and the "Pacification of the Araucania", in which cruelty and sexual violence against women and children were evidenced (Pinto: 2009).

iv) The early twentieth century, where an economic crisis generated the "Chilean social question". As a consequence of this, the following social problems were recognised: youth prostitution in brothels, youth marriage, and sexual abuse between master/servants or master/apprentices (Ramirez: 2004, Schonhaut: 2010; Aylwin: 2004).

v) The dictatorship period (1973-1989) identified two phenomena: the use of extreme violence against children and the use of sexual abuse as a method of torture. In both cases, there were nearly 500 identified child victims (Retigg: 1991, Valech: 2005). The combination of these periods of social upheaval may have resulted in an environment of tolerance to child sexual abuse in the following decades (Toro: 2010).

2.1.1.3 The beginning of the protection of children as a historical variant

A transition started in the last two-childrearing modes with the modernity and the human rights movement; the moralist influence, for example in the Emile (Rousseau: 1993); the development of the philanthropy, the laws of poverty, child protection and the recognition of sexual crimes against children; and the republican and independence movements in France and the Americas.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a new protective approach that turned child sexual violence understanding into a social problem started (Cunningham: 1995; DeMause 1998). Another significant influence was the development of disciplines

such as paediatrics, sociology, psychology, education, and social work, that provided a framework to work with children in institutions such as hospices, hospitals, and specific organisations related to child protection (DeMause: 2002).

The twentieth century arrived with the consolidation of nation-states in many regions of the world. At a global level, a movement to recognise the rights of children based on international declarations such as Geneva Convention, the International Union, and the League of Nations started (Last: 1994; Frank: 2010). The Second World War offered substantial evidence of violence and child sexual abuse, for instance, during the Holocaust, rape as a weapon of war, and the control of child soldiers (App: 1997; Rosen: 2005; Marten 2004; DeMause: 2010). For this reason, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights established a global framework to encourage nations to modify laws, policies and institutions in accordance with this declaration. Finally, the Convention on Rights of the Child, which was approved in 1989, amended the notions of minors with/in trouble (a rationale of care and control) to children as subject of law and protection (Last: 1994; Belfoff: 1999).

To summarise, those six childrearing modes "coexist in modern nations today" (DeMause 2010:11). From a cultural perspective, it is possible to identify historical invariances and historical variances (Braudel: 2009). Considering those standpoints, incest, children used by adults for sexual intercourse, children's brothels, the sale of children for sexual purposes, child sexual abuse to cure sexual disease (healthy sexuality), and child sexual abuse in a supposedly protective institution would be invariants in childhood history. On the other hand, parents involved in childrearing, laws and policies to protect children from sexual abuse, institutions providing support for children, and the influence of disciplines and scientific knowledge in the development and protection of children would be variants in childhood history.

2.1.2 Legal perspective

This section aims to offer a critical examination of the legal perspective in analysing both CSA and CSEC. The main claim to be defended in this analysis is that there was a process of recognition of childhood as a subject of law and subject of protection against CSA and CSEC. Furthermore, the current legal framework explicitly recognises CSEC as a domestic and international crime. The relevance of a legal approach to CSA and CSEC lies in the possibilities it offers to connect the law, institutions and legal procedures with social policies under the idea of justice as social justice (Rawls: 1999).

2.1.2.1 Recognition of children as a subject of law and subject of protection

There was a political and historical process of recognition of children as subjects of law, and consequently as subjects of protection against CSA and CSEC. This transition took force with modernity and the human rights movement (Touraine: 1992). The changes noted in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries related to Republican movements and protective laws for childhood (Cunningham: 1995). Those events built the minority doctrine considering children as risky minors, irregular minors, minors in an irregular situation, and objects of protection (Cortés: 2001). In addition, during the twentieth century basic social structures to protect childhood were developed (Belaffor: 1999). As a consequence of the Second World War, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights established a global framework. Smith (2010) identified a series of milestones from the Declaration of Vienna (1924) and Declaration of the Rights of the Child (1959) to the UN Convention on Rights of the Child (1989), and the Optional Protocols to the UN Convention on the rights of the child (On the involvement of children in armed conflict 2000; On the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography 2000; On a communications procedure 2011). These instruments started to question the 'minor doctrine' and changed the vision from minors with/in trouble object of care and control to children as subjects of law and protection (Last: 1994).

The concept of children as subjects of law appears as a socio-political dimension, in which children now carry their specific rights as a citizen (Jaramillo: 2007). They or others (adults, institutions) can actualise these rights according to their characteristics (Giorgi: 2012). Lee (2010) opines that there is no single definition of child, in recognition of the different stages in childhood. Age would have a central importance in the progressive assumption of rights (Gillespie: 2010), called the relative and progressive autonomy in the exercise of rights (Viola: 2012). Age is a relevant issue related to decision-making, being see as competent, and also when legal controversies are studied, such as sexual consent, penal responsibility, or commercial possibilities (Clough: 2013, Doek: 2010).

The concept of being a subject of protection recognises the structural vulnerability and dependence of children in the context of preventing risk and providing family or institutional care and support in order to promote their wellbeing (LLobet: 2006, Fredette: 2009). In the cases of CSA and CSEC, the vulnerability of the situation and the consequent damage is recognised. Barnitz (2001) has largely identified a series of consequences for child victims of CSEC, such as mental health problems, post-traumatic stress disorder, drug abuse, and physical damage. She elaborated on the concept of "long-term damage" to characterise the effects over time of the violence. These effects would be relevant in identifying judicial proofs in a trial (Torche & Crettier: 2007). Another element is some minimum conditions for protection, for instance, establishing a standard age of sexual consent (Fredette: 2009; Khan: 2003) and friendly procedures for child victims of sexual violence (Singh: 2001).

However, there have been difficulties in implementing this children's rights perspective in terms of recognising the juxtaposition between the minority view and the child human rights perspective (Belfoff: 1999). A reflection about being the object or subject of rights, considering the point of view of children to achieve the best interest of the child has been discussed (Kelly: 1997; Cortés: 2001). Kahn (1999) gives

a possible explanation. Using the term "Aesthetics of Rights", he explains that the consideration of modern rights, the modern state and the concept of subject of rights are a cultural transition from a religious, political order to a secular political order and from a monarchical sovereignty to popular sovereignty. In this transition, he identifies cultural remaining, persistence, and resistance to the changes. In this way, it is possible to understand, for example, children's rights as a framework and also as an indisputable last foundation of the action (natural and divine rights) in contrast with the dilemmatic specificity of the rights. Dilemmas would happen in the case of controversy between different rights, domestic and international laws or the UN Convention and other international laws (Brems et al.:2017).

2.1.2.2 Explicit recognition of CSEC as a domestic and international crime

Since the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child was established and signed, a group of international and regional protocols, conventions, and political instruments were created to:

i) To recognise different types of child sexual violence (Santos Pais: 2010; Gillespie: 2013; Guinn: 2007; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights: 2009; Gillespie: 2010; ECPAT: 1996; Quayle and Taylor: 2002; Kaviani: 2011; Buck 2008).

ii) To promote an extraterritorial jurisdiction (Newman et al.: 2011; Lee: 2010; International Criminal Court (ICC): 2002; Europol: 2011).

iii) To provide political and legal support to any state that signed the Convention and to encourage an adjustment in the national norms and policies with regards to international law (Rafferty:2013; CEC: 2001; Jones:2012; Ticehurst: 1996; DSUSA:2002).

iv) To identify the demand, mechanisms of supplying demand and cleaning money process in cases of organised crime (Koonce:2017).

In order to establish a common and global framework, legal definitions of CSA and CSEC have been established using these instruments (Rafferty: 2013; CEC: 2001; McManus: 2014; Roby: 2005). However, this effort has had limitations in terms of the coordination between international and domestic laws, penal system traditions, and particularly the relationship between child protective laws and juvenile criminal justice systems (Dilacio: 2012; Guinn: 2007; Torche and Crettier: 2007; Pearce: 2011; Halter:2010). Moreover, those international instruments have promoted the development of regional and national social policies to prevent sexual abuse of children and promote social partnership, and provided psychosocial support for children and young people that have been in CSEC, their families and communities (Small: 2008; Fong:2010; Curley: 2014; Jones: 2012; Reid: 2013).

At a local level, laws against CSA and CSEC that aims to protect victims and prosecute offenders, have shown that there is a discussion about the age of sexual consent. This age defines legal criminal types; in which it is possible to find a huge range between 13 to 21 years old (Clough: 2013; DSUSA: 2002; Smith: 2011; Singh: 2001). The age of sexual consent is linked to other legal definitions based on age, for instance, the penal responsibility in juvenile justice system, the political rights age, the legal labour age, the legal married age (LLobet: 2010; Torche and Crettier: 2007; Phoenix: 2002). Complementary, there is a discussion about the characteristics of the offence, analysing in which way the violence is developed, for instance coercion, deception, chronicity, indecency, obscenity (Gillespie: 2013; Newman: 2011; Shelton: 2016). Finally, there is a discussion about the strategies used to protect and prosecute the crimes associated with CSEC. For instance, to implement reformation to the previous stage of trial, and changes in the rules of evidence (Zajac et al.:2017), to build a judicial case based on different legal bodies (Ogunniran: 2017), or to define special advocate (guardian ad litem) for children and young people that have been in CSEC (Green and Tomkins:2017).

The legal notions of CSA and CSEC highlight the violent and abusive character of these sexual practices. Nevertheless, by separating them from other types of violence (De

la Aldea: 2000) it is possible to classify CSEC within child sexual violence as the main category (Fong: 2010). Along with this, the distinction between CSA and CSEC would be the involvement of an economic transaction as part of the violence (Chase: 2005; Williams: 2012; Camacho: 2009). In the case of CSEC, the process of appropriation of the body, subjectivity and sexuality (by the exploiter or the procurer) is made in the context of a false idea of a transaction. The process of appropriation is an illegitimate transaction because "the elements of exchange are not rightfully interchangeable, and the asymmetric power in the relationship" (Arredondo 2010: 295). In order to clarify this argument Marchant (2005) refers that the matters of significant public concerns by law are the sexual indemnity that implicates a safety context provided by the state or social institutions, in which children will not suffer damage because of a sexual relationship, the sexual freedom that implicates the power to dispose of the own body without limitation, and the sexual self-determination, which implicates the freedom to determinate the sexual identity, according to the developmental stage.

Thus, the body and sexuality are fully protected by the law. However, this protection is contradictory to some sexually transgressing behaviours based on cultural traditional beliefs (Runge: 2010), and postmodern mentalities in which the equation of desire and money could be enough to have or buy anything, such as sex with children, even breaking the law (Lipovetsky and Charles: 2006).

2.1.3 Psychosocial perspective

This section aims to offer an examination of the psychosocial perspectives to analyse the conceptual elements that involve both CSA and CSEC. The central claim to be defended is the diversity and heterogeneity in psychosocial notions of CSA and CSEC which is based on the sources, contexts and disciplines involved. This diversity places an emphasis on at least three distinct groups: behaviourist, subjectivist and situated. Although the financial transactions provide a basis for distinguishing between CSA and CSEC, from this perspective the separation between both is not clear. The

relevance of a psychosocial approach to CSA and CSEC lies in the possibilities it offers to connect different levels in the analysis such as individual resources, social relationships, material conditions and cultural values in a complex understanding (Galappatti: 2003). The psychosocial approach offers a critical standpoint about the integration between the individual and the social reality (Gonzalez: 2000), asymmetric power relationships (Montero: 2006, 2010), and reflexivity as main analytic tools (Parker: 2009).

2.1.3.1 Concepts of CSA and CSEC

The study of child sexual violence has developed during the last fifty years. The main attempt has been to recognise the characteristics and prevalence of CSA and CSEC, and illustrate its modalities and dynamics. Even though the transaction between offender and victim is the main differentiator between CSA and CSEC (Chase and Statham: 2005; Williams et al.: 2012), difficulties arise in distinguishing this, because there is a diffuse border between them (Pierce: 2004; SENAME-PUCV: 2006; Mitchell et al.:2017; Mian and Collin-Vezina: 2017). From the specialised literature, the concepts of CSA and CSEC may be classified as follows:

i) **Individual explanations**. Research based on this approach try to characterise psychological attributes of children and describe their mental health indicators (Twill: 2010; Read: 2008; Bessoles: 2008; Castillo: 2007). Furthermore, researchers analyse life histories of children to explain sexual violence (Deb: 2011; Williams et.al: 2012). Thus, studies emphasise: a) The statistic study of cases to measure the dimension of this problem through different scales and settings (Stoltenborgh: 2011; Sossou: 2009; Aguilar: 2005; Mathews et al.: 2017; Allroggen et al.:2017). b) The study of risk factors related to the emergence of CSA and CSEC (Finkelhor: 1990, 2005, 2006, 2009; Ramirez: 2005; Goldblatt et al.: 2012; Berry et al.:2017). c) The study of predictor elements of future victimisation (McIntyre: 2011; Cockbain et al: 2017; Franklin and Smeaton: 2017).

ii) **Relational understanding**. This emphasis has been associated with the emergence of the subjective experiences of children and young people that have been subjects of CSEC (Palmer and Foley: 2017) and the visualisation of the actors involved in the situation such as offenders and exploiters. The characteristics of the relationship and attachment between children and offenders, and children and practitioners are central elements in this (Lovett: 2007; Cramer: 2009; Lefevre et al.:2017; Ahorn et al.: 2017).

Another element that appeared is the idea of an economic transaction to distinguish CSA and CSEC. (Merdian et al.: 2011). The emphasis was to study the arguments of offenders, customers, pimps, and children to understand how these relationships were established and maintained (Camacho and Gonzalez: 2009).

iii) **Situated -Complex interpretations**. This emphasis has involved the recognition of CSA and CSEC as complex phenomena, namely as a multidimensional event whose understanding must consider historical, economic, cultural, social, legal and individual characteristics. This definition also emphasises the connection with preventive policies and programs of treatment for victims (Claramount: 2005; Runge: 2010; Pearce: 2011; Toro et al. 2011; Mardones and Guzman: 2011; Dilacio and Varela: 2011; Quayle and Taylor: 2002; Thomas and D'arcy: 2017; Deverley et al.:2017). Another important element within this notion is the characterisation of the relationship between the victim, the offenders and "the third party". Barudi (1998) defines "the third party" as an individual or organisation that is aware of the situation of violence and chooses whether or not to get involved in this dynamic. Importantly, he suggests that the participation of "the third party" in the perspective of can either stop or maintain the violent situation. Similarly, Jones et al. (2015) discuss the bystander positive and negative reaction in support victims of online harassment, and Finkelhor (2012) highlights the role of bystander in prevention of child sexual violence.

2.1.3.2 Nuclei related to violence in CSA and CSEC

Violence can be understood as socially produced in history and culture, relationally oriented to organise specific relationships, and structurally sanctioned in order to organise social life through social or legal rules (De la Aldea: 2000; Lewkowics: 2004; Benjamin: 1995). I highlight two nuclear elements in child sexual violence: damage and victimisation as a visible dimension and objectification as an invisible dimension in CSA and CSEC (Toro and Valdenengro: 2014).

i) Damage and victimisation

The idea of damage is an element considered in literature in the sphere of violence and sexuality (Buck et al.:2017; Blekemore et al.:2017). This element has had an essential influence in the construction of the notion of the victim. For instance, the literature accurately notes the dimension of sexual health as a sphere to be considered. Goldblatt et al. (2012) and Pinzón-Rondón (2009) show that in health systems the increase of sexual illness is associated with experiences of CSEC, high rates of use of drugs associated with sexual illness, and high rates of pregnancies and abortion.

Another point that is centrally highlighted is the notion of damage and trauma as a consequence of experiencing CSA and CSEC. Barnitz (2001) elaborated on the concept of "long-term damage" to characterise the effects over time of CSA and CSEC. These are congruent with the consequences of other extreme experiences such as violence, torture, and physical aggression, (Aleekseva: 2007; Gjermenia and Van Hook: 2008). Other consequences of CSA and CSEC are running away, substance abuse, nightmares, anxiety, depression, suicidal ideations, and difficulty sleeping (Finkelhor: 1995).

On a micro scale, CSA and CSEC affect the sense of trust, the notion of intimacy, sexual development, social attachments, and the perception of control and change (Toro: 2007). Martin-Baro (1983) developed the notion of psychosocial trauma as a phenomenon in Latin America related to political violence in the 1970s and 80s. This notion amplifies the experience of individual trauma as damage in the psychological structure, and moves on to the damage in subjectivity and social attachment, because the causes are in society and their relationships (Morales: 1994).

However, the situation of CSEC shows a paradox of victims without visible damage (Arredondo: 2010) in the conventional sense of the word and is one of the most evident manifestations of the victims of CSEC. Finkelhor (1995) gives a possible explanation, regarding asymptomatic presentations in these children in relation to the pertinence of the instruments used to evaluate them (Finkelhor 1995). He also mentions the age and the resilience of the children as a hypothesis for the absence of symptoms. Another explanation would be that children and young people compare previous experiences of sexual abuse, in which they felt victimised and the new experience of CSEC, in which the elements of this early abuse such as lack of control of the situation are not experienced. (Toro et al.: 2011). Whether or not there is an evident sense of victimhood, the consequences of CSA and CSEC in the short, medium and long-term are manifested in the different spheres of a child's life.

ii) Objectification

The dynamic of domination-submission based on the asymmetric adult-child relationship and structural differences of power have been used to characterise and explain violence in CSA. This dynamic is maintained through the force, confusion, seduction, secrets and threats that would be the basis of the objectification as a process of change from child to sexual object (Barudi: 1998, 2005). In the case of CSEC, the economic variable that an adult can provide in the form of money, goods or economic promise is added to the other variables associated with CSA (Williams et

al.: 2012; Camacho and Gonzales: 2009). The critical problem with this explanation is that it considers the asymmetric relationship as a structural condition when it refers to the relationships between an adult and a child involved in a modality of CSEC. However, when there are generational peers (children or adolescents) involved in CSEC, the abusive relationship is based on situated power rather than structural power. For instance, this is shown in some CSEC modalities, such as dancing teams, paid sexual performances, abusive images created through digital devices, and adolescents involved in CSEC networks as procurer or protector (Toro et al.: 2011). This situated power could be named Appropriation - Subsumption, in terms of highlighting the simulacra of exchange and economical transaction (Toro: 2010). The process of Appropriation of the body, subjectivity and sexuality is made in the context of this simulacra (Braudilard: 1978). Thus, the scenario has to look like a market: offer, demand, product, marketing strategies in order to hide the violence and exploitation. The relationship offer-demand-price is randomly determined because there are asymmetries of power in the process of negotiation, in which the children and young people cannot participate (in the case of criminal network for instance) or even if they believe that they are negotiated, offenders and exploiter are not in obligation to accomplish the agreement. For instance, cases of trafficking with sexual purposes are based on the notion of deception and some of them finishing in organ harvesting that was not part of the deal (Budiani-Saberi et al.:2014).

In this example, the child is in the Subsumption stage, which means disappeared symbolically (in his status as subject) and literally in the exploiter's hands (Cavagnoud: 2009). In this way, children start having an economic value in terms of value of use, the relevance to be used as sexual object, and value of exchange the capacity to develop profit to exploiter, meaning that they become in 'commodity status'. This process builds the idea of exploitation in the modern sense (Robert: 2011).

Arredondo (2007) researched this aspect with children that have been in CSEC. In this research, adolescents recognised which are the best ways to 'add value to themselves' from the exploiter's and abuser's perspective. The description of this

behaviour could be understood as a marketing operation. For instance, adolescents used strategies such as falsifying their age, dressing in the different ways according to the adult's mood, and using a more aggressive or softer relationship style depending on the adult's needs and wishes. Reca (2007) shows that the discourses made by 'customers' to justify this practice referred to the fact that "they are paying" or "they are helping children" with that money. In the same way, other studies highlighted the idea of CSEC as a survival strategy for children (Guinn: 2007; Gonzalez: 2005; Camacho and Gonzalez: 2009; Runge: 2010). However, these positions reinforce the arguments about the role of this action in the survival of children, and avoiding the dimension of violence. This argument (strategy) hides the process of objectification of children, in which they are transformed from child-human beings to human-commodities, capable of being used (exploited) as an object (Robert: 2011).

Therefore, two elements are connected with this economic dimension: the link between CSEC with other industries and the local economic activities and the networking practices. The first shows the capacity of CSEC to link with other legal or illegal industries and create new modalities of CSEC: tourism, sexual industry, night entertainment, drugs, and trafficking. The second illustrates that specific modalities are produced according to the economic activity in a country or a region. For instance, areas where mining or fishing were the main industries created opportunities to subject children to CSEC in the periods of time in which workers were free (Toro et al.: 2011). This arrangement is made in a complex network of relationships, which may be more or less sophisticated, rather than the classic description of the client and procurer.

2.1.3 Section conclusion

The historical evidence suggested:

i) Child sexual violence is an historical invariant in the form of incest, children used by adults for sexual intercourse, children's brothels, the sale of children for sexual purposes, child sexual abuse to cure sexual disease (healthy sexuality), and child sexual abuse in the institutions designated to protect children. This violence has been possible in a network of practices between adults and children.

ii) The movement of protection of children is an historical variant that began with modernity and has been intensified during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries with the human rights movement. It considers the parents involved in child rearing, human rights, laws and policies to protect children from sexual abuse, institutions to provide support for children, and the influence of disciplines and scientific knowledge related to the development and protection of children.

iii) Both elements are present in Universal History and local history (Chile), with remarkable similarities and specific differences.

The legal evidence suggested:

i) Child sexual violence as a process of recognition of childhood as a subject of law (historical and political) and the subject of protection against CSA and CSEC.

ii) The current legal framework explicitly recognises CSEC as a domestic and international crime. However, there are critical points in the process of adjustment between international and domestic law, and in the judicial procedures.

The psychosocial evidence suggested:

i) There is diversity and heterogeneity in psychosocial definitions based on sources, contexts and disciplines involved.

ii) This diversity emphasises at least three groups of definitions: individual, subjectivist, and situated.

ii) Although the concept of transaction can be used to distinguish between CSA and CSEC, the separation of the two is not a clear. Two elements were developed as a nucleus of this violence that permits convergences and divergences: damage and victimisation, and objectification.

All those elements suggested the importance of an interdisciplinary approach to understanding the phenomenon of CSEC. Furthermore, the evidence reviewed shows that CSEC is a phenomenon in a process of being built, understood, and highly connected with other expressions of child sexual violence.

2.2 Intervention in CSEC

In the previous section, I developed a discussion on the primary elements of commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) and child sexual abuse (CSA). I considered and compared an historical approach, legal approaches, and a psychosocial perspective, the results of which showed common issues shared by both phenomena as well as where the two issues differ. Furthermore, it illustrated the complexity of CSEC and the difficulties in understanding it.

In this section, I will carry out a Literature Review that mapped and analysed the main discussions on interventions in Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children.

In this analysis, I will look at:
-The distinguishing features of an intervention, including how an intervention is defined and decided upon;
-The extent and dimensions of an intervention, which areas it addresses and how it is developed (services, models, strategies); and
-Critical issues in the intervention.

At its simplest, intervention involves a problematic situation 'A' based on a diagnosis of the society, for instance social injustice, inequality, intolerance, or discrimination (Castel: 1997), being transformed into a new situation 'B' which is qualitatively better. However, there is a conceptual debate on how to define intervention (Corvalan: 1996; Bermudez: 2011; Rueda 2010). These authors suggested that the defining elements of an intervention are that it is an organised type of social action with a public character. Considering the processes of modernity, the intervention mediates the conflicts of interest between the main social actors: the market as an allocator of resources, goods and services; the State as the market's regulator and guarantor of rights and common good; and civil society as promotor of social interests (Baudrillard: 1974; Lechner: 1999; Lewkowicks: 2004).

While some authors describe the idea of t intervention as a social dispositive (dispositif) is a term used by Foucault (2002) to refer to the various institutional, physical, and administrative mechanisms and knowledge structures which enhance and maintain the exercise of power within the social body (Carballeda: 2010, Agamben: 2011; Llobet: 2006), others use the concept of the social field (Bermudez: 2011; Aquin: 2013) based on Bourdieu's work, where a field is a system of social positions structured internally in terms of power relationships. I propose the idea of practices, which can be defined as "*the link between social rules and personal interests*" (Programa de Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo 2009: 51). The central idea is that in any organisation in which there are rules to organise individual behaviours or individual tasks, "*Actors make such extensive use of their margin of liberty*" (Crozier and Friedberg 1980: 18). This margin is the social tension between external expectations and individual interests in this location, moment and role (Bajoit: 2003). As a result, a specific way to do things is developed (PNUD: 2009) which combines the following elements: the **Institution**, which is the group or rules that provide a framework and resources; **subjectivity**, which is the relationship between identity, individual approach, the logic of action and common and shared cultural meaning; and **the inertia of practical knowledge**, which is an accumulated

know-how that is used as a guide to resolve situations in some contexts. The relationships between those elements configure practices, and they are strategically played out in this context (PNUD: 2009; Crozier and Friedberg: 1980; Sewel: 1992; Hendry: 2003). These ideas give us a general understanding of the elements involved in the discussions about intervention. In the next sections I analyse the specific elements related to intervention in CSEC. The first point to be discussed is the definitions and criteria used in relation to CSEC.

2.2.1 Definitions and criteria of CSEC Intervention

In this section, I discuss different ways in which intervention in CSEC is defined, and what the intervention criteria are. The main question that orients this discussion is whether the intervention in CSEC is specific, or whether it shares elements with other psychosocial or mental health interventions.

Any social intervention is paradigmatically oriented by its philosophical foundation, (Corvalán: 1996; Alfaro: 2007) which has implications for the approaches and purposes about the changes that are sought (Carballeda: 2004) in a rational and planned process of activities (Alfaro: 2007). Bermudez (2011) and Alfaro (2009, 2013) highlighted the political character of the intervention due to its identification with a field of work, social problems, and social policies on which it is based. Those elements may influence the construction of definitions and intervention criteria. According to the academic literature, there are several definitions of CSEC intervention. These definitions and criteria can be classified into three groups: those based on approaches that support the intervention, those based on the purposes of the intervention and those based on the characteristics of the intervention.

2.2.1.1 Definitions based on approaches

In the first category, definitions based on approaches that support the intervention, it is possible to identify two levels: at an institutional level, we can identify a human rights approach, and at a theoretical level. At an institutional level, human rights clearly influence an understanding of violence (Alderson: 2016). Furthermore, this approach identifies CSEC as a serious violation of human rights (Santos Pais: 2010; Kaviani: 2011; Gillespie: 2013). Responses therefore have to articulate international instruments at a domestic level, and the intervention is identified as a process of restitution of rights. This restitution includes justice (criminal prosecution) and the services needed to reintegrate victims (Duger: 2015).

At a theoretical level considers individual, relational and contextual theoretical definitions of CSEC intervention. For example, **Trauma Focused Intervention** focuses on the effects of the traumatic situation on the development of victims and the strategies for support and to improve resilience in the long term (Goldman et al.:2014). *Harm Reduction Intervention* has been a common strategy in the treatment of the negative consequences of drug use and has been adopted by the WHO (Marlatt and Witkiewitz: 2010). The focus is on meeting specific victim needs and providing "*practical means to engage in healthier, safer behaviour*" (Hallett and Hickle 2016:302). **The ecological system theory intervention** focuses on the interactions of victims with their close circle of relationships (family, partners, peers) or more institutional organisations (services, gangs) and the way in which professionals respond to their needs and requirements (Smeaton:2016). Finally, **Community-based intervention** highlights the role of the environment, in this case, communities, as a protective factor and in facilitating social awareness of CSEC and the social integrations of victims and survivors (Wilson et al. :2015).

In this category, the intervention criteria are related to **the CSEC victims**. Interventions have to focus primarily on the victims, recognising this status regardless

of the circumstances of the CSEC (Department for Communities and Local Government: 2015). This implies a deep understanding of the victim's experience to engage and form attachments with the professional team (Greater London Authority: 2015). In addition, it requires a rapid detection of child victims, including their identity and current situation (Greenbaum: 2014, Raferty: 2016). For this to happen, in some cases it is necessary to officially classify victims under a particular category (trafficking, for example,) to be eligible for institutional support (Fong and Cardoso: 2010). McMahon-Howard and Reimers (2013) suggested special training for professionals in order to identify risk factors, recognise the consequences of CSEC and map appropriate services for victims. It also involves identifying the victim's individual characteristics and special needs, such as learning disabilities (Twill et al.:2010; Franklin et al.: 2015). The specialised literature in this area agrees that victims cannot be criminalised and sanctioned, even if they are involved in a criminal network (Goodey: 2004; Rafferty: 2008; Scarpa: 2015; Miller-Perrin and Wurtele: 2017).

2.2.1.2 Definitions based on purposes

In the second category, definitions based on purposes, it is possible to identify two kinds of purposes. These relate to protection and care, which are linked conceptually with recovery. Regarding **protection and care,** the first step is to identify victims, as well as risk factors of children becoming victims (McMahon-Howard and Reimers: 2013). This is an important element in the assistance of victims. This process is accompanied by the actions of the judicial system in prosecuting and providing advocacy for child victims (Smith: 2010). The second step is to provide a safe and welcoming place to stay (Rafferty: 2016). Both actions imply interaction with a system to promote wellbeing, alongside instruments, agencies and professionals with different areas of expertise (Fong and Cardoso: 2010; Trocmé et al.: 2016).

In terms of **recovery,** Bernal et al. (2013) identified the appropriate supports for victims of CSEC including psychological (emotional and cognitive), physical, social and legal services. From a psychosocial perspective, this comes under the umbrella of care and treatment. This support considers assessment, planning the intervention, education, individual and group therapies (Von Weiller et al.: 2010). When a medical dimension is included, such as sexual health, some authors identify the process as a rehabilitation program (Twill et al.:2010). Both alternatives include the idea of reintegration or social integration as part of the intervention. It implies access to education, the health system, work training and, for example in cases of trafficking, full integration in the new country (Zimmerman et al.:2011; Scott: 2016).

In this category, the intervention criteria are related to **the organisation's functions and professional roles**. Protection requires a rapid response and the exploitation being brought to an end in order to create a safe environment for child victims (Spencer-Hughes et al. 2017). As part of this process, services have to be able to manage the disclosure of the CSEC in the context of the recognition of violence as the basis of CSEC. CSEC victims require a variety of interventions and long-term services over the different stages in the recovery process (Robinson et al. 2008; Local Government Association: 2014; Sapiro et al.:2016). D'arcy et al. (2016) highlighted that interventions have to be flexible and pertinent with regards to risk factors and protective factors, such as strength of family resources. Highly skilled professionals are needed to provide these services (D'Arcy et al.:2016), and they should be interdisciplinary, trained in mental health (Ijadi-Maghsoodi: 2014) and with developed decision-making skills (Reisel: 2016).

2.2.1.3 Definitions based on intervention characteristics

In the third category, definitions based on intervention characteristics, the literature reviewed discusses two main characteristics of the intervention: complex intervention and integrated intervention. **Complex intervention** is based on the idea

that due to the multidimensional character of CSEC is not possible to build responses based on just one discipline, sector or area (Cole and Spranga: 2015). In contrast, multidisciplinary responses are required (Schlarmann et al.: 2011; Greenbaum: 2014). Furthermore, complex intervention involves children and families playing a more active role in the decision-making process (Parents Against Child Sexual Exploitation: 2014).

Integrated intervention involves a grid of responses to CSEC that the literature defines as a Multi-Agency Response (MAR). This response, "should provide an interface for policy, systems and practice" (Harvey et al. 2015: 501). MAR is appropriate and effective in CSEC cases due to the multiple types of violence involved and the effect this has on the victims (Rigby and Whyte:2015). MAR implies a collaboration and agreements regarding assessment tools and complementary services (Richardson & Asthana: 2006). Garret (2004) highlighted some challenges with this approach: the relationships between statutory and charitable agencies, interagency communication, multidisciplinary perspectives, and building trust with the victims. Furthermore, it needs to establish referral protocols, multi-agency meetings and shared child-centred principles (Pan London: 2013).

In this category, the intervention criteria are related to **the understanding of CSEC and being in a position to deliver interventions**. Mujica and Munoz (2015) suggested identifying CSEC based on violence, to deconstruct myths about CSEC, to distinguish causal factors of CSEC, and to consider gender and ethnic factors in the comprehension of CSEC. All of these elements would constitute a complex comprehension of CSEC. The main consequence of a complex understanding would be a comprehensive awareness of CSEC (Marshall: 2014). Consequently, a complex understanding of CSEC allows professionals, agencies and multi-agencies to deliver interventions in a non-judgemental manner (Chase and Statham: 2005). It requires the development, and a higher quality, of relationships between victims and services (D'Arcy and Thomas: 2016) that are highlighted for young victims as key elements in

the intervention process (Kruger et al.:2016). The practitioner would reinforce the idea of someone who was "friendly, approachable, and genuinely caring for the young persons' needs and safety" (Ahern et al. 2017: 84). This approach to CSEC involves developing empathy in the relationship.

To summarise, there are three kinds of CSEC intervention definitions and criteria. The first approaches configure a scenario in which the intervention can be developed. The intervention criteria are related to the CSEC victims, their characteristics and circumstances. The second one, based on the purposes of the intervention considers two main processes that define the nature of the intervention: protection and care, and recovery. The services related to these involve assessment, treatment planning and delivering social, psychological, physical and legal support. The intervention criteria are related to the organisation's functions and professional roles. The third one, based on intervention characteristics, considers two main features, complex intervention and integrated intervention. Both recommend the notion of multidimensionality and multi-agencies as an appropriate response to CSEC. The intervention criteria are related to this understanding of CSEC and the position of services to deliver interventions.

2.2.2 CSEC services

In this section, I analyse different types of services implemented for children and young people that have been subject to CSEC. These services show some common characteristics, such as multi-level and complex intervention. Furthermore, the related literature identifies complementary programmes which involves securing accommodation, providing health services, training opportunities, and specific programmes for children and young people that have been subjected to CSEC.

2.2.2.1 Multi-level services

Multi-level services are characterised by integration and collaboration: territorial integration, inter-agency partnership and cooperation, and multi-agency services. Regarding **territorial integration**, services recommend integrated services at an international and national level and at a national and local level. Dilacio and Varela (2012) illustrated, in cases of child trafficking, how it is possible to design and implement protective policies for trafficked children and young people at a regional level. International agencies coordinate these programmes and they are reproduced in any country involved. Furthermore, national commissions to prevent CSEC, or act against it, can design services and give guidelines to be implemented at a local level. Solis (2015) highlighted, in this partnership, the need for mediation between the national and the local view, considering cultural and economic aspects, and local stakeholders as the main resources. This cooperation could cover different aspects: prevention, protection, recovery, child participation, advocacy and foster care, among others (Barnits: 2001). Cameron et al. (2015) developed a comparative study among eight different countries in which this kind of integration was a common element. According to this study, territorial integration included a geographic and cultural dimension, mediation between levels (national and local), stakeholders (in the public and voluntary sector), and different options for taking action.

Concerning **Inter-agency partnership and cooperation**, some studies have identified cooperation between children and youth welfare systems that act as intermediaries for specific recovery services, such as counselling and therapy services (von Weiler: 2010). Other agencies, local resources, voluntary sector organisations or private practitioners can provide these services (Fong and Cardoso: 2010). In other cases, the justice system develops the partnership with agencies due to the criminal aspect of CSEC. While the justice system is seeking to prosecute illegal acts, protection services understand the need to support children and young people that have been in CSEC (Harvey et al.:2015). The limitation of agencies' ability to deal with the complexity of

CSEC and children's needs, leads them to collaborate. When this collaboration becomes a long-term collaboration, and it starts to consider a more sophisticated level of planning and agreement, we call this relationship a partnership (Marshall: 2014; Alvarez et al.: 2015). Melrose (2004) highlighted that agencies working together need to build a relationship of trust if they want to work effectively in partnership.

Similarly, **Multi-agency services** appear as a consolidation of inter-agency partnerships and cooperation. If 'partnership' is to be considered a more sophisticated level of planning and cooperation, 'multi-agency' is characterised by a network of organisations, common views and outcomes, referral mechanisms, and local agreements to prevent, provide services, share information and provide evidence for prosecution Dubowitz: 2017). In the case of CSEC, multi-agencies take different forms such as boards, panel, and hubs. Chase and Statham (2005), analysing the occurrence of CSEC in the UK, reflected that the multi-agency approach tends to be a more effective model of intervention and also that collaboration could decrease the 're-victimisation' or 'secondary victimisation' when there is a judicial process involved (Robinson et al.:2008).

The first element highlighted is the idea of sharing information and building mechanisms of referral (RIP and University of Greenwich: 2015). Sharing information is an opportunity for agencies to agree on perspectives, to identify a common problem and to facilitate understanding between teams and agencies about the comprehension and the procedures used (Moran et al.:2007). Sharing information leads to decision-making processes and a distribution of tasks and responsibilities (Staffordshire County Council: 2016). Furthermore, the processes of information-sharing and decision-making help to create a pertinent referral pathway, which means a course of action for dealing with CSEC, involving agencies and their resources (Greater London Authority: 2015). That referral path could be developed at a local

level (Pan London Child Sexual Exploitation Operating Protocol: 2013) or a national level (Zimmerman: 2011).

The second element suggested is that multi-agency services work at a local level. Local agencies are called upon to coordinate responses to children that have been in CSEC. Most of the time, the stakeholders involved in these responses are the local council, social services, the police, NHS staff, education staff, local authorities, and the voluntary sector (Local Government Association: 2013). The public sector plays a fundamental role in this kind of local coordination regarding their mandate, the resources and the public role in order to make CSEC visible (Local Government Association: 2014). Smeaton (2013) remarks on the contribution of the voluntary sector and its capacity to promote dialogue with different stakeholders such as the police, schools and healthcare staff. These relationships, when they become strong and close, are positive for children in order to transmit the trust that children and young people that have been in CSEC need to attach with any local services, considering that a consequence of CSEC is stigma and discrimination (Cusick and Martin:2003).

The third element is that a multi-agency service allows innovation in terms of services and protocols. For instance, it recognises the relevant role of accommodation as a material and symbolic support to children and young people that have been in CSEC. Scott and Harper (2006) illustrated the effort of the multi-agency board to provide the service even if it is not the main purpose of the agency. Another example of innovation is to identify specific target population of children and young people that have been in CSEC. Franklin et al. (2015) claimed that the multi-agency approach is potentially able to fulfil the special needs of children and young people with disabilities that have been in CSEC. Another innovation that multi-agencies can enable is to expand the remit of local boards from general child protection to CSEC situations. Carmi and Myers (2016) explained the positive results of these transitions in a specific project ("See me, hear me") and the pertinence of using a multi-agency

role. Once again, they highlighted the police role in the protection of children and young people and prosecution of perpetrators of CSEC. A similar experience is described in multi-agency panels in London. These panels identify CSEC cases, share information and manage a common strategy to support CSEC victims (Metropolitan Police: 2015). Furthermore, multi-agency services promote innovation in terms of taking into account the views of families, children, and practitioners when designing the services, improving their engagement, and finding a compromise between the different participants in the protection and recovery process (Palmer and Jenkins: 2014; Scott et al.:2017).

2.2.2.2 Complex intervention

Complex intervention connects with the idea of CSEC as a complex phenomenon that implies a multidimensional and comprehensive understanding and response (Claramount: 2005; Runge: 2010). In this case, the literature identifies **the notion of diversity in interventions** as complex. This diversity implies an extended variety of responses considering the multiple needs of children and young people (La Valle et al.:2016). These responses could consider general counselling or rehabilitation programmes (Shield and Letourneau: 2015). However, Hardy et al. (2013) highlighted the need for specialised services for children and young people that have been in CSEC: "*these children will require a comprehensive framework of specialized treatment and mental health counselling that addresses post-traumatic stress, depression, and sexual exploitation*" (Hardy et al. 2013:12).

These services could be connected with the judicial system or juvenile judicial system as well, in order to incorporate the dimension of protection and recovery in the judicial processes. This brings with it the potential for engaging in, for instance, court advocacy, counselling, or harm reduction (Rand: 2009). This happens, for example, in an institution such as a centre for missing children in which the different agencies (mental health services, the justice system, police and community agencies) and

diverse services such as recovery services, legal advocacy, public sensitisation, are connected (Runge: 2010). Other expressions of this diversity are illustrated in alternatives such as community and local interventions, trauma-informed and empowering practice (Williams et al.: 2017).

Due to this diversity, **there are challenges in the development of complex interventions**. The first one relates to deficits in the services for children and young people that have been in CSEC. Dubowitz (2017) compares the responses for victims in a global perspective, identifying the lack of resources in the responses related to the type of protective system and socioeconomic characteristics. Hickle and Hallett (2016) identify a lack of funding as a barrier to the development of complex intervention and multi-agencies responses. Furthermore, Berson and Baggerly (2009) highlights the need for trained staff, which is a second obstacle. D'Arcy et al. (2015) developed the idea of skilled staff as a basic requirement in specialised services for children and young people that have been subjected to CSEC. This requirement is based on the realisation that lack of skilled staff is one of the most common problems in the agencies involved in CSEC (Pearce: 2014).

2.2.2.3 Complementary programmes

Along with the notion of multi-agency services and complex interventions, the literature identifies a series of programmes that are able to provide social support to children and young people that have been subjected to CSEC. The provision of **accommodation and shelter** are one of the programmes identified, which offers a stable and safe place to live. These programmes can offer various alternatives, such as transitory or permanent accommodation (Smeaton: 2016), autonomous programmes, or links with alternative home care, such as foster care (Benninger-Budel: 2000, Green: 2005). All these alternatives involve a physical dimension (facilities and equipment) and psychosocial support in order to assist victims emotionally, support the transition (from the street to the house) and facilitate the

social reintegration, with referrals to other services (Shuker: 2015; D'Arcy and Brodie: 2015).

Another programme is related to **Health Services**. These services assist with damage to physical health, which is a direct consequence of the violence (Greenbaum and Crawford-Jakubiak: 2015), provide sexual and reproductive health guidance (Edinburgh and Saewyc: 2009), and mental health resources (Rafferty: 2008) (Cooney and Rogowski: 2017). Furthermore, health services in the context of CSEC can be considered as a part of multiagency service with specific roles (Cooper: 2014), and also with complementary role, for instance, as a referral point to other specialised organisations or to the justice system (Greenbaum: 2014). In any case, William et al. (2012) highlighted the need for a caring and sensitive child-centred health system.

Complementarily**, specific programmes** are developed for children and young people that have been subjected to CSEC. Considering gender differences, services for young men are articulated with the network of programmes in CSEC (Lillywhite and Skidmore: 2006). Services for runaway and street children incorporate specific methodologies based on the risks and requirement of street work, and the kinds of attention that these situations require (Saewyc et al.:2010; Gibbs et al.: 2015). The use of art and alternative therapies is another service that has been developed for children and young people that have been subjected to CSEC. Art can promote resilience, individual empowerment, and social community reintegration (Ugarte et al.: 2004).

These direct services for children and young people that have been exposed to CSEC are supported by indirect services related to awareness raising of the risk of CSEC, and public campaigns to prevent CSEC (Dhaliwal et al.: 2015; Hodge:2008). The last element to highlight regarding complementary programmes is training. In order to fulfil the variety and characteristics of services, practitioners and institutions have to develop or to attend different levels of training to improve knowledge of CSEC in

medical settings (Konstantopoulos et al.: 2013) or school settings (Education and Training Inspectorate: 2014). Furthermore, it includes the development of intervention skills to provide support and recovery for children and young people (Scott: 2016; Bourke et al.:2016). In all cases, it is suggested that the effectiveness and results of such training should be evaluated and monitored (McMahon-Howard and Reimers: 2013).

In summary, services provided for children and young people that have been subject to CSEC could be classified in three areas. The first is multi-level, and considers territorial integration, interagency partnership and multiagency work. The second is complex intervention that includes the notion of diversity in the intervention and the challenges of service delivery. The third involves complementary programmes that includes provision of accommodation and shelter, health services and specific programmes such as support for runaways, art interventions and training.

2.2.3 CSEC Intervention models and strategies

In this section, I discuss different models of intervention in CSEC that are identified in the literature, and dimensions of the interventions such as contents, strategies and activities. A model is characterised as an abstract construction that represents the reality of the situation and acts as a guide for action. A model works as conceptual framework that establishes the theoretical foundation, components, conditions and elements of an intervention (Camelo and Cifuentes: 2006).

CSEC intervention models can be classified into two groups depending on whether the emphasis is on (i) a macro/meso-level approach such as systemic/eco-systemic/ecological models; social approach and Human Rights models; organisation/institutional model, or a (ii) micro-level approach such as person-centred models; psychosocial and attachment models; trauma-informed and cognitive behavioural models; and risk and harm reduction models.

2.2.3.1 Macro/meso level

At the macro/meso-level, there is a constellation of intervention models based on **systemic theories**. Regardless of their specificities, all of them share the basic elements contained in the notion of the system as a complex totality and the notion of change as adaption and evolution (Amagoh: 2008). The ecological model promotes preventive actions and treatment at different and complementary levels: individual, relationship, community and societal levels (Wurtele: 2012). The ecological approach also enriches the interaction with other agencies and sectors because it expands the focus from just the children to the family interactions and needs (Lalor and McElvaney: 2010). Consequently, it makes the services more approachable, comprehensive and pertinent to the complexity of CSEC (Hickle and Hallett: 2016). Furthermore, socio-ecological models have been used to develop support for children and young people in specific modalities of CSEC such as exploitation in online environment (Gradinger et al.: 2015).

In a more focused way, based on a systemic approach, a multi-systemic therapy has been developed. This therapy allows strategic family interventions and the inclusion in that therapy of extended families, peers, and institutions related to children and young people that have been subject to CSEC, such as schools, the health system, the juvenile criminal system and social services (Fong and Cardoso: 2010). Another example of a systemic model is the use of art in trauma recovery, which is based on the benefits of art in individual symbolic processes, in the social level with a focus on challenging stigmatisation, and at a cultural level where the setting incorporates cultural diversity (Barnes and Peters: 2002).

The main strategies considered for these models are classified as (i) identifying victims, carrying out medical and psychosocial assessment and making referrals as necessary, based on this assessment (Hardy et al.: 2013; Rafferty 2013; Greenbaum

and Crawford-Jakubiak: 2015; Research in Practice- University of Greenwich: 2015); (ii) specialised training to deliver assessment, referral and recovery process (Greenbaum: 2014; Williams et al.: 2017); and (iii) micro, meso, and macro-level services based on a multiagency response, such as individual integral services, parent and child support (Greenbaum: 2014; PACE: 2014), and community and local authority support (Smeaton: 2013; D'arcy and Thomas: 2016; George and Panko: 2011).

There is a group of models related to a **social and human rights approach**. This group highlights a participatory model that includes the interaction of individual and cultural factors of CSEC and the notion of partnership as a critical part of the design, implementation and monitoring of the intervention (Kruger et al.: 2016). In this vein, the localised model emphasises the local area as a nucleus of the intervention. Furthermore, it involves a flexibility in the delivery of services, for example by offering services at night (D'Arcy and Thomas: 2016).

Another expression of this cluster is gender and feminist-ethic models. These models consider the analysis of structural factors such as inequality and poverty based on gender and the impact on the origin and maintenance of CSEC. The focus is on building close and protective relationships and links with communities, raising awareness of the structural role of gender inequalities and managing risks on a day to day basis based on social pedagogical strategies (Thomas and Speyer: 2016; Cooney and Rogowski: 2017; Williams et al.: 2017)

Finally, human rights models highlight a comprehensive framework and victim-centred approach that promotes enforcement of international, regional and domestic law and strategic partnership with law enforcement actors (Rafferty: 2013). This model understands the consequences of marginalisation and inequalities related to CSEC as a violation of economic and social rights (Duger: 2015). Consequently, the actions taken to intervene in CSEC focus on human development, the promotion of

the rights of the child (Dilacio et al.:2012) and the empowerment of the victims (Bernal - Camargo et al.: 2012).

The main strategies considered for these models are classified as (i) prevention and education regarding the voices of the participants (children and young people that have been subjected to CSEC or at-risk populations) and the use of technology-mediated approaches such as websites or video-based prevention strategies (Berson: 2003; Murphy et al.:2016); (ii) awareness-raising developed in institutional and interagency spaces (Montgomery-Devlin 2008; CCEYP: 2014; The Scottish Government: 2017); and (iii) empowerment of vulnerable youth or at-risk populations in community-based programmes or informal peer spaces (Wilson, Critelli and Rittner: 2014; Sanabria and Marin: 2014).

The last group in this section are organisational and institutional models. Accommodation models offer residential care that involves the traditional elements of residential care (shelter, basic needs, and emotional support) whilst incorporating a CSEC risk assessment (La Valle et al.:2016). Specialised foster care models put the emphasis on a complex notion of safety, including the promotion of a supportive environment, positive and trusting relationships, advocacy and multi-agency partnerships (Shuker: 2015).

Local/territorial models develop multi-services incorporating stakeholders and resources provided by the regional services. Local authority care identifies children and young people that have been subject to CSEC, their needs and adapting the space and timing (office hour work) to deliver the services to meet their needs (Myers and Carmi: 2014). Responses are also provided in a multidisciplinary and multiagency model that identifies children and young people that have been subjected to CSEC, assess their needs and potential risks, and connect services available in their area and into communities (Rand: 2009).

The main strategies considered for these models are classified as (i) safety strategies through general or specialised residence or foster care systems (Lillywhite and Skidmore: 2006; Vega et al.: 2011; Shuker: 2015); and (ii) ambulatory care (specialised psychosocial programmes) and residential interventions (physical and mental health programmes) to deliver treatment and recovery processes for children and young people that have been subjected to CSEC (Saewyc and Edinburgh: 2010; Wilson and Butler: 2014; Department of Health: 2014).

2.2.3.2 Micro level

At the micro level, there is a combination of models recognised as **trauma-informed and cognitive behavioural models**. These models deliver individual or group therapy sessions for children and young people that have been subjected to CSEC and who are presenting emotional distress or mental health symptomatology, such as post-traumatic stress or anxiety (Cohen et al.: 2015). This model aims to understand the effects of traumatic events on children and to stabilise the emergent symptoms, consider the traumatic experience, individual characteristics of victims and their needs, and the characteristics of the services offered (Bounds et al.: 2015; Konstantopoulos et al.: 2013; Sapiro et al.: 2016).

Cognitive and behavioural models focus on short-term treatment aimed at improving social skills, treating post-traumatic stress symptoms and problem solving (Twill et al.:2010). These practices are developed in combination with other strategies such as group therapy and body therapy and trauma-informed therapy in community-based mental health agencies, home-based and residential settings (Goldman et al.: 2014; Sapiro et al.:2016). The extended use of these models in violence has informed an institutional response to service delivery, such as trauma-informed services (Hardy et al. 2013) and trauma-informed child welfare practice (Goldman et al.:2014). These are supported by mental health organisations working in partnership with statutory and voluntary services. George and Pankos (2011) highlight the effectiveness of these models in alleviating emotional distress and physical reactions. Furthermore, models

show efficacy in dealing with mental health symptoms associated with trauma and promoting coping strategies (Ijadi-Maghsoodi et al.: 2014; Shields and Letourneau: 2015). Criticism of these models tends to focus on the accessibility of these services in CSEC cases, the pertinence of this approach according to the situation and modality of CSEC and the lack of evidence of the quality of these services (Wilson et al.: 2015; Shields and Letourneau: 2015).

The main strategies considered for these models are classified as (i) diagnosis of complex trauma effects including disclosure of victimisation (Cohen et al.:2015; Salisbury: 2015); (ii) trauma-informed care and solution-focused casework (Konstantopoulos et al.: 2013; Goldman et al.: 2014); and (iii) comprehensive case management, and trauma-informed care (Sapiro et al.:2016).

Another group of models are based on principles of **risk of harm reduction**. These models deliver risk assessment especially for front-line, non-specialist staff in order to guide them through the process of evaluation of current or future involvement of children in CSEC (Stroud and Warren-Adamson: 2013). Complementary to risk assessment, these models also assess vulnerability factors (behaviours, context and individual history) that can indicate a risk of being, or becoming, involved in CSEC. These vulnerability factors then guide intervention plans (Lebloch and King: 2006). Once the risks are identified, these models orient services to provide short-term care and protection for children, as a first step in a longer-term response (Hallett: 2016). Due to the complexity of CSEC, these responses are primarily designed to deal with the emotional impacts that CSEC have on children and young people, and to reduce the harmful consequences of CSEC. These models generally take children's voices into account when planning the intervention (Hickle and Hallett: 2016).

The main strategies employed in these models can be classified into three categories: (i) strategies orientated around caring and building resilience, potentially involving residential alternatives (La Valle et al.: 2016) and specialised foster care (Shuker:

2015); (ii) strategies directed to individuals with a high risk profile with an aim of reducing risk, potentially involving services to provide protection and health care (Edinburgh and Saewyc: 2008), and improving wellbeing, awareness of rights and risk (Williamset al.: 2017); and (iii) strategies aimed at harm reduction, involving positive peer support through group involvement (Hickle and Hallett: 2016).

The last category of these models are **psychosocial and attachment** models. This is a broad category that includes person- and family-centred approaches and have as central elements the building of trust and the engagement of children and family members as allies of the intervention (Department of Health: 2014; Palmer and Jenkins: 2014; Reisel: 2016; Trocmé et al.: 2016). Furthermore, it includes models that promote safety relationships and resilience, taking cultural aspects into account (Rafferty 2008; Dodsworth: 2014), and provides emotional support, empowerment, self-advocacy and intensive case management services (PACE: 2014; Gibbs et al.: 2015). The main strategies involved in these models are classified into three categories: (i) strategies based on building rapport, trust and emotional support (Cooney and Rogowski: 2016; Thomas and Speyer: 2016; Ahern et al.: 2017; Spencer-Hughes et al.: 2017); (ii) strategies based on integral intervention throughout different stages and situations in the intervention, such as the provision of safe accommodation, services offering crisis support and basic material conditions of life (Tzvetkova: 2002; Gibbs et al. 2015), and counselling and psychotherapy to support the recovery process for both children and their families (von Weiler et al. : 2010; Palmer and Jenkins: 2014; Rafferty: 2008; Alvarez et al.: 2015); and (iii) strategies based on group interventions, stakeholder coordination and art intervention to support the reintegration process of children that have been in CSEC (Barnes and Peters: 2002; Deb et al.:2011; McMahon-Howard and Reimers: 2013; Todres et al.: 2014; Cody: 2015).

To summarise, CSEC intervention models can be classified into two groups depending on whether the emphasis is on a macro-meso or micro level. On macro-meso level,

approaches are systemic/eco-systemic/ecological models, social approach and Human Rights models and organisation/institutional model. The main strategies involve identifying victims, training staff and volunteers, prevention and education, raising awareness and ambulatory safety care. On a micro-level, approaches are person-centred models, psychosocial and attachment models, trauma-informed and cognitive behavioural models, and risk of harm reduction models. The main strategies involve diagnosis, risk assessment, building resilience, improving wellbeing, and the provision of emotional support, counselling and psychotherapy.

2.2.4 Critical issues and challenges in CSEC intervention

In this final section, I identify critical issues and challenges in CSEC interventions. In order to organise this material, the critical issues and challenges are classified in the same way as the previous points.

2.2.4.1 Critical issues in CSEC intervention definitions and criteria

There are three groups of critical issues and challenges in relation to the definitions and criteria for CSEC interventions. The first is related to the diversity of the definitions, which creates difficulties in understanding CSEC and identifying its victims. The second is related to the lack of guidelines and protocols, creating difficulties with access to interventions. The third is related to the role of the state and the lack of funding to sustain interventions.

One of the main difficulties and challenges identified is the diversity of definitions relating to CSEC, mainly to the elements involved in it. There is a lack of recognition of the coercive dimension (Deb et al.: 2011) and difficulties are encountered in understanding the dynamics of CSEC (Marcus et al.:2011; Hallet 2015; Cooney and Rogowski: 2017). Consequently, there are difficulties in identifying victims and their characteristics (Ugarte et al.:2004; von Weiler et al.: 2010; Miller-Perrin and Wurtele: 2017) and thus in aligning coordinated responses (Crewe: 2014; Duger: 2015).

The second issue is related to the lack of guidelines to provide criteria for treatment (Ijadi-Maghsoodi et al.:2014). The lack of protocols on the intervention of services show a weak consideration of the multiples risk and complexity of CSEC (Miller: 2007; Vega et al.: 2011) and limits the establishment of appropriate policies, support and equal access to services for children and young people that have been subjected to CSEC (Solis: 2015; Tomas and Speyer: 2016).

Finally, the role of the states is another critical issue due to lack of leadership in developing and implementing effective strategies to protect children and young people that have been in CSEC (Rafferty:2016). Consequently, the lack of funding to sustain services is a problem which is highlighted in the literature (Smeaton:2013; Franklin et al.:2015). The rationale used by the state to develop initiatives in CSEC is also explored in that literature: while child protection services were established to afford protection against abuse to babies and children, these new phenomena do not necessarily demand the same responses as those offered in relation to child abuse (Pearce and Melrose: 2010). Shuker (2015) analysed the tension between the rationale of care and control in the development of scenarios more oppressive or more emancipatory than in the intervention with children and young people that have been subjected to CSEC.

Thus, differing and contradictory definitions and understandings of CSEC, the lack of guidelines and protocols to orientate CSEC interventions and the weakness in the state role in CSEC are critical issues regarding CSEC intervention definition and criteria.

2.2.4.2 Critical issues in CSEC services

There are three groups of critical issues and challenges in relation to CSEC services. The first is related to the difficulties in the provision of services for protection and social integration. The second is related to the challenges faced by practitioners in delivering services for children and young people that have been in CSEC, and third is related to the difficulties and challenges in interagency and multiagency work.

Criticism arises around services to promote social integration for children and young people that have been in CSEC. For instance, access to health services is uncommon during exploitation (Zimmerman et al.:2011; Todres et al.:2014). Even though there are clear consequences of CSEC on the physical and sexual health of children and young people, there is a disconnect between CSEC and the provision of health care, resulting in gaps in service delivery and a lack of clarity as to who leads in its provision (Edinburgh and Saewyc: 2008). As for material protection, child care residences and housing support are described as inadequate, uncomfortable, lacking in social support and not adequately designed to assist with the transit from the experience of exploitation to social integration (Wilson and Butler: 2014; D'Arcy and Brodie: 2015). Similar situations are described in terms of the difficulties encountered with the delivery of education to children and young people who have been involved in CSEC, whether in school or though alternative means such as home-schooling or tutorials (Williams et al.: 2017).

Practitioners identify tensions in delivering services. Some of them are related to building a relationship of trust with children and young people that have been in CSEC. High profile cases demand close and comprehensive relationships that sometimes are difficult to develop due to the lack of staff, time or the need for disclosure in a judicial context (Greater London Authority 2015; Ahern et al.: 2017). Other difficulties to delivering services are the lack of labour stability, difficulties in teamwork, tensions in managing risk and delays in addressing incomplete referrals

(D'arcy et al.: 2016; Williams et al.:2017). Finally, the literature highlights the need to train practitioners in different areas such as risk assessment, identifying child protection procedures and understanding of CSEC dynamics (McMahon-Howard and Reimers: 2013; Local Government Association: 2014). Interagency and multiagency work are strategies well recognised and valued in delivering services for children that have been in CSEC. However, there are different opinions in terms of its efficacy. The gradient goes from non-existence of multi-inter agency work (Pearce: 2006; Lillywhite and Skidmore: 2016) to lack of coordination and implementation (Dodsworth: 2014; Cameron et al.:2015) and difficulties in sharing information, agreeing strategies, and providing specialist services (O'Callaghan: 2014; Myers and Carmi: 2015).

Therefore, weaknesses in the pertinence of providing health, accommodation and education, tension of practitioners in building trust and delivering services in an adverse context (stability, lack of training) and difficulties in inter-multi agency work are critical issues and challenges affecting CSEC services.

2.2.4.3 Critical issues in CSEC intervention models and strategies

There are three groups of critical issues and challenges affecting intervention models and strategies. The first is related to the gap between institutions' rationale and procedures and the models/strategies used. The second is related to the gap between children's experience in being subject to CSEC and the rationale of models/strategies used, and the third is related to the tension between specialised intervention models in CSEC and other psychosocial intervention models. Scholars highlight the gap between institutions' rationale and procedure and the models and strategies that are used. In some cases, due to the nature of the services provided, there is a distance between the model conception and the institution's definitions. This gap happens for instance when CSEC prevention programmes are implemented in a school setting, and the school does not engage with the model (Education and

Training Inspectorate: 2014) or the conditions related to it are not appropriate for the model. For instance, in partnership work, model phases might not align with the school calendar and timetable (Kruger et al.:2016). Similarly, models imply some outcomes that are not related to the data produced in some institutional settings such as residential programmes (La Valle et al.:2016) or when the model is not based on evidence-informed (Hardy et al.:2013). In both cases, the gap between the model and the institution rationale became a critical issue and a challenge for practitioners and stakeholders.

The second element is the gap between children's experience of being in CSEC and the rationale behind the proposed models/strategies. Models implemented are not able to take into account all the dimensions of the experience of children and young people that have been exposed to CSEC (Hallett: 2016). For example, models need to be adapted to the targeted population with consideration given to ethnic groups, regional diversity, gender and CSEC modalities (Saewyc and Edinburgh: 2010; Palmer and Jenkins: 2013). Furthermore, the law requires actions to be taken in the child's best interests, requiring models to adjust their rationale to the specific child's needs and experiences (Smith:2011).

Finally, the literature highlights the tension between specialised CSEC intervention and other psychosocial intervention models. One trend is the move from one model to other.

For example, among mental health professionals there may be a move from person-centred approaches to ones which are trauma-based, according to children's needs (Ferguson et al.:2009). Furthermore, more general models that promote a post-trauma recovery process are also used with children who have been subjected to CSEC. The main rationale for this is that traumatic experiences other than CSEC have a common impact on children (Ijadi-Maghsoodi et al.:2014; Voices Young people in care: 2014; Wilson and Butler:2014).

Therefore, gaps between models' and institutions' rationale and children's experiences, and the relationship between specialised CSE intervention models and psychosocial intervention models, are critical issues and challenges with CSEC intervention models and strategies.

To summarise, there are critical issues and challenges in relation to the definitions and criteria of CSEC, within the provision of services and facing practitioners who deliver those services. More specifically, the issues and challenges insofar as CSEC definitions and criteria are concerned include the diversity in the definitions, resulting in difficulties in understanding CSEC and identifying victims, the lack of guidelines and protocols which cause difficulties with access to interventions, the weak role of the state and the resultant lack of funding to sustain interventions. The issues and challenges facing CSEC services include difficulties in the delivery of services for protection and social integration, the challenges faced by practitioners in delivering services for children and young people that have been in CSEC, and the difficulties and challenges in interagency and multiagency work. In CSEC intervention models and strategies, there are gaps between institutions' rationale and procedure and the models/strategies' rationale, gaps between children's experiences in being in CSEC and models/strategies' rationale, and tensions between specialised intervention models in CSEC and other psychosocial intervention models.

2.2.5 Section conclusion

The literature suggests that there are three types of CSEC intervention definitions and criteria. The first of these, based on approach, considers different influential sources classified into two levels: institutional and comprehensive. These approaches configure a scenario and a purpose in which the intervention can be developed. The intervention criteria are related to the CSEC victims, their characteristics and circumstances.

The second, based on the purposes of the intervention, considers two main processes that define the nature of the intervention: protection and care, and recovery. The services related to these purposes involve assessment, treatment planning and delivering social, psychological, physical and legal support. The intervention criteria are related to the organisation's functions and professional roles.

The third, based on intervention characteristics, considers two main features: complex intervention and integrated intervention. Both recommend the notion of multidimensionality and multi-agencies as an appropriate response to CSEC. The intervention criteria are related to the understanding of CSEC and the position from which the interventions will be delivered. Critical issues and challenges identified are the diversity in the definitions, understanding and victim identification, the lack of guidelines, protocols that cause difficulties with the access to intervention and the role of the state and resultant lack of funding to sustain interventions.

Regarding CSEC Services, the literature suggested that services provided for children and young people that have experienced CSEC could be classified in three areas. The first is multi-level and focuses on territorial integration, interagency partnership and multiagency work. The second is defined by complex intervention and includes the notion of diversity in the intervention and the challenge to deliver complex intervention. The third relates to complementary programmes, which includes programmes regarding accommodation and shelter, health services and specific programmes such as runaway support, art interventions and training.

Critical issues and challenges identified in this regard are the difficulties in the provision of services for protection and social integration, the challenges faced by practitioners in delivering services for children and young people that have been in CSEC, and the difficulties and challenges in interagency and multiagency work.

Finally, CSEC intervention models and strategies can, according to the literature, be classified into two groups depending on whether the emphasis is on a macro-meso or micro level. On a macro-meso level approach are systemic/eco-systemic/ecological models, social approach and human rights models and organisation/institutional models. The main strategies are identifying victims, training, prevention and education, raising awareness and ambulatory safety care. On a micro-level approach are person-centred models; psychosocial and attachment models; trauma-informed and cognitive behavioural models; and risk of harm reduction models.

The main strategies are diagnosis, risk assessment, building resilience, improving wellbeing, emotional support, counselling and psychotherapy. Critical issues and challenges identified concern the gap between institutions' rationale and procedures and the models/strategies, the gap between children's experiences of being in CSEC and model/strategies' rationale, and the tension between specialised intervention models in CSEC and other psychosocial intervention models.

2.3 Research aim and question

Following from the arguments, challenges and critical points based on the literature review, and the global and local contexts in CSEC and the responses, the main purpose of this research is analysed the relationship between social policy and legal framework, models and practices of intervention in CSEC. This implies discuss, firstly, the policies and programmes in Chile related to CSEC, their rationale and viewpoints; secondly, the models of CSEC intervention and thirdly, the practices of intervention made by specialised centres.

In order to do that, the research question posed it: ***How can we characterise the policies and programmes of CSEC, the CSEC intervention models, and the interdisciplinary practices in commercial sexual exploitation of children? How have these been implemented in the last decade in Chile?.***

Consequently, the main aim of the research was '***To describe, understand, and analyse the programmes of social intervention in CSEC, the social intervention models, and the interdisciplinary practices in commercial sexual exploitation of children, implemented in the last decade in Chile (2004-2014)'.***

2.4 Chapter conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to review the relevant literature in relation to two topics that are central to this research: the main distinctions and convergences between Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) and other expressions of Child Sexual Abuse (CSA); and secondly, a critical discussion on the CSEC intervention, including definitions, criteria, services, models and strategies. I conducted a systematic search using an interdisciplinary approach to develop the main arguments contained in the literature review. Following this process, the main conclusion of the chapter can be illustrated in the following points:

2.4.1 Recognition of CSE and CSA as global/local and diachronic/synchronic phenomenon

- This implies that CSEC and CSA are an historical invariant in the shape of incest, children used by adults in sexual intercourse, children's brothels, the sale of children for sexual purposes, child sexual abuse to cure sexual disease (healthy sexuality), and child sexual abuse in institutions designed to protect children.

- There is increasing evidence of its prevalence which has raised awareness of the typologies and modalities of CSEC and CSA.

- There are attempts to define, understand and identify the main characteristics of CSEC and to distinguish it from CSA. These are diverse and heterogeneous. Even though the idea of transaction is the distinction between CSA and CSEC, the separation of the two is not clear cut.

2.4.2 Recognition of the consequences of CSEC on mental health, child development and social integration.

- There are individual and social consequences of CSEC, including impacts on children's health; sexual health problems; long term damage; increased tendency to run away; increased likelihood of substance abuse; nightmares; anxiety; depression; suicidal ideations; and difficulty sleeping, among others.

- Two elements were developed as a nucleus of the violence contained in CSEC: damage and victimisation, and objectification.

2.4.3 Recognition of global and local responses child perspectives, guideline, policy and legal framework

- The movement of protection of children is an historical invariant that began with modernity and has been intensified during the twentieth century with the human rights movement.

- A process of recognition of childhood as a subject of law (and subject of protection against CSA and CSEC) and the recognition of CSEC as a domestic and international crime.

- The definition of CSEC interventions and criteria to be implemented. The development of CSEC services, intervention models and strategies.

- The recognition of critical issues and challenges in the process of intervening in cases of CSEC.

These elements provide a rationale for the current research, which is to analyse the relationship between three main aspects of the reponse to CSEC: policies, intervention models and interdisciplinary intervention practices. The global and local context, and the literature review informed the discussion regarding tensions, criticisms, gaps, convergences and divergences in the interaction among these responses. The following chapter will develop the the philosophical and methodological rationale to conduct the research.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

The introductory chapter (socio-political context and Chilean reality) and the literature review (discussion between CSA and CSEC and the intervention in CSEC) highlight the critical knots within which the phenomenon of CSEC and the responses (policies, models and interventions) are articulated. The research question and the purposes of the study contribute to filling the gaps identified in those previous sections. In this chapter, I reflect on the philosophical considerations of conducting discourse analysis research in the qualitative tradition regarding the ontological understanding of reality, epistemological position and methodological rationale. First, I begin with a conceptual distinction between each category. Then I move on to the particular ontological (social ontology) and epistemological (Hermeneutic Interpretation) options that this research defended and the key elements and authors that support this approach. Later, I develop the thesis' methodology arguing the pertinence of the qualitative tradition for this research and the relevance in this case of a discursive approach in the modality of applied discourse analysis.

3.1 Ontological and epistemological approach

3.1.1 General understanding of ontology and epistemology

The philosophical role of ontology is to discuss the nature of reality and the elements that can be known by this reality (Ponterotto: 2005). Blaikie offers an understanding of ontology based on "claims and assumptions that are made about the nature of social reality, claims about what exists, what it looks like, what units make it up and how these units interact with each other" (2007: 8). Ontology also refers to the last foundation of the 'reality' of the based on the idea that the nature of something is inscribed in the thing itself (Holzapfel: 2014). In brief, ontological assumptions are concerned with what we believe constitutes social reality. This element could be relevant when different cultural contexts drive diverse worldviews, assumptions, and

approaches to social research (Grix: 2002). Hay (2002) complements this idea, highlighting the social and political character of social reality.

As Spencer (1982) relates, the reality status question is connected with the historical characteristics of the reality that lies with the notion of "truth; regarding what exists in the 'world of human experience' and human nature itself" (Gopinath 2014: 1874). However, Posada (2014) focuses on the ontological regarding what a fact in social science is. In the case of the social sciences, subjects, and their capacity to think, act, and build the world 'as a human world', means that a world made of social interactions and mutual understanding make the facts (Habermas: 1998). Therefore, ontology, in the context of social science and qualitative research, is about the nature of the social reality (phenomena and facts) made by humans (Goertz & Mahoney: 2016) in a 'human world', meaning in a factual and institutional world (Searle: 1995).

The philosophy of science agrees in recognising two main ontological positions or ontological programs (Carcamo: 2010) that define the way in which reality is understood. Even though there are different terms to name them, the first is described variously as rationalism or objectivism (Comte: 1980, Habermas: 1986), realism (Gergen: 1999, Gosende: 2001; Vazquez: 2001), or materialism (Tang: 2011; Garcia: 2004). All of them refer to the idea that the external existence of reality (regarding any observer) and the notion of "adaequatio" (adequacy) between the intellect and reality (things) means that knowledge "reflects in mind the reality itself" (Garcia 2004: 146). Therefore, this notion supposes an adequacy between the assertion and proposition made by the subject and things, as they exist in reality (Chalmers: 1999).

The second position is called idealism (Grix: 2002; Gergen: 1999) or subjectivism (Sandoval: 2004; Robles: 2012), and it asserts that "social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors." (Bryman 2012:33). In this view, social actors do not mean a previous and given reality; they perform the

reality by building social and shared meanings in their interactions (Potter: 1996; Sandoval: 2010). Therefore, this position asserts that the essential condition of existence of the entities studied by social science is the fact that subjects and their mental capacities are able to cause actions. "Social sciences are about facts made by subjects; this is the most relevant feature of their existence" (Posada 2014: 72).

While ontology is on the path of the nature of reality, epistemology is about "how we can know what we know" (Crotty 1998:8). Bryman (2012) suggests that the main concerns of epistemology are the parameters and protocols to evaluate knowledge as acceptable knowledge in a particular discipline. Therefore, an epistemological approach may take into account a notion of reality, an understanding of truth, a definition of the kind of knowledge sought, and a method (Bachelard: 1983). Ponterotto (2005) points out the nature of the relationship between research participants and the researcher as a dimension of the epistemological understanding as well. This is the notion of 'subject of cognition', the researcher that is doing the action to investigate from a specific view (discipline) and recreate the field in which he/she is immersed (Holzapfel: 2004). Grix (2002) and Bhawuk (2010) describe epistemology as the "theory of knowledge" regarding the sources, scope, validation, relationships with truth and beliefs, and justification of the knowledge. Gopinath (2014) refers to the way in which knowledge is produced as another element of epistemology. He discusses the inductive (from the particular to general) and deductive (from the general to the particular) strategies and how these strategies address different approaches in doing research.

In connection with ontology, epistemology can be classified into different matrices, according to the two ontological positions described above (Aguirre and Jaramillo: 2010; Vazquez et al.: 2001).

On the axis of the objectivism (realism, materialism), we can identify that positivism (Comte: 1980; Garcia: 2004) represents the idea that knowledge emerges from experience (inductivism), and consequently, absolute trust or general scientific laws

can be produced. This operation is possible because knowledge is derived from observable facts. This would be the basis to develop causal explanations and hypothetical predictions, even though the idea of absolute truth and general laws moves in tandem with the notion that scientific knowledge is 'probable' rather than 'true' (i.e. based on currently available evidence: Chalmers: 1999). Popper (2002) criticises the basis of inductivism and proposes the notion of falsifiability. This concept replaces the 'verification' of a theory or hypothesis with their 'falsification'. Therefore, he claims that it is not possible to establish the truth or the possibility of truth of a theory. However, it is possible to demonstrate its falsehood. In doing that, a progressive approach to the truth is possible based on 'conjectures and refutations'.

The second epistemology on this axis is dialectic, which claims the notion of movement and contradictory processes between opposing sides as an understanding of any social phenomenon. The sense totality is the consequences of apprehending something in this contradiction (Espinoza et al.: 2016). Lately, Marx and Hegel developed dialectical materialism which highlights class conflict as an engine of history based on domination and exploitation relationships. As a result of material and social conditions, people are able to generate class consciousness (Lukacs: 1968). Therefore, human history is the history of media productions that include productive forces, relation of productions, and the phenomenon of circulation (Berman: 1988).

On the axis of subjectivism (idealism), we can identify the phenomenology developed in the work of Husserl, Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty (Reale and Antiseri: 1988; Carcamo: 2010; Diaz: 200). They go back to the 'things themselves', recognising subjectivity and 'the world—life' as source and foundation of knowledge. This approach opens the possibility of comprehension (Verstehen) instead of explanation of social phenomena.

Hermeneutics (Habermas: 1988; Gadamer: 1995) claims the role of language in the process of knowing. Therefore, reality is considered a "text" to be read, and prejudices are the starting point of knowledge because we are immersed in a world that had been previously made, with modes of being and ways that the world is intelligible (Gadamer: 2004). Consequently, to interpret meaning, we must identify the intention of the author, the texts, and the senses that are produced (Ricoeur: 1973).

Finally, based on the influence of the linguistic turn (Austin: 1962; Rorty: 1967; Searle: 1971), it is possible to recognise a constellation of perspectives under the notion of the reality that is socially constructed. They are variously known as socio-constructionism, social constructionism or radical social constructivism (Iñiguez: 2006). The idea of social construction of reality highlights the importance of knowledge as a link in social relationships due to the definition of events as the result of a situated and historical construction rather than a description of an objective phenomenon available to a neutral observer. Thus, we can recognise the discursive and narrative nature of the social relationship and the transformational capacity of discourses on reality. This process is possible considering social relationships as power relationships and the relativist position on statements, based on arguments rather than established truths, (Iñiguez and Antaki: 1994; Potter: 1996; Gergen: 1996).

After this overview, the particular ontological and epistemological positions adopted in this research will be developed in the next section.

3.1.2 Social Ontology as my ontological position

I introduced in the previous paragraphs the two ontological positions known as objectivism and idealism. My position is connected with the second one, idealism, considering the nature of the research question and the purpose of this investigation. In this section, I develop the notion of social construction of reality and discuss the

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concept of facts. In some views facts are not independent of human creation (Gergen: 1996), despite the criticism that linguistic idealism exaggerates the idea of social construction of reality (Hacking: 2001, Lopez-Silva: 2013).

3.1.2.1 Some distinctions regarding the notion of the construction of social reality

I mentioned above that the relationship between knowledge, language, social relationships, contingency and performativity has been understood through trends evident in the discussion on the construction of social reality (Iñiguez: 2006). This relationship (knowledge, language, social relationships) played a significant role in the irruption of the linguistic turn (Austin: 1962; Rorty: 1967; Searle: 1969) which highlighted the role of language in daily life and the nature of language as activity (Ibanez: 2006). A second influence was the sociology of knowledge which illustrated the rhetorical and ideological uses of trust, objectivity and rationality (Manheim: 1987; Fleck 1979; Winch: 1958; Gurvitch: 1966). Finally, the philosophy of knowledge played a role, discussing the status of knowledge and reality as a neutral and monolithic narrative (Kuhn: 1962; Feyerabend: 1975; Lyotard: 1984; Rosaldo:1989).

In this scenario, the notion of social ontology deals with the discussion about social facts, social objects, and social processes that together build reality in the way that we understand it and the way in which we relate to others (Searle:2006). The main elements to be discussed are (i) objective and subjective onto/epistemology, (ii) observer dependent – observer independent, (iii) features of facts (brute and institutional), (iv) creating institutional facts (social functions, collective intentionality, and constitutive rules). Searle (1995) recognises the existence of a material and institutional world socially constructed that implies ways of being in the world. This position is alternative with other positions, for instance, the ontological 'silence' of socioconstructionism (Gergen: 1994).

The first distinction I developed is the notion of objectivity and subjectivity on an ontological and epistemic level. On an ontological level objective and subjective are "predicates of entities and types of entities, and describe modes of existence" (Searle 1995:8), depending or not on any observer or mental process; objective is independent and subjective is dependent. For example, physical reality such as mountains, molecules and glaciers have an objective existence independent of human experience (Searle: 2001), whereas pain or tickles require that they are experienced by a human subject (Searle: 2005). At an epistemic level 'objective' and 'subjective' refer to "predicates of judgment" (Searle 1995:8). This is the first milestone needed to build social reality.

The second distinction involves observer-dependent and observer-independent features of the world. There are features of the world that are independent of human activities and attitudes because they have an existence independent of any observer. On the other hand, there are features of the world that are observer-dependent or observer relative to human actions and are derived from their intentionality (Searle: 1998). 'Observer' in this context means using, acting, thinking: any human activity that shows intentionality. (Searle: 2006). On this understanding, tectonic plates and gravitational attraction are observer-independent and business transaction, property or government are observer-relative (Searle: 2005).

The third distinction is about the characteristics of facts, distinguishing between brute facts and institutional facts. Brute facts do not require any human institution for their existence except for the institution of the language in which they are stated (Searle: 1995). On the other hand, institutional facts exist only within human institutions, that is a "system of constitutive rules; as such a system automatically creates the possibility of institutional facts" (Searle 2010:10).

Finally, creating institutional facts identifies and involves three processes.

i) Assignment function, which means to assign or impose on an object a kind of functionality that is not related to the features of this object (Searle: 1998). This process implies the existence of objects in the brute facts style or an elaborated object and agents that produce the function of this object. Therefore, the function is about the interests of users and observers and the value that they give to this function. (Searle: 1995). The value of the function is related to the notion of deontic power; this means the capacity to produce duty and obligation to the agents (Searle: 2004). Therefore, when the function is not related to the physical attributes of the entity, and it is created and maintained by collective intentionality, this can be called "status function" (Searle:2010). In order to understand this statement, it is necessary to develop the next process, collective intentionality.

ii) Collective Intentionality. As was suggested in the previous point, the process to assign function, value and the exercise of deontic power is a process that involves a different group of agents in a collective notion of "We", due to the need of collective recognition of this function, value or power (Searle:2001). While intentionality refers to a feature of mind related to the directness to, at, about, of, or concerns of something (Searle: 2005) collective intentionality refers to the human capacity for cooperation. Therefore, collective intentionality instead of being an addition to individual intentionality ('I' plus 'I' plus 'I') is a plural definition of purpose in the way of "We" (Searle: 2007).

Thus, collective intentionality is a capacity "to engage in cooperative behaviour" (Searle 1995: 23). This kind cooperation is the basis of facts that require human institutions. In this way, collective intentionality is applied assigning a collective function to objects or people (Searle: 2010). Consequently, "collective intentionality enables the creation of institutional facts. Institutional facts are created in accordance with constitutive rules" (Searle 2001:56).

iii) Constitutive rules. Searle (2010) distinguishes between regulative and constitutive rules. Regulative rules direct some kind of desirable behaviour and the rules are

working when there is an alignment between the action and the contents of the rule. Thus, regulative rules are related to a disposition to do something. Constitutive rules declare/state a permanent condition for current or future action and the rule is working when the conditions are satisfied. Thus, constitutive rules are related to a mandate to do something that defines this something (Searle: 1969). This rule "create the very possibility of certain activities" (Searle 1995:26) and institutional facts can exist for the non-arbitrariness of a system of rules (Searle: 1995).

The construction of institutional facts is the foundation of the construction of social reality due to the capacity of institutional facts create complex interrelations with other institutional facts. Consequently, they are able to represent and mediate the physical and the symbolic social world (Searle: 1998).

3.1.2.2 Relevance of social ontology for this research

The notion of social ontology provides this research the philosophical support to understand the complexity of social reality and its material and symbolic character. The explanation on the distinctions of objectivity-subjectivity, observer-dependent and observer-independent, and brute facts and institutional facts illustrate the basis upon which social reality is built and maintained (Searle: 2006). Language has a pivotal role in the construction and interpretation of social reality, and in the analysis and understanding of the discursive practices of the relationship between policies, models and practices around CSEC intervention.

 Searle (2010) states that language is also necessary for the process of building institutional facts and institutional reality because "language is epistemologically indispensable" (Searle 1995: 76). Facts require representation in language, 'labelled' so as to be recognisable and communicable. These facts are extremely complex and require a complex system in order to be communicable, a system such as language which can be permanent through time considering the supports (structures, technologies) that have been created around language.

At this point, language shows a function of 'declaration and representation' (Searle: 2006) in signifying institutional facts. This refers to the conditions to be satisfied by the collective intentionality of the facts (Searle: 1998). Meaning and collective intentionality (made by social agents) have to be understood and interpreted by agents. This interaction -to produce, to understand, to interpret- illustrates the performative feature of the language (Searle: 2010) that epistemologically can be analysed from a hermeneutic perspective as 'a text in a context' and, methodologically, it can be developed through the concept of discourse. The following sections will discuss these elements.

3.1.3 Hermeneutics as my epistemological option

The expression hermeneutic comes from the Greek mythology based on 'Hermes' son of Zeus, god of travel, messengers, trade, language, writing and diplomacy, among other tasks. As a messenger, he attempts to communicate to the men the messages of gods, so he delivers a translation or interpretation of the gods' views, intentions and meaning to the secular human comprehension (Harding and Harding: 1897). This metaphor illustrates the notion of hermeneutic as the acquired capacity of understanding of a language, its meaning and sense in the linguistic structure considering the context of this linguistic structure (Habermas: 1988).

In the philosophical evolution, the classic hermeneutic tried to interpret the biblical texts clarifying the words of God, his intention and designs. The modern understanding of hermeneutic in the context of science is a methodological conciseness of understanding/comprehension, interpretation and translation/communication theoretically justified (Gadamer: 1998).

Ricoeur defines the hermeneutic problem as "a discipline which proposes to understand a text- to understand its beginnings with its intention, on the basis of what it attempts to say. If exegesis raised a hermeneutic problem, that is, a problem of interpretation, it is because every reading of a text always takes place within a

community, a tradition, or a living current of thought". (2003:9). This definition introduces us to the main ideas that will be developed in the following sections: the notion of text and context, the idea of understanding, the role of prejudice in understanding, the concept of the hermeneutic circle, the notion of interpretation and the idea of 'horizon' in Gadamer. Finally, the relevance of the notion of interpretation in this research will be reflected upon.

3.1.3.1 Main ideas on 'hermeneutic'

Following the previous hermeneutic definition, it is relevant to reflect on the notion of text. Ricoeur develops a notion of text as "*any discourse fixed by writing*" (2016:107), meaning fixed by writing the idea of production by a speaker with "the intention to-say" (2016:109). The recognition of an author with intentionality to 'speak', refers in this case not just to an individual but to his/her community of belonging, their language (signs, meaning, and the linguistic system that contains that language), and the social and cultural relationships built around it. Gadamer points out that this relationship between the text with the condition of production is a totality of 'text and context', a 'composition', a "*unity of a woven net and as the texture is presented as a totality*" (1998:103). The text will always depend on the context because it provides the meaning and the possibility of being understood due to the context informing us about the system of reference in which the text makes sense (Gadamer: 1998).

It follows that understanding in a hermeneutic view refers to 'making sense', identifying the meaning of texts. It is the concept of 'Verstehen' that Gadamer connects with "'Verständigung', 'coming to an understanding with someone', 'coming to an agreement with someone' and 'Einverständnis', 'understanding, agreement, consent'" (Gadamer 2004: 17). Gadamer expands the notion of understanding something to understand with other something that both can understand. The basic human experience is to understand with other something and

understand each other a "free opening to the dimension of the other" (Gadamer 2002: 70). This disposition to understand each other is 'being-in-the world'.

Gadamer used the image of the 'horizon' to refer to the experience of 'being-in-the world' in order to illustrate the limits of an individual's world view by experience, language, culture and history. At the same time, it illustrates the possibility of being oriented by the distance of the horizon; impossible to be captured but always under the gaze (Gadamer: 1996). Therefore, understanding is a 'fusion of horizon' and happens "when our present understanding or horizon is moved to a new understanding of horizon by encounter" (Clark 2008:58). There is also a temporal dimension (historicity) in which past and present horizons are in dialogue in the 'fusion of horizons' (Gadamer: 1993). This process of 'fusion of horizons' is basically the notion of interpretation from within one's own context (Gadamer:2004).

Ricoeur highlights the main elements of interpretation: "*to interpret, we said, is to appropriate here and now the intention of the text*" (2016:123). This sentence indicates the notion of appropriation that following the previous reflection of 'understand each other' refers to the idea of "*think in accordance with*" (2016: 155), in this case in accordance with the author, the author's intentions and the context in which the text was produced. It refers to a reflective process that begins with the prejudice, in the hermeneutic sense, as a condition of understanding because it implies a self-reflection of the traditions and cultural worlds in which everyone is immersed (Gadamer: 1993).

Then follows a process of reduction of the estrangement or the cultural distance from the meaning of the text and mostly from the system of value that the text is based on. The meaning of the text is actualised 'here and now' 'equalised' to a present understanding and finally though a process of realisation, the interpretation enacts a meaning and an audience to be delivered: it became a discourse and consequently an action (Ricoeur: 1988, 2016).

Thus, interpreting is a circular action (hermeneutic circle), in which the hermeneutic reflection is a central attitude because *"the interpreter belongs to his 'text'"* (Gadamer 1998:371) and the interpreter has to deal with the problem of the multiple-meanings of the text that is the opening to a new process of pre-understanding, appropriation, and delivery of Utterance and audience (Ricoeur: 2003).

3.1.3.2 Relevance of hermeneutic epistemology in this research

Two arguments illustrate the relevance of hermeneutic epistemology for this research. Firstly, the comprehension of text and context is a hinge category in the performative notion of language (Searle: 2010), the idea of language and speech as action (Ricoeur: 1988) and the notion of discourse as a linguistic system that can build social objects (Parker: 1992). There is a continuity in the utterances and performative character of the language used in the social life.

Secondly, the idea of interpretation illustrates two challenges that this research faced. One is the analysis of the sources used (the text) from multiple voices, institutions, disciplines, authorship and intentions (government documents, alternative documents, group of stakeholders). It is relevant to the hermeneutic circle as a principle that can guide the analysis and also to the notion of self-reflection due to the involvement of the researcher (my involvement) in the area of CSEC. The methodological option of applied discourse analysis and the method chapter tries to reflect on this challenge. The second is the transition between two different languages, from Spanish to English. In this case, it is clear that the process of interpreting is more than a translation or a transference from one language to other. The analysis must be 'equalised' to be delivered to an English audience. This challenge is expanded upon in the next section on discourse analysis and cross-cultural analysis.

3.2 Connecting ontology, epistemology with the methodological options

The following section presents the methodological definitions used in this research related to the tradition to which is allocated the study, discourse analysis as the methodological option, and ethical elements involved in the development of this research. Every part is analysed based on theoretical knowledge and discussion regarding the relevance and pertinence to the research purpose and the consistency with the ontological and epistemological positions.

Methodology refers to the rationale of a study and implies the analysis of the definitions that support it, effectiveness, efficacy, strengths and the coherence of the strategies to produce relevant knowledge. While the methods are about the order and sequences of operations in which knowledge is produced, methodology reflects on the definitions of the research (More precisely, Grix states that methodology reflects ontological and epistemological options and assumes a particular position to develop the procedures and techniques: "Methodology is concerned with the logic of scientific inquiry; in particular, with investigating the potentialities and limitations of particular techniques or procedures" (2002: 179).

Taking into account the ontological and epistemological options, and the research questions and their purpose, the most appropriate decision was to develop research in the qualitative tradition, mainly using a discourse analysis approach. In the following sections, these options will be explained.

3.2.1 Qualitative tradition

3.2.1.1 Characteristics of qualitative methodology

Qualitative research "attempts to gain an understanding of a person or situation that is meaningful for those involved in the enquiry" (Maykut & Morehouse 1994: 24). In

this sense, qualitative research aims to understand the world (reality) based on explicit knowledge (formulated and written) and implicit knowledge (unformulated). Both knowledges recognise at the same time the individual experience (Berger & Luckman: 1968), the cultural meanings of these experiences (Garfinkel: 1967; Potter: 2010), and the social structures in which the individual experience is developed (Simmel: 1997). In this aspect, the social and cultural processes involved in the social policies, models, intervention practices, professional team's definitions, community and organisation views are able to be identified using this approach.

Qualitative research considers a dual modality: comprehension (meanings) and interpretation (intentions) in the understanding of social phenomena (Canales: 2006; Van Dijk: 2012). This duality recognises the perspective of the subjects and their reflection and knowledge. It is also a cooperative relationship in a holistic vision regarding the sociocultural background of researcher and the subject of research. The purpose is to produce a situated and intensive knowledge about a phenomenon. In consequence, it does not attempt to generalise knowledge but to analyse the possibility of transferring findings to other similar realities or to build cross-case generalisation. It also emphasises the quality of the qualitative approach, including a critical examination of the worthiness of the topic, rich rigour, sincerity, credibility, resonance, significant contribution, and ethical and meaningful coherence. Finally, in qualitative research is evident the non-neutrality of the researcher as cultural belonging as well. Therefore, it is necessary to recognise and assume cultural bias as an element to be discussed and analysed in the research process (de Vasiliachis: 2006; Berenguera et al.:2014; Tracy: 2010).

Regarding this last point, a characteristic of researching in qualitative methodologies (but in general in the social sciences) is the involvement of the subject in the phenomenon under study. Giddens (1976) develops the idea of the double hermeneutic to refer to this process. Any social phenomenon is part of social life in which researcher lives. Reflexivity is required to be aware of the implication of this

social aspect. Reflexivity will be one of the most important aspects of the qualitative research process as an integral process of becoming aware of the reality, knowing about the reality, and the emotional responses related to this reality (D'Cruz: 2007). The purpose of reflexivity in research is that it "makes explicit his/her efforts of seeking to understand, rather than establishing a singular truth. Importantly reflexivity stimulates critical reflection and awareness, rather than establishes a definitive interpretation of reality" (Goward 2014:101).

Following this aspect, for this study, as part of the awareness process for the researcher position, I highlight my previous experiences as a social worker/manager and researcher in an NGO that delivers social intervention for victims of CSEC. Furthermore, I had experience as a lecturer/researcher in the same area at university, and I was interested in different spheres, such as social policies and intervention, and the field of knowledge on this theme. My positioning allows me to identify initially two areas of analysis: the ethical/political dimension, and the sociocultural dimension.

In the first one, the recognition of children's human rights can be split into two levels: children are entitled to specific human rights; children require special protection. Smith (2010) has a chapter referring to this dimension, 'children as humans'. He highlights as a barrier to this that children are less valued, the juxtaposition between the minor view and the Child Human Rights perspective (Belfoff: 1999), and the tension between being an object of care and control and a subject of law (Kelly: 1997; Cortés: 2001). I am immersed in the controversy surrounding this cultural subject. Therefore, the process of analysis included an effort at self-awareness mainly based on discussions in the supervision setting and the dissemination activities.

On a political level, the Human Rights of Children encourage stakeholders and social policies to adapt to this standard with the idea of justice as social justice (Rawls: 1999). In this area, I have a broad criticism of the way in which childhood social

policies have been organised. To illustrate: the lack of an integral childhood protective law and a centralised institution; the programmatic offer based on the level of complexity and specialisation rather than on the local and territorial level; the lack of any preventive program in the area of child sexual violence; the insufficient resources allocated to the programs that provide social intervention on CSEC; and more generally, I have a criticism of the neoliberal logic of a social policy based on supply and demand (Alcock: 2004).

In the second area, Garcia-Canclini (2002) explains the Latin American people as a hybrid construction based on the contribution of European Mediterranean countries, Native American people, and African migrations. Moreover, the context of globalisation, economic interaction, social network, and an increasing exchange with Anglo-Saxon countries have an impact on the society. In addition, Latin America is a real and symbolic territory, in which heterogeneous mentalities, practices, and beliefs are recreated.

However, this land is migrating toward the world. In this sense, Latin America is something to do, something unfinished, something in the process of being: developing countries yesterday, emergent economies today. Therefore, this experience (PhD) is related to the perspective of creating something; this has been the experience of the last two hundred years in Latin America. For instance, the American Independence was planned in Latina American with the support of the UK, and the early educational systems were based on the UK system as well. My concern was not being critically involved in this foundational spirit and being disconnected from the discussion in the local processes. In order to avoid this situation, I maintained relationships with NGOs, teams and individual practitioners, through meetings, seminars, courses, mentoring and the Virtual research forum in CSEC and childhood, as a platform to discuss and exchange experiences and ideas on intervention.

3.2.1.2 Pertinence of qualitative research for this study

There is a broad diversity of qualitative research alternatives considering philosophical perspectives (Holloway & Todres: 2003; Mason: 2002) and theoretical approaches (Taylor & Bodgan: 1984; De la Garza & Leyva: 2012). The more recognised traditions are phenomenology and sociology of the life-world (Schütz : 1967; Berger & Luckman: 1966; Kraus:2015); ethnography (Atkinson and Hammersley : 1992; Reeves et al: 2008); ethnomethodology (Goffman: 1981; Garfinkel: 1967); grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss:1967; Strauss and Corbin:1998; Charmaz: 2014; Mills et al.: 2006); biographical and life stories approaches (De Gaulejac et al.: 2005; Cornejo: 2006) and relatively new approaches related to speech and language such as narrative analysis (Chase: 2005; Gubrium and Holstein: 2012) conversational analysis(Antaki: 1994; Antaki: 2011) and discourse analysis (Iniguez:2006; Parker: 2012). This last one will be developed in detail in the next section considering that it is the methodological option chosen for this research.

Most of these approaches share some of the elements previously described in the qualitative scope. For instance, seeking the subjects' understanding and their view-world, considering the meaning, intentions, language and actions as a basis of the notion of construction of the reality (Sandoval: 2010). While some approaches highlight the individual characteristics of these processes such as language, cognitive abilities, construction of meaning, memories and experience, others focus on social characteristics and interactions such as speech, institutions, culture, social memories and agency (Lopez-Silva:2013; Mason:2002; Vasilachis:2006).

To illustrate convergences and divergences, Holloway and Todres (2003), Stark & Brown (2007), Berenguera (2014) and De La Garza (2012) identify and compare different approaches (for instance phenomenology, grounded theory, discourse analysis, ethnography, constructionism) in terms of their philosophical support, purpose, questions, researcher role, characteristic of the relationship with subjects, type of analysis, audiences and final products. Clarifying these distinctions is a

necessary stage in the process of matching ontological position, epistemological options and methodological decisions.

Therefore, following a qualitative approach appears a suitable option because this investigation seeks to develop a reflection on the framework, the programmes, and the social intervention on CSEC, review the formal and official definitions used in government and alternative documents and the perspectives of those are involved in the intervention: stakeholders and professional teams. Thus, it is intended to examine "the symbolic - intersubjective" dimension of the reality (Goffman: 1986), enabling the unveiling of the discourse by the "spontaneousness" of the speech of the speakers.

These discourses necessarily refer to intersubjective understandings that fall within a community of meaning to which the speakers belong (Gergen: 2001; Iñiguez: 2000). The next section will justify the selection of discourse analysis as the methodological option, which comparatively allows me in a better way to develop this research.

3.2.2 Discourse Analysis (DA) as a methodological option

There are two elements to be discussed in this section. First the definition and characteristics of Discourse Analysis, the pertinence for this study and the particular kind of DA that was conducted. Second a reflection around the idea of discourse analysis and cross-cultural analysis. In fact, all the material (secondary and primary sources) was in Spanish and the analysis was made in this language until some point in which the writing and the analysis started in English. This process of transference of language but also meanings and adjustment to English and the British context is an element to be analysed.

3.2.2.1 Discourse Analysis: an overview and an option

There are diverse discursive perspectives that stem from the interaction between disciplines such as linguistics, social psychology, ethnomethodology, and discursive constructionism (Parker: 2012; Potter: 2008). The diversity incorporates different types of discourse analysis such as conversational analysis, critical discourse analysis, and narrative analysis (Shiffrin: 2001; Van Dijk: 2012). It is also illustrative of different traditions and practices in discourse analysis, such as sociolinguistics, the ethnography of communication, discursive psychology, and Anglo-Saxon and French traditions (Iñiguez: 2006). Parker defines discourse as a "system of statements which constructs an object" (1992: 5-20). In order to conduct a discourse analysis and distinguish discourses, he establishes a set of criteria that orientate this process.

Discourse is realised in texts, is about objects, contains subjects, is a coherent system of meanings, refers to other discourses, reflects on its way of speaking, is historically located, supports institutions, reproduces power relations, and has ideological effects. Furthermore, for the nature of the phenomena of CSEC (historical, psychosocial and legal) the characteristics of their responses (social policies, programs, models, practices), and the actors involved (policy makers, practitioners, NGO agents), I focus on the social and cultural characteristics of the social reality considering the research question and the main purpose of this research. In this way, written texts and speaking texts interact in a grill of meaning and intentions that support examination and discussion of the policy framework, models and practices in the intervention on CSEC. Taking into account this conceptual diversity and the advantages of the discourse analysis approach for this research, I used **Applied Discourse Analysis (ADA)**.

ADA is a relatively new field in the ambit of discourse analysis and refers to the idea of the discourse in institutional contexts that builds these institutions and the interactions among users, staff and other actors related to the nature of the

institutions. Willig (1999) develops the idea of applied terms to recognise the pragmatic effects and changes made by discourses. Willing's book contains plenty of examples in which knowledge, based on analysis of institutional settings (organisations, relationships, and policy), can promote social change and empower service users, practitioners, and social policies.

The role of ADA is to identify discourses and counter-discourses, to deconstruct and criticise dominant ways in which organisations develop their practices, and to distinguish alternative actions. Furthermore, it recognises the role of the knowledge produced using ADA as an argument to promote changes and political decisions in organisations or procedures. In doing that, it recognises the irreducible non-separation of reality and the ways in which reality is apprehended and becomes intelligible for the participants of this reality (Ibañez: 2002; Searle: 1995, 2004, 2010).

Discourse Analysis (DA) is a social critique used "as guide to reform a praxis-oriented in that it seeks to use the results of discursive analytic studies as a guide to reform is committed to radical social changes or improve practices. DA as a guide to reform seeks to expose the ways in which language is used ideologically to maintain in equal relationships positive change or changed oriented" (Willig, 1999:15). Following this argument, Montenegro and Pujol (2003) remarks on the application of DA as a tool to challenge naturalised social practices. Furthermore, DA can be used to design an intervention, which facilitates empowerment and encourages relation between research, interventions and practice applications.

In summary, DA is a practice to deconstruct hegemonic discourses, to explore the implications of these discourses in social life, and to promote alternatives. The notion of deconstruction can be understood as a process by which social actors become aware of the social and cultural conditions in which the production of reality is made. Furthermore, it allows us to analyse the conflict or tensions between different narratives that support these productions, such as those studied here, and to

describe the pragmatic consequences in the social life of the productions (Macleod: 2002; Parker: 1996).

Gunnarson (2000) identifies ADA as a new field in DA that implies conducting a variety of studies and diverse methodologies. This area highlights the undeniable role played by discourse within the construction and reconstruction of the professions. Written texts, spoken discourse and various forms of verbal communication have played an essential part in the historical creation of practices and professions. Therefore, the processes to identify the discursive dimension of the organisational interactions are understood. For instance, he describes research conducted in fields such as educational, judicial, social, medical, placement, science, and academic. All of these examples show the interactive dimension among actors, procedures, organisational culture, and the links with social reality.

In agreement with this field, Bazerman and Paradis (1991) studies the rhetorical dimension of written texts in the processes of building professions, communities, and procedure, considering the institutional settings of science. Even though science is not the only discipline that can influence social life, it has a significant impact on various aspects of daily life. Due to this, it is important to analyse this area. Similarly, The Construction of Professional Discourse (Gunnarson, Lillel & Norderberg: 1997) discusses how language is used, whether speech or written, as a social practice in everyday institutional life. For instance, in scientific communities, the doctor-patient relationship, emergency services, trial and jury judgment, political communications, and historical analysis professions are based on files or oral speeches. Authors in this line such as Grant, Keenoy, and Oswick (1998) and Heritage and Clayman (2010) highlight the way in which organisation members use discourse, strategies, and resources to engage each other as members of organisations to develop the expected roles and to provide meanings for organisational behaviours. Furthermore, they analysed the role of conversations in diverse institutional settings, for instance,

emergency calls, patient-doctor relationships in diagnosis and treatment, trial examinations, and jury deliberations.

Parker (1999) illustrates the variety of sources that fulfil the requirements of ADA and to which discourse analysis can be applied. These include spoken and written texts, interviews, letters, fiction, lessons, visual texts, comics, advertising and propaganda, television shows, and films. DA can analyse physical "texts" such as cities, organisations and gardens. Therefore, if we analyse these antecedents, the research purpose, the organisational settings, and the sources, the notion of ADA would be an appropriate fit for the research that I am conducting, and it can be bonded to my approach. The reason is that ADA allows me to develop an integrated analysis of different levels related to intervention in CSEC (policies, models, practices), work with various sources (documents, stakeholders) and produce discourses based on these diverse texts.

3.2.2.2 Discourse Analysis and cross-cultural analysis

The second point of analysis is the idea of conducting research and discourse analysis in different languages and cross-cultural contexts. There is a different specialised literature that refers to this kind of situation. First, there is a group of studies related to linguistic and grammatical aspect in the translation of some terms between Spanish and English, and their uses in a practical way (Labrador:2011). Furthermore, it includes comparative uses of semantic transference from Spanish to English in academic contexts (Hiebert: 2011). There is also a frontier between discourse analysis and translation studies, for instance, the analysis of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors that influence the process of translation. Finally, in this group, some studies relate to language in a social process such as making decisions in bilingual contexts. For instance, regarding syntactic constructions, Holmes (1995) highlights that speakers of different languages (French and English) use language in a similar way to make decisions.

Second, there is a group of research related to discourse analysis in cross- cultural and cross -language contexts. Thomas (1984) distinguishes failures in the communications (pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic) and the communication strategies that non-English speaker use to solve them. Behind these uses, the researcher identifies terms and sentences that denote power and a dominant position between native speakers and not- native speakers. Educational environment has also been used to understand how the English language affects discursive tasks in international audiences. Also, the rhetorical strategies that native and non- native English speakers use to adjust to each other's expectations (Jarvis and Bokor: 2011) has been studied. Following Von Munchow (2012) processes of incorporating non-native language in educational contexts can be considered tertiary socialisation, meaning that non-native speakers use new language and also acquire intercultural competences. This action highlights the cross-cultural character of language.

These examples illustrate the mixed features of languages regarding the translation and cross-cultural implications. The relationship between Spanish and English was analysed in grammatical terms but most important in a more pragmatic view concerning using it as speech and discourse. This link is relevant due to the fact that I am a native Spanish speaker writing up a thesis in English. In addition, the sources for this research are in Spanish, the analysis in the first stages was made in Spanish, but at some point, the partial reports were written in English, and the more advanced analysis was done in English as well. Challenges on interpretation processes are well illustrated by international PhD student. They reflect on the need to expand cultural competence and manage the language in order to write, discuss and disseminate their results (Holiday: 2016). Similarly happens, when native English speaker students conducted research abroad (Goward: 2014).

3.2.3 Ethical considerations

Research on issues related to violence, sexual abuse, or CSEC requires strict ethical standards. Furthermore, it is necessary to develop ethical procedures and ethical reflection when there are public issues, government agencies, NGOs and social interventions involved. (Dixon-Woods and Bosk: 2011). Guillemin and Gillam (2004) point out an ethic in practices and micro-ethics to illustrate the reflections and decisions in the relationships and the research activities as a permanent exercise.

In this case, I followed as guidelines the School of Health in Social Science guidelines (SHSS Research Ethics Committee), the guidelines of the bioethics approach in social sciences of the National Agency of Science (Conycit), the Ethics Research Framework (Economic and Social Research Council), and the Universal Declaration of Bioethics and Human Rights by UNESCO.

According to these organisations, I considered the following general principles:

i) Research should be designed, reviewed, and undertaken to ensure integrity, quality, and transparency. To guarantee this principle, different instances of external review were established regarding feedback at the conceptual, methodological, and ethical levels to improve the quality and pertinence of the proposal: (a) External review by the Chilean organisations that were involved in the research, National Service of Child Wellbeing (SENAME), and NGOs; and (b) Internal review through the first year by the review board that provides feedback to the same purpose.

ii) Research staff and participants must be fully informed about the purpose, methods, and intended possible uses of the research. What participation in the research entails for my participants and what risks, if any, are involved were explained through the research summary document, a PowerPoint research summary, and the virtual research forum for each discussion group.

iii) The confidentiality of the information supplied by the research participants and the anonymity of respondents must be respected. A coding system was developed in which secondary sources are classified into categories according to the type of material.

After that, the specific documents are correspondingly enumerated. The same procedure was follow for the mixed discussion group in which participants were anonymised. The recording and transcription followed the same procedure. All the staff involved in transcription and translation of the material knew about this ethical consideration and signed a confidentiality agreement.

iv) Research participants must take part voluntarily, free from any coercion. This principle is connected with the idea of autonomy and respect for human rights in research activity (Lira: 2007). Commonly, informed consent by the participants of the research is established as a previous condition to the fieldwork. Consent means the free decision to be involved in the research and enough knowledge about the purpose and procedure of the research (Orb: 2001). The information sheet and the informed consent form ensured this principle. In one of the discussion groups, one practitioner asked to not participate in the research before conducting the interview. These documents can be saw in appendices 3 and 4.

v) Harm to research participants and researchers must be avoided in all instances (Orb: 2001). This research will endeavour to develop accurate knowledge that could contribute to the process of social intervention for victims of CSEC. In the phases involving professionals, as was anticipated, there was no risk of harm to the teams, and the discussions were beneficial to their analytical processes.

vi) The independence of research must be clear, and any conflicts of interest or partiality must be explicit. Considering this research is part of a PhD at the University of Edinburgh and that the National Service of Child Wellbeing (SENAME) and the

participating NGOs will sponsor it, and also that I do not belong to any of these institutions, the relationships, compromise and position are clear. An equal access and limitation of the information was guaranteed in the virtual research forum. Independence was also ensured as I am sponsored by a scholarship from the Chilean State and do not have any other financial relationship with any particular institution.

By these principles and the organisation of the SHSS Research Ethics Committee, the research required Ethical Level 1 that was granted first by the National Service of Child Wellbeing on 23th December 2014 and by the SCSS on 13th January 2015.

3.3 Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, I developed the philosophical and theoretical dimension of the research, defining the ontological option socio-ontology, epistemological perspective hermeneutic and the research tradition qualitative and discursive approach. Discourses are social productions that can crystallise these performative processes. Applied Discourse Analysis is a trend in the discursive approaches that are pertinent to the setting of this research and also allow the development of cross-cultural analysis.

Furthermore, ethical considerations and principles for this researcher were followed, achieving institutional approval for the development of the research.

The following chapter will develop the practical aspects of the research design, the sources used, the strategies to produce and analyse the data giving consideration to the decisions and the rationale that informed them.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODS

In the previous chapter, I discussed the philosophical implications of this research based on the ontological position (social ontology), the epistemological option (hermeneutics) and the methodological definition (qualitative tradition, discourse analysis). Following these guidelines, in this chapter, I explain the thesis research methods and the decisions made to conduct this research. I will focus on the research design and practical matters regarding data collection and data analysis.

4.1 Research design

I would like to briefly introduce some contextual elements about researching in the area of child sexual abuse, child sexual exploitation and intervention, to illustrate the decisions made on this particular study design. According to reports from the government agency related to the scientific production (CONYCIT) between 1982 and 2014 (last year with disaggregated data), in the different sources of funding, there were developed 49 research studies regarding violence (political, delinquency, domestic violence, bullying) 10 research studies regarding psychological or psychosocial intervention and 9 research studies that combine violence against children and intervention. None of them involved child sexual exploitation. Probably a similar general view occurs in grey literature and doctoral studies.

I previously described the CSEC research production in this area made by international and domestic agencies (Chilean reality on CSEC). These studies have been related to the description of the phenomenon: measuring the prevalence, explaining risk factors associated with the practices of CSEC, analysing relationship dynamics, and describing modalities of CSEC. Considering this scenario, the logical next step was to seek out the process of intervention on CSEC connecting programmes, models, and practices. These matters require attention to improving the quality, pertinence and coherence of the social intervention. In addition, a study

in this area can provide useful knowledge to the stakeholders involved in the intervention such as policy makers and practitioners.

Therefore, I defined as an original proposal a study to be carried out of national scope on the programs of social interventions on CSEC in Chile and considering the last decade and their participants. The study would be conducted in two stages and four phases. The first stage (preliminary, exploratory and intensive phases) focuses on the collection and analysis of secondary sources (social policies, reports, guidelines, projects) and research focusing on the professional teams (nine teams in three macro zones) and a mixed group. The second stage (focused phase) would consider the work with survivors of CSEC that had finished the intervention process. It considered using a model of psychosocial analysis (and discourse analysis as analytic strategies. The original proposal is illustrated in the following scheme:

Table 4 Original proposal September 2014

Stage	Phases	Sources	Analysis
First	Preliminary (definition of proposal)	NGOs, Government agencies related to CSEC	
	Exploratory	Secondary sources social policies, reports, projects	Psychosocial matrix Discourse analysis
	Intensive	Primary sources Professional teams Mixed group	Discourse analysis
Second	Focused	Primary sources Survivors CSEC	Discourse analysis

As a part of the process of feedback and analysis of the proposal based on the first-year review board, supervision meetings and stakeholders' recommendations (NGOs and government agencies), it was decided to follow an intensive option rather than an extensive one. This decision considered as criteria the viability regarding time,

resources and interest to the stakeholders and principal research. These organisations supported the development of the research such as is registered in appendix 5.

This adjustment was established in the document "Research and fieldwork framework" in November 2014. The final proposal outlined a case study of national scope considering the decade between 2004 and 2014. The case study is characterised as an empirical research method in a real-life context that can include a person, group, events, policy, decision, institutions, and systems (Carona: 2010; Snyder:2012). This diversity matched with the idea of the adjusted proposal. The primary purpose of an intensive focus is contained in the case study because the interest here is in depth to understand a complex situation (Yin: 2004; Anderson: 2014, Hoon: 2013), using different strategies and subjects to do it (Hyett: 2014, Morse: 2014).

Thus, the new proposal considered the policy context using government documents that include reports regarding the state of affairs of CSEC in Chile in the last decade, documents related to the social policies and programs in CSEC, models, and technical guidelines. It also included alternative documents such as reports, evaluations, recommendations made by international agencies and NGOs. Furthermore, it considered one mixed group made up of stakeholder representatives of NGOs, policymakers, researchers and representatives of the judicial system. Even though I developed three discussion groups with professional teams in three different zones of the country (north, centre and south), for complexities in the analysis process and timing reasons, this material was not considered in the final proposal. However, in terms of projection, future research directions (a research project) can consider the elements omitted in this PhD such as professional teams, young people that participated in the intervention (survivors) and local stakeholders involved in the intervention process.

The final proposal is illustrated in the following scheme:

Table 5 Final proposal

Area	Sources		Analysis
Policies, models, practices	Secondary	Government documents Alternative documents	Discourse analysis
Policies, models, practices	Primary National	Mixed Stakeholder group Focus/discussion group	Discourse analysis

In the following sections, these elements will be described in terms of the processes and decisions made.

4.2 Data production process

The data production was completed between November 2014 and March 2015. It considered the collection of documents (government and alternative) and the production of a discussion/focus group, a mixed group of representatives of stakeholders on CSEC. In the following sections, I will describe and discuss the procedures and their pertinence for this research.

4.2.1 Secondary sources: Government and Alternative documents

In qualitative studies, it is often common to consider documents in order to analyse some forms of discourse production (Polkinghorne: 2005; Maykut et al.1994: 106). This report follows along the line of using social policies as (i) an analytic resource (Codd: 2006, Sheff: 2011); (ii) a technical guideline (Appleton: 1997); (iii) an analysis of the elements involved in its construction (Tieberghien: 2013, Vazquez: 2013).

'Government documents' was the first group of secondary sources. The criteria for selection were documents from state agencies related to CSEC and its intervention, and which were produced in the last decade (2004-2014: 2000-2006 [7] and 2007-2014 [6]). An exception to this is a document from 2000 (the National Plan of Childhood Protection 2001-2010) which was included due to its importance.

'Alternative documents' was the second group of secondary sources. The criteria for selection were documents from international agencies and international or national NGOs related to CSEC and its intervention, and which were produced in the decade (2004-2014: 2000-2006 [1] and 2007-2014 [12]).

The period chosen coincides with the emergence in Chile of public interest in the issue of CSEC. One of the most significant public scandals related to CSEC developed during 2003 and 2004, (the Spiniak case) in which well-known entrepreneurs, politicians, and television actors were involved. Furthermore, in 2004 started the first official programmes that provided psychological treatment and social support for victims of CSEC following a pilot project in 2001 by the NGO Raices. This group of documents covers the entire range of the papers produced in Chile during this period related to CSEC. It excluded documents that describe and analyse other areas of childcare programs when they not connected with some of the issues of interest (CSEC, intervention). It also excludes annual reports made by the National Child Welfare service because their content relates to the statistics of the different services provided to children. The diversity of voices, agencies, scope, and actors involved ensures access to a relevant range of material on CSEC.

In political terms, three democratic governments, two on the left wing and one on the right wing, occurred during this period. Despite these changes, it is possible to identify some trends in the logic of social policies based on Child Rights (Chile Crece Contigo) and the outsourcing of social childcare policies based on the third sector.

As a result, I selected twenty-six documents between September and November 2014 from the following sources:

Table 6 Sources of documents

Government documents	Source	Number of documents
	Minister of Justice	1
	SENAME (National child wellbeing service)	6
	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	2
	Minister of Social Development	3
	Advisory Council for the Reform of Chilean Policies for Children	1
	Sub Total	13
Alternative documents	Source	Number of documents
	International network (ECPAT)+NGOs	4
	United Nations- OAS	5
	Research centre HHRR (University)	3
	NGOs	1
	Sub Total	13
	Total	**26**

In terms of content, sixteen of these are of national scope, and ten are of an international scope. Specifically:

Table 7 Matters of documents

Government documents	Matters	Number of documents
	Social policies and framework for child protection and work in CSEC	4
	Technical guidelines for specialised programmes in CSEC	2
	Description of legal changes related to CSEC and conceptualisation in CSEC	2

	Reports in response to international requirements such as evaluations, monitoring of legal changes, and social policies	4
	Proposal on social policies, laws, and the structure of a national system of child protection	1
	Total	13
Alternative documents	**Matters**	**Number of documents**
	National report about Chilean reality in HHRR or CSEC	7
	International report of monitoring situations of CSEC	5
	International observation of domestic reports	1
	Total	13

It was felt that these documents would provide a social and collective setting to demonstrate different levels of social life reflecting that "the modern world is made through writing and documentation" (Prior 2011:4). In this case, these documents are temporally and institutionally situated. They can illustrate social transactions because they are 'in response to' other documents, represent memories of some processes, or give legal and political bases to policies (Owen: 2014). Besides, documents can reflect the social dimension of the organisations, the relationships that they contain, and the different views on which the actors produce actions in those contexts (Prior: 2011).

The digital documents were collected from institutional web pages (these are publically available) and in one case was requested from the institution. Then the documents were organised in two different files (secondary sources: government documents and alternative documents) in a particular device. The final storage was on the platform of the software used to analyse the data (dedoose) that provide a storage service with an encryption system.

4.2.2 Primary source: focus/discussion groups with Mixed Stakeholder group

There is a diversity in qualitative research as regards groups: group interviews, focus groups, conversational groups, and discussion groups (Sierra: 1999). The last one is characterised as "unstructured types of investigation of given topics, using small groups with basically nondirective moderation" (Fahad 1986: 321). Perez-Sanchez and Víquez-Calderón (2010) highlights the level of interaction and discussion between the person attending the group and the collective production of meanings. Discussion groups are an interactive process in which representations, opinions, symbolic systems, and power relationships are played out, which is different to an interview in a group context (Cervantes: 2002). This group type overcomes a unidirectional approach (question- answer scheme) and moves to a dialogical approach, in which the attendants present the cultural view and the social structural position in a specific discursive situation (Gutiérrez: 2011).

The advantages of discussion groups include the potential of participants who are experienced in the issue and the ability for the facilitator to move from having an active role as an interviewer to a position as facilitator of mutual feedback between the participants (Canales: 2006). Another advantage relates to the richness and variability of the group process concerning the range of possible comments, new ideas or information collectively produced rather than individual suggestions (Fahad: 1986).

There is a debate on the differences and similarities between discussion groups and focus groups as the two most used methods in qualitative research due to the diversity and the development of both. Authors describe the features of the focus group almost exactly like the description of discussion groups regarding aims, interaction between participants, role of the moderator, and structure of the group (Pushta and Potter: 2011; Liamputtong: 2016). In another case, it is a fusion between both. Morgan (1998) indicates that a discussion group happens in the focus group,

and Hennink (2014) called it a focus discussion group. However, Berenguera (2014) highlights the differences based on the source and traditions (focus group: Anglo-Saxon, discussion group: Spanish) and the individual discursive character of the focus group (interaction is the instrument which facilitates individual discourses). This is in comparison with the collective discursive character of the discussion group, (where interaction is the instrument which decreases individual narrative). Complementarily, the individual character of the focus group is emphasised in the process of recruitment of the participants (Fern: 2001).

Another element highlighted is the evanescent character of the group: "The original meaning and use of the term "group" in "focus group" was highly specific. These groups had no identity outside of the research context" (Kamberlis and Dimitriadis 2014: 5). Even though I recognised this debate, these last arguments are important for this design due to the research design including the category "Mixed stakeholders group", and the process of recruitment was related to this category.

Thus, the option for focus/discussion groups was pertinent. Regarding research experiences, studies often have used groups when researching CSEC. These include understanding the phenomena of CSEC studied in professional teams (Toro, et al.: 2011); the difficulties and challenges in the intervention process (Pearce: 2011); trafficking from the victim's point of view (Gjermenia: 2008).

In terms of the strategies to involve and recruit the participants, the stakeholders invited in the research were consulted, in order to ask for methodological, conceptual and ethical feedback. These included National Service of Child Wellbeing (SENAME), NGOs that manage programs of social intervention on CSEC, UNICEF Chile, and Directors of centres that provide social intervention on CSEC. During the first year (August – September 2014), both National Service of Child Wellbeing (SENAME) and

the main NGOs that were managing programs of social intervention on CSEC promised their participation in the research

The focus/discussion group was composed of policy makers, academics, researchers, police and judicial representatives that have a common base related to the social intervention in CSEC.

The selection criteria for the research participants were:

- Authorities, technicians, and policy makers of the national central-level of the design of programs who have experience in at least one cycle of programs, and want to participate in the research.
- Representatives of the legal system who are involved in any level of the judicial process.
- Representatives of civil society organisations, linked to the design of social policy proposals or the design of interventions, such as directors of the organisation, coordinators of the technical area or directors of the program who have experience in at least one cycle of programs, and want to participate in the research.
- Researchers and academics that have expertise in the area.

As a result, the stakeholder group was developed on March 17th, 2015. The participants were a representative of the National Service of Child Wellbeing (SENAME), with experience as a policy maker and supervision in intervention programs in CSEC; a representative of the legal system (Legal assistance corporation), with expertise in the protection and criminal system, litigation and trial in CSEC; two representatives of NGOs (SERPAJ and PAICABI), head of technical areas; two representatives of Universities: School of Psychology (Universidad de Playa Ancha), School of Social Work (Pontificia Universidad Catolica de Valparaiso), both with experiences as researchers and practitioners in CSEC; a representative of

cybercrime Police. The group was recorded (audio system) and confidentially transcribed (March 2015). (See appendices 6 and 7).

4.3 Data analysis process

The data analysis was carried out between May 2015 and December 2017. It involved different stages according to the material. Documents were first analysed and each group separately. The analysis was supported by a specialised qualitative software, which was able to adapt some of the normal procedures of coding, indexation, and classification made by hand to a computational package (Rademaker et al.: 2012).

Considering the volume of qualitative data produced by research, and the variety of analyses available, the task of organising, linking and presenting results has been a central requirement of any analytical tool (Pope et al.:2000). Convenience, efficiency, flexibility, new ways of analysis, validity and rigour have been recognised as the main advantages of the use of qualitative analytic software as a support to the analysis. Ethnography, Nudist, Atlas- ti, MAXQDA, and NVIVO, are some of the currently available software programmes, which specialise in qualitative data. In general, software has been evaluated regarding their capacities, flexibility, commercial and technical support, and adaptability to different kinds of analysis (Barry: 1998; Welsh: 2002 Franzosi et al.: 2012; Sotiriadou et al.: 2014).

In the case of the current research and according to the specific requirement of this discourse analysis there is a need for a flexible package, with a high standard of security and privacy, independent of facilities and licenses associated with specific hardware. For these characteristics, the software package "dedoose" was used to support the data storage and analysis. (see appendix 8)

In the following sections, I will describe and discuss the steps and procedures in doing discourse analysis.

4.3.1 Overview of data analysis

The discourse analysis process developed two levels of analysis:

Textual/Descriptive level is the first level of analysis in this modality. It considers a process of description and interpretation of the object or main themes; the actors are present in the narrations as the speakers and the audiences, and the actors' social position is considered in the described interaction. In addition, it considers the tensions or conflicts within this dialogue (Parker: 1996; Toro: 2006). The result of this level are the discursive productions.

Performative level refers to the relationship between the previous analysis with cultural and social structures. The main aim is the identification of types of discourses and the interactive relationships generated between them. This level tries "to connect theoretically in any way the practices of discourse analysis with the social structure under study. This would be the main aim of the discourse analysis as a socially analytic and suitable practice" (Iniguez 2003: 117).

4.3.2 Doing Applied Discourse Analysis (ADA) technical procedure

In this section, I will describe the step by step process of discourse analysis. It considers the working from the texts (more literal level) to the themes (more abstract). Then analytic schemes (discursive productions) are built to finally develop discourses. Details and specific actions will be provided in the next sections. The following scheme describes an overview of this process:

Figure 3: General scheme of discourse analysis
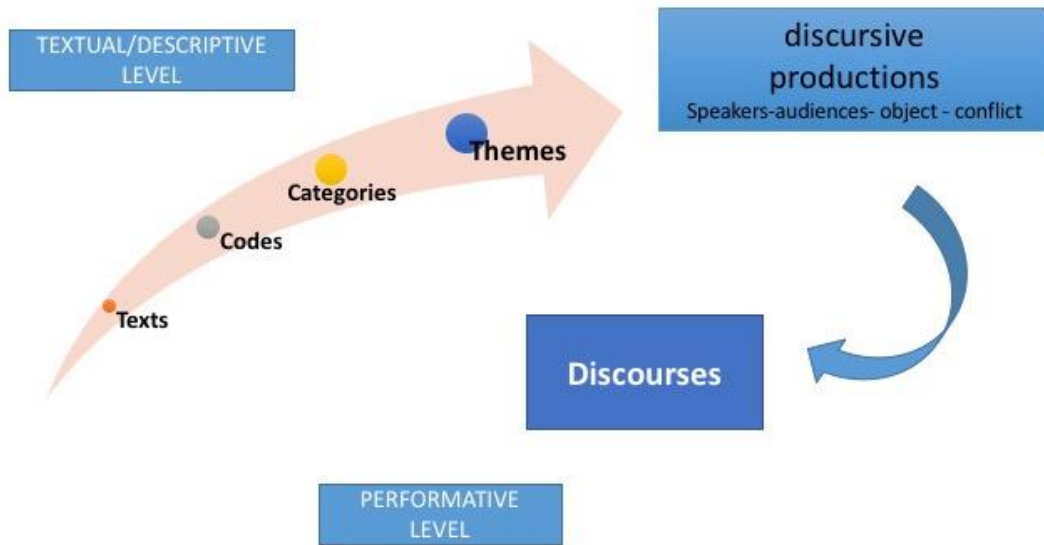
i) **Coding.** It is a process of reduction of the interactions (texts) to move to the concepts (codes) (Stivers: 2015). The code is a brief, literal description of the excerpt in terms of showing interactions and position in a social action. It involves a sequence of ideas (Steensig: 2015) that represent meaning based on text (Rabinovich and Kacen: 2013).

The following examples show us the close relationship between the code and the excerpt:

Table 8 concept and excerpt

Concept (code)	Excerpt
Childhood is a stage of life itself, not a lesser adult. *(Government documents)*	*"It emphasises that being a boy, a girl, or a teenager is not being "less adult", since childhood and adolescence are not adulthood preparation stages. They have the same value as any other developmental stage".*
Economic dimension of CSEC	*"Sexual Commercial Exploitation of Children and Teenagers is considered as a mean of economic exploitation similar to slavery and forced labour. CSEC has adverse consequences for*

(Government documents)	children and teenagers in every aspect of their lives, and it implies a crime committed by those who use children and teenager in commercial sexual activities".
The contradiction between repudiating sexual crimes and facilitating CSEC (Alternative documents)	"As regards to the accomplices and the social appraisal that sometimes are contradictory, it's important to think how strongly society repudiates sex crimes in general and sexual exploitation, in particular. In addition, it's also important to reflect upon the series of players that enable these activities, such as recruiting agencies, document counterfeiters, premise owners, companies transporting the trafficked victims, young people who produce child pornography for a few dollars, taxi drivers taking tourists where teenagers are exploited and immigration officers who follow lax controls are only examples of the diversity of players involved in these crimes".
There are not centres to provide treatment for children abused through CSEC with HIV/AIDS (Alternative documents)	"Another weak area is the care of child victims of commercial sexual exploitation suffering from HIV/AIDS. There are no centres providing adequate advice, treatment and follow-up considering that the financial and emotional resources with which they face this illness are scarce and weak. Usually, their behaviour is disruptive, careless and puts their lives and others' in danger".
Over-intervention and institutional history in children and young people that have been in CSEC (Mixed Stakeholder group)	"I'm going to take advantage of the anonymity (.) when you receive (.) and check the children's background (.) they go into the exploitation project as you were saying. (.) You check (.) a development (.) an on-going increase of situations of rights' violations to which they have been exposed (.) Thousands of projects that intervened not only residential spaces, but specialized ones (.) preventive projects, repair projects and they have a subject (.) with an extremely high complex background (.) Eight psychologists saw him (.) Ten social workers".

The first level of coding carried out in the documents comprised in Government documents 13 sources, 747 codes, and 758 excerpts; in Alternative documents 13

sources, 740 codes, and 802 excerpts; and finally, in the Mixed Stakeholder group, 698 codes and 211 excerpts.

In order to evaluate the pertinence of the coding process i.e. the correspondence between the codes and the extracts, a proportion of extracts at each stage of the coding were translated from the Spanish language to English and discussed in supervision meetings. These extracts were randomly selected from different positions, and other extracts were also identified and translated because of the linguistic complexity of their establishing their meaning when translating from Spanish to English. The result of this exercise was greater clarity about coding in English and extracts that captured the nuances of meaning in English and allowed the development of a standard for the rest of the extracts and codes.
An example of translated extracts can be found in appendix 9

ii) **Category**. The next stage is to organise the concepts on the same topic under a category while trying to be inclusive and explanatory of all added concepts. These categories are a more abstract classification than the codes. The decision to incorporate the codes into the category, and how it was named, was based on the contents of the code and on the theoretical discussion about the intention and purposes of the researcher. This process avoids a neutral position without a theoretical background (St. Pierre: 2014). In contrast, this process had a dimension of interpretation in the analysis, rather than a group of examples without analysis (Antaki et al.: 2003).

The following example shows the concordance between the category and the codes:

Table 9 Categories and codes

Categories	Codes
THE ASSESSMENT IN CSEC (Government documents)	a) specialised assessment about specific damage in children survivors on CSEC: assessment procedures to know life history, damage and psychological assessment. b) CSEC assessment: procurer's characteristics, relationships and criminal network. c) detecting type of violence and actors involved. d) assessment of child maltreatment: abandonment, protection resources, peers involved on CSEC, dynamics of exchange in CSEC, criminal networks: e) health dimension on CSEC: general evaluation, physical and mental damage, preventive plan and treatment. f) family assessment situation: structure, dynamics, strengths and motivation for the intervention. g) family assessment: protective adults, a communitarian network of support, domestic violence. process h) admission phase: detection, diagnosis and building trusting relationship with children. i) sharing assessment conclusions to the family and children. j) integrated assessment using information strategies oriented to stakeholders. k) psychological reports, which contain: psychological vulnerability, CSEC indicators, identification of procurers, psychological damage. l) psychosocial report on dynamics, facts, and prognosis.

This work comprised 27 categories in government documents, 23 categories in alternative documents and 16 categories in the stakeholder group.

All of the categories and codes were developed in English, while the extracts were in both English and Spanish. This made it possible to connect the meaning of the extracts with the codes and categories. This material was also brought to supervision for further discussion and clarification.

iii) **Themes**. The creation of themes involves further abstract classification that arranges the data. Categories are connected and condensed under this organisation (theme) (Basit: 2003). The themes are the result of the combination of similar and complementary categories that can portray a dimension of the phenomenon researched (Rosiek and Heffernan: 2014).

The following example illustrates the relationship between the theme and the categories:

Table 10 Theme and categories

Theme	Categories
Stages of the intervention in CSEC (Government documents)	- Assessment in CSEC - The design of the intervention in CSEC - Monitoring the CSEC intervention
Direct actions with victims of CSEC (Alternative documents)	- Social construction of CSEC victims - Approaches in intervention on CSEC - Recovery process in CSEC
Institutional responses on CSEC (Mixed Stakeholder group)	- State role in CSEC and childhood - Promotion, prevention, sensitisations in CSEC - Social policies on CSEC - Laws and regulations on CSEC - Creating knowledge about CSEC

To summarise, the first level of analysis involved reducing the text into codes, then creating categories and ultimately to classify them in themes.

At this level of analysis, themes, categories and codes were developed in English and supported by the extracts which had been developed in English and Spanish. At the end of the process, the more representative extracts were translated and back-translated into English to be used as examples to illustrate the discourses and reflections.

iv) **Discursive productions**. Discursive productions refer to a group of interactive practices of language that can coordinate relationships (de Beaugrande: 2000). These practices rule interactions between actors involved in the context of the relationship and in the contents that we can call positions (Iniguez et al: 2000). Those positions represent understanding and social, cultural worlds that can be analysed under discursive analytic tools (Maingueneau: 1999).

The process to build the basic scheme of discursive productions followed an analytic procedure of coding, categorising, and thematising. After that, the material was organised in a discursive production scheme. The main tools used were a thematic matrix (theme-categories-code-excerpt) and mind maps. To see some examples in appendix 10.

The work was "crafted" in a way that can be described in the following steps:

a) To read all the material (including the matrix and the excerpt);

b) To organise every theme with its categories in mind maps;

c) With this information and graphs to connect relationships between themes, this process involved checking the matches inside the contents of the themes. At the beginning of this operation, the idea of tension between two opposite logics appeared quite reasonable in terms of characterising the discussion across the documents;

d) To find evidence of the tension in the categories of any theme related

e) To approve or to reject the relationship according to the evidence and the contents of the categories-code-excerpt. This exercise of adjustment involved going from the relationship (tension) to the material (categories-codes-excerpt) and vice-versa;

f) To write the description of the interpretation of each relation;

g) To analyse the coherence and consistency between the tension, the explanation of this, and the material selected as an example to effectively show the elements contained in the scheme of discursive productions.

The following table illustrates the discursive productions according to the sources:

Table 11 Summary of discursive productions by sources

Sources	Discursive productions
Government documents (Tensions)	- Definitions in CSEC – Challenges in CSEC: refers to what are the assumptions of the interventions. - Decisions based on standards – decisions based on professional contexts: relates to how decisions about method of intervention are made. - Influences of agencies – Influences of knowledge: refers to how the framework of the intervention can be influenced - Decision informed by theoretical knowledge – Decision informed by empirical knowledge: refers to what knowledge of the intervention is based on - External guideline – Internal guideline: what are the values that are guiding the intervention.
Alternative documents (Movement)	- Spread of the terms: child pornography, child sexual exploitation, commercial sexual exploitation of children, refers to the discussion about terminologies. It concerns how to define, describe and agree on the social construction of the CSEC in order to identify the main elements that would be impacted by the intervention. - Supporting the actions: tension and agreements between Human rights and domestic laws refers to the discussion about values, principles and frameworks that support the intervention. It concerns how to articulate rights and laws in doing intervention considering the judicial system operations. - Building the context for the intervention: the relationship between principle support, knowledge-

	informed and situated practices refers to the discussion about the framework that produce the intervention. It concerns how to articulate rights and laws, knowledge about CSEC and elements from the field, practices in doing the intervention to influence the structure of the action.
Mixed Stakeholders groups (Dialectics)	• A dialectic between critical key points and challenges: refers to the discussion about the way in which the structure of the intervention functions, the way in which procedural decisions are made and the definitions of a practitioner's role and team relationships. • A dialectic between critical key points and challenges structure/stakeholders: refers to the discussion about the way in which the structure of the intervention functions, and the role of the stakeholders in the implications in the intervention. • A dialectic between critical key points and challenges - structure of the intervention and institutional response: refers to the discussion about the whether or not the structure of the intervention is related to the institutional responses. It identifies the type of relationship between the way in which the intervention is designed and developed.

v) **Discourses**. The final step in this discourse-analytic procedure identifies types of discourses regarding their style and the objects that the discourses refer to. The process to develop the discourse analysis considered the ways in which discursive productions construct arguments and how these are supported. Then, I worked through the text to identify which sentences had used which style of discourse. Finally, I analysed these arguments transversely regarding connecting the strategies used and the objects that the discourses are referring to.

The last version of each discourse was sent (an executive summary in Spanish) correspondingly to the groups and the stakeholders involved in the research. The

purpose was to discuss the findings and interpretations made by the researcher in order to adjust, clarify and improve the quality of the results as the accountability part of the research process (Okuda and Gómez-Restrepo: 2005; Vasilachis de Gialdino:2006; Berenguera et al.: 2014). The comments and reflections were incorporated into the final version of the results.

After that, the discourses were organised in diagrams which reflected analytic axes that allowed for the classification and discussion of the main elements of these discourses. The process of allocating the discourses to diagrams was an inductive exercise. On completion of this, I defined clusters in which discourses were related based on their content and style. The use of these crossed-diagrams strategically presented the discourses in a reflective way, allowing discussion of the main aspects of this research in relation to CSEC policies and programmes, intervention models and intervention practices. This strategy facilitated a discussion of the convergences, divergences and the relationships among these three elements. A crossed diagram is an analytic methodology used in qualitative research that transforms Cartesian coordinates in a relational cluster. This methodology allows the development of a relational rationale by opposition, spatiality and graphics positioned according to the axes, and the possibility of building conceptual fields and clusters (Corvalan: 2011).

In the case of the governmental documents, I identified eight discourses that were schematically represented as two axes: content, intervention and approach, and style (mandatory or pragmatic). In the alternative documents, I identified six discourses across three axes: monitoring and evaluation, challenges, and recommendations. In the stakeholder group, I identified four discourses across two axes: critical points and challenges. These schemes, presented as a mind map of the processes, can be found in appendix 10.

4.4 Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter, I developed the main decisions and rationale of the research design. I explained the movement from the first idea to the final proposal developed. I described in detail the process of data production and data analysis. Particularly, I developed the step-by-step process of the applied discourse analysis method, illustrating the steps with empirical examples and theoretical explanation. The rationale of this chapter was guided by the criteria of transparency and transferability in qualitative research, which allows any reader to understand the decision-making process and it can connect the findings with the sources through the methods.

The following chapters will detail the discursive findings, based on the sources analysed: government documents, alternative documents and a mixed stakeholder group.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS, GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS DISCOURSES

The findings are presented in the following three chapters, five government documents discourses, six alternative documents discourses and seven mixed stakeholder group, considering the process done of applied discourse analysis in each source. Each section contains an introduction in which the analytic axis is explained. The axes organised the style and the contents of the discourses, creating clusters in which the discourses were allocated. There is also a general diagram that illustrated the position of the discourses and then a description of the clusters. Finally, each discourse is explained in detail. These findings, the context, and literature review were considered the inputs for the discussion and conclusion of the following chapter.

5.1 Introduction

In order to present the results of the analysis of the government documents, I have diagrammatically represented the discourses along two axes. The horizontal axis shows two styles of discourses, Mandatory and Pragmatic. The vertical axis classifies the main contents to which each discourse refers: The Intervention and the Approach.

Mandatory Discourse on Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) sets down a solid foundation of obligation and objectivity for the elements of intervention into CSEC. The mandatory type is related to the sense of totality (a complete system) and the relevance of identifying the characteristics of a subject (of law and protection) in opposition to an object (of care and control). It also considers the ethical principles of, and theoretical knowledge about, CSEC (approaches), and the influences of agencies and their understanding of CSEC (guidelines). In this analysis, I identified four modalities in these types of discourses: **intervention as part of a 'child wellbeing' system; intervention recognising children as subjects of law and**

protection; the use of ethical principles and theoretical knowledge-based approaches; and the guidance of global agencies in the definition used of legislation and policies.

Pragmatic Discourse on CSEC provides parameters and criteria to make decisions based on evidence about the reality of the phenomenon of CSEC collected in the field. This discourse consequently encourages different actors to be involved in the intervention and to provide appropriate responses according to the situations and the possibilities they afford.

I identified four modalities in this type of discourse: **intervention developing through a network of services; the specialised character of the intervention; challenges, tensions and gaps in the laws and social policies; and the use of an evidence-based approach.**

The Intervention Axis categorises the mandatory and pragmatic discourses according to their defining feature: that they belong to a system, or to a network of services respectively. It also describes the main elements that any intervention contains, for instance, its aims and strategies. Finally, it highlights the actors involved in the intervention process and their alternatives to action.

The Approach Axis classifies the discourses, both mandatory and pragmatic, according to the understanding of the phenomena of CSEC, a path of action. The approach thus supports the intervention in the case of the mandatory discourse (based on abstract elements of the system) and promotes dialogue with the intervention in the case of the pragmatic discourse (based on empirical elements of practice).

The following diagram represents this analysis:

Figure 4: Government discourses on CSEC organised across two axes.
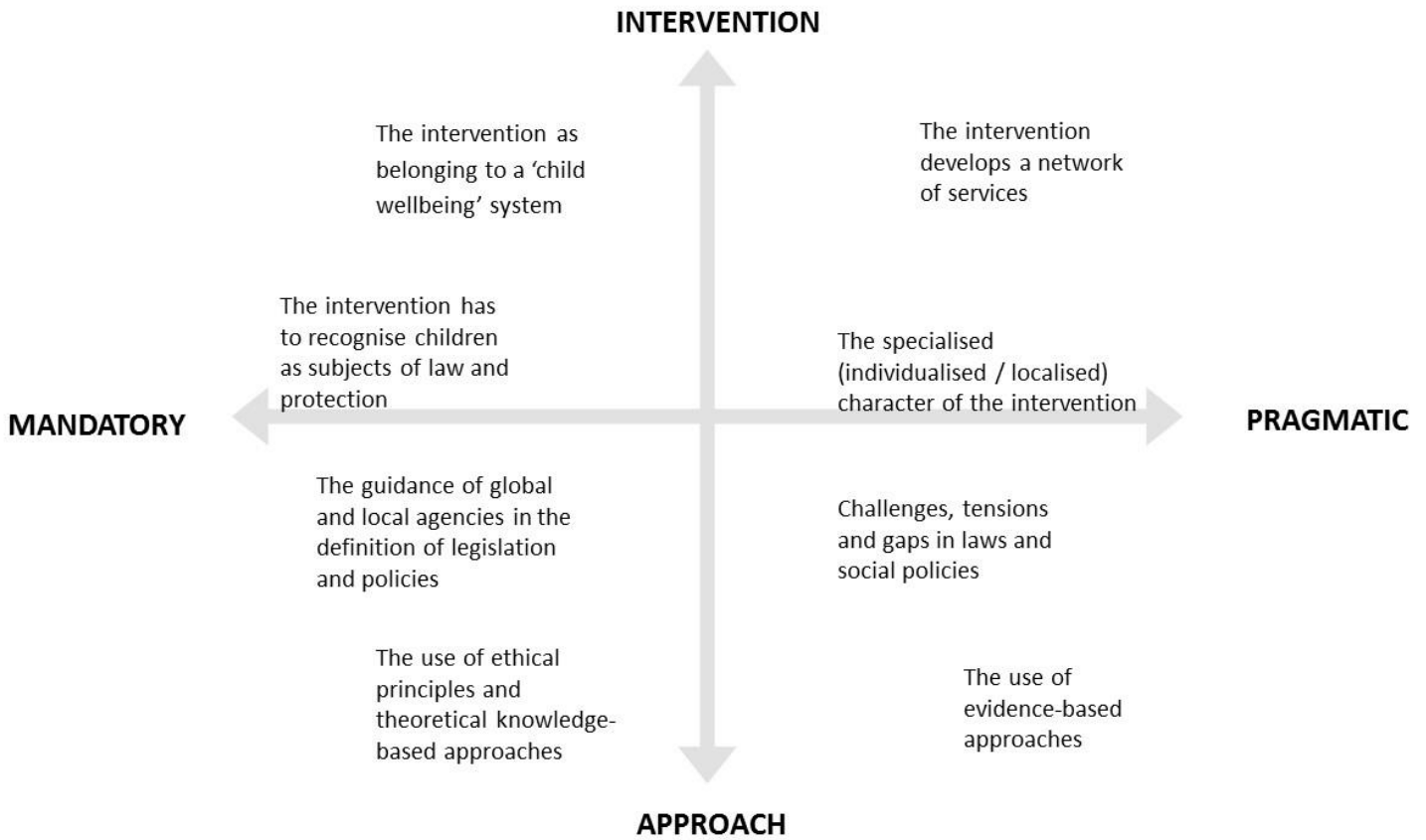
Having introduced these four analytic categories, I will now discuss each one in turn.

5.2 Cluster Mandatory – Intervention

This cluster contains two discourses of the type 'mandatory' that describe the systemic character of the intervention and the recognition of children as subjects (rather than objects of care and control) as a structural condition that shapes the intervention.

Figure 5: Cluster mandatory - intervention
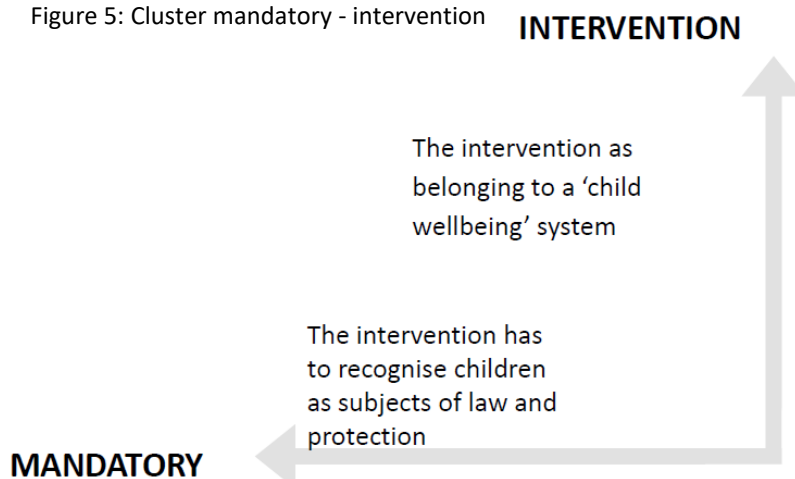
5.2.1 'The intervention as belonging to a 'child wellbeing' system'

A system is an organised structure functioning in such a way as to be consistent with its constituent elements. Its purpose is to strengthen the system and create childhood institutions across different levels (systemic levels) in order to form an infrastructure for the system itself. This is the concept of operational closure (Luhmann: 1996). This category indicates that the systems are closed (this being the main characteristic of systems), and that they contain all the elements and operations (actions) required to reproduce and sustain the system. In this example, all the actions that are oriented to the wellbeing of children (protection, prevention, recovery) are also oriented to create, reproduce and sustain the child wellbeing system. The following diagram represents the main elements in this discourse:

Figure 6: Discourse 'The intervention as belonging to a 'child wellbeing' system'


```
The intervention as          protection as the main aim the
belonging to a 'child         system
wellbeing' system
                              protection requires the development
                               of political structure

                              the framework for action is a new kind of
                               systemic strategy
```
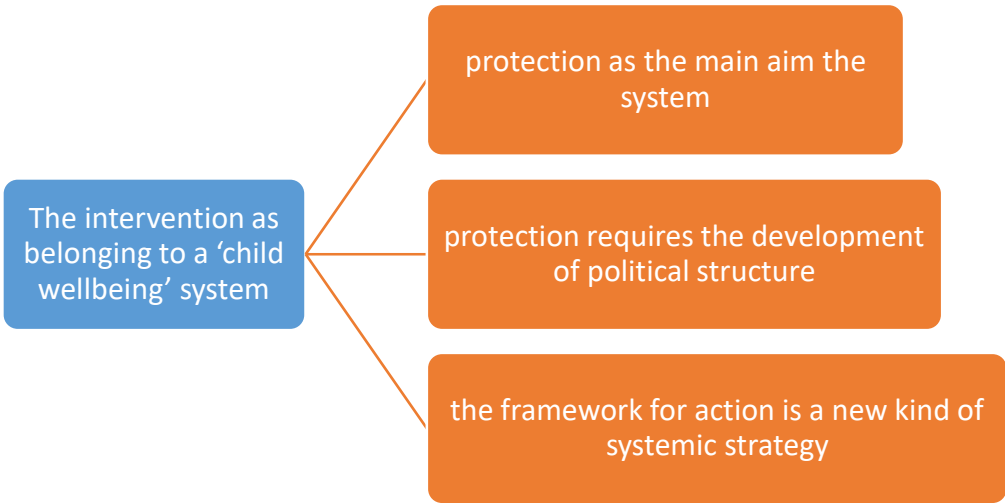
Protection as the main aim of the system considers two characteristics: universality and integrity. The former denotes the right of access to services and the latter indicates the consideration of all dimensions of the child´s life in the design and implementation of social policies.

The following quotation, extracted from social policies and a framework for child protection in CSEC, highlights universality. The notion of general protection is wide enough to include the general population as well as specific groups:

"As a Service (National Child Welfare Service), we differentiate between three levels of protection. The first level relates to the universal and general protection that must be accessible to all children, teenagers and families, especially if they are living in poverty or low-level violation of Rights situations".
                                               (Document: marco_general_2006-2010.pdf, Position: 18868-19197)

The phrase "*that must be accessible to all children, teenagers and families…*" suggests that a mandatory level of the norm needs to be met for one to make a procedural decision. In addition, the feature of general protection and prevention implies consideration, at the same time, of both the general population and specific vulnerable groups as part of the protective system. This idea is based on new approaches in social policies and an understanding of ecosystemic and human development (PNUD: 2009). The following quotation illustrates this transition in the idea of universality in the social policy:

"The proposal made by the Presidential Advisory Council looks for the instalment of an institutional and connected system of child protection. This general protection and prevention is directed at wide social groups, or focused on subjects belonging to more specific groups that are characterised by vulnerabilities in their social and cultural conditions. The priority will be, during the first stage, early childhood."
                                               (Document: marco_general_2006-2010.pdf, Position: 20054-20475)

This extract illustrates an extension of the idea of universality in social policies and alignment with the logic of the social protective system "Chile Crece Contigo" ("Chile grows up with you") implemented in 2009. The notion of human rights is central to the services (Bedegral: 2014). They are therefore part of a system that provides support and services from an early age until old age. Interestingly, this new vision emerged from the Presidential Advisory Council (PAC), a council created to modify the primary structure of child-related social policies. It is likely that this view was

possible due to its independent position, the ability to see the 'big picture', and the diversity of the members that formed this council.

The second characteristic, integrity, firstly suggests a consideration of "all dimensions of development" and possibly refers to the developmental stages in childhood. The second element is "the diversity of the different child and adolescence categories", referring more clearly to the concept of diversity across class and socio-cultural understandings of various ethnic origins.

Working with all the dimensions of the child's life provides a more complex understanding of their realities. This comes from different disciplinary approaches (such as psychological, educational, social and physical approaches) and applies to an interdisciplinary analysis of the child's life (such as individual, familiar, and contextual analyses). The following quotation is supportive of this position:

"The aforementioned integral protection involves addressing all dimensions of the development of children and teenagers, and considering the diversity of the different child and adolescence categories. This promotes and enables the expression of particular realities".
(Document: politica nacional a favor de la infancia y la adolescencia 2001 2010.pdf, Position 90370-90699)

The last sentence gives the mandatory statement: "This promotes and enables the expression of particular realities", hence showing a focus on differences. Integrity can thus illustrate diverse realities rather than a monothematic reality of children. Finally, this better understanding of children allows for more accurate and relevant policies, programs, and interventions.

Another dimension of integrity in child protection is the consideration of different and complementary purposes in the intervention: prevention, assistance or treatment, recovery, and reintegration.

In considering the whole dimension of the child's life and needs, it is entirely reasonable to offer a complete set of services based on these social policies:

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"Rights protection, both in preventive and assistance actions, as well as treatment, recuperation, reintegration and social promotion actions, requires the functioning of more integral systems, closer to the families and the community."

(Document: chile_crc_c_opsc_chl_1_2006_adv_sp.pdf, Position: 35263-35611)

The definition of the main aim (protection) requires **the development of a political structure** that can contain and solve this serious social problem (CSEC):

"The system is founded upon universal child rights, which have to be guaranteed by the whole society. The system ensures services for all children based on their needs and proposes cooperative relationships among families, institutions, civil society and central government, in order to achieve universal goals in child development".

(Propuestas del Consejo asesor presidencial para la reforma de las politicas de infancia 2006.pdf, Position: 49497-49863)

This political structure is based on the human rights of children, and involves stakeholders concerned with childhood wellbeing. The key point of the mandatory characteristic is that it involves (as a system) "the whole society", "all children", and a purpose of achieving "universal goals". The instruments used to achieve this political structure are laws and policies. The Framework for Action against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and Teenagers ("Framework for Action") coordinates these instruments:

"The "Framework for Action against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and Teenagers" constitutes an important working instrument to progress the design of policies and coordinated actions on this issue in Chile. Its main areas of action include investigation (social, judicial and criminal); intervention (sensitisation, secondary and tertiary prevention); reforms to social policies and normative reforms"

(Document: protocolo de la convención de los derechos del niño sobre prostitución y pornografía infantil.pdf, Position: 8185-8697)

The framework for action is a new kind of systemic strategy that brings together different logics and institutions (and various powers of the state) under the notion of interconnection, interdependence and mutual goals.

The discourse "The intervention belongs to a 'child wellbeing' system" thus includes protection as a main aim of the system, a political structure in the framework against CSEC, and a logic of interconnection and interdependency. This discourse produces an all-encompassing binding effect and develops a specific framework for tackling CSEC spanning the micro-, meso- and macro-levels of action.

5.2.2 'The intervention has to recognise children as subjects of law and protection'

'Children as a subject of law and protection' is one of the clearest statements that emerges as a discourse and as a mandatory level across the government documents. The following diagram represents the main elements in this discourse:

Figure 7: Discourse 'The intervention has to recognise children as subjects of law and protection'

```
                                        ┌──────────────────────┐
                                        │  childhood as a      │
                                    ────│  proper stage of life│
                                   /    └──────────────────────┘
┌─────────────────────┐          /     ┌──────────────────────┐
│ The intervention    │         /      │                      │
│ has to recognise    │─────────────── │ progressive autonomy │
│ children as a       │         \      │                      │
│ subject of law and  │          \     └──────────────────────┘
│ protection          │           \    ┌──────────────────────┐
└─────────────────────┘            ────│  the construction of │
                                        │  CSEC victims        │
                                        └──────────────────────┘
```
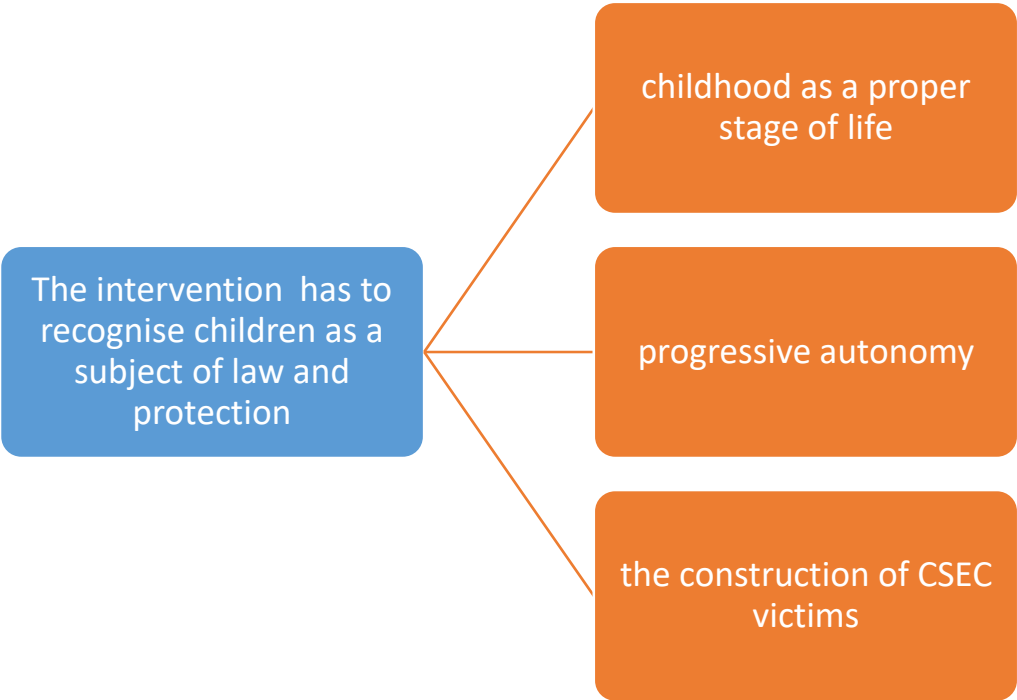
The concept of children as subjects of law and protection tries to overcome the notion of the minor as an object for protection, which implies a subordinate position based on the practices of care and control in childhood (Cree and Meyers: 2008). In contrast, the subject of law considers **childhood as a proper stage of life**. This vision

(as subject of law and protection) strongly encourages practitioners to recognise not just the potential of the child as a future adult, but also their present abilities. By doing so, a child is considered as more than a 'minor' or 'under-age':

"Considering the child and teenager as a subject implies recognising his or her potential and capabilities, breaking away from the historical perception of minority as a vision that devalues this stage of development. In this way, children have the right to express their opinions, to be heard, to hold beliefs, to associate freely with others, and to avoid any illegal or arbitrary interference in their private life".

(Document: marco_general_2006-2010.pdf, Position: 32560-33039)

Furthermore, **progressive autonomy** is a characteristic of childhood that allows the incorporation of differences in the active exercise of rights according to the child's developmental stage. This recognition is the next level in improving standards in the relationship between adults and children. It gives value to their potentialities and capacities and redefines the dimension of control and power that the parents' care has had until this time**:**

"This principle (progressive autonomy) is founded upon the fact that the child has the right to develop him or herself progressively in the autonomous exercise of his or her rights. In this way we overthrow the traditional perspective that parents have power over children since they lack autonomy".

(Document: politica nacional a favor de la infancia y la adolescencia 2001 2010.pdf, Position: 47919-48209)

According to article five of the Child Rights Convention, the dimension of parental power and control is nuanced from the authority to organise the child's life to a role of orientation and guidance concerning the child's exercise of these rights (UN: 1989). Recognition of children as a subject of law and protection implies integration of **the construction of the CSEC victim**. The notion of victimisation allows the integration of CSEC, its subsequent damage, and specialised responses to it in a linear relationship. The following description connects diverse modalities of CSEC and their possible effects on children and adolescents:

"Rights violations take multiple forms, such as: paid sexual relations on the street, brothels, and elsewhere; child pornography; the use of children and teenagers in travelling and touristic contexts; child trafficking for sexual exploitation purposes, school dropout, alcohol and drug abuse with resultant health damage, unwanted pregnancy, depression, hopelessness, the desire to die, maltreatment by clients, exploiters and/or different types of aggressions".
(Document: 2do-marco-para la accion contra la escnna.pdf, Position: 7999-8545)

This paragraph highlights the notion of a violation of human rights as the primary definition of CSEC, rather than a social problem or a children's problem. Implicitly in each form, there is a "third" person or persons (aggressor, client, or facilitator) who uses violence against children: someone has "paid for a sexual relationship", someone has used a brothel, someone uses children when travelling, and someone has the intention to traffic children. Children suffer the consequences of these acts and, as a result, they are victimised. For instance, they (children) turn to "drug abuse", and they suffer "depression, hopelessness, the desire to die".

The following paragraph is clear in terms of connecting the violent character of CSEC as a rights violation, and the consequences underpinning it, as damaging child development and also their quality of life:

"Commercial Sexual Exploitation is a particular form of violence towards children and teenagers and it affects their integral development. It severely affects their integrity, dignity and autonomy, violating all of their rights since the damage suffered is integral. It may have serious lifelong consequences and even deadly consequences as it has an impact on the physical, psychological, spiritual, moral and social development of children, including early pregnancy, maternal death, injuries, and sexually transmitted diseases (including AIDS)".
(Document: ESCNNA_CCEI.pdf, Position: 5781-6693)

Paradoxically, in some situations of CSEC there are no visible consequences or damage to the child, in the traditional sense of the word (Arredondo: 2010). This is one of the clearest manifestations of victimhood in CSEC: the asymptomatic victim and the non-awareness of victimhood. Finkelhor (1995) provides an explanation of the challenges of asymptomatic children and the relevance of the instruments that

are used to assess them. According to this early analysis, close to 40% of the victims of sexual violence are asymptomatic when assessed by the usual instruments, for instance, CBCA (criteria based content analysis); projective techniques (house-tree-person test, HDFT human figure test), and the Child PTSD Symptom Scale. He also identifies differences in the consequences according to the age of the child in terms of the diverse and sometimes unknown effects at different stages of life. In addition, it is important to consider the resilience of the children and the capacity of a child to manage the effects of sexual violence.

Another example would be the differences experienced children who are experiencing violence for the first time or those who have been repeatedly exposed to violence who then experience CSEC (Toro et al.: 2011). This debate is relevant in terms of the prospects of disclosing situations of CSEC given that most services consider some indicator based on damage and the presence of symptoms (Rabbit: 2015). These indicators are used to gauge the appropriate treatment for the victims and inform social services (Finkelhor: 2012).

The final constituent of the concept of a 'victim' is the detection and assessment of CSEC by the institutions that provide services, support and treatment. These institutions are able to recognise the elements involved in the situation: the type of CSEC, the damage and its consequences. When the institutions identify these elements, the children become recognised as "victims":

"Detection is an intervention strategy aimed at gaining a greater understanding of the type of violation in which the child, peers and customers or pimps are involved".
(Document: bases_tecnicas_PEE 2007.pdf, Position: 36645-36907)

"Specialised assessment: The existence of abuse and/or maltreatment (typology, chronicity, aggressor figure). Children leaving home and/or the beginning of a street-like behavior and commercial sexual exploitation. Protective figure perceived by the child or teenager. The existence of other peers involved with the same exploiter. Exchange dynamics installed between the exploiter and the child or teenagers in order to design intervention strategies."
(Document: bases_tecnicas_PEE 2014.pdf, Position: 42489-43148)

The public interest of these institutions (even if in the private sector) and the reparatory feature of the intervention gives these institutions an expert power to provide a complex specialised intervention:

"The reparatory process is understood as a specialised set of responses for those victims who have suffered highly complex violations of rights. The reparatory process helps to re-signify traumatic damage and its consequences, and promote the capabilities and strengths of children and adolescents".
<div align="center">(Document: marco_general_2006-2010.pdf, Position: 80183-80514)</div>

In synthesis, the discourse, 'The intervention has to recognise children as subjects of law and protection' includes childhood as a stage of life, progressive autonomy, and the construction of CSEC victimhood. All of these components produce a specific subject in two dimensions, recognisable by the law, and protectable as consequences of the violence (CSEC) and its damage. The obligatory effect works due to this definition being far removed from the notion of children as objects of care and control. This discussion will now continue by focusing on the elements 'Mandatory' and 'Approach'.

In the cluster 'Mandatory–Intervention', I localised two discourses: '**The intervention as belonging to a 'child wellbeing' system'** and '**The intervention recognising children as subjects of law and protection'**. The first one defines the intervention as part of a system, identified the protection as the main aim, and described a political structure in which the intervention will happen. The second one defines childhood as a proper stage of life where progressively the child is able to make decisions according to their developmental characteristics. In the particular case of CSEC, the notion of a victim is an added element that involves protection.

5.3 Cluster Mandatory – Approach

This cluster contains two discourses of the type 'Mandatory' that define an understanding of the   phenomena of CSEC. These support interventions are based on theoretical knowledge and ethical principles and recognise the influence of global and local agencies in political and legal definition.

Figure 8: Cluster mandatory - approach

MANDATORY

The guidance of global and local agencies in the definition of legislation and policies

The use of ethical principles and theoretical knowledge-based approaches
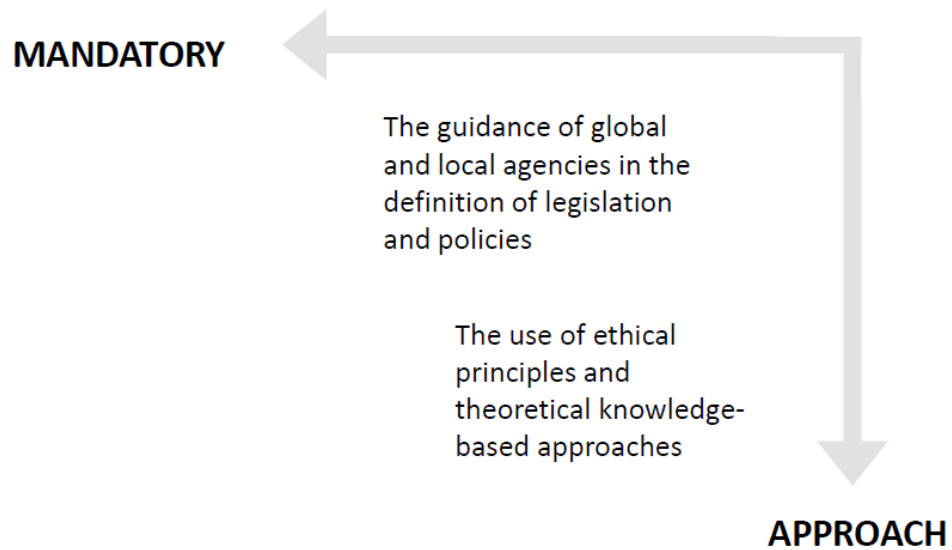
APPROACH

5.3.1 'The use of ethical principles and knowledge-based approaches'

This discourse uses evidence, based on ethical principles, referring to: values, laws, and political position in terms of supported actions based on these principles (Camps: 2015); the notion of autonomy and deliberation in decision-making connected with ways of employing ethical principles (Berggren: 2002); and 'theoretical knowledge'. Johnsson and Sevensson (2006) highlights the role of social science theories to encourage multidisciplinary approaches as a reflexive tool in intervention processes. The following diagram represents the main elements in this discourse:

Figure 9: Discourse 'The use of ethical principles and Knowledge-based approaches'
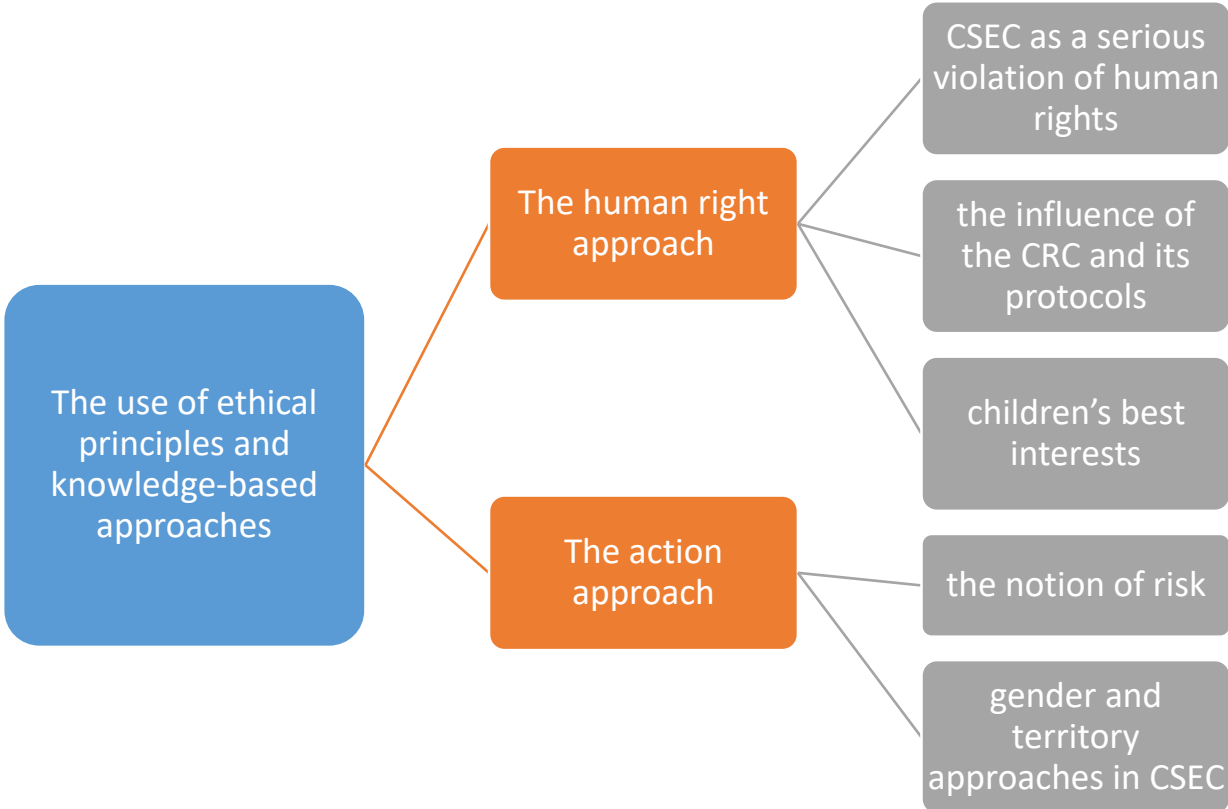
The main ethical principle is **the human rights approach** that includes three elements: the definition of the phenomenon of CSEC as a serious violation of human rights, the influence of the Child Rights Convention and its protocols, and the best interests of children. The human rights approach begins with the definition of CSEC as a serious violation of human rights. The global character of the agreement (Yokohama Global Commitment, 1996) reinforces the universality of human rights and increases its mandatory power:

"According to what was established in the Yokohama Global Commitment and complemented by the Rio de Janeiro Pact, the commercial sexual exploitation of children and teenagers comprises four types of violation of children's rights: a) sex in exchange for money, gifts, favours, among others; b) children used in pornography; c) Trafficking of children for sexual purposes; and d) child sexual tourism".

(Document: ESCNNA_CCEI.pdf, Position: 75-464)

The above definition sets out the elements involved in the phenomenon of CSEC: violation of human rights, economic exchange, and abusive relationships in the

sphere of sexuality. It also describes its typology. This typology allows the identification and classification of situations according to the specific elements involved. It therefore establishes a framework for analysing CSEC, in which these distinctions have to be drawn in order to be rightfully part of the discussion about CSEC. The contributions must observe or conform to the distinctions and, in this way, support the mandatory effect. In other words, the impossibility of avoiding this distinction also generates the binding effect.

The influence of the Child Rights Convention and its protocols on national laws is an example of the development of links between international agreements and national actions. International laws, conventions and protocols have consequences for domestic social policies and others domestic instruments. The contents of these policies correlate with the rights logic that inspired them:

"The ratification of the UN Protocol aims to prevent, repress and sanction human trafficking, especially that of women and children. The existence of an Equality Plan between males and females. The existence of an Action Plan against Sexual Exploitation. Existence of an Action Plan against Domestic Violence. The existence of an Action Plan against Violence against Women. The existence of an Action Plan on the Eradication of Child Labour".
(Document: trafico.chile 2004.pdf, Position: 20250-21553)

The rights rationale corresponds to the way in which rights are implemented. In the case of social policies and state agencies, this gives rights-based management:

"The national Policy in favour of childhood and adolescence recognises the general rights of all children and adolescents living in Chile".

"It's about having a public offer directed at childhood and adolescence based on rights".
(Document: politica nacional a favor de la infancia y la adolescencia 2001 2010.pdf, Position: 23394-23589/Position: 58346-58467)

In both examples, there is a fusion in managerial language and logic (Sisto and Zelaya: 2013) for planning under the notions of rights. This dependency makes it possible to identify in the relationship a "public offer based on rights." This idea is a clear transition in Chilean social policies from a model of intersectionality: that is,

institutional responses based on demand (social or psychosocial problems to be solved) to a system based on rights (rights to be restored) (Martin: 2013).

The third element of the rights approach is the notion of the children's best interest. Different stakeholders may agree on a statement, but its implementation depends on the scenarios in which it is used. The 'best interests of children' is recognised as a principle of the UN conventions rights of the child and it operates as a criterion by which to make decisions, and the consequences of an actor's decisions relate to being able to recognise and value what is in the best interests of children (Smith: 2010):

"The Chilean Government considers the best interests of children as a principle on which to base public policies for children and adolescents"
(Document: 2do marco para la accion contra la Escnna, Position: 2211-2360)

"The best interests of children as the main principle is of particular importance to develop a new kind of social relationship (children-family, children-community, children-society, children-State) and also a new culture regarding children and adolescents"
(Document: politica nacional a favor de la infancia y adolescencia, Position: 33617-33919)

The clearest example of the application of this is in a judicial scenario in which different stakeholders are encouraged to implement measures to avoid secondary victimisation by conducting a trial in a less threatening way for children:

"Regarding the prevention of secondary victimisation, unnecessary repetition of the testimony about the crime is avoided. Besides, this is a means of ensuring that the child does not suffer improper treatment by the officials of the legal system or the social network of the State. The participation of the child in the process of investigation is avoided, along with unnecessary procedures".
(Document: chile_crc_c_opsc_chl_1_2006_adv_sp.pdf, Position: 39327-40064)
"Finally, regarding the participation of the child in the oral trial, a preparation is done with a special educational set. This instrument guides the family of the child and the order of rectification is prepared. The child is accompanied by an adult and he or she leaves the room after the testimony process".
(Document: chile_crc_c_opsc_chl_1_2006_adv_sp.pdf, Position: 40738-41168)

The knowledge based approach is mainly described under the notion of '**the action approach'** that configures theoretical and methodological input to the intervention. It includes the notion of risk and the gender & territory approach. Beck described the narrative of risk as follows: "modern society has become a risk society in the sense that it is increasingly occupied with debating, preventing and managing risks that it itself has produced" (2006:332). It is thus the "attempt to anticipate what cannot be anticipated" (2006:330). This idea derives from the notion of risk factors, groups of factors that have to be considered to prevent a negative situation; in this case, that situation is CSEC and their consequences. On the other hand, a second operation appears in the promotion of protection factors. Protection factors refer to a series of dimensions to be considered in order to secure a safe and nurturing environment for children:

"The special prevention to be developed, according to the particular conditions of each territory, requires operating by identifying the vulnerability factors present in the child and adolescent population and by promoting protection factors".
(Document: marco_general_2006-2010.pdf, Position: 2456-72903)

Risk is also associated with the notion of avoiding more damage and decreasing the personal consequences of CSEC.

"The intervention of this modality must have a special preventive character, focused on the interruption of an existing situation. At the same time, it works to avoid a higher escalation of damage in vulnerable situations.

(Document: marco_general_2006-2010.pdf, Position: 70907-71274)

Gender strongly highlights the issue of sexual violence against female children and adolescents (Frazier:2009). In this case, the gender approach is related to sexual education as a basic tool to deconstruct gender stereotypes and discrimination:

"Regarding education, and specifically, sexual education in Chile, the Ministry of Education is developing the programme "Towards a Responsible Sexuality" (Hacia Una Sexualidad Responsable), which is coordinated by the National Service of Women, the Ministry of Health,

and the Ministry of Education. This programme aims to address sexual education in public schools. In the last two years, massive training programmes have been established. Teachers are trained in areas such as maltreatment prevention and childhood sexual abuse. In 2004, the National Committee for Prevention of Child Maltreatment elaborated a support handbook for teachers called "Protecting the rights of our children: Prevention of Maltreatment and Sexual Abuse in the school environment".

(Document: protocolo de la convención de los derechos del niño sobre prostitución y pornografía infantil.pdf, Position: 15345-16238)

A territory approach identifies the local, social and cultural characteristics, local resources, networking and stakeholders available in a specific physical place (Boisier: 2004). The recognition of these elements can improve the quality and sustainability of intervention:

"We understand territory as the physical, social, economic, and cultural conditions that link the families that live in a given area. The territory is a heterogeneous space formed by diverse actors oriented by interest. The family is there and their immediate network such as the children's school, the GP, and other social forces. In the territory there are also exclusions, stigmatisation, threats to and risks of violation of Human Rights. It is also the most significant place in the intervention due to the invisible stories that build cultural identities and the sense of belonging".

(Document: Marco_general_2016-2010.pdfPosition: 51425-52576)

In the territory approach, the idea of networking is reinforced by a series of activities in which stakeholders are convened to exchange knowledge or coordinate intervention:

"In 2011, a seminar on Prevention of Sexual Abuse in Minors was developed. It was directed at community leaders. Approximately 120 people have participated in each of these initiatives, reaching a total of 1,300 participants. Among these participants were criminal law judges, family judges, prosecutors, attorneys, detectives, law enforcement officers, forensic experts, SENAME professionals, professionals from other specialised intervention projects related to adolescents who have suffered or are suffering CSE, and community leaders, among others".

(Document: 4° Y 5° INFORME CONSOLIDADO DE APLICACIÓN DE LA CONVENCIÓN.pdf, Position: 58614-59154)

Territory is therefore also a physical and symbolic space in which stakeholders with interests and needs exchange knowledge, power, and strategies and in which organisations develop their daily lives. In summary, the territory approach highlights agreements and challenges for the protection of childhood.

The discourse **'The use of ethical and knowledge based approaches'** highlights the development of knowledge in the legal and social sciences. This combination supports a way of understanding CSEC. The support of knowledge and its institutions, the sciences, is a powerful argument that provides credibility and effectivity to this discourse. The binding effect consequently increases the normative and mandatory quality of the approaches.

5.3.2 'The guidance of global and local agencies in the definition of legislation and policies'

The last discourse in the cross-category Mandatory/Approach contains the recognition of the influences of international and national agencies in the agenda for CSEC. International agencies encourage national agencies to define CSEC as a serious problem and to agree on political, legal, and strategic actions. The following diagram represents the main elements in this discourse:

Figure 10: Discourse 'The guidance of global and local agencies in the definition of legislation and policies'
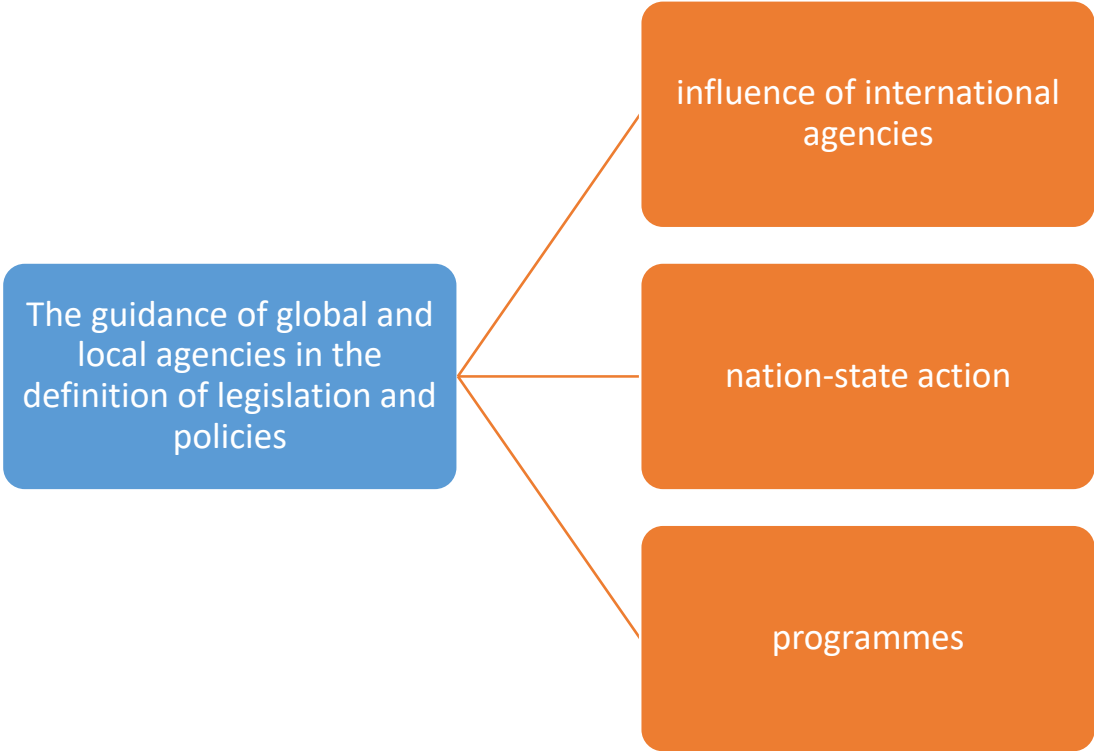
The influence of international agencies on national and regional policy reflects the interest and concerns about the situation regarding CSEC at a local level. This preoccupation has promoted alliances in order to have impact at a local level and involves the decision-making actors:

"The international community has demonstrated its concern about this issue at several opportunities which highlight the implementation of three World Congresses after the agreement of the Convention on the Rights of the Children: Stockholm (1996), Japan (2001) and Rio de Janeiro (2008)".

(Document: bases_tecnicas_PEE 2014.pdf, Position: 5824-6155)

"Because of the severity of the problem, the State, civil society, and the international bodies generated and promoted various strategies".

(Document: 2do-marco-para la accion contra la escnna.pdf, Position: 8552-8751)

In the case of law, international agencies make definitions based on global agreements and international legislation which affect domestic law. This strategy can

help at a domestic level by forcing change in harmonizing both international and national legislation:

"Article 2 of the Optional Protocol to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child on Child trafficking, child prostitution and child pornography, provides that: a) child trafficking corresponds to any act or transaction in which a child is transferred from one person or group of persons to another in exchange for a payment or any other recompense; b) child prostitution is understood to be the use of a child in sexual activities in return for a payment or any other recompense ; and c) child pornography is understood to be the representation of a child dedicated to explicit, real, or simulated sexual activities by any means, or the representation of a child's genitalia with mainly sexual purposes".
(Document: 2do-marco-para la accion contra la escnna.pdf, Position: 10499-12977)

"In its recommendation n° 70, a) the committee expressed the need to harmonise the legislation with international obligations imposed by the Convention and the Optional Protocol related to child trafficking, child prostitution and child pornography".
(Document: 4° Y 5° INFORME CONSOLIDADO DE APLICACIÓN DE LA CONVENCIÓN.pdf, Position: 341729-342214)

Even through the recognition of international agreements, the act of ratification is oriented towards **the nation-state action**, using the classic instruments of planning by a state: national plans, programmes, and laws that reinforce the domestic level. This level recognises the nation-state as the main agent in the design and development of policies against CSEC. For instance, in the early nation-state, the first social policies and legal regulation concerned childhood (care, abandonment, school, health), illustrating the permanent responsibility of this agent in child protection:

"It is recognised that the State has the main responsibility for the design and development of universal public policies which aim to guarantee the rights of children and teenagers. With a special focus on the Second Action Framework, the State, consistent with Article 37 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and due to the severity of this violation of rights, will prevent more children being treated in a cruel and inhuman way".
(Document: 2do-marco-para la accion contra la escnna.pdf, Position: 30423-30960)

"The State's concern about childhood and adolescence is long-standing in Chile. It has progressively varied from an assistance perspective to a promotion-based, and social-investment perspective, which considers child development as a fundamental component,

directly associated with integral human development, implemented by the central management of the State".

<div align="right">(Document: politica nacional a favor de la infancia y la adolescencia 2001 2010.pdf, Position: 8703-9148)</div>

The involvement of the state sustains the changes in social structure and organisation. Even when the expected changes in government agencies do not occur, they could be pivotal to evolution in other spheres (such as legal). The state having the power to begin these reforms is evidence of the 'mandatory discourse':

"In the same respect, in May 2000 the then-Government illustrated the need to develop a deep reform of the institutions focused on childhood and adolescence. Although this reform did not create the changes desired, it created the possibility to make some significant modifications to the legal system ruling SENAME, both in grants to collaborating institutions and SENAME's management".

<div align="right">(Document: marco_general_2006-2010.pdf, Position: 6450-6988)</div>

The programmes are the instruments through which the state tries to affect childcare policies. These programmes have diverse objectives. For instance, some of them attempt to strengthen childhood institutions. Even through the specificity of childcare programmes for children, they are connected with public policies affecting the system of childcare policies:

"Developing programs and actions of support and institutional strengthening to fulfil public tasks in childhood and adolescence, from a rights point of view".

<div align="right">(Document: politica nacional a favor de la infancia y la adolescencia 2001 2010.pdf, Position: 72412-72612)</div>

"Programmes must perform as an auxiliary mechanism for services of the State, such as health, education, housing, work and social security, services that affect the child population. Special protective services should not replace their function because their real function would be distorted".

<div align="right">(Document: politica nacional a favor de la infancia y la adolescencia 2001 2010.pdf, Position: 82675-83086)</div>

Childcare policies are in part defining the state's vision of childhood. Several institutions develop programmes in this area (such as health and education), but it is the National Service of Child Wellbeing that appears to have the necessary attributes to coordinate and develop the services as a network:

"In particular, SENAME develops specialized programs which contribute to shaping a social and public service network, especially those designed to promote wellbeing, development, and childhood and adolescence protection throughout certified collaborative organisations. At the same time, SENAME has raised social awareness of the obligation to address this problem in an articulated manner, to face it as a public issue, and to transform this severe violation of rights from a hidden and denied topic, to a visible problem of social responsibility".
(Document: bases_tecnicas_PEE 2014.pdf, Position: 8189-8838)

"Regarding especial protection, SENAME is the public agency in charge of the design and implementation of specialised policy on rights restitution and social responsibility and social reinsertion of adolescent offenders".
(Document: 4° Y 5° INFORME CONSOLIDADO DE APLICACIÓN DE LA CONVENCIÓN.pdf, Position: 35129-35393)

These programmes can affect, or be affected, because of the specificities of childcare policies, covering different areas of the protection of childhood, such as associativity at a local level in order to influence political decisions:

"As mentioned in section I.B., about Article 12 of the Convention, Community Prevention Programs of SENAME promote child participation, considering associativity within their approaches, for the purpose of promoting their effect. Also, the Rights Protection Offices promote the creation of local advisory boards of children"
(Document: 4° Y 5° INFORME CONSOLIDADO DE APLICACIÓN DE LA CONVENCIÓN.pdf, Position: 102882-103384)

"According to recommendation N°45 of the Committee, OPD's coverage will be considerably increased, from 44 in 2007 to 115 in 2012. Besides, the technical design is improved by integrating an aim associated with the development of parenting competencies to avoid the separation of parents and their children. A psycho-educational approach strengthens the abilities of adults and the connection with local social services is enhanced".
(Document: 4° Y 5° INFORME CONSOLIDADO DE APLICACIÓN DE LA CONVENCIÓN.pdf, Position: 146041-147043)

In this way, specialised programmes for victims of sexual violence can provide information about the experience of this kind of violence as well as services to re-establish the rights of children and adolescents:

"Regarding treatment for children and adolescents affected by Commercial Sexual Exploitation, there are specialized programs that are the responsibility of private institutions collaborating with SENAME. These institutions are funded by SENAME and they are focused on a reparatory approach towards children and teenagers and their legal representation".
(Document: protocolo de la convencion de los derechos del niño sobre prostitucion y pornografia infantil.pdf, Position: 6674-7411)

"Besides, projects will be able to develop more preventive work in at least two ways; on one hand, by sensitising educational communities in early detection of exploitation and, on the other, by publicising the phenomenon of exploitation, discrimination and stigmatization".

Document: bases_tecnicas_PEE 2014.pdf,
Position: 60136-60456

In general, the discourse, **'The guidance of global and local agencies in the definition of legislation and policies'** highlights the power of international and national agencies to create guidelines but more specifically to influence different stakeholders through these guidelines. The prestige of international agencies, and the supporting role of the state, gives them the capacity to encourage other organisations to implement change.

5.4 Conclusion Mandatory discourse

In summary, the mandatory discourse on CSEC refers to four discourses: **intervention belonging to a 'child wellbeing' system, intervention recognising children as subjects of law and protection, the use of ethical principles and theoretical knowledge-based approaches, and the guidance of global and local agencies in the definition of legislation and policies.**

Each discourse highlights different aspects of the mandatory characteristic: the notion of systemic totality, as opposed to the notion of networking relationships; the notion of the subject of law and protection rather than the object of care and control; the notion of theoretical knowledge and principle in support of the intervention in opposition to evidence-based approaches; and the notion of the influence of global and local agencies as opposed to the influence of the evidence produce in the field.

Through this understanding, the Intervention establishes a condition to recognise children as a subject of law and protection and a definition being part of a system. Furthermore, the approaches are the fundament of both elements. The main effect of these types of discourses on interventions is that it prescribes, guides and encourages a vision of the phenomenon of CSEC and also the appropriate responses to it. This vision, and concomitant responses, are in contradiction to the 'Pragmatic Discourse on CSEC'. I will turn to this next.

5.5 Cluster Pragmatic – Intervention

This cluster contains two discourses in the 'pragmatic' style that highlight the networking character of the intervention and the notion of specialisation as a condition for developing a pertinent and accurate intervention.

Figure 11: Cluster pragmatic - intervention.

INTERVENTION

The intervention develops a network of services

The specialised (individualised / localised) character of the intervention

PRAGMATIC
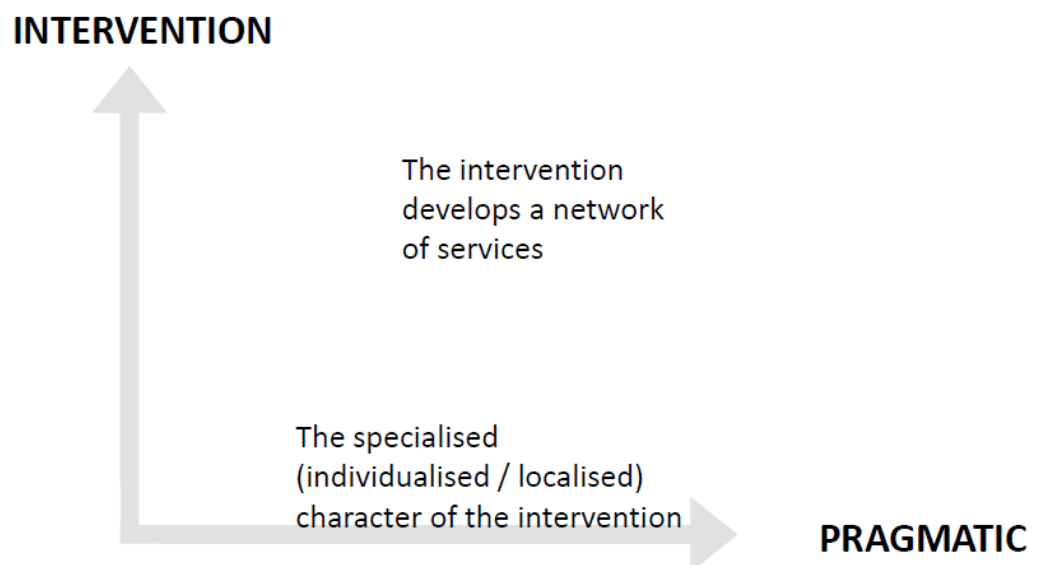
5.5.1 'The intervention develops a network of services'

Networks are conjunctural relationships between "nodes" (actors, institutions, individuals, communities, programs, teams) concerning the exchange of social support activities in a given situation. The main characteristics of the network are its situatedness, flexibility, lack of stability and, fragility (Rodriguez: 2003). The network is based on actions rather than structures. The following diagram represents the main elements in this discourse:

Figure 12: Discourse 'The intervention develops a network of services'

The intervention develops a network of services

the main aim of the network is to produce services

contribution in a childcare circuit

collaboration between nodes
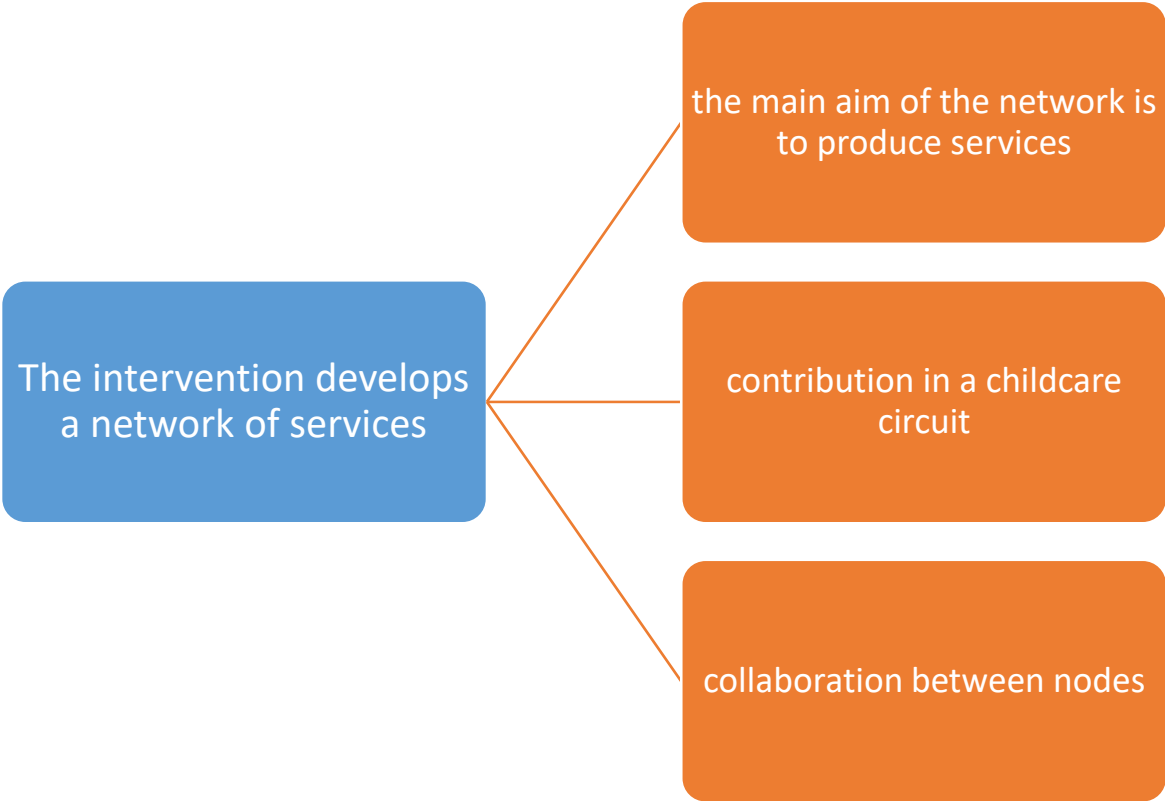
The organisations are called upon **to create networks to produce services and supporting children**. These tasks are expressly assigned to specialised CSEC programmes, supported by accessibility to other organisations related to child wellbeing. This work is consequently expected to raise awareness of "this hidden, invisible and denied topic" to society:

"In particular, SENAME develops specialised programs that contribute to forming a network of social and public services, especially those aiming to promote well-being, development and protection of children and teenagers. This is carried out through certified organisations. At the same time, this has contributed to an increased social awareness of the obligation to address this problem in an articulated manner and to face it as a public matter. At the same time, to transform this severe rights violation as a hidden and denied topic, to a visible problem whose responsibility lies with the whole society".

(Document: bases_tecnicas_PEE 2014.pdf, Position: 8189-8838)

In this example, the nodes are the organisations that provide complementary services to child victims of CSEC. These organisations, whether or not they belong to the national services of child wellbeing, are related to the area of childhood. The interaction between the nodes is functional rather that hierarchical, insofar as the task and role in the network are concerned:

"Regarding the SENAME network, the following elements should be considered: OPDs; Focused Prevention Programs; Residences, Diagnostic Line Projects; Direct Management Centres on Rights Protection and Specialised Integral Protection Programs".

(bases_tecnicas_PEE 2014.pdf, Position: 56233-56536)

Regarding the interaction between nodes, the idea of referring children from one organisation to another is superseded by the idea of **contribution in a child care circuit** in which the stakeholders have to manage the offers of others' services. For instance, the specialised programs have to consider in their plan of work (an Individual Intervention Plan) the services provided by other organisations. This is a new understanding of organising intervention in a multi-agency way (Scott et al.: 2017). For instance, the following example highlights the contribution of the health care system to victims of CSEC:

"The Project must manage the intervention of children in an accessible healthcare centre and it has to promote the intervention of a healthy child and/or teenager. The healthcare centre will evaluate the general health of the child or teenager and it will diagnose the presence of physical or mental health problems in order to define an intervention plan which will be part of the PII, including prevention and treatment actions. For example: promoting self-healthcare or sexual and reproductive health".

(bases_tecnicas_PEE 2014.pdf, Position: 57644-59019)

As a result of the previous two elements, **collaboration is the main relationship between the nodes**. This collaboration can be expressed through various mechanisms: intersectoral coordination, inter-institutional coordination, or an intersectoral board. Any of these options involves a kind of leadership or coordinator role, a series of tasks, and the efficiency and efficacy of their development:

"The creation of an intersectoral board on Human Trafficking, coordinated by the Foreign and Migration Department of the Ministry of the Interior, will be responsible for the coordination of actions, plans and programs from the different institutional actors concerned with the prevention, repression and punishment of human trafficking, especially that of women and children".
(Document: 4° Y 5° INFORME CONSOLIDADO DE APLICACIÓN DE LA CONVENCIÓN.pdf,
Position: 359122-359786)

"Promoting and reinforcing inter-institutional and inter-sectoral coordinating mechanisms among the different levels of State management, with the purpose of conducting more efficient and effective actions from the public sector in favour of childhood".
(Document: politica nacional a favor de la infancia y la adolescencia 2001 2010.pdf,
Position: 69940-69982)

In summary, this discourse shows an opposite logic to the mandatory discourse which tries to create a system of protection based on a structure. In this case, the network is based on actions by the agents to provide services to the victims of CSEC. The success of this network lies in the capability of the actors to engage in a child care circuit and collaborate with each other to cover a specific child's needs.

5.5.2 'The specialised character of the intervention'

This discourse emphasises specialisation as a core characteristic of the intervention. The specialisation is developed by professionals who have the "know-how" regarding developing strategies and engaging with children and their families. The following diagram represents the main elements in this discourse: The following diagram represents the main elements in this discourse:

Figure 13: Discourse 'The specialised character of the intervention'

The specialised character of the intervention

- a strategy of action
- relationship between practitioners and children
- work and connections with families
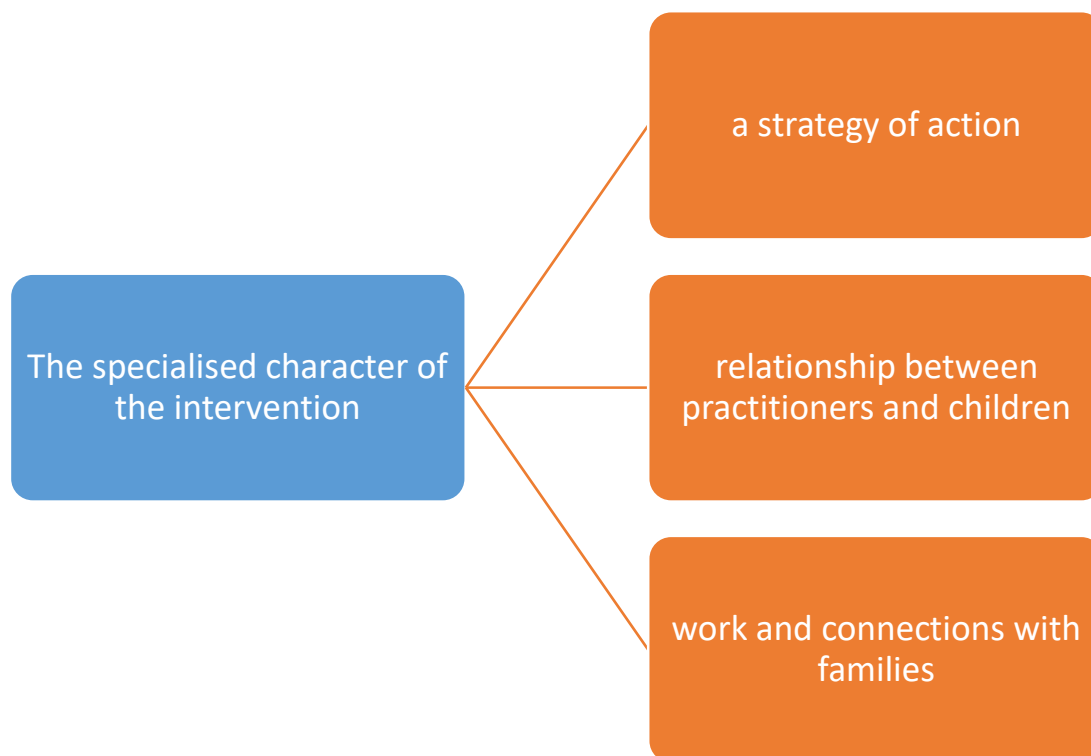
The intervention is described **as a sequence of strategies of actions**. This means a series of coordinated aims, goals, activities, and resources (strategy) individually oriented and connected with the general aims of the intervention: protection, recovery, social integration, and resignification. According to this definition, the intervention involves an individual plan and a standardised process. This individual approach highlights the "practice based" character of the intervention due to every plan being adjusted to the individual child's needs. In addition, the strategic planning scheme allows the monitoring of the intervention, which connects with the dimension of evidence-based approach that will be developed in the next section:

"The intervention (or treatment) consists of the execution of strategies and actions of intervention defined in each individual intervention plan for the recovery and/or resignification of the sexual exploitation situation that has been suffered, in social, socio-educational, legal, and psychological areas".

(Document: bases_tecnicas_PEE 2007.pdf, Position: 42388-42749)

In particular, this sequence of actions is related to the complex profile of victims and the situation of violence (CSEC). It implies a sophisticated response in the provision

of services to victims. This complexity is focused on a multi-disciplinary and reparatory perspective:

"Specialisation: the complexity of the profiles of children and adolescents who are users of the program, requires a highly specialized intervention, with work teams capable of understanding the multi-dimensionality of the exploitation phenomenon and of designing intervention strategies for each specific case and its context. It must be present from the moment in which the instruments and forms of analysis are put at the service of the needs of children and adolescents".
<div align="right">(Document: bases_tecnicas_PEE 2014.pdf, Position: 19529-20066)</div>

A multidisciplinary approach intends to overcome a single disciplinary vision. Multidisciplinary approaches have been seen as a holistic integration of disciplines implicating multiple agencies' services (Kelley: 2006). Maton (2000) highlights the idea that a multidisciplinary view has to define a problem in its context, areas of action, specific aims, and pertinent approaches. In the case of CSEC, some of the examples of multidisciplinary approaches are human rights-based (Rafferty: 2013); victim-centred (Ferguson: 2009); child-centred (Pearce: 2014); interpersonal-reparation (Abu-Ali: 2003), trauma-survivor based (Hom: 2013), or gender-based (DiGiacomo: 2015):

"Working approaches are assumed from a multi-disciplinary perspective (in line with different disciplines) that considers the complexity of every situation. The reparatory approach is preferred, since the damage experienced by the victims of commercial sexual exploitation reach different spheres of their behaviour at the affective, cognitive, corporal, and interpersonal level, violating different Rights".
<div align="right">(Document: bases_tecnicas_PEE 2007.pdf, Position: 24436-24916)</div>

In this way, the services offered are part of the special assistance and care, connected to a network of services, but with the specific focus of working on the problem of CSEC:

"So, the socio-educational intervention and/or psychological intervention which are part of the "special assistance and care" is recognised as facilitators, support and orientation of the will to develop and to appreciate each child, especially when this need and pursuit have been

damaged, affected, undermined or simply neglected. This reduces the child to a condition of object".

<div align="right">(Document: marco_general_2006-2010.pdf, Position: 33315-34052)</div>

The relationship between practitioners and children is the central element in the intervention. This develops a link between specialisation and strategy in order to build trust, encourage attachment and deliver emotional support as a foundation for the intervention activities. For this reason, the main resources are in the person of the practitioner and the children:

"From a comprehensive perspective, the psycho- and socio-educational intervention specialising in tackling Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children is based on a relationship that recognises the other as a subject and not as an object of intervention. This relationship is not based on language, but on a perspective beyond verbal interaction, linking word and actions. This way, it is an intervention that joins saying with doing".

<div align="right">(Document: bases_tecnicas_PEE 2007.pdf, Position: 19673-20112)</div>

The distinction between children being an object of intervention or a subject of law, in order to recognise the skills and potential of child victims of CSEC, has emerged strongly in this analysis. This is an important point regarding the notion of agency, even in cases involving CSEC. The idea of agency refers to a rational action, oriented to the action of others and oriented with some purpose (Giddens: 1984, 1993). Here, building a relationship is a manifestation of this notion of agency. Such a relationship might show different manifestations, such as formal psychotherapeutic processes, the participation of children in the intervention process, or welcoming strategies. All of these examples involve specific procedures, defined roles, sequences of activities and expected aims.

The characteristics of participants (for instance gender considerations) and the responses of participants are also considered, in order to sustain the relationship and procure the expected changes. Child participation involves the recognition of the duality of damaged victimhood from CSEC and subjecthood of law with skills and resources:

"This intervention has as its aim that the child stays active in the experience, that his or her capabilities and potentialities are deployed, that he or she is respected and valued, and his or her vulnerable and/or blaming feelings are reduced, elevating his or her self-esteem and overcoming traumatic effects".
<div align="right">(Document: bases_tecnicas_PEE 2014.pdf, Position: 35954-36224)</div>

It thus identifies two strategies, one more general and another more specific in order to emotionally support children, to contain the consequences of the violence and also to build trust relationships. The ability to combine both in the appropriate moment produces the notion of specialised intervention based on relationships. The general strategy is permanent and related to a warm and nurturing environment to support children. The welcoming strategy involves continuous support and encouragement to belong to the program. The aim is on one hand to emotionally support the child or adolescent through the different stages of the intervention process and on the other hand to promote active participation in the intervention process:

"Welcoming: a strategy that must be present from the first contact with the child or adolescent and must be constantly reinforced, from the moment the child enters the program, until he or she is discharged".
<div align="right">(Document: bases_tecnicas_PEE 2007.pdf, Position: 36444-36643)</div>

The idea of welcoming could be associated with the timing of the intervention: early on, steps have to be taken to reconnect social ties "broken" by violent experiences; and then a long-term strategy is developed to sustain support and to avoid consequences of victimisation, such as passivity, denial, and taking responsibility for the victimisation (De la Aldea: 2009).

The specific strategy involves a series of standardised procedures based on a specific discipline (psychology or psychiatry), supported by training. In this case, the key idea is the link with children via specific activities delivered by a specialised professional and based on their training. This approach is quite similar to the idea of a trauma-informed care framework (Harner and Burgess: 2011; Bounds et al.: 2015) that aims to assess the consequences of the traumatic situation (in this case CSEC) and anticipate future emotional needs at an individual level:

"The incorporation of a psychotherapeutic process can be a priority. This process must be conducted by psychologists or psychiatrists trained in therapy and who participate in permanent training processes for working with a child and teenage population".

(Document: bases_tecnicas_PEE 2007.pdf, Position: 23072-23359)

These strategies cannot avoid considering gender. An example could be the incorporation of male figures in the intervention. In order to visualise the male side and integrate other actors in the process, the relationships should include males in the staff, network or family (Gjermenia: 2008; Lillywhite: 2006):

"Aside from female figures, the incorporation of male figures during the intervention is important - father, uncle, grandfather, tutor, godfather".

(Document: bases_tecnicas_PEE 2014.pdf,

To complement the relationship between children and practitioners, **the intervention should involve a degree of work and connection with the victims' families** in order to provide the main means of support for children. Article 5 of the Child Rights Convention, provides that "States Parties shall respect the responsibilities, rights and duties of parents" (UN, 1989: 4). The specialised intervention involves the benefits for children from skills work with the parents to promote care and emotional support:

"Supporting the strengthening of families, as having the main responsibility for the integral development of children. Area Objective: to generate the conditions and opportunities for families to recognise and adequately respond to their children's needs so that they can lead them and guide them in their developmental process".

(Document: politica nacional a favor de la infancia y la adolescencia 2001 2010.pdf, Position: 75351-75933)

There are two dimensions to this strategy of connecting with the families. Firstly, as part of a platform of services to children that includes family-oriented social or psychological services (Claramunt: 2005); and secondly as a holistic family-based

approach that aims to identify risk factors for CSEC, child safeguarding and therapeutic trauma-informed interventions (Research in practice:2015):

"Additionally, actions in favour of childhood and adolescence must explicitly consider support for parents or whoever is responsible for the child so they can perform their orientating and directing duty of parenting. The aforesaid means, on one hand, to generate special social services for children and teenagers whose rights have been violated or are at risk of being violated, and on the other hand, to develop programs and actions to balance the basic conditions to access equality of conditions and development opportunities".
(Document: politica nacional a favor de la infancia y la adolescencia 2001 2010.pdf, Position: 46217-46873)

In summary, this discourse highlights the benefits of doing the fieldwork as the basis of specialisation. It means that developing strategies and linking with children and families is possible and allows people and agencies to become specialists in the work in CSEC. Being a specialist involves being in the field, making decisions and planning in order to support children based on a closer relationship with children and their significant adults.

I turn now to the final aspect of analysis, the category of pragmatic discourse and the approach.

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5.6 Cluster Pragmatic – Approach

This cluster contains two discourses of the type 'pragmatic', each of which shows the process of adjustment made by the agencies of law and social policy and the support for the intervention based on field-collected evidence.

Figure 14: Cluster Pragmatic - Approach

PRAGMATIC

Challenges, tensions and gaps in laws and social policies

The use of evidence-based approaches

APPROACH
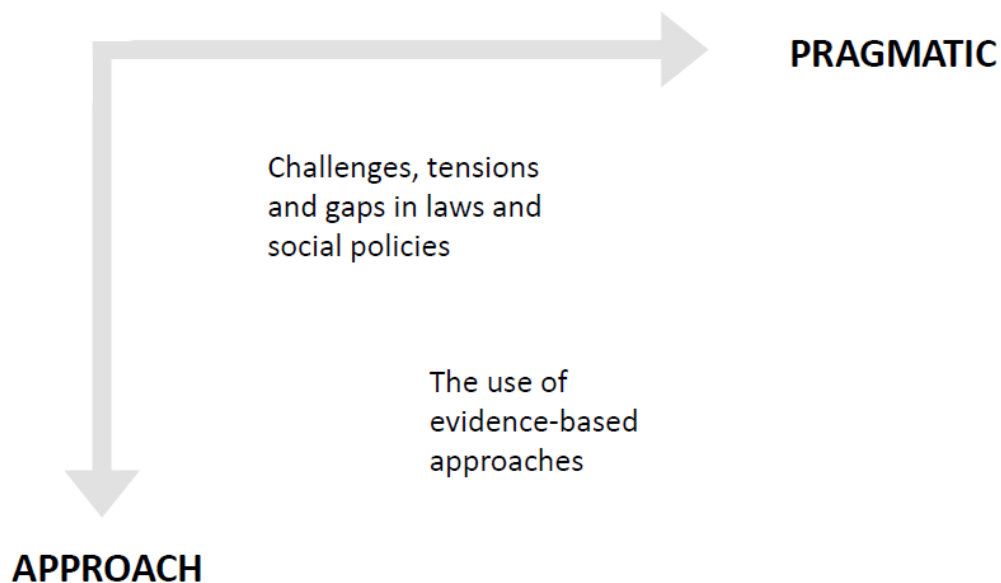
5.6.1 'Challenges, tension and gaps in laws and social policies'

It is quite clear in the documents that international instruments of human rights are recognised at a domestic level. Once signed any international agreement has to be obligatory in local instruments, and there is a process of adjustment between the international standard and the enactment at a domestic level. This process of adjustment is conducted by agencies and institutions that pragmatically interpret and mediate the international standard based on the reality of local possibilities (reality-based decision-making). The following diagram represents the main elements in this discourse:

Figure 15: Discourse Challenges, tension and gaps in laws and social policies

challenges international-national adjustment

Challenges, tension and gaps in laws and social policies

institutions are interpreting and implementing laws and social policies
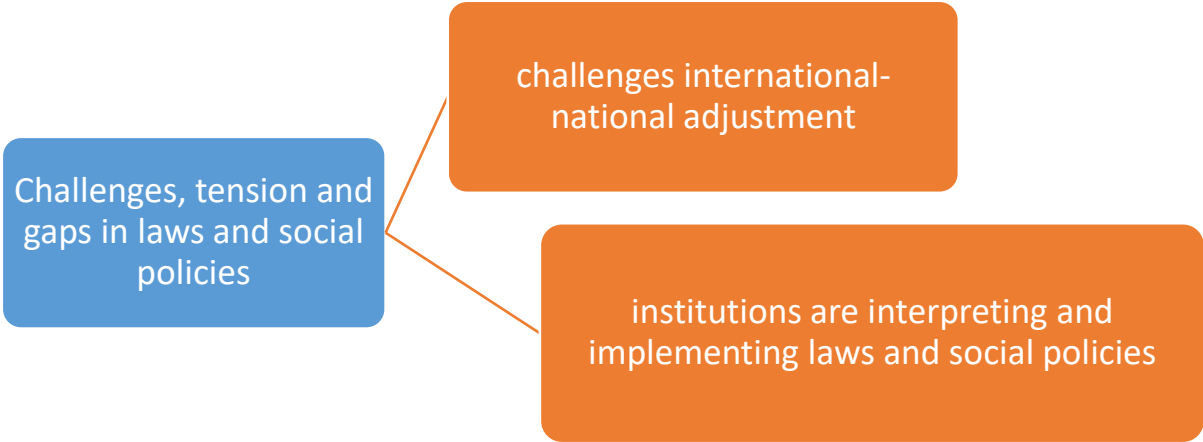
In accordance with government documents, there is a significant effort to incorporate on a domestic level most of the international legislation related to CSEC. This process has shown **challenges in international and national adjustments**. Most of these changes took place in the nineties and aimed to improve legal tools. The Chilean penal code (the most relevant legal corpus of criminal law) contains these changes. In parallel, the modification of other legal structures such as the law relating to minors provides the necessary protection for child victims of CSEC or defines the interaction between penal prosecution and child protection. In the first example, even though domestic law recognises trafficking, there is a distance between it and the Palermo Protocol (international law) which is accepted as a legal framework for the development of domestic law:

"It is important to mention that Human Trafficking is not defined as a crime in Chile, as referred to in Article 3 of the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Human Trafficking, which is complementary to the Palermo Convention.".

(Document: protocolo de la convención de los derechos del niño sobre prostitución y pornografía infantil.pdf, Position: 49363-50537)

Thus, in this case, the practical recommendation is to harmonise both sets of legislation to be more effective at a domestic level and to fulfil the international agreements that the country assumed:

"The committee pointed out, in its recommendation N°70, the need to harmonise the legislation with the international obligations by the Convention and Protocol related to child trafficking, child prostitution and child pornography".

(Document: 4° Y 5° INFORME CONSOLIDADO DE APLICACIÓN DE LA CONVENCIÓN.pdf, Position: 341729-342214)

In this second example, the gap lies between reality and the legal definition, in which "pornography" is developed in real private or public shows. In this way, various media are the scenario instead of virtual reality (internet, electronic devices) and production, storage and distribution are immediate:

"Child sexual performance is the use of young people for sexual or erotic purposes in both private and public shows and exhibitions. Both, "Pornographic or erotic shows" are considered pornography. However, there are differences with the modality of Sexual Commercial Exploitation in entertainment contexts indoor (Raíces NGO study, 2010)"

(Document: ESCNNA_CCEI.pdf, Position: 3444-3921)

Institutions are interpreting and implementing laws and social policies according to their own logic and understanding of them. Laws have to be applied through procedures by agencies. The law has a specific application in the judicial system, which involves different roles according to the way in which the actors are organised. In this case, a ministerial level is in charge of encouraging the penal prosecution. Even though the law is the main framework, this has to be mediated by the stakeholders involved in the legal processes in order to be effective:

"In terms of commercial sexual exploitation and trafficking of children, the topic concerned in the present protocol, the Ministry of Justice is the responsible body for developing policies aimed at the criminal prosecution of relevant crime in all its forms, specially related to the use, recruitment, or dealing with children for prostitution, production or performances of pornography".

(Document: protocolo de la convencion de los derechos del niño sobre prostitucion y pornografa infantil.pdf, Position: 796-1482)

Whilst the law tries to define the contents of the crimes of CSEC, institutions take specific roles in the penal prosecution. The Public Ministry is responsible for the investigation, to bring charges against the offenders and to protect the victims. This agency is an autonomous organisation of the three powers of the state, and it is challenged to develop relationships with different stakeholders such as the judicial system, the executive, the Congress, and the third sector. All these relationships are forged in order to protect and restore victims' rights:

"In the new Criminal Procedural System the charging and investigating functions are separated in order to efficiently protect the right of people who are involved in a criminal procedure. The Public Ministry is the body in charge of exclusively administrating the investigation of crimes, applying the penal action, formulating charges against the accused and providing protection to the victims and witnesses."
                        (Document: chile_crc_c_opsc_chl_1_2006_adv_sp.pdf, Position: 36722-37204)

The specialised programmes are located in between the state agencies and the private institutions that provide services for child victims of CSEC. They are responsible for giving effect to the purposes of the social policy. This aim, however, depends on the relationship between the stage agency and the private organisation. This relationship recognises the pragmatic operation of the organisations because, although they use the principles and guidelines of the social policies, ultimately, they make decisions according to the conditions and reality of the situation of CSEC:

"In relation to intervention for children and adolescents affected by commercial sexual exploitation, nowadays specialised programs are being operated by collaborating private institutions of the National Child Wellbeing Service (SENAME), the funding of this service is intended for the intervention and compensation of child and teenager victims, and for their legal representation".
                        (Document: chile_crc_c_opsc_chl_1_2006_adv_sp.pdf, Position: 6700-7436)

Deakin (2003) highlights the new dynamics of the relationship between the state and the voluntary sector over the last forty years. He notes the complementary

relationships between both actors regarding actions, innovations, and experiences that the voluntary sector has developed. This partnership leads to the design and implementation of social policies and the delivery of services funded by the state agencies. A risk of this partnership could be a misunderstanding of the role of each institution as to elements of independence and the critical position of civil society as regards the State.

Andrade and Arancibia (2010) analysed the relationship between the Chilean state and the voluntary sector in childhood policies and identified, as a critical point, the difficulty of the voluntary sector to maintain this independence and its critical position due to the funding scheme. He also identified the difficulty faced by the state in organising a horizontal relationship in the design and discussion of policies. As a result, any difference is interpreted as a lack of coordination between the central level (state agencies) and the local level (voluntary sector) rather than the possible difference of view according to of the role and identity of each area. The following example highlights this gap:

"Programs, projects, services and benefits offered and carried out, answer to the internal logics of each sector instead of answering to an integrated perception of priorities and emphasis; depending where the sector is located, each institution does what it believes is better for children and often they lose the potential for the efficiency and effectiveness of the results achieved by the promotion of the active participation that involves the intersectoral actions".

(Document: politica nacional a favor de la infancia y la adolescencia 2001 2010.pdf, Position: 16733-17238)

These examples highlight the ability of the actors and institutions to adjust, interpret and implement the law and policies. It also illustrates the pragmatic basis of their actions. They are guided by their practices, which can be defined as "the link between social rules and personal interests" (PNUD 2009: 51). The main idea is that in any organisation in which there are rules to organise individual behaviours or the proper task, "actors make such extensive use of their margin of liberty" (Crozier 1980: 18). This margin is the social tension between the external expectations and the individual

interest in this place, moment, and role (Bajoit: 2003). The relationship between those elements is strategically played out in the context of agencies configuring specific practices (PNUD: 2009; Crozier and Friedberg: 1980; Sewel: 1992; Hendry: 2003).

5.6.2 'The use of an evidence-based approach'

This discourse highlights different information sources (databases, research, evaluations), which are produced "in the field" as the main characteristic. This material gives information about the reality of CSEC, and it is able to support views, decisions and directions in both intervention and social policies.   The following diagram represents the main elements in this discourse:

Figure 16: Discourse 'The use of evidence-based approach'

consequences as evidence of CSEC

damage as evidence of CSEC

The use of evidence-based approach

research illustrates the magnitude of the phenomenon

research illustrates modalities and dynamics of CSEC

achievements and changes that result from intervention
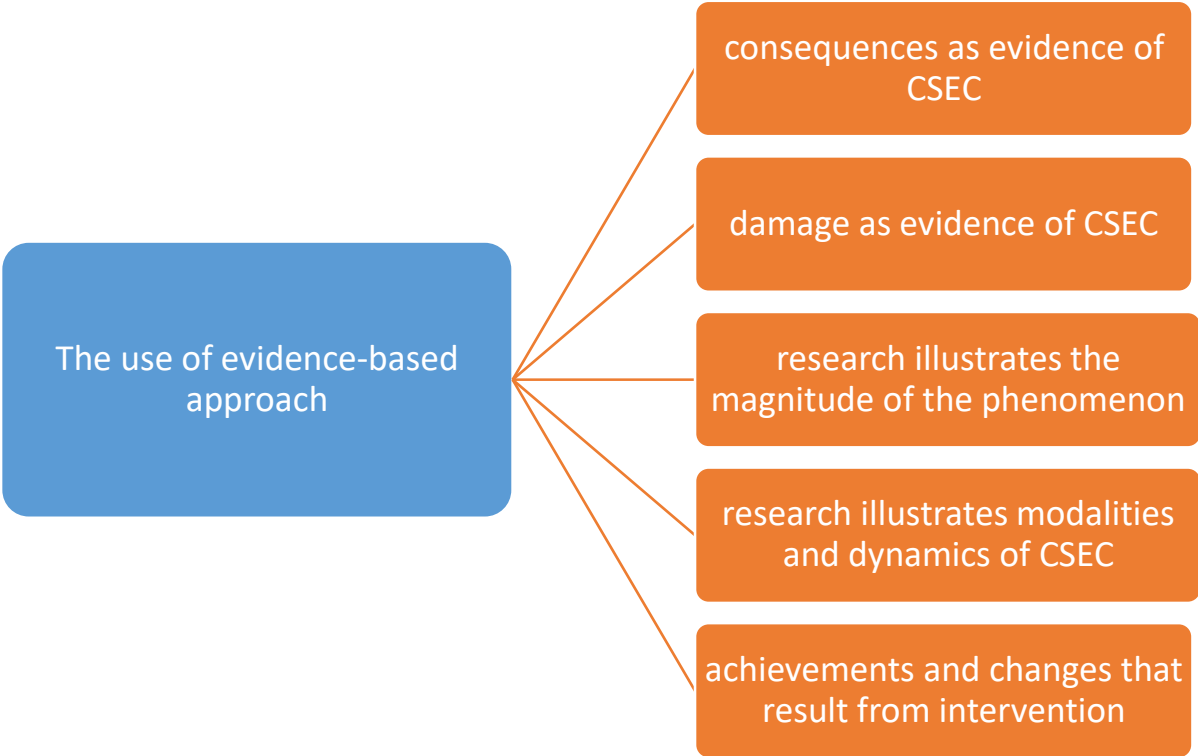
The difficulty of detecting and disclosing CSEC has been discussed in the previous chapter and the hidden character of CSEC has been commented on by experts

(Salisbury: 2015). Often it is the **consequences of CSEC that first evidence it**. The effects of CSEC on children's lives highlights on one hand the presence of the phenomenon and on the other hand the consequences on victims, families and communities. Across the government documents, there is emphasis on the consequences at a general level using analogies to foreground the implications for the experience of the child victims of CSEC. For instance, CSEC can be compared to "modern slavery" to promote an understanding of the scope of the situation:

"An unjustifiable outrage to child and teenage human rights since it affects the victims' essential rights such as the right to grow and to develop in a protective environment. Besides, it is agreed that it is a form of exploitation similar to slavery and forced labour, with bad consequences for children and teenagers in every aspect of their lives."
(Document: 2do-marco-para la accion contra la escnna.pdf, Position: 13178-13656)

More precisely, the consequences are identified in different spheres: individual, development, health, life project, and social costs. The following extract highlights the dimension of violence against children as the first element involved in the phenomenon of CSEC:

"Commercial sexual exploitation is a particular form of violence against children and teenagers, and it affects their integral development. It severely affects their integrity, dignity, and autonomy as it violates all of their rights since there is integral damage. It can have severe, life-lasting consequences that could be deadly. It impacts upon the physical, psychological, spiritual, moral and social development of children, including early pregnancy, maternal mortality, injuries, and the development of sexually transmitted diseases (including HIV-AIDS). Alcohol and substance abuse and the deterioration of the child's health, unwanted pregnancy, depression and hopelessness, maltreatment by some clients and exploiters, and different kinds of aggressions also result from CSEC."
(Document: ESCNNA_CCEI.pdf, Position: 5781-6693)

This extract connects the consequences of CSEC to violence instead of to the biography of children or their social context.

The second part of the above extract illustrates how **damage to the child or adolescent can evidence CSEC**. The spectrum of situations considered ranges from physical, sexual and emotional damage to death. Rather than just using categories to

classify the damage, the documents illustrate it through specific situations to promote understanding, and use criteria based on real evidence. Through this means, the practitioner can compare this example with their cases and make procedural decisions about them. The consequences can also illustrate the severity of the problem of CSEC regarding how children and society are affected. The problem is not visible in the public sphere, when institutions minimise the effects of CSEC. Even though the main role of social intervention is to provide treatment and services for the victims, prevention and sensitisation play a significant role in the fieldwork as a part of a large scale of activities and strategies called "action against CSEC". This is highlighted in the following extract:

"By the severity of the problem, there is a need to make this issue visible, and to promote public policies. The States have made efforts to elaborate strategies to fight back against these abuse practices since 2005".
                    (Document: 2do-marco-para la acción contra la escnna.pdf, Position: 6496-6718)

Making reference to the consequences of CSEC allows us to identify the elements that can be referred to at the multi-level dimension of damage. In addition, the emphasis on damage illustrates the severity of the problem of CSEC. This allows for an exploration of the consequences of CSEC in relation to harm which is based on evidence secured from victims of CSEC

Furthermore, **research provides empirical information about the prevalence and the characteristics of CSEC**, including sociodemographic victim features, modalities in CSEC, risk factors, and geographical data on CSEC, thus illustrating its magnitude:

"According to a recent study developed by ILO-IPEC/SENAME, "Exploratory Study on the Situation of Children in Commercial Sexual Exploitation (2003)", and executed by ARCIS University, among the main reasons behind the commercial sexual exploitation of children are poverty, irregular family situations, the pornographic industry and its growth due to the internet, drug dealing, gender aspects and the role of women, passivity, and the resistance of civil society towards recognising the existence of this phenomenon and the existence of a market of clients. This justifies a multi-causal approach.".
                    (Document: trafico.chile 2004.pdf, Position: 4257-5383)

In 2003, ILO-IPEC/SENAME conducted a research study entitled an "Exploratory Study on the Situation of Children in Commercial Sexual Exploitation". One of its largest impacts was its findings about the prevalence of victims of CSEC in Chile. Although this estimate did not correspond to recorded cases (it was a probabilistic expansion based on critical variables observed in three territories), the impact of the number of children victimised was an "iconic precedent" to establish the increasing importance in Chilean society of this phenomenon.

The study illustrated the phenomenon of CSEC and provided objective evidence on which to develop programmes and specialised centres around the country, especially in the cities with the highest number of cases. In the last ten years, the expression "at least 3,719 children and adolescents" has been used to emphasise the gravity of the problem of CSEC, to encourage the development of programmes and resources and to justify awareness campaigns across the country:

"This study estimates that at least 3,719 children and adolescents are suffering from commercial sexual exploitation in Chile".
(Document: trafico.chile 2004.pdf, Position: 5384-7551)

"In the last decades the existence of one of the most serious violations of the rights of children and adolescents from commercial sexual exploitation in all its modalities has been visible: "child and adolescent sexual commercialisation "pornography (production, distribution and consumption), sex tourism and child trafficking for sexual purposes"
(Document: bases_tecnicas_PEE 2007.pdf, Position: 6381-6790)

This "field-collected evidence" has been useful to support, and provide parameters for, decision-making at a social policy level. An example is the evaluation of the gap between the possible number of victims in 2003 and the resulting number of places in specialised programmes. Even though this number (3,719 children) is not accurate, it has a pragmatic and political effect due to being based on field research, therefore, based on "reality":

"Currently, in the whole country, there are 16 projects to provide treatment for victims of CSEC. These centres offer places to 730 children, corresponding a 19.7% of the national estimate of victims"

(Document: chile_crc_c_opsc_chl_1_2006_adv_sp.pdf, Position: 11173-12392)

Finally, the programmes allow for the collection of direct information about the child victims of CSEC. Rather than an approximation, these are "real cases" of CSEC. This is a more precise form of "field data", useful for the systematisation of the characteristics of children in the process of recovery and restitution of rights:

"In the ongoing programmes, the treated population comprises at least 70% females and 30% males. Children and adolescents who participate in these programs represent an important number of school dropouts (at least 50%). Most of them belong to indigent families (approximately 70%)".

(Document: bases_tecnicas_PEE 2007.pdf, Position: 10050-10653)

Beside the magnitude of CSEC, **research can explain and characterise different modalities and dynamics of CSEC.** The variety and description of these modalities provides a better understanding of the four internationally accepted typologies of CSEC and shows the immersion of the research in the specific field. Most of this work was conducted by the same organisations that provide services to the victims. There is therefore a so-called "study with impact" in order to influence the stakeholders involved in CSEC, mainly the professional teams and the policy makers:

"Regarding the modalities of CSEC, significant advancement was registered in the current studies. The national study on the topic (ARCIS, ILO, SENAME, 2004), identified Sexual Commercial Exploitation of Children in: "the street", "open spaces", "closed spaces". "Roaming" of children and teenagers is also considered as a modality of CSEC. However, this study does not go further into this modality due to its hidden characteristics. New studies develop a more detailed analysis of this aspect, establishing sub-modalities of CSEC in Chile (Paicabí-SENAME-PUCV, 2007; Raíces, 2010").

(Document: bases_tecnicas_PEE 2014.pdf, Position: 9176-10154)

Furthermore, research into the dynamics of CSEC can be used to explain the commercial dimensions of the phenomenon. Even though the distinction between child sexual abuse ("CSA") and CSEC would be the economic transaction (Chase: 2005; Williams: 2012; Camacho: 2009), it is necessary to understand specifically how this is happening 'in practice'. This is relevant to the current debate about the definition of the commercial aspects of CSEC (Robert: 2011):

"Market": in this context, the person who buys the "product" is a man. Teenagers are visualised as part of the exchange, a consumer object".
<div align="right">(Document: bases_tecnicas_PEE 2014.pdf, Position: 118558-119177)</div>

Finally, research carried out by non-governmental organisations who also provide services and treatment to victims of CSEC identifies the specific relationship dynamics between victims and exploiters that need to be considered in the intervention process. This level of specificity in the dynamics of the phenomenon of CSEC has encouraged the development of specialisation in this field:

"Considering the findings of studies related to the issue, for example those developed by NGO PAICABI and NGO Raíces, which show the main differences to be considered during the intervention with children: apparently, girls establish, in some cases, more complex emotional relations with the pimp/client/consumer maintaining an emotional support in which they use sexuality to obtain the protection of the pimp, even when he is part of her family and/or as an exchange currency for assets".
<div align="right">(Document: bases_tecnicas_PEE 2014.pdf, Position: 67189-68589)</div>

As with the consequences of intervention, **the achievements and changes that result from intervention are evidenced through fieldwork on CSEC**. This research provides information and data on the phenomenon of CSEC and the recovery process of the practitioners and victims. The recognition of these changes is now a requirement for the services alongside a clear connection between the programmes and a "reality-based" approach:

"From this point, the requirement to know the results obtained with children and adolescents is established. This implies clarity about the rights that have been provided and guaranteed, and the benefits given. Related to this, it is relevant to learn and determine the impact on the subjects and their contexts from the objectives and their compliance with them".

(Document: marco_general_2006-2010.pdf, Position: 44244-44679)

The intervention therefore develops processes to produce this information. The monitoring of activities and products is a procedure that generates information that must be systematically and centrally collected. The timing of the monitoring is a central element in this procedure, and is necessary to ensure the accuracy of data recording. This procedure is maintained during the intervention process and afterwards in order to evaluate the continuation of progress over time:

"Monitoring follows up the actions of the evaluated initiative and the product of those actions. The purpose of monitoring the activities is to detect in a timely way the strengths and weaknesses of the execution processes, in order to adjust them and optimize the expected results and fulfil the expectations. During this stage, the reference point is the plan of work or the action plan of the program, and the execution of the program is analysed."

(Document: bases_tecnicas_PEE 2014.pdf, Position: 71674-72361)

In conclusion, this discourse emphasises the usefulness of "field collected evidence". It highlights the notion of evidence of the consequences and damage of CSEC, as the first way in which professionals are informed about its presence. This evidence can be analysed and used to make decisions and better understand the CSEC phenomenon

5.7 Conclusion: Cluster Pragmatic discourses

In summary, the pragmatic discourse on CSEC referred to four discourses: **the intervention develops a network of services, the specialised character of the intervention, challenges, tension and gaps in the laws and social policies, and the use of an evidence-based approach.**

Each discourse emphasises different aspects of the pragmatic characteristic: the notion of networking instead of a system; specialisation as a condition of the intervention; challenges, gaps and tension in laws and social policies as a process of adjustment made by stakeholders; and the notion of an evidence-based approach as opposed to one based on more abstract assumptions. Within this understanding, the Intervention is defined by their purpose (to develop a network of services) and mediated by the specialisation as a main characteristic (the specialised character of the intervention). Furthermore, both elements are supported from the field approaches.

The main effect of these types of discourses on interventions is that they offer a framework and parameters for stakeholders to make decisions and interact with children and their families, and offer them a variety of responses according to their specific life circumstances.

5.8 Conclusion government documents discourses

The eight government documents discourses were organised in two axes: the style mandatory and pragmatic and the contents of intervention and approaches.

In the cluster mandatory, the intervention is defined as part of a system of wellbeing. Therefore, all the actions are done to build this system. It is also established a condition, the recognition of children as a subject of law and protection. In order to develop this relationship (condition and systemic nature of the intervention), the

cluster identified the support of guidance (local and international), ethical principles and theoretical knowledge.

In the cluster pragmatic, the intervention is defined as a network of services. Therefore, the characteristics of the interactions are a relevant element in delivering services. In this case, the condition is the specialised character of the intervention. In order to develop this relationship (condition and networking nature of the intervention), the cluster identified as support, the experience based on the field work. This support is represented by tension and gaps in laws and social policies and the use of evidence-based knowledge.

Following the presentation of these findings, the next chapter will develop the Alternative documents discourses.

CHAPTER SIX: FINDINGS, ALTERNATIVE DOCUMENTS DISCOURSES

6.1 Introduction

In order to present the analysis of the alternatives documents, Diagram x represent three discursive styles in which five discourses are allocated: monitoring and evaluation, challenges and recommendations. The axis classifies characteristics and purposes of the alternative document discourses regarding the understanding, recognition, action, problems and basis to intervene in CSEC.

Monitoring and evaluation sets down a critical evaluation of the elements related to CSEC: the phenomenon, how it is understood, interventions, and stakeholders. These discourses highlight some certainties about it and identify the weaknesses and strengths of these statements. I identified two discourses in this cluster: **we are talking about a complex phenomenon** and **we have to do something.**

Challenges provides a critical analysis of the ratio between weaknesses and strengths of the elements related to the intervention in CSEC to. These challenges establish parameters to understand difficulties in recognising and responding to CSCE. I identified two discourses in this cluster: **making visible a hidden phenomenon** and **we have problem in the intervention.**

Recommendation suggests solutions and proposals to decrease the ratio between weaknesses and strengths, to improve strengths to solve weaknesses or to achieve standard. Recommendations do not imply obligation to change, however pragmatically they can have a mandatory effect. I identified one discourse in this cluster: **building the basis of CSEC responses.**

The following diagram represents this analysis:

Figure 17: Alternatives documents discourses

We are talking about a complex phenomenon

Making visible a hidden phenomenon

Building the basis of CSEC responses

We have to do something

We have problems in the intervention

Monitoring Evaluation

Challenges

Recommendations

6.2 Cluster Monitoring and Evaluation

This cluster contains two discourses that are able to shape a scenario about CEC. On the one hand, 'We are talking about a complex phenomenon' illustrates elements that characterise the notion of complexity as a feature of CSEC. On the other hand, 'We have to do something' illustrates the kind of responses developed towards children and young people evidenced in CSEC.

Figure 18: Cluster Monitoring - Evaluation

We are talking about a complex phenomenon

We have to do something

Monitoring Evaluation

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6.2.1 'We are talking about a complex phenomenon'

This discourse refers to the idea that there are differences between other phenomena related to child sexual violence and CSEC. CSEC can be distinguished by its complexity, both in terms of its characteristics and the way we understand it. This double notion of complexity (a complex world and a complex understanding) was developed at the end of the 20th century in sciences and social sciences to overcome lineal-causal explanation (Morin: 1994). In CSEC, complexity has been used to refer to a multidimensional analytic basis (Claramunt: 2005) and diverse intervention responses (La Valle et al.:2016). The elements that support this idea of CSEC as a complex phenomenon are the multidimensionality of CSEC, its characteristics, CSEC's definitions and distinctions, and CSEC typologies. The following diagram represents the main elements in this discourse:

Figure 19: Discourse 'We are talking about a complex phenomenon'
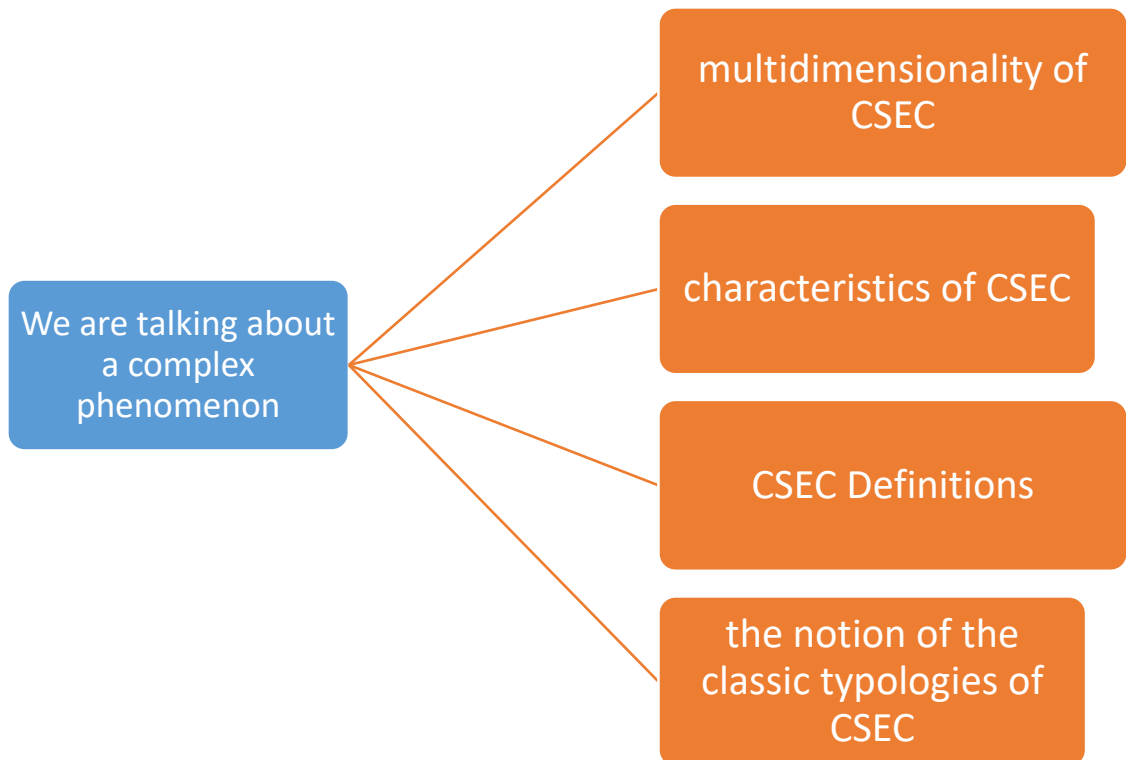
Multidimensionality of CSEC is the first element involved in this idea of a complex phenomenon. It refers to the recognition of *different factors that describe CSEC*. These factors interact in a cause-effects structure to explain CSEC. The factors are diverse and aim to cover all the aspects of the experience of children and young people that have been evidenced in CSEC. It includes cultural factors related to values and the societal position of women and children; ideas and beliefs that are transmitted in socialisation processes and institutions; family factors related to violent dynamics, domestic violence or maltreatment; parental competences; vulnerability based on internal and regional migration; and economic factors such as precarious work, poverty and lack of social integration.

Some of these profiles have been developed based on general research into CSEC (Castillo and Duran: 2015; Muñoz-Echeverri et al.: 2012; Morón, and Sanz: 2017), specific typologies of CSEC (Halter: 2010; Negrete and Viveros: 2016; Cody: 2017) or services users (Sename: 2007). These data illustrate a classic picture of CSEC in developing countries, emergent economies or marginalised contexts. It is a critical discussion in the analysis of these factors in terms of the pertinence with emergent modalities of CSEC such as online CSEC (Europol: 2015; Wefers: 2017) and also related to the specificity of these factors to child sexual violence (Villamizar et al.: 2012; Finkelhor et al.: 2012):

"Causes of CSEC in Chile include: (a) cultural factors such as sexist educational models, a chauvinistic culture and prejudices, a commercialized representation of women and children made by the media, the passiveness and resistance of the civil society to recognize this phenomenon, and the existence of a market of clients; (b) family-related, psychological and emotional factors such as dysfunctional families, experiences with intra-family violence, sexual abuse and child abuse, lack of emotional bonds, members of the family group participating in illegal activities; (c) migration from rural areas to cities, economic crisis in neighbouring countries, and (f) economic factors: informality and instability of the labour situation, poverty, need to develop coping strategies related to dropping-out, lack of access to training opportunities".
(Document: Global_Monitoring_Report-CHILE.pdf, Position: *15127-16401)*

Even though explanatory language is used (factors, causes) and some attempts have been made to model these factors (Reid: 2011; Klatt et al.:2014), there are difficulties

in explaining (by causal relationship) the emergence and maintenance of CSEC given the knowledge available, the dynamic factors and the new scenarios of CSEC. Due to this, alternative documents develop a more *comprehensive understanding*, highlighting elements that support a cultural matrix of violence as fundamental to CSEC (Arredondo and Toro: 2007; Toro: 2010; Hayes and Unwin: 2016). Culture is mentioned as a structural aspect of CSEC (ECPAT: 2014; Araya and Beltran: 2015) involving general aspects such as ethnicity, notions of class, and value for consumerism (Londoño et. Al: 2014) and specific aspects such as children's rights, gender, violent practices and sexual violence (Negrete and Viveros: 2016; Bridgewater: 2016).

Regarding general cultural aspects, in the last 30 years, cultural changes have emerged in Chilean society characterised by processes of individualisation, ethnic recognition and a named culture of consumerism (PNUD: 2002).
These changes have brought about a transition from a traditional society to a more secular one (World Values Survey: 2016). According to the Human Development Reports, Chilean cultural transition is characterised by: (a) new social challenges based on success; (b) distrust and weakness in the collective "us"; (c) autonomy to build individual life projects but weakness in the social supports to do it; (d) persistence of social insecurity; (e) emergence of social discomfort; (f) the experience of inequality; (g) demands for politics changes; and (h) disconnection between elites and other citizens (PNUD: 2017).

Regarding specific cultural aspects, the social construction of childhood as an object and subject of rights is largely described from a historical point of view (Salazar: 1990; Montecinos: 2007; Rojas: 2010; Castillo: 2015). The concept of childhood is connected as well with cultural transition previously mentioned. To illustrate these changes, the World Values Survey Wave 2 to 6 Chile between 1990 and 2014 show some perceptions about childhood and childrearing expectations in the table 11. For instance, in the item "Here is a list of qualities that children can be encouraged to

learn at home. Which, if any, do you consider to be especially important?" the results are:

Table 12: "Here is a list of qualities that children can be encouraged to learn at home. Which, if any, do you consider to be especially important" The World Values Survey Wave 2 to 6 Chile (1990 -2014).

Answers (% mentioned)	1990 – 1994 %	1995 – 1998 %	1999 - 2004 %	2005 - 2009 %	2010 - 2014 %
Tolerance and respect for other people	79	61.1	76	79.5	82
Feeling of responsibility	88.3	73.8	84.2	82.8	76.9
Determination and perseverance	30.9	34.4	43.7	44.6	53.6
Independence	30.5	33.9	52.7	40.3	49.2
Obedience	52.2	45.8	54.9	51.9	45.8
Unselfishness	7.9	25.5	34.2	31.8	42.7
Thrift, saving money and things	28.5	30.5	34.4	39.9	36.4
Self-expression					36.4
Hard Work	12	16.8	25.9	27.2	30.5
Religious Faith	54.1	45.6	40.3	39.7	27.5
Imagination	32.1	24.3	35.7	25.7	22.2
Good manners	90.3	81.8			

Sources Mori: 1990, 1996, 2000, 2006, 2011.

The evolution of these data shows the cultural juxtaposition between 'minor' perspective and 'rights' perspective due to secular values such as tolerance, unselfishness, independence, hard work and saving money increased, and traditional values such as obedience feeling of responsibility, good manners are stable or increased as well.

Gender inequalities and violence is another specific cultural element to be considered (ICBF: 2015). Gender inequalities in education, employment, the gender pay gap, sexual identity discrimination, lack of female politic representation, tensions in leadership, domestic violence among others situations are considered a limitation to human development. (PNUD:2010). Violence against women and children is a

persistent phenomenon in Chilean society (Valech: 2005; Pinto: 2009; Schonhaut: 2010).

Schuster and Krahe (2017) conducted a systematic review on the prevalence of sexual aggression in Chile using different sources from government agencies and academic research. These antecedents are consistent with specific studies in child violence (UNICEF: 2012; BCn: 2015; SENAME: 2016) that confirm that violence is a trend in contemporary Chilean society. Therefore, cultural perceptions and general and specific cultural elements are relevant to the comprehension of CSEC:

"The different expressions of commercial sexual exploitation are strongly anchored in a series of cultural pre-concepts and dynamics that make it difficult to challenge it, because there are attitudes that tolerate them, stigmatize their victims and excuse the behaviour of the perpetrators. Such cultural context is not limited to Chilean society, but exists everywhere in the world, either justifying these crimes with the victims living in the same country as the perpetrators or in other countries through sexual tourism or trafficking".
(Document: *informe de seguimiento 2009.pdf,* Position: *56337-56953)*

The multidimensionality of CSEC has been considered in order to illustrate the complexity of the factors associated with CSEC and general and specific cultural dimensions.

The second element highlighted in this point is the **characteristics of CSEC**. Across the documents, the key elements that characterised CSEC are described. The notion of abusive power, economic exchange, and the justificatory discourses of consumers are the nuclei of CSEC. *The notion of abusive power* (De la Aldea: 2000; Lewkowics: 2004; Montero: 2006) would be seen as the foundation of CSEC (Reca: 2007; Arredondo: 2010). This notion has two consequences: first, it enchains CSEC as a manifestation of child sexual violence and as an expression of social violence (Martin-Baro: 1989). Second, it recognises the structural character of violence against children as a social phenomenon. UNICEF (2012) conducted national research on child violence since 1994 every six year, and shows that over 70% of students consistently disclose that they suffer violence and 25% of those students suffered from serious (physical and sexual) violence:

"Sex exploitation of children is an abusive exercise of power, by which the child is in a clear situation of inequality: less power, less strength, younger, etc. The different expressions of CSEC are part of the even high numbers of sexual violence against children".
(Document: decimo informe explotación sexual de niños niñas adolescentes e internet inn.pdf,
Position: 46194-4651)

Barudy (1998, 2005) identifies this abusive exercise of power as *objectification*; a process of change in the perception of children subject to sexual objectification. The domination submission dynamic describes the asymmetric relationship in violence based on intimidation, force or seduction. Cavagnoud (2009) highlights an appropriation dynamic in CSEC. Under a false idea of transaction of exchange, exploiters and offenders take possession of bodies, and sexuality of children and young persons involved in CSEC. In this context, the abusive exercise of power becomes an appropriation-subsumption dynamic (Toro: 2010).

In this case, the abusive power is coloured by an *economic dimension* in the form of financial transactions, services and goods (Williams et al.: 2012; Camacho: 2009). This notion of transaction amplifies the imbalance of power between adults and children, due to children starting to have a use-value and exchange value. However, the economic dimension is located in a criminal sphere because the exchange is based on an illegitimate transaction (Arredondo: 2010) due to the child's body and the sexuality being fully protected by the law. In the case of CSEC sexual indemnity (safety context to avoid damage), sexual freedom (the ability to dispose of the own body) and sexual self-determination (the freedom to determinate the sexual identity) are abused (Marchant: 2005):

"The official definition adopted by the Chilean State to refer to the CSEC is found in the Second Framework against CSEC 2012-2014. According to said document, CSEC "comprises sexual abuse by the adult and remuneration in cash or kind to the child or a third person or persons". Similar to other definitions adopted by international or national organization (such as SENAME), the Framework for Action considers CSEC as a serious violation of human rights and a phenomenon associated with poverty, violent relationships, patriarchal and discriminatory cultural patterns, migration, consumerism, drug trafficking and improper use of technologies".
(Document: CMR_CHILE_FINAL.pdf, Position: 66944-67928)

"Cultural and social tolerance towards exchange, by an adult, of cash, in kind, protection or any other thing, for sexual services of children is one of the determining factors of the persistence of this issue.
(Document: informe de seguimiento 2009.pdf, Position: 152340-153126)

Regardless of this criminal aspect, Reca (2007) highlights the *discourses to justify these practices of CSEC* made by exploiters and offenders. They explain their behaviour as a transaction or as an economic support for children and young people in order to help them with poverty or financial difficulties. This notion of survival strategies (Guinn: 2007; Camacho: 2009; Runge: 2010) hides the violent and sexual character of CSEC and the illegitimacy of the transactional relationship, and reinforces the idea of exploitation in the modern sense (Robert: 2011):

"They have proven that the primary perpetrator ("the client") acts under cultural excuses and justifications that make use of children for sexual commerce normal before his/her eyes and in his/her immediate environment".
(Document: informe de seguimiento 2009.pdf, Position: 57772-58027)

The third element highlighted at this point is **CSEC Definitions**. These definitions illustrate operational distinctions and institutional positions on CSEC. In this case, CSEC definitions organise socio-political boundaries in the different expressions of CSEC. These definitions are based on agencies (local and international), domestic law and international law.

Agencies mediate between phenomena, legal determinations, and knowledge. This mediation is also related to the social mandate, aims and purposes of the agencies. In the case of CSEC, there is a trend to develop a multi-agency approach that, along with sharing information, providing services and building referral mechanisms (Robinson et al.: 2008), agencies involved agree on similar understandings and distinctions in relation to CSEC (Moran et al.:2007). In the Chilean case, SENAME, the National Services of Child Wellbeing, has been the agency that leads partnering and cooperation with other state agencies and NGOs. They define CSEC using a legal framework and the experience of children and young people that have been in CSEC:

"(CSEC is) Any activity by which a person uses the body of a child or adolescent for sexual and/or economic purposes, based on a relationship of power. Sex exploiters are considered to be both those who offer others the possibility to participate in the use of a child (procurers and networks) and those who maintain the contact (Clients) regardless of this being an occasional, frequent or permanent relationship. Commercial sexual exploitation of children is an ancient issue, which is socially accepted, especially if it's associated with mendacity and survival".

(Document: XII Informe 2012 Final a envio.pdf, Position: 63627-64230)

This definition implicitly recognises the experiences of different stakeholders working in the area that can produce knowledge and definitions based on the "field"; it reflects the direct experiences of working with children and young people that have been in CSEC (SENAME: 2014). Furthermore, it is possible to identify in the quotation the main elements previously mentioned: multidimensionality in CSEC due to factors, cultural elements, and CSEC characteristics such as abusive power, the economic dimension and the role of exploiters and offenders.

The multi-agency approach also considers relationships between national, local, and international levels of governance (Zimmerman: 2011). In terms of the history of CSEC in Chile, since 1990 when Chile signed the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Chilean state embraced the actions initiated by the First Congress in Stockholm (1996). In 1999, the Chilean state designed the Framework for the action against CSEC realised in 2012. All actions developed since 1999 have taken into account the influence of international or global agencies such as the UN, UNICEF, OIM, ILO, and ECPAT. These organisations influence changes in laws, social policies, and research in the area. Consequently, in the discussion about definitions, global distinctions are adopted in the local definitions:

"According to this proposal of the General Assembly and a concern related to the restrictive effect of the qualifying adjective "commercial", as well as the redundancy of using the term "illegal" associated with the trafficking and the international definitions"

(Document: XII Informe 2012 Final a envio.pdf, Position: 12175-12583)

"The definitions referred to for such identification are those internationally recognised and used, either because they are part of the Optional Protocol of the Convention on the Rights of

the Child in terms of the sale of children, child prostitution and the use of children in pornography (from which the definitions of sexual intercourse for remuneration and pornography can be obtained), in the Palermo Protocol or because they have been defined by international entities such as ECPAT International, the ILO or the World Tourism Organisation (WTO)".

(Document: CMR_CHILE_FINAL.pdf, Position: 75437-75562)

There is a relationship between international and domestic law in terms of defining CSEC. Based on the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), a group of international legal instruments recognise CSEC as an international crime and promote protection of children and young people that have been involved in CESC. These instruments include international laws such as the UN Convention of the rights of the child art. 19, 34, 35 (1989) and regional instruments such as the American Convention on International Traffic in Minors (1994). All these instruments can be considered an international legal framework in CSEC (ECPAT: 2008). These instruments have played a role in terms of recognising CSEC (Santos Pais:2010), the discussion of an extraterritoriality approach (Newman et al.:2011), and the promotion of support and change in domestic legislation (Raferty: 2013). From this point of view, the international instruments support domestic crime definitions outlining the complexity of CSEC:

"The Optional Protocol is a legal instrument that highlights the prohibition of crimes to which it refers (sale, prostitution and pornography) and it provides specific guidelines related to the safe and secure compliance of such legal measures".

(Document: informe de seguimiento 2009.pdf, Position: 13940-14223)

After signing the CRC in 1990, the Chilean state attempted to incorporate all of the instruments related to CSEC into national legislation and tried to organise their social policies into two frameworks for CSEC (1999 and 2012). This process of adjustment and harmonisation has resulted in some tensions between international law and local tradition, the penal system, and juvenile justice (Torche and Crettier: 2007; Dilacio: 2012):

"(Chile) has approved several treaties and adhered to international commitments that offer a framework of referential standards to approach the issue from a legal standpoint. In order to comply with said commitments, the State of Chile must adapt its legislation and they propose to periodically receive special representatives or rapporteurs to disseminate the observations".

(Document: CMR_CHILE_FINAL.pdf, Position: 175440-175882)

Some of these challenges were discussed in The Third World Congress against Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents (Brazil 2008). For instance, to criminalise CSEC according to human rights standards, to establish an extraterritorial jurisdiction framework, to coordinate inter agencies services, and to identify signs of corruption in the systems (ECPAT: 2009). In the Chilean case, at the end of the 1990s, the penal code was modified to modernise sexual crime laws, harmonising domestic legislation with international standards. Consequently, almost all the typologies of CSEC are covered by the law. Critical points have been noted in the development of these laws: the age of sexual consent that defines different legal types (Clough: 2013), the characteristics of the offence (Gillespie: 2013), and the characteristics of the offenders regarding determinate responsibilities (Gillespie:2014):

"Article 367 of the new act also introduces penalties for "clients" or "users": Any person who in exchange for money or other consideration obtains sexual services from people older than 14 years old and younger than 18 years old, except in the cases of sexual assault or rape, shall be punished with any of the maximum periods of short-term imprisonment. Should the victim be younger than 14 years old, the "client/exploiter" may be punished with any type of long-term imprisonment in the case of penetration (Art. 362 of the Criminal Code) or between the maximum periods of short-term imprisonment and the minimum periods of long-term imprisonment in the case of any other type of sexual act other than penetration (Art. 366 bis of the Criminal Code)".

(Document: Global_Monitoring_Report-CHILE.pdf, Position: 175440-175882)

Despite these advances, CSEC as a type of criminal offence is not yet considered in domestic legislation such as it exists in comparative legislation (ECPAT:2014). However, the importance of CSEC as a growing phenomenon produces a hybridisation between the legal definition and social definition of CSEC:

"Beyond these ones, some of the progress and its themes, it internally coined the term "Sexual crimes within the context of commercial sexual exploitation".

(Document: CMR_CHILE_FINAL.pdf, Position: 207862-208036)

The fourth element highlighted is **the notion of classic typologies of CSEC**. Across the documents, four international manifestations of CSEC (sexual commercialisation, child sexual tourism, trafficking and child sexual abusive images) are recognised in Chile. This recognition presents some nuance: on the one hand, there is evidence and data about the typologies, on the other hand, this evidence is "evident" to someone: professional teams, authorities, citizens. It therefore implies *a process of awareness of these forms of CSEC*:

"It's possible to claim that in Chile, awareness and knowledge about these four international expressions of CSEC have increased among those responsible for protection. Some expressions are still invisible and it is possible to assume the existence of a sub record because, on the one hand we are dealing with cross-border dynamics from which no country is exempt from and, on the other hand, in Chile there are some situations that favour the existence of both sexual exploitation expressions".

(Document: CMR_CHILE_FINAL.pdf, Position: 85239-85397)

This process of awareness implies three elements. Firstly, typologies were legally formalised in international and domestic law. This formalisation is a process of adjustment between other legal bodies and the evidence of the more common ways in which the phenomenon is seen. Berger and Luckman (1966) named this as the institutionalisation of the phenomenon regarding institutionalisation, legitimation and internalisation in order to become the truth (Foucault: 1970):

"Human trafficking is the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Such exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal, manipulation or implantation of organs".

(Document: XII Informe 2012 Final a envio.pdf, Position: 66109-66842)

Global events, such as the World Congresses, and international agencies (NGOs and the UN) have played a major role in the process of formalising laws (international–domestic adjustment), identifying typologies and disseminating ideas. Building an international community facilitates "a mirror effect", in which countries and organisations are able to think about the manifestations of CSEC, particularly those with a global character:

"The III World Congress against CSEC was held in 2008 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, which was preceded by regional and thematic meetings all around the world. Over these years the world has changed along with the concerns related to new expressions of CSEC, particularly those taking place and broadcasting though the information technologies".
(Document: decimo informe explotación sexual de niños niñas adolescentes e internet inn.pdf, Position: 16701-17380)

Secondly, typologies were consolidated based on scientific evidence. The power-knowledge (Foucault: 1970) of researching gives empirical support to the typologies being characterised and understood. In the introductory chapter, specifically the section headed "Chilean contexts in CSEC", reference was made to research conducted by research groups, international and domestic agencies and NGOs in the last ten years into CSEC. These studies produced evidence of the prevalence, dynamics, children-adult relationships, typologies and modalities, and practices of CSEC:

"In 2010, the ONGs Raíces and Paicabí, with the support of ECPAT studied the four international expressions of CSEC in Chile. To such aim, they worked with intervention teams from eleven specialized programs and they verified – based on the recognition made by the teams themselves- that the expressions of trafficking and exploitations in tourism and during trips often were invisible because the elements that might help detect them were missed. For example, every time children were moved within the country, while they also experienced sexual exploitation, was not considered as trafficking by the intervention teams and transportation was not considered as a factor that increased their vulnerability".
(Document: CMR_CHILE_FINAL.pdf, Position: 78133-78951)

Thus, the evidence enriched the legal sphere through empirical evidence. Particularly compelling is the evidence collected on the experience of professionals working in the field because they reflected at the same time the empirical data and the expert knowledge required to reflect a better understanding of dimensions involved in the phenomenon. Finally, awareness is disseminated and shared in a public sphere. This exercise involves identifying the message, the media and audiences to be informed:

"Continue to adopt measures to approach the crimes covered by the Facultative Protocol through, among other things, strengthening the awareness campaigns with specific messages about child rights and the penalties applicable to those who abuse minors".
(Document: observaciones_finales_pf_crc 2008.pdf, Position: 10959-11255)

The discourse "We are talking about a complex phenomenon" illustrates the idea that CSEC as a phenomenon is composed of different dimensions such as social factors and cultural aspect. The main feature is associated with the notion of abusive power, the economic dimension and also recognise beliefs that justify this practice. In order to define CSEC, it recognised the role of agencies and the domestic impact of the international legal instrument. In this process of definition, typologies are identified, formalised, consolidated through empirical knowledge and disseminated in a social sphere.

6.2.2 'We have to do something'

This discourse refers to the idea that once the existence of CSEC is recognised and identified as a complex social problem, institutional responses and psychosocial supports should be available to children and young people that have been in CSEC. Institutional responses are diverse and can include general counselling programmes (Shield and Letourneau: 2015), specialised programmes (Hardy et al.:2013), court advocacy and harm reduction programmes (Rand: 2009), community and local interventions, or trauma-informed and empowering practice (Williams et al.: 2017). In each of the options, (in the alternative documents) the elements that illustrate these responses are the concept of victims, child human rights approaches, and protection and recovery of children. The following diagram represents the main elements in this discourse:

Figure 20: Discourse 'We have to do something'
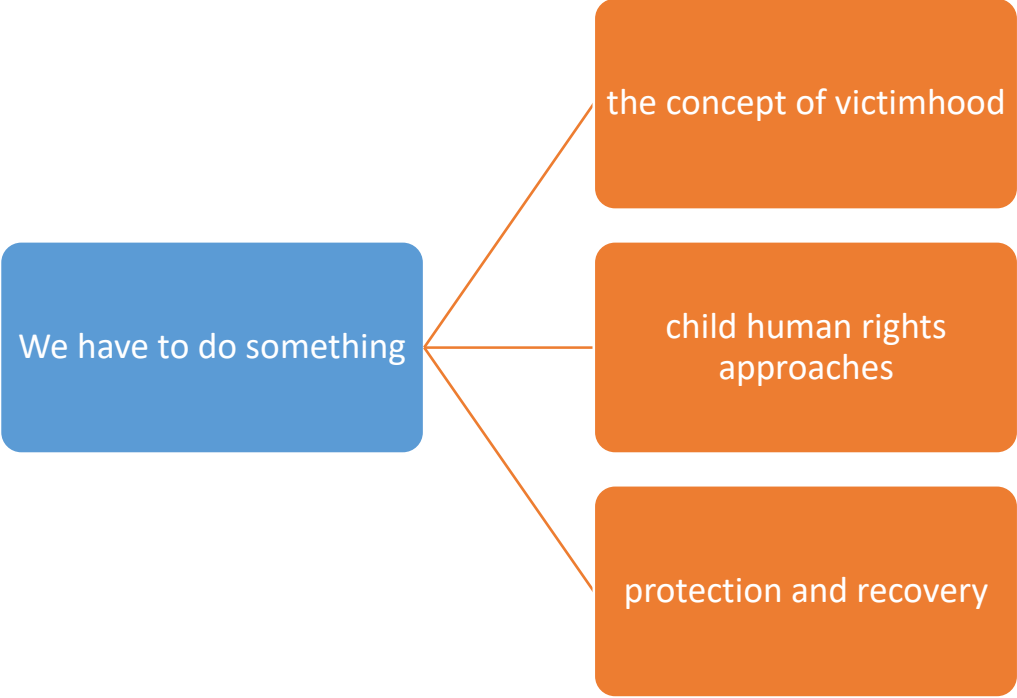
The concept of victimhood is the first element in this discourse. Embracing the idea of victimhood and victims is the prerequisite for action being taken. This movement aims to identify children and young people that have been in CSEC as victims, highlighting their vulnerability. Furthermore, it attempts to deconstruct the ideas of a child having been a prostitute, a criminal or in any way responsible for the CSEC (Miller-Perrin and Wurtele: 2017). There are two stages to the construction of the idea of 'victim'. The first stage highlights *a biographical underpinning of CSEC* in order to show the different situations of violence and vulnerability that children and young people that have been in CSEC have suffered before the CSEC experience. A previous history of vulnerability and violence may explain how a child became involved in CSEC (Deb: 2011; Williams: 2012), as might some individual attributes such as mental health factors (Twill: 2010; Read: 2008; Bessoles: 2008; Castillo: 2007) or other risk factors associated with CSEC (Ramirez: 2005; Finklehor: 2008; Goldblate: 2012). Therefore, experiences in early childhood can provide a background to victimhood; an explanation of why a child came to be involved in CSEC, alongside possibly viewing the control by the offenders as protective or caring (Toro, et al.:2011):

"For children and adolescents that are or have been in an exploitation situation, "the position of victims does not emerge from CSEC, nor from prostitution. It emerges as a relevant nomination about the violence experiences lived during their childhood. Children recognise a submission position while facing their aggression agents. They recognise violence in their lives and identify it as such. They value violence as something negative, or they even use it as argumentative strategies in their current lives. This way, they would be victims, yet not CSEC victims, but rather victims of abusive, aggressive, and neglectful childhood experiences, which they do value and feel as victimisation experiences".

(Document: XII Informe 2012 Final a envio.pdf, Position: 74135-74977)

Even though damage is used in the academic literature as an illustration of what the violence may result in, and a key element of victimhood (Barnitz: 2001; Aleekseva: 2007; Gjermenia: 2008), there are situations of CSEC in which children and young people have no visible damage and are unaware of their own victimhood (Arredondo: 2010). Therefore, the strategies to make visible the dimension of victimhood in children and young people that have been in CSEC are oriented towards expanding the understanding of damage from symptomatology to subjectivity and attachment (Sharim et al.: 2011; Morales and Rojas: 2013). This relational dimension highlights the consequences of early damage in the dynamics of violence, threat and dependency (Lovett: 2007; Cramer: 2009) that sustain this invisible-victimhood:

"Children and adolescents who have been victims of CSEC have accumulated painful trauma and neglect-related experiences since their early childhood. Since they have not received protection, care, or the love they need from the adult world to have a harmonious development, children fall into dependency and fear-based dynamics with their exploiter".

(Document: informe de seguimiento 2009.pdf, Position: 123754-124137)

The second stage in the construction of the notion of the victim is *the recognition of institutional victimisation* of children and young people that have been in CSEC. This institutional victimisation can be from exclusion and discrimination to secondary victimisation. A variety of institutions are involved with children and young people that have been in CSEC (Pearce: 2011; Solis: 2015; Cameron et al.: 2012). They can play a protective role or be a risk factor as the third actor in the situations of CSEC (Barudy: 1998). For instance, it is agreed that children and young people that have been in CSEC cannot be sanctioned or criminalised by institutions when their

situation is disclosed (Scarpa: 2015; Miller-Perrin and Wurtele: 2017). Accordingly, children and young people that have been in CSEC are recognised as victims when they are re-victimised or their vulnerabilities are exposed in other areas of their lives and by other institutions:

"This chapter especially focuses on three problematic areas regarding the rights of children in Chile: the violation of rights within schools; the protection system for child victims of violence, maltreatment and abuse in childhood protection residential institutions".
<div align="right">(Document: 2008 derechos-nino.pdf, Position: 1242-1551)</div>

These violations at the core of the protection system could be related to lack of appropriate resources (Dubowitz: 2017), lack of funding for programmes (Hickle and Hallett: 2016), and a lack of trained staff (Berson: 2008). Regardless, in any agency responsible for providing specific services, lack of partnership in inter-agency or multi-agency regimes (SENAME: 2016; Staffordshire County Council: 2013; Greater London Authority: 2015) can be a limitation in collaboration, service-integration, and accountability, increasing the possibility of maintaining these violations.

In this way, victimhood is based on the individual characteristics and biographies of children and the recognition of institutional victimisation.

The second element is the **child human rights approach**. This recognises *the influence of international laws, conventions and protocols at a domestic level,* changing the shape of domestic laws and policies. At a regional level, the principles of the CRC have been implemented, although there have been some facilitators and barrier factors. Facilitators factors include the decrease in poverty, decreasing child mortality, economic growth and an increase in social public spending. On the other hand, barriers to its implementation include factors such as poverty in childhood, decreasing fecundity, a crisis in the meaning of care and childrearing, ethnic discrimination and violence (Cepal:2014). The following quotation represents this movement in the case of Chile:

"Since Chile ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child (hereafter, the Convention) in 1990, the State had to develop a childhood state policy based on what is known as a

comprehensive protection of rights, in which children and adolescents are subjects of human rights, they are not objects under state protection".

In order to fulfil an *alignment with the notion of children as subjects of law and protection*, the Chilean state has modified domestic laws, social policies and the juvenile justice system. It has also tried to improve the participation of children in decision-making processes through listening to children's voices. Despite these transformations, there are still structural weakness in the implementation of these changes. The first is related to a deficit in the law of Integral Protection of Children's Rights that will replace the current minor laws (1967), which has been the subject of discussion in congress since 2015. The second is the crisis in the protection system. This crisis was documented by the Supreme Court in 2012, a special commission of congress in 2013 and 2017, and other human rights reports that established serious cases of institutional deficit in the provision of care and support in the childcare system (UDP: 2008, 2009, 2014).

In summary, the critical areas under consideration are the tutelary approach, a lack of services, a deficit in funding, weak levels of coordination between stakeholders, and a dependant relationship between state and the civil society (Andrade and Arancibia: 2010; UNICEF: 2015). The last structural weakness is the overlap or juxtaposition between the perspectives of the Minority view and the Child Human Rights approach which has an impact on political definitions and decision making (Rojas: 2010). Behind this overlap, is a discussion about being the object or subject of law and the way in which the best interests of children can be implemented (Kelly: 1997; Cortés: 2001):

"The doctrine of Irregular Situation and comprehensive Protection are expressed in domestic laws on childhood and adolescence, in institutional practices, and in operator practices. In this context, Pilotti states that the importance of changes in laws as social transformation instruments has been overestimated. It has "dissociated the speech on human rights from the socioeconomic and cultural reality in which injustices are affecting childhood manifest" (Pilotti, 2000:7). Or, as Pinheiro (2007) says, "despite the wide acceptance of CDN, children in almost every State, are still waiting for the full recognition of respect for their dignity and

physical integrity, and the adequate investment in actions to prevent all forms of violence against them".

<div align="center">(Document: XII Informe 2012 Final a envio.pdf, Position: 67904-68864)</div>

The third element is **protection and recovery.** This element includes welcoming and supporting strategies, the notion of special services to characterise the protection and recovery in CSEC, and the features of CSEC interventions. *Welcoming and supporting strategies* involve immediate support, early intervention, evaluation of risk factors (McMahon-Howard and Reimers: 2013) and identify targeted populations such as street children or marginalised children.

"Inquiries on the streets and other exploitation spots, while the 'Observatorio Metropolitano' takes care of adolescents in treatment. This allows suggesting that it is possible that programs are not providing earlier detection in the most vulnerable population before the violation of rights".

<div align="center">(Document: CMR_CHILE_FINAL.pdf, Position: 70594-70945)</div>

In some cases, this has developed out of field work in the streets, night clubs or informal shelters (Paicabi: 2005). This face-to-face relationship implies an understanding of children's experiences from their point of view and a non-judgemental attachment style (Greater London Authority:2015; Rafferty: 2016). A second action is *to provide accommodation* as a safe and stable place to stay. There are multiple alternative forms of accommodation: that which is transitory or permanent, that which is aligned with home care and foster care systems or autonomous services, and variable levels of material or psychosocial support (Green: 2005; Shuker: 2015; Trocme et al.: 2016; Smeaton: 2016). Extended families appear as an alternative form of care under the idea of promoting family liaison and avoiding institutionalisation (foster family, residence):

"Compared experience shows the need of having short-stay hosting experiences in the local context. They must be highly qualified, and they should not imply any kind of rootlessness of the child. These alternatives, in some cases, can be implemented with the extended family, to which it is possible to provide economical and psycho-social support. If there are no reliable options in the extended family, other capable and previously chosen family can be an essential hosting resource, during short periods of time".

Protection and recovery in CSEC are characterised as special services. In the Chilean socio-political context, childhood social policies have been classified in three levels: General Protection and Prevention, Specific Protection and Prevention, and Specialised Protection and Prevention (SENAME: 2010). In this latter category, there are specialised centres that provide services to victims of child sexual abuse, CSEC, practices of harmful sexual behaviours by children and young people, and specialised residential care for victims of child sexual violence. Consequently, the services that these centres provide to children and young people that have been in CSEC is considered a special service. 'Special' in this context could refer to two dimensions:

(i) this is a specialised intervention, meaning that the services or the articulation of them are specific, and different in some way; and/or (ii) these services are offered by specialists/experts; professional teams that possess a kind of "know how" about the intervention in CSEC:

"The Provision of Special Services for a comprehensive protection of childhood and adolescence rights, whenever they are threatened or violated", the violation of the integrity of victims of CSE (mentioned as childhood prostitution), and the "emerging problems of sex trafficking, especially of female children and adolescents".

Considering that the services are structured in terms of the seriousness of the human rights violation, and in terms of the events, damage, chronicity, resources, and support (from 'less complex to more complex') and that the programmes are organised from general protection to specialised protection, CSEC is located at the top of the services: it is the most complex situation and requires the most specialised protection. The main risk of this structure is the isolation of CSEC programmes and the perception of stakeholders that they alone can intervene in situation of CSEC. Under the label of 'specialised programme's the possibilities of coordination of actions and communication can be limited, preventing full cooperation with other

services that ensure social integration such as mental health, education, and training (SENAME: 2014).

The features of CSEC intervention include integrity in intervention, ambulatory methodology intervention and gender approach. Integrity in intervention recognises a deep understanding of the different dimensions of the experiences of children and young people that have been in CSEC (Greenbaum: 2014; Greater London Authority: 2015; Raferty: 2016). Furthermore, it implies offering a grid of interventions that considers all these aspects: psychological, physical, social, legal services, medical and sexual health (Twill et al.:2010; Bernal et al.: 2013; Scott et al.:2017). The technical guidelines on CSEC (SENAME: 2014) are quite explicit regarding the outcomes oriented to restitution of rights, interrupting the CSEC, emotional/cognitive recovery, social reintegration and self-protection. In addition, when it refers to integrity along with the ideas above, it includes multidimensionality and interdisciplinarity as underpinning these notions and the provision of services for children and young people that have been in CSEC:

"Integrity has two components. On the one hand, the action of repairing the different areas of his or her life: affective, cognitive and social aspects, including physical, psychological and relational aspect too. This way, we consider what is established in several of the analysed experiences regarding the beginning of an intervention with a diagnosis that considers the degree of realisation/violation of all of the rights, as a way of implementing a set of actions leading to their restitution".

(Document: XII Informe 2012 Final a envio.pdf, Position: 161774-162378)

Consequently, in order to afford such interventions, professional teams have to be specialised, and they have to be able to assess the cases and design complex interventions (Ahern et al. 2017). This point refers back to the tension between multi-agency responses and multi task programmes that provide all the interventions (D'Arcy and Thomas: 2016). One of the reasons for this tension is the implicit role of the programmes as a coordinator of interventions in CSEC cases. In contrast to the English and Scottish set up, in which a council social worker is in charge of managing cases (Hothersall: 2008; Scottish Government: 2014), in Chile there is not a statutory figure responsible for managing CSEC cases. It is expected that this role will be undertaken by the specialised professional team of the CSEC programmes.

This expectation is related to the kind of methodological approach that CSEC programmes have. Intervention methodology is defined as ambulatory, psychosocial and socio-educative, psychotherapeutic, and judicial. It also sets out very clear stages and outcomes (SENAME: 2014). The basis of this methodology can be traced to the early attempts of community psychiatry, psychology, and community social work that provided mental health services to the communities (Barraza: 1977; Weinstein: 1978). During the dictatorship years (1973-1990), community mental health work was carried out mainly by NGOs, and Christian associations that supported victims of state terrorism and also promoted human rights (Asun: 1993; Piper: 2008).

The psychosocial consequences human rights violation by the dictatorship, such as enforced disappearance and torture (Retigg: 1990; Valech: 2005), encouraged the state to provide the means of rights restitution, recovery and therapeutic support to victims (Becker et al.: 1990; Lira and Loveman: 1998; Lira and Loveman: 2007). Later this was the foundation of the PRAIS program, psychosocial programmes in primary general practice and the current mental health GP strategies (Ministerio de Salud: 2017). The rationale of these programmes is present in the CSEC programmes in the structure (ambulatory) and the outcomes and strategies:

"Meanwhile, in Chile "an ambulatory methodology is proposed. It considers a risk management perspective and an uncertainty reduction perspective as well. This aims at an increase in the control levels, both individually and socially, and, at the same time, it aims at the growing self-care levels and preventive conducts. All of this implies the progressive recognition of self-determination and responsibility regarding their own lives and the possibilities of personal transformation and social environment. From this point of view, intervention is a process built along with the child or adolescent, who recognises the achievement of intermediate goals, even though we should always aim to overcome the situations that led to the entrance to the program. That is to say, the restitution of rights and social reinsertion. This way, a comprehensive protection of rights is guaranteed".
(Document: XII Informe 2012 Final a envio.pdf, Position: 105546-106529)

Along with those influences, CSEC methodology is a polyphony of perspectives that include elements of risk management, harm reduction, resilience and gender-based approaches. The latter is included transversally in the last decade's social policies

(Hardy: 2004). Specifically, in CSEC interventions, gender is a transversal dimension to be considered in the understanding of gender-based violence against children in CSEC and the influence of the feminist perspective on trauma intervention (Hyder and Mac Veigh: 2007). SENAME (2014) considered that in order to incorporate a gender perspective it is necessary to have trained staff, to differentiate boy-girl CSEC consequences and interventions, and to produce specific information on the profiles and results of the intervention.

A serious weakness of this argument, however, is that the programmes in CSEC do not sufficiently incorporate a reflection of childhood and gender and there are not clear instruments and strategies to denaturalise cultural beliefs about girls and woman regarding sexuality and violence (Kawanabe: 2015). Recommendations on how to incorporate gender-based approaches include constantly analysing intervention strategies, a training program for staff, gender parity in professional teams, and differentiated data (OIT/IPEC: 2007):

"In this framework, this study deepens the topic of the restitution of rights, focusing specifically on the recovery and restitution of the rights of children and adolescents who have been victims of CSE, with a gender-based perspective. The main objective is generating recommendations for the implementation of right-restitution programs for children and adolescents who have been victims of CSE".
(Document: XII Informe 2012 Final a envio.pdf, Position: 59253-59690)

In summary, the discourse 'we have to do something' highlighted the idea that once recognised the complexity of CSEC, it is imperative the need for a response. The discourse identifies three components of this response. Firstly, a concept of a victim is developed based on a biographical underpinning and the recognition of institutional victimisation. Secondly, it is adopted a child human rights approach considering international laws and the process of adjustment at a domestic level. Finally, protection and recovery are identified for purposes of the responses. It considers a first action of welcoming strategies, the character of special services to CSEC intervention and their features. For instance, it is explained the character of the intervention methodology, their support and antecedents.

6.3 Conclusion of the Cluster Monitoring and Evaluation

This cluster recognised the existence of CSEC and its complexity in terms of social factors and cultural dimensions. Furthermore, it identified key elements regarding the violence such as abusive power and economic exchange. Those elements are defined internationally and locally and classified to be better communicated and understood. The CSEC consequences in children, families, communities and society is a call to develop responses. These responses identified and categorised a subject of intervention, it selected a human rights approach as umbrella able to integrate different levels, and it defined a purpose, protection and recovery.

6.4 Cluster Challenges

This cluster contains two discourses that shape a critical analysis of CSEC. On the one hand, "Making visible a hidden Phenomenon" illustrates the difficulties in visualising, distinguishing and understanding CSEC. On the other hand, "We have problems in the intervention" sets out key and critical points in the development of assessment, managing the intervention and the criminal prosecution of CSEC.

Figure 21: Cluster Challenges

Making visible a hidden phenomenon

We have problems in the intervention

Challenges

6.4.1 'Making visible a hidden phenomenon'

There is a paradox within CSEC as both a phenomenon and a social problem. CSEC is identified in the social sphere (Gonzalez: 2008), and social policies and programmes have been produced as a result (Ministerio de Justicia: 1999, 2012; SENAME: 2007, 2014). However, CSEC is also characterised as a hidden phenomenon (Araya et al.:2007; Poblete: 2014), and difficulties arise in distinguishing the borders between CSEC and other expressions of child sexual violence (Pierce: 2004; SENAME-Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso: 2007). The elements that describe this paradox are a distinction with other forms of violence, confusion about CSEC typologies, and insufficient empirical knowledge of CSEC. The following diagram represents the main elements in this discourse:

Figure 22: Discourse 'Making visible a hidden phenomenon'
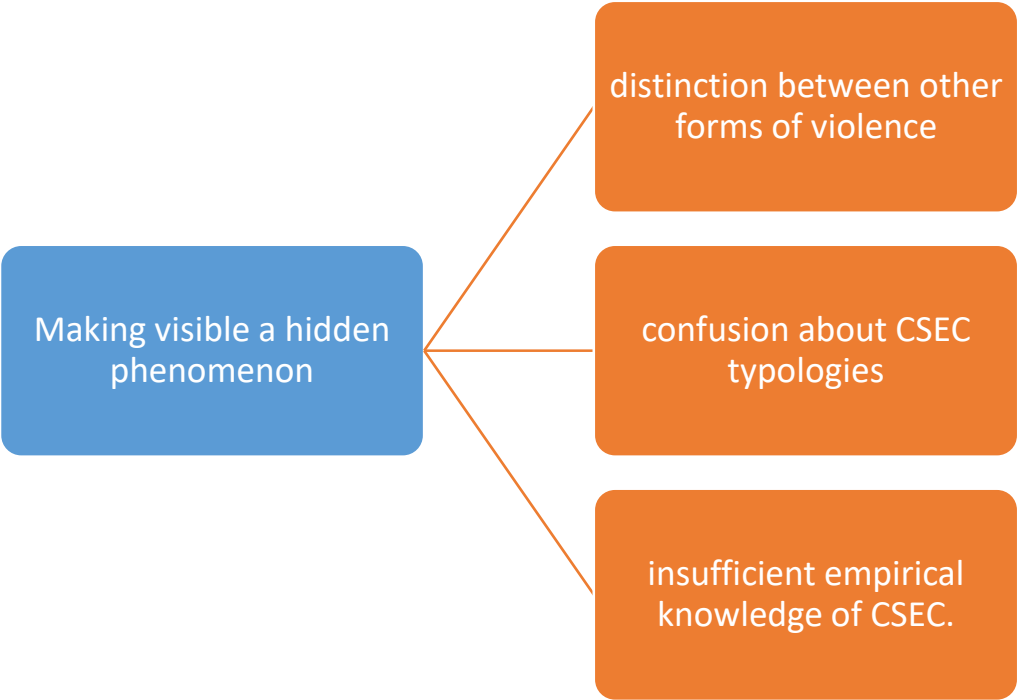
The first element identified is the **distinction between other forms of violence**. Throughout the alternative documents there is evidence of difficulties and confusion in distinguishing CSEC from other forms of sexual violence against children. Some of

these difficulties are related to the conceptual boundaries between different manifestations of child sexual violence. Others are related to more cultural elements. The boundaries between different types of child sexual violence are something not completely resolved in the specialised literature (Pierce: 2004; SENAME-Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso: 2007). There are a number of similar elements associated with different types of child sexual violence, such as mental health indicators, life stories, risk factors, predictor factors (Read: 2008, Williams: 2012; McIntyre: 2011; Goldblate: 2012) or the relationship between victims and offenders (Lovett: 2007; Cramer: 2009):

"Another aspect that is revealed from this study is the growing difficulty to differentiate Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) and other forms of sexual violence. The new forms blur the boundaries of the traditional differences between sexual abuse and commercial sexual exploitation. The content of the result has changed and with that the discussion about the terminology used to describe the sexually objectifying material (images, text and audio files) related to children".
(Document: decimo informe explotacion sexual de ninos ninas adolescentes e internet inn.pdf, Position: 57143-57820)

This difficulty in differentiating or defining clear boundaries between CSEC and other expressions of child sexual violence affects the ability of stakeholders and the community to identify and recognise CSCE. Therefore, CSEC as a phenomenon becomes socially invisible:

"Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) is a visible problem in our streets, communities, towns and countries; however, it is invisible for most people and those who manage to see it are left nonplussed".
(Document: CMR_CHILE_FINAL.pdf, Position: 3502-3777)

"According to NGO's experience on this field, the phenomenon of CSEC is often so hidden and naturalized that is very likely that the figure shown in this study is low".
(Document: Informe alternativo 2007.pdf, Position: 42359-42640)

The last part of the quotation shows that the invisibility of CSEC has consequences on the possibility of identifying the prevalence of CSEC. Hughes-Jones and Roberts (2015) notes the confusion which abounds in attempts to identify CSEC. This confusion persists despite numerous policy initiatives, and results, in part, from the fact that professionals' knowledge of this problem remains limited (Barnardo's 2014).

The second element is the **confusion about CSEC typologies**, which exists despite the four international typologies having been identified. This is due to the lack of clarity of the typologies, the modalities of typologies (in-between phenomenon typologies) and a new manifestation of CSEC that presents challenges in understanding and interventions.

The lack of clarity of some typologies is an effect of the invisibility of the phenomenon and deficiency in dissemination of the CSEC. A clear example is the typology of trafficking. It was a phenomenon incorporated as a pilot intervention programme, and the last typology to be included in domestic legislation (2014). In comparison with the region, (LA) Chile is the least developed country in this area:

"There no official statistics about child trafficking either. In fact, this is an issue that has been invisible for a long time and many have denied it. The fact that the Initial Report of Chile uses the wrong term such as "children trafficking" (paragraph 7) or "trafficking of white girls under the age of eleven" (paragraph 38) reflects the lack of seriousness with which this issue is approached. Nevertheless, we know that Chile, through SENAME, has lately made an effort to incorporate this issue".

(Document: Informe alternativo 2007.pdf, Position: 33161-33816)

The *notion of modalities* refers to a local and situated expression of CSEC that could be a mix of or in between the classic typologies. Since 2011 there has been an effort to identify modalities based on the experience of professional teams involved in intervention in CSEC (Retuerto et al. 2012; Vega et al. 2012). Modalities can contain emergent elements in the traditional typologies, new expressions of CSEC that are mixed with other phenomena, and local expressions of CSEC (Toro et al.: 2011).

Specialist programmes and social observatories have played a significant role in identifying and discussing these modalities. Based on fieldwork, they were able to reflect on the intervention process critically:

"A mode of sexual exploitation that is especially concerning is that in some countries there are early or forced marriages. ECPAT refers to them within the context of sexual tourism indicating, "marriages with children under the age of 18 may be a form of sexual exploitation if the victim is used as an object of sexual gratification in exchange for cash, goods or kind". In Chile, this expression of CSEC has not been yet identified, but in the study about the local expressions from 2010, the NGO Raíces detected the exploitation in the context of a relationship (adult) wich starts by seducing the minor, taking her to live with him, isolating

her from her networks to then force her to have sex with other men and even move her along the country for such purpose. Although no figures have been obtained related to this local expression, several intervention teams interviewed identified it as being frequent".
(Document: CMR_CHILE_FINAL.pdf, Position: 83621-84550)

Good examples of *new manifestations of CSEC* are probably those related to the use of communication technologies. Across the documents, this typology is analysed in considerable depth. There is recognition of the massive and unequal penetration of the internet and the use of different kinds of technologies. Consequently, there is a rapid advancement of devices, practices and risks. Castells (2009) identifies the internet as a space of exchange and co-construction of social relationships. In this scenario, documents highlight the characteristics of the virtual exchange on the internet and the use of the internet by young people as a public space. In this setting, abusive and violent practices could be developed and, and also the risk of being part of an industry of sexually abusive images. Those are the elements that define this expression as an emergent means of CSEC without distinct boundaries from other modalities of child sexual violence. This is idea is strongly evident across the documents:

"The exposure level leads the investigators to conclude that children investigated used the social networks as a public place where they can show, express themselves and find their pairs. Maybe "digital natives" have a new notion about what public, private and intimate is".
(Document: decimo informe explotación sexual de niños niñas adolescentes e internet inn.pdf,
Position: 60169-60501)
"Girls, boys and adolescents record themselves or know they are being recorded. They identified two types of situations: a) children exploited by prostitution that use the internet as a means to advertising; b) child victims of bullying for whom being victimized is part of the circuits of violence either because they are being blackmailed or they use their own victimization as a means to become popular in a hostile environment. In the 10 investigations analysed the following methods of interpersonal violence were identified: child pornography, morphing, grooming or sexual solicitation, and flaming, cyber-bullying, exposure to undesired content, spamming, virtual fraud and theft".

(Document: decimo informe explotación sexual de niños niñas adolescentes e internet inn.pdf Position: 51629-52497)

The third element identified is an **insufficient empirical knowledge of CSEC**. The lack of empirical evidence to support a precise definition of CSEC is a challenge that is highlighted by the Alternative documents. This includes difficulties in identifying the prevalence, building a centralised system of information, and developing research to understand CSEC.

Any attempt to further understand the issue of CSEC is compounded by the fact that it "is one of the most hidden forms of violence" (Rand 2009: 140). Determining the extent of this problem has proved extremely difficult (Cusick and Martin: 2003), due to under-reporting and the lack of 'robust' data collection methods to establish prevalence:

"Lack of scientific knowledge about the issue of irregular adoptions, trafficking of children and child pornography. As for commercial sexual exploitation, although there are more studies and some attempts to quantify the issue, the existing figures do not represent updated and national records because they come from partial records of forecasts".
(Document: Informe alternativo 2007.pdf, Position: 52664-53090)

"There is still information available that is not supported by any updated studies or the field experience in the areas of prevention, child protection, victim support and law compliance; nor are lessons and experiences learnt shared proactively".
(Document: XII Informe 2012 Final a envio.pdf, Position: 28881-29203)

One of the challenges highlighted by the Alternative documents is in the development of a *structured system of a central database* to identify cases of CSEC. This requires the collection and storage of information to be shared with different stakeholders. A strategic aim in the national plan against CSEC was the contribution to an efficient record-keeping system of children and young people that have been in CSEC, including their intervention processes, outcomes and discharge process. This plan highlights an interconnected system and inter- agency protocols (Ministerio de Justicia: 2012). The web-based information system is called SENAINFO, and it is operated by the programmes that register the information about cases and activities. The database serves a dual purpose of providing technical information and controlling the development of activities that are associated with the payment

system. Basically, the services are outsourced in a model of payment on demand (Sanchez and Villarroel: 2017), meaning that there is a subvention for any children in the programme, and the activities are the means of verification (Umhlaba Development Services: 2017)

"There are some statistics about sex crimes and the efforts of the SENAME to collect information about commercial exploitation of children are appreciated. Although, the Committee regrets that there is still limited data about the magnitude of the problem of child trafficking, child pornography and the use of children for pornography, and about the number of children victims of this activity, mainly due to the lack of a comprehensive data gathering system".

(Document: 2008 derechos-nino.pdf, Position: 83149-83636)

In technical terms, this database provides basic information on cases such as demographics, time spent in the programme, motive for entry, and type of CSEC (SENAME: 2014). However, it is not possible to find out from this database the process of intervention or its effectiveness as is possible through other instruments and procedures using alternative or local database (Arredondo, Guerra and Saavedra: 2017). In the early implementation of SENAINFO, some criticisms arose from the utility of the database with regards to referral or inter agency information (SENAME: 2010).

In response to the evaluation of the SENAINFO, Ministerio de Justicia (2016) indicated that resources had been dedicated to adjusting the database to the principles of the Convention in order to facilitate the use of a judicial system and improve intercommunication between stakeholders (Staffordshire County Council: 2016). Despite these initiatives, the production of information and the process of storage and dissemination still appears to be a challenge (Consejo Nacional de la Infancia: 2016):

"The concluding observations of the Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC) acknowledges the efforts of the State of Chile to compile statistical data to estimate the magnitude of the CSEC in the country and it appreciates the progress (mainly by the SENAME) to compile information about the economic exploitation of children. Nonetheless, it also considers that such efforts are limited and do not really represent a comprehensive data gathering system".

(Document: informe de seguimiento 2009.pdf, Position: 35987-36459)

Following these initiatives, in 2018 the National Council of Childhood implemented 'SIENA' a Computer System for Statistics on Children and Adolescents that aims to make visible the situation of children through monitoring indicators that account for the exercise of their rights.

Another challenge in this area is *the lack of recent research on CSEC*. In the 2000s an initiative looking at prevalence, dynamics, typologies and modalities was developed (OIT-SENAME: 2004; Reca: 2007; OIM: 2006 and 2008; Toro et al.: 2011; Retuerto and Araya: 2012). Most of those involved in the initiative were supported by international and local agencies. This is coherent with the conclusion of the Congress III against sexual exploitation of children & adolescents that suggested promoting research to understand new scenarios in CSEC (Ecpat: 2009). Consequently, at a domestic level, in the second national plan against CSEC, one of the strategic aims was to actualise and promote studies in both modalities quantitative and qualitative to identify the prevalence and new characteristics of CSEC (Ministerio de Justicia: 2012).

Accordingly, the National Plan of Childhood (2015-2025) outlines the importance of developing applied research to get feedback on social policies (Consejo Nacional de la Infancia: 2015). Regardless of this position, a report in 2016 (to determine a base line of child sexual violence) points out the need to promote national level research to identify the prevalence, describe new modalities in depth and research intervention strategies based on specialised teams and stakeholders (Consejo Nacional de la Infancia: 2016). That means that the challenges in this area are still not covered:

"Although the report of the State of Chile accounts for the difficulty to gather data, it does not present any proposal. The lack of research on this issue, both qualitative and quantitative, caught the attention of the CRC when they analysed the report from the State of Chile".
(Document: Informe alternativo 2007.pdf, Position: 27011-27393)

In summary, this discourse highlighted the challenge of making visible CSEC. There are some barriers to overcome to solve this challenge. One of them is to clarify the

distinction between CSEC and another expression of child sexual violence. Another is to clarify the confusion in the CSEC typologies incorporating modalities a new expression of CSEC. Finally, one useful method to make visible CSEC accurately is the empirical knowledge based on the data base, systematic information and research. Those elements were discussed in this section.

6.4.2 'We have problems in the intervention'

Having recognised CSEC as a social problem, the Chilean state developed a series of initiatives in the area of intervention. In 2004 specialised CSEC programmes were created in four regions based on prevalence detected in the first national-scale study (SENAME-OIT: 2004). These programmes were developed based on the National Plan against CSEC framework (1999, 2012), taking into account the experiences of specialised programmes in child sexual abuse (since 1998), and pilot experiences in CSEC intervention (NGO Raices 2001). Alternative documents state that despite the fact that every year programmes have to develop a process of outcomes evaluation, there is not a complete evaluation of them, or research into the interventions. The main element of the intervention that has been studied is the cost of interventions in CSEC (Avagliano: 2009). Despite this deficit, alternative documents have identified challenges in delivering interventions. Those are the development of assessment, intervention management, and criminal prosecution of CSEC. The following diagram represents the main elements in this discourse:

Figure 23: Discourse 'We have problems in the intervention'
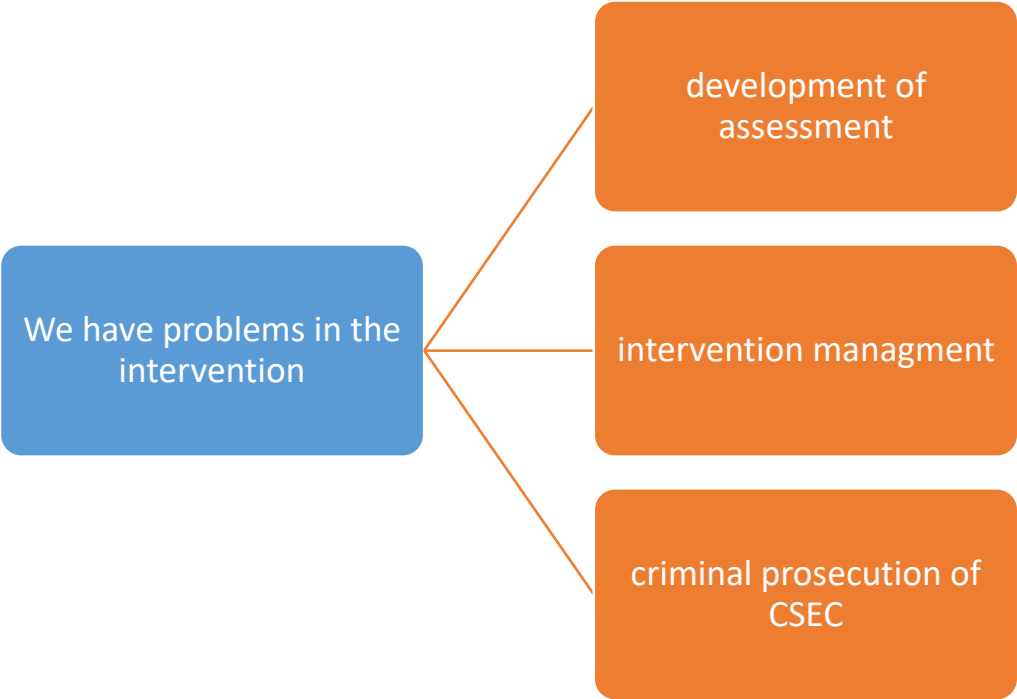
The first element, **development of assessment** refers to the difficulties that agencies encounter in doing an assessment that identifies the dimensions associated with CSEC and consequently, the cases of CSEC. On the one hand, the agencies in charge of evaluating children and young people that have been in CSEC show deficiencies and also the inter-agency relationships are not sufficiently coordinated.

Through the Alternative Documents, it is evident that *there are difficulties for timely assessment, decision-making to take protective measures, and a lack of alternatives to residential and ambulatory protection*. It is expected that the assessment should take not just a multidisciplinary approach, but also an ecological approach that considers individual, family and community levels of involvement (McIntyre:2011). This implies, as I commented in previous sections, the inclusion of stakeholders from the protective system, their specificities but also their understanding of CSEC (Reisel: 2016). In the case of Chile, as I mentioned before, the structure of the child protection system is based on levels of protection from general to specialised and has levels of concerns regarding the violation of Child Rights from Low to High. In this model,

centres specialised in assessment are located in general protection and low concerns, meaning that they have to assess all kinds of child protection issues in order to provide information to the system about risk and vulnerability of the children (SENAME: 2015):

"Such type of omissions are explained by the inability of the courts to get timely and reliable diagnosis in a context of lack of coverage of the outpatient diagnosis programs; the inability of other protection instances – such as the OPD or the Offices for child protection – to make urgent decisions and the fact that the different institutions are not in tune with each other to act in complementary manner (either by delivering timely reports or adopting urgent measures based on the diagnoses). In addition, the lack of protection alternatives that do not necessary imply having the kid institutionalized, such as families or foster homes for short stays, as prevention measures".
<div align="center">(Document: 2009 10_derechos-del-ninc2a6ao.pdf, Position: 5554-6278)</div>

One challenge is that this aim is developed in a limited time, with a significant demand and in coordination with the family court and the other agencies that provide services for children (de Iruarrizaga: 2016). Another critical point is the overlap of assessment between general risk assessment and specialised CSEC assessment required in order to fully understand the elements involved in a CSEC (Ministerio Publico: 2012; Servicio medico legal: 2016).

The last part of the quotation is related to the aims of providing recommendations for the family court to referral processes and to connect with the services that children require (SENAME: 2015). In the case of CSEC, those are specialised programme but also include other necessary programmes to achieve social reintegration, such as health and mental health services (Shuker: 2015; D'Arcy and Brodie: 2015). This refers to the challenge about *interagency- partnership and cooperation*. Despite that in the literature it is recognised as a basic standard in CSEC (Melrose: 2004; Marshall: 2014; Alvarez et al.: 2015), Alternative documents identify a weak level of coordination between the agencies that provide services to children and young people that have been in CSEC. This deficit impacts the quality of the child protection system, but most importantly the responses for children are atomised and insufficient:

"Weak network operation. The collaborators' network of SENAME is designed to act in coordination to favour the early care of right violations, as well as the efficient protection of other areas not covered by the specialized programs. However, the staffing of the agencies is insufficient (specially outside the Metropolitan region) with very few services in certain areas that are crucial for the preparatory process, such as in the case of drug abuse, particularly in the case of children who required to be admitted due to severe consumption problems".

(Document: CMR_CHILE_FINAL.pdf, Position: 233299-234002)

"The main weaknesses lie in the lack of or inappropriate links between such restitution programs and the other child protection systems, including the universal policies as a way to get out of the stigmatisation loop".

(Document: XII Informe 2012 Final a envio.pdf, Position: 29841-30112)

The second element, **intervention management** highlights as a challenge a deficit in resources for the intervention, and insufficient processes of monitoring and reflexivity. To illustrate the deficit of resource, despite the fact that the monthly spend on children in CSEC programmes has increased in recent years – now it is approximately £268 per month per child (Ministerio de Justicia: 2016) – there is a challenge concerning to the potential coverage of children and young people that have been in CSEC. In 2003 when CSEC's prevalence was initially considered, there were at least 3,719 cases of CSEC.

In 2014, after ten years of specialised programmes, there were 4,112 CSEC cases, a slight increase on the 2003 figures. This data corresponds with the evaluation of 19.7% coverage of CSEC cases by the programmes in 2006 (SENAME: 2007). Similarly, Avagliano (2009) developed an evaluation of the net cost of CSEC programmes analysing the ratio between the costs of the programmes and state subsidies. The conclusion was that the payment of the state covers just 41% of the net costs. This highlights a weakness in the design of social policies in establishing aims and outcomes without the necessary budget:

"Nonetheless, neither of these plans is supported by a specific budget for the agreed actions, nor there is a legal obligation before the civil society to comply with the commitments. Thus, it is up to the willingness of the people responsible for them".

(Document: CMR_CHILE_FINAL.pdf, Position: 34869-35180)

Another challenge is related to *the processes of monitoring and evaluation of CSEC programmes.* The national guidelines for CSEC programmes establish a requirement for evaluation and monitoring processes during the development of a programme. Monitoring is defined as "a systematic process of producing information to evaluate the activities and products of the intervention. The purpose of the monitoring is to opportunely identify weaknesses and strengths of the programme execution to introduce changes and adjustments" (SENAME 2014:18). This process considers ex-ante proposal evaluation, ex-dure monitoring of annual results of the programme and pertinence of actions and ex-post the efficacy and quality of the final results in the period. Criticisms arise regarding the lack of connection between monitoring processes and evaluation and the difficulties in aligning this evaluation with child social policies (Consejo Nacional de la Infancia: 2015). Similar arguments are developed in a study conducted by UNICEF on the structure of the child protection system. It is claimed that if these processes are not well designed, it would be a barrier to good functioning of the system (UNICEF: 2015).

Consequently, different reports recommend improving the monitoring and evaluation system and establishing online information about the activities and results rather than solely for economic purposes. Furthermore, it was recommended that the functions of monitoring and evaluation of processes be outsourced to an independent agency that is not the provider of services (NGOs) or SENAME (Irruarrizaga: 2015; Consejo Nacional de la Infancia: 2016):

"There is no monitoring or assessment of the policy design and implementation, which is key and urgent".
<div align="center">(Document: Informe alternativo 2007.pdf, Position: 19351-19552)</div>

"This project has fostered an environment of continuous analysis leading to the absence of referential sources about intervention models in commercial sexual exploitation nationally, the null experience on program implementation in the project's introduction zone and insufficient information about the characterisation of children who are victims of commercial sexual exploitation".
<div align="center">(Document: XII Informe 2012 Final a envio.pdf, Position: 134781-135168)</div>

The third element, **the criminal prosecution of CSEC,** seeks to incorporate a series of principles into the prosecution process and identify challenges and difficulties in the justice system. There is *a series of principles* to be incorporated into criminal prosecutions in order to respect the victims' rights. For instance, fair and respectful treatment, access to all the stages and participation in the judicial process, protection, restitution and compensation, among others (Cumbre Judicial Iberoamericana: 2012). In situations involving children, the judicial system has to hold as key principles the best interests of children, fair and equal treatment, the right to have opinions and protection (Protocolo Iberoamericano de Actuación Judicial: 2014). Following these principles, judicial agents should provide children and young people that have been in CSEC a dignified and comprehensive relationship, without discrimination, full information, an assurance that the children and young people are being heard, and effective and safe assistance (Servicio Médico Legal: 2016):

"It is critical that we have a legal protection system that promotes the complementation of the different dispositions on this matter and that fosters an unavoidable reading of those dispositions from the perspective of the Rights of Children".
(Document: informe de seguimiento 2009.pdf, Position: 91261-91485)

Even though almost all the international CSEC typologies are recognised as crimes, and consequential changes have been made to the penal system, there are *some challenges and difficulties* that the judicial system faces in the application of justice in cases of sexual crimes and CSEC. In order to have an overview of the situation, according to the statistics of the judicial system 20,672 cases of sexual crime were reported in 2016. 9.7% of those accused were found guilty, 2.9% were released, and 51% of cases were provisionally closed, meaning there was no judicial resolution (Ministerio Publico: 2017). Between January and June 2017, 10,554 cases of sexual crime were reported. Of these, 8.2% of those the accused were found guilty, 2.4% were released, and 53.8% of cases were provisionally closed, meaning there was no judicial resolution (Ministerio Publico: 2017). In this scenario, a partial report indicates a low level of investigation and prosecution in CSEC cases (ECPACT: 2014). One of the reasons for this might be that judicial settings are affected by cultural

factors such as any other institution (Zats: 2000; Jordan and Freiburger: 2010; Jamieson: 2013). Therefore, there are some cultural factors to this low level of prosecution such as sexism, prejudices, and difficulties in understanding the dynamics of CSEC:

"The causes that explain the situation mentioned above. Cultural Elements. Prejudice, the implicit assumption of some standards and formalities, instead of considering the adolescent's point of view. Those elements essentially determine the development of a trial".
(Document: CMR_CHILE_FINAL.pdf, Position: 202544-202842)

"In the direct accompanying experience of the child and adolescent victims in legal processes, the degree of will and empathy that judges and prosecutors may have with childhood can be a determining factor during a trial".
(Document: informe de seguimiento 2009.pdf, Position: 104271-104514)

This is an important element in terms of the mental health and wellbeing of children and young people that have been in CSEC. Based on cultural factors, judicial agents can determine not just the judicial outcome (sentences) but also the interactions and the psychosocial consequences of the recovery process (Michels: 2010; Guerra et al.: 2011).

One point discussed in the documents is the tension between subordinating protection and recovery processes and the prosecution interest (Torche and Crettier: 2007). This interaction should result in the avoidance of secondary victimisation (Guerra and Canessa: 2007) and incorporation of a series of special measures such as informing children about the process, assuring that children are accompanied by responsible adults, facilitating their testimony, assuring privacy, warm and safe physical spaces, avoiding repetitions in testimony (Protocolo Iberoamericano de Actuación Judicial: 2014).These considerations can limit the challenges and difficulties regarding judicial procedures and incorporate important levels of protection for children and young people that have been in CESC and are part of prosecution processes:

"When the duty to protect and recover children-victims gets subordinated to the need for evidence for criminal prosecution. In cases of maltreatment and abuse against children

constitutive of crime, the criminal prosecution sometimes overlaps the protection and the recovery process. In such cases, in contradiction of the 'best interest of child' principle, frequently it is privileged the requirement of the criminal prosecution. In any case, most of these stressful situations could be resolved more optimally for both interests, if the child's needs for recovery and protection against secondary victimization were taken more seriously".

<div align="center">(Document: 2008 derechos-nino.pdf, Position:67648-68509)</div>

The discourse 'we have a problem in the intervention' pointed out some tensions and challenges that the interventions faced. Assessment in CSEC was the first element. Considering the complexity of the phenomenon, to protect children and young people that have been in CSEC, timing is a relevant issue. At the same time, the assessment implies recommendation and suggestion to other agents in the protection system. A second discussion was related to the management of the intervention focused on the resources and the monitoring and evaluation.

To develop CSEC intervention implies costs associated and the need for accountability and reflexivity, both challenges according to the sources analysed. The last element was the criminal prosecution in CSEC cases. Despite the agreement of some principles in the criminal prosecution such as to respect victims and to avoid secondary victimisation, it is recognised the deficit in criminal prosecution and the overlap between criminal prosecution purposes and recovery process.

6.5 Conclusion Cluster Challenges

This cluster identified challenges that intervention faced. Regardless the recognition of the complexity of CSEC and the imperative to do something, part of the challenge identified is the need to make visible CSEC continuously. In this way, this is part of the intervention. Making visible CSEC implies clarify categories and typologies in CSEC. The role of empirical and accurate knowledge is relevant in doing that. At the same time, the development of CSEC intervention stated some problems related to coordination of time and the following recommendations, the management of the intervention regarding resources and accountability and the relationship between protection and recovery process and criminal prosecution.

6.6 Cluster Recommendations

This cluster contains one discourse, "Building the basis of CSEC responses," that states solutions and proposals to decrease the ratio, to simply improve, to solve weaknesses or to achieve a standard. Recommendations are not obligations, but pragmatically, they can have a mandatory effect.

Figure 24: Cluster Recommendations

Building the basis of CSEC responses

Recommendations
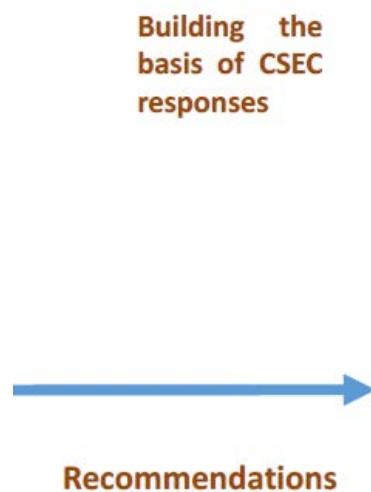
6.6.1 'Building the basis of CSEC responses'

The basis of CSEC responses contains two elements. On the one hand, building a framework illustrates the conditions and foundation of the responses. On the other hand, building a network illustrates the processes in which the responses can be developed. The following diagram represents the main elements in this discourse:

Figure 25: Discourse 'Building the basis of CSEC responses"
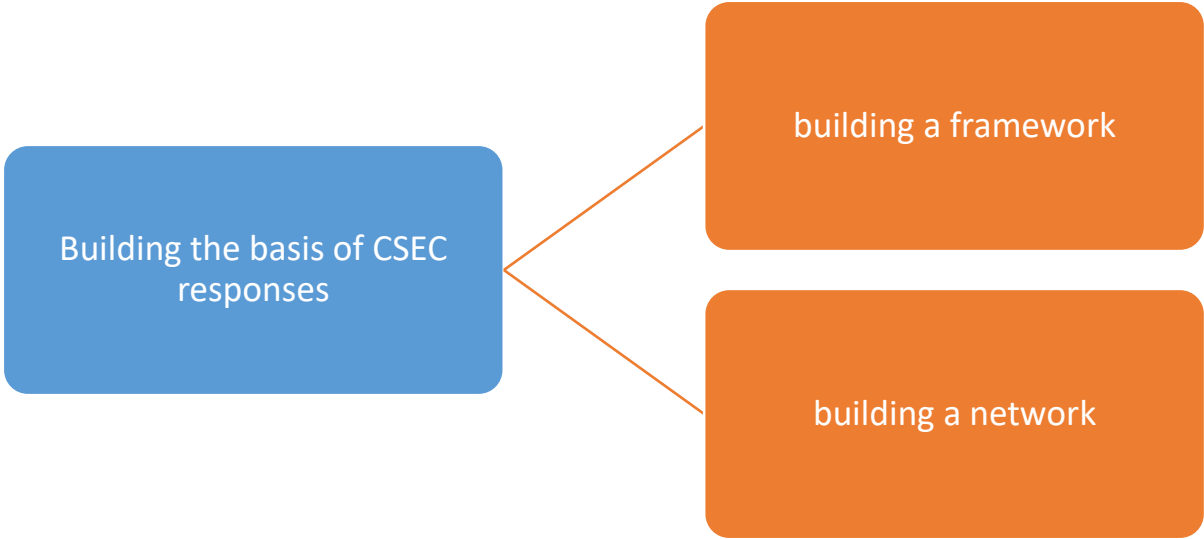
The first element, **building a framework**, points out the need for regulations, resources, and strategies that support CSEC responses. Regarding *regulations,* this discourse promotes an alignment in the policy and legal frameworks between international and domestic instruments. Since Chile signed the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1990) and the associated protocols, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) has been the main orientation in the changes to childhood laws, childhood social policies, and the agencies related to childhood. Smith (2010) highlights the CRC international-domestic relationship when establishing the link among the rights of the parents or carers and their wellbeing, the rights of the child and its survival, and the progress/development of the State. Furthermore, she identifies the governing principles of the CRC, such as non-discrimination, the best interest of the child, participation in the child's decisions that affect him or her, provision of a safe environment and basic needs, and protecting the child from harm.

States, NGO's, and civil society are called to embrace these principles in order to transform it into domestic strategies, policies, and laws (Lundy and Byrne: 2017). The

next quotation illustrates the effects of the CRC in the development of programmes and laws:

"And, it additionally compels "fostering the necessary assistance for children and whoever cares for them", as well as "prevention measures and the identification, treatment and subsequent observations of the cases "(Art. 19 Convention of the Rights of the Child)"
(Document: 2008 derechos-nino.pdf, Position: 26484-26710)

"The non-compliance by the State with its obligation to have a directive that articulates the public policy related to child protection is of special concern, that is, a comprehensive law for the protection of rights".
(Document: 2014 Capítulo-10-Informe-DDHH-páginas-417-446 (1).pdf, Position: 42535-42782)

Lathrop (2013) explains the impact of the CRC in different contexts considering the state's role in the initiative to develop laws and social policies. Furthermore, the role of NGOs and civil society is highlighted regarding accountability and lobbying, and also, in the context of expanding processes of outsourcing the childhood social policies, such as in the case of Chile, in which 95.7% of the programmes are developed by private organisations (Maldonado: 2014).

Concerning *resources,* there is a clear aim to improve the budget in this area, and also, to consider a child-centred budget based on human rights. As a context, the 2017 budget of the Justice Minister corresponds to 2.48% of the National Budget. SENAME (National Service of Child Wellbeing) has assigned 24.79% of the Justice Minister's budget (0.61% of the National budget). In the area of the promotion and restitution of rights, 46.68% of the SENAME budget (12.07% of the Minister's budget and 0.61% of the National budget) will be allocated (Direccion de Presupuestos: 2017). This will provide services that consider the level of protection and the level of seriousness of their situations for 217,291 children and young people in 1473 programmes.

SENAME (2016) reports that it provided 909 places for children and young people in 2016, and that there are 17 CSEC programmes across 10 regions. Accordingly, the budget for CSEC programme corresponds to 1.88% for the promotion and restitution

of rights and the 0.88% of the SENAME budget. The following quotation highlights the importance of having the necessary resources to implement these initiatives:

"The Committee recommends for the Party State to continue focusing on projects related to the root causes of the issue (particularly through the allocation of financial resources) such as poverty, underdevelopment and cultural attitudes contributing to the vulnerability of children, trafficking, prostitution, pornography and sexual tourisms, especially at a national level. The Committee also recommends for vulnerable groups to participate in the general prevention efforts, particularly family-strengthening measures".
(Document: observaciones_finales_pf_crc 2008.pdf, Position: 12609-13217)

In order to build a framework, two *strategies* support the CSEC responses, namely: raise awareness by doing campaigns must be used to make the phenomenon of CSEC visible in the public sphere, and there must be training to reinforce the knowledge and skills of the stakeholders. Campaigns must consider a strategy for changing the attitudes and social perceptions of people, with regard to sustained violence against children (UNICEF: 2015). This action considers using mass media, under the notion of public awareness campaigns, to inform the general population and to dissuade possible exploiters (Kemshall and Moulden: 2017).

In the case of Chile, the second framework to the action against CSEC is defined as the strategic objective of preventing the development of educational campaigns, sensitisation activities, and the continuity of a specific national campaign named "No excuses" (Ministerio de Justicia: 2012). Since 2006, OIL and NGO Raices, including a set of open-access materials and collaborative activities between stakeholders, developed this campaign. The main ideas were to identify arguments that support the practices of CSEC and to deconstruct these arguments; thus, changing the perception and attitudes of society.

This campaign is developed every year in the context of the national day against CSEC (May 18th), and probably it is the most stable partnership (and the only one) in the area of prevention and sensitisation:

"Provide information about CSEC, considering that it's a complex and interwoven phenomenon, raise awareness towards an approach that covers human rights, and provide basic detection and prevention tools means to foster an attitude change. These processes are

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slow and require constant efforts, considering macro and micro levels in permanent communication. In this regard, the actions implemented as of now seem isolated and discontinued. There is no general dissemination and awareness strategy from a leading institution".

(Document: informe de seguimiento 2009.pdf, Position: 70051-70705)

Alternatives have been arising in the area of sensitisation and campaigns; for example, the use of art with children. Art has been incorporated in different intervention strategies (Carrillo and Martinez: 2007; Retuerto: 2009); in particular, art in CSEC is well documented (Cody: 2015), and it is considered in the services provided by the state and stakeholders:

"Another modality of children's participation that has proven to give good results is the itinerant puppet shows. This instance considers workshops by which children make their own puppet, build the stage, create and develop scripts and make group presentations of plays with allusions to CSEC with references to their peer groups (other girls, boys or adolescents) and the high and serious violation of rights that such an issue represents for their own interests".

(Document: decimo informe explotacion sexual de ninos ninas adolescentes e internet inn.pdf,
Position: 147284-147841)

Complementary to this, the second strategy is training. Different agencies encourage their staff to actualise the knowledge and skills related to the advances, research, and characteristics of CSEC. Training implies different inter-agencies involved, such as the voluntary and statutory sector (Konstantopoulos et al. 2013; Minister for Health and Social Services and Public Safety, 2014), and different themes, such as a protective system, trauma, and attachment IPC training course (McMahon-Howard and Reimers, 2013; Scott, 2016; Bourke et al., 2016):

"SENAME conducts a series of studies and seminars to educate and train officials and operators specialised in people trafficking, the worst forms of child labour, safe internet and the right to victim's reparation. In 2003, an agreement was signed with the IOM to support the design and implementation of a plan for the assistance of children victims of commercial sexual exploitation, including trafficking with sexual exploitation purposes".

(Document: IX_Informe_ESCNNA_IIDN.pdf, Position: 122854-1233920

The second element, **building a network**, identifies stakeholders and describes actions and interactions between them in order to fulfil specific tasks regarding the purposes of the network. In this case, *the notion of network* refers to the idea of partnership and collaboration at a regional and global level, considering statutory services, governments, NGOs, and international agencies (ECPAT: 2009). This notion is also named a multi-stakeholder partnership, which highlights the need for geographical and institutional diversity to build agreements and actions (Lynch: 2016).

The International Civil Society Centre (ICSC) describe this partnership as "institutionalised transboundary interactions between public and private actors, which aim at the provision of collective goods" (2014:6). In the case of Chile, alternative documents suggest two paths in the management of this kind of partnership. The first one is the vertical relationship, in which an entity, based on its attributes and position, can coordinate the tension and challenge of the partnership (Busco et al.: 2008). The second one is stakeholder management, in which participation, decision-making, and management of tension, conflicts, and influences is shared between the global partners, and the connections are some purposes and activities (Gronwald: 2017). The following quotes represent, first, the expectation of leadership based on the attribute in the coordination of partnership (vertical relationship):

"It is necessary to have an organisation with a global approach towards the different initiatives watching over their coordination, coherence, complementarity and fair application".
(Document: Informe alternativo 2007.pdf, Position: 63355-63538)

In the second example, diverse organisations (local, global, public, and voluntary sectors) designed a strategy for a multi-stakeholder partnership to make visible the phenomenon of trafficking and develop the necessary lobby in the parliament to establish a law, which finally happened in 2011. This practice of sharing responsibilities and leadership illustrates the notion of stakeholder management mentioned before. Furthermore, *it illustrates a variety of actions* that can involve

partnership. As an example, the Law 20507 (Trafficking) considered researching the phenomenon of trafficking (ECPAT: 2014; OIM: 2006, 2008; ONG Raices: 2007), sensitisation (ONG Raices: 2016, 2006, 2004), and creating a specific trafficking board (Decreto Exento N° 2821: 2008). In addition, a national plan against trafficking was developed (Ministerio del Interior y Seguridad Publica: 2015), as well as a lobby into the Congress to discuss and approve trafficking laws (BCN: 2011). Furthermore, guidelines for good practices in the prosecution and protection of victims of trafficking were elaborated (Ministerio del Interior y Seguridad Publica: 2014, 2016). This variety of measures illustrates the characteristics of a horizontal partnership that is task-oriented:

"Representatives of the civil society (NGO Raíces), the International Organization for Migration (IOM), Ministry of Justice, law enforcement agencies, SENAME, Home Office, through the Department of Foreign Affairs and Migration, the Public Prosecutor Office, enhanced the Project with their contributions. Their active participation in the discussions part of the Congress was key to get the approval of the Bill in the House of Representatives".
(Document: informe de seguimiento 2009.pdf, Position: 89950-90439)

6.7 Conclusion discourse and cluster Recommendations

The discourse 'building the basis of CSEC responses' pointed out recommendations in the condition to build a response. In order to build a framework, these discourses identified UN CRC as regulation, the role of the state and NGOs in implementing that.

Then, it reflected on the resources needed and raising awareness and training as strategies to develop an appropriate scenario to response CSEC. Regarding building a network, this discourse highlighted the interactions (partnership and multiagency) and collaborative actions that can be developed to create and sustain the networks.

6.8 Conclusion Alternative documents discourses

The five alternative documents discourses were organised in an axis that classified characteristics and purposes in the intervention regarding understanding, recognition, actions and basis. The cluster monitoring and evaluation stated the elements that illustrated the complexity of CSEC regarding factor and dimension. Once the consequences of CSEC were understood, the need for a response emerged. Responses considered identifying a subject of intervention an approach and purposes. The cluster challenge highlighted the continuous need to make visible CSEC clarifying categories and typologies based on empirical knowledge. Additionally, identified tensions and challenges in the development of the intervention related to procedures, resources, reflexivity and tension among purposes, protection, recovery and criminal prosecution. The cluster recommendation identifies two conditions to develop responses to CSCE. First, to build a framework based on regulations, agent roles, and strategies to facilitate a scenario of this responses. Second, to build a network that illustrated interactions and collaborative actions.

To finish this section, the next chapter will present the last findings, Mixed Stakholders Group discourses.

CHAPTER SEVEN: FINDINGS, MIXED STAKEHOLDER GROUP DISCOURSES

7.1 Presentation

In order to present the results of the analysis of the mixed stakeholder group, I have diagrammatically represented the discourses along two axes. The horizontal axis shows two styles of discourses: 'Critical Points' and 'Challenges'. The vertical axis indicates the emphasis of the contents to which each discourse refers: 'The system of protection and the network of services' and 'The relationship among agents, CSEC and actions'. The interaction of the two axes resulted in clusters in terms of which the discourses are described.

Critical Points sets out statements that result from a process of identification of problems, deficiencies, tensions or contradictions. These areas result from the evaluation of the current situation in comparison to a standard. This standard can be based on international experiences, good practice, or theory. I identified two modalities in this type of discourse: '**Insufficient structural responses to CSEC' and 'Inability of the intervention to align the different elements of CSEC'**.

Challenges identify weaknesses but offer solutions or means for improvement in a specific area. There is generally a 'someone' (an institution, children and young people that have been in CSEC, or the phenomenon of CSEC) who is challenging 'others' (institutions, professional teams, networks or services). Behind a challenge is the expectation of a change. I identified two modalities in this type of discourse: '**Adjustment of systems and services providing general child protection to CSEC services' and 'Reflection and innovation in relation to new scenarios of CSEC interventions/.**

Meanwhile, the axis **The system of protection and the network of services** refers to the structural elements that support and produce a framework for the intervention.

The relationship among agents, CSEC and actions highlights the interactions, practices and conditions that the intervention requires to be delivered.

The following diagram represents this analysis:

Figure 26: Mixed Stakeholder group discourses
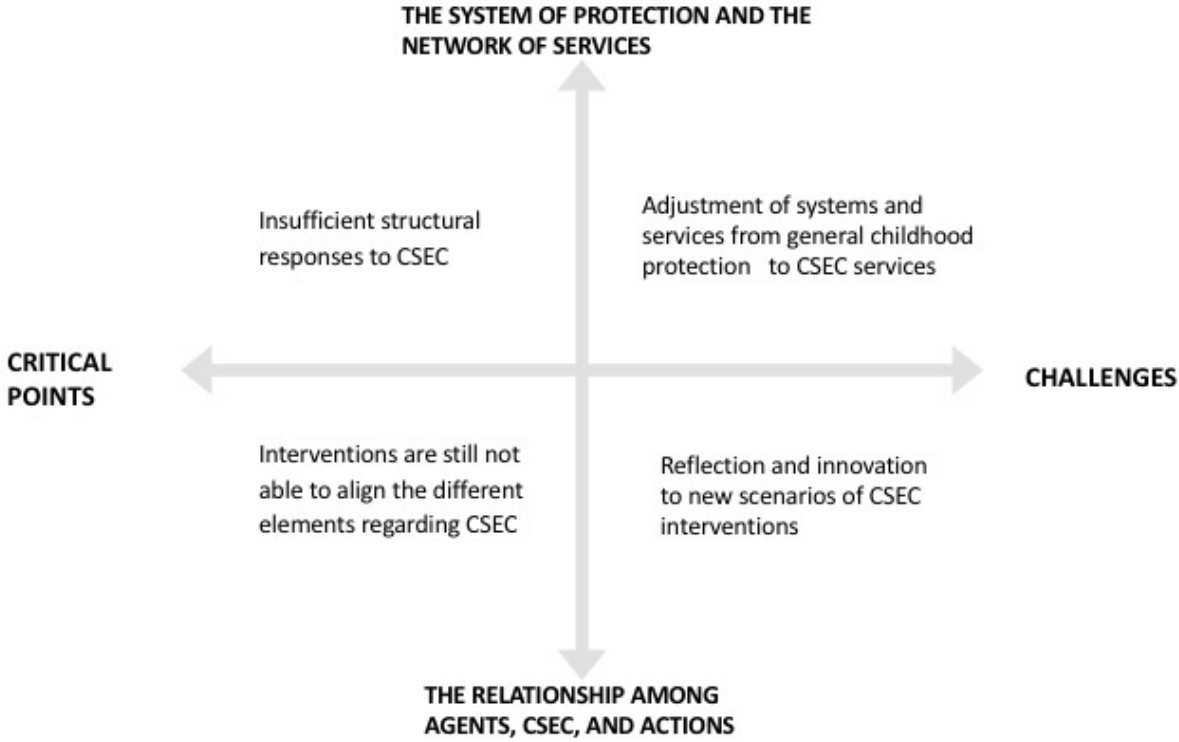
Having introduced these four categories, I will discuss each one in turn.

7.2 Cluster Critical Points about the System of protection and the network of services

Figure 27: Cluster Critical point- the System of protection and the network of services
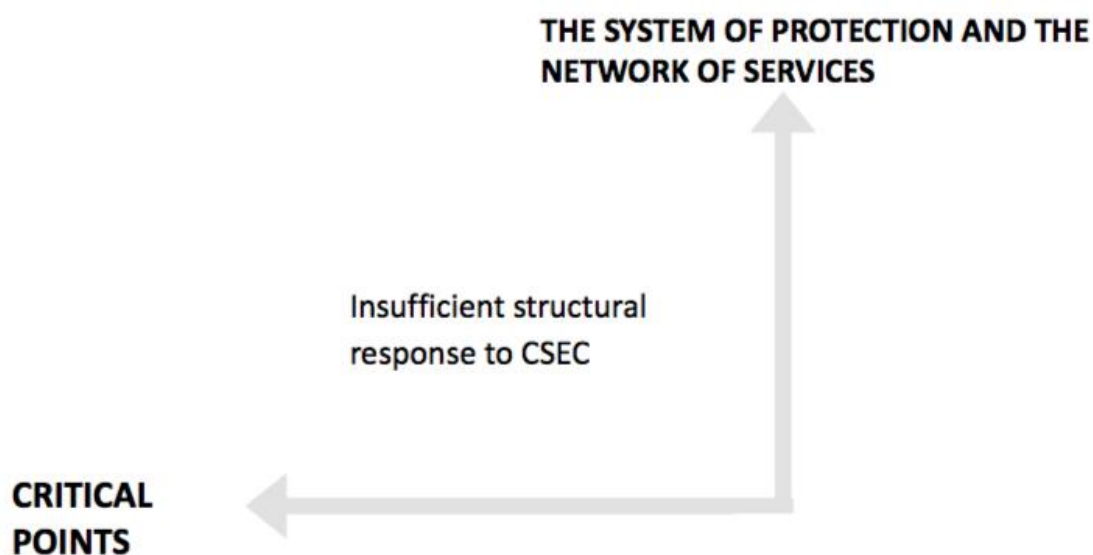
7.2.1 'Insufficient structural responses to CSEC'

The Mixed Stakeholder group sets out criticisms of the ways in which CSEC has been responded to. Even though CSEC has been firmly on the public agenda for the last ten years, the mixed stakeholders group considers that there is an 'insufficient structural response to CSEC'. On a macro level, there is an evaluation that suggests there is a gap between the efforts and advances developed in the last years and the appropriate responses required to prevent CSEC and support children and young people that have been in CSEC. The standards of appropriate responses are based on the reflections by stakeholders on international experiences, some national or local good practices, and the standards suggested by the UN Convention on the rights of the child and other related protocols. This critical evaluation considers the role of the state in protecting children, the public recognition of CSEC, the characteristics of the social policies in response to CSEC, and deficiencies of the legal and judicial system

involved in CSEC. The following diagram represents the main elements in this discourse:

Figure 28: Discourse 'Insufficient structural responses to CSEC'

- the role of the state
- the public recognition of CSEC
- the characteristics of the social policies in response to CSEC.
- deficiencies of the legal and judicial system involved in CSEC.

(Insufficient structural responses to CSEC)
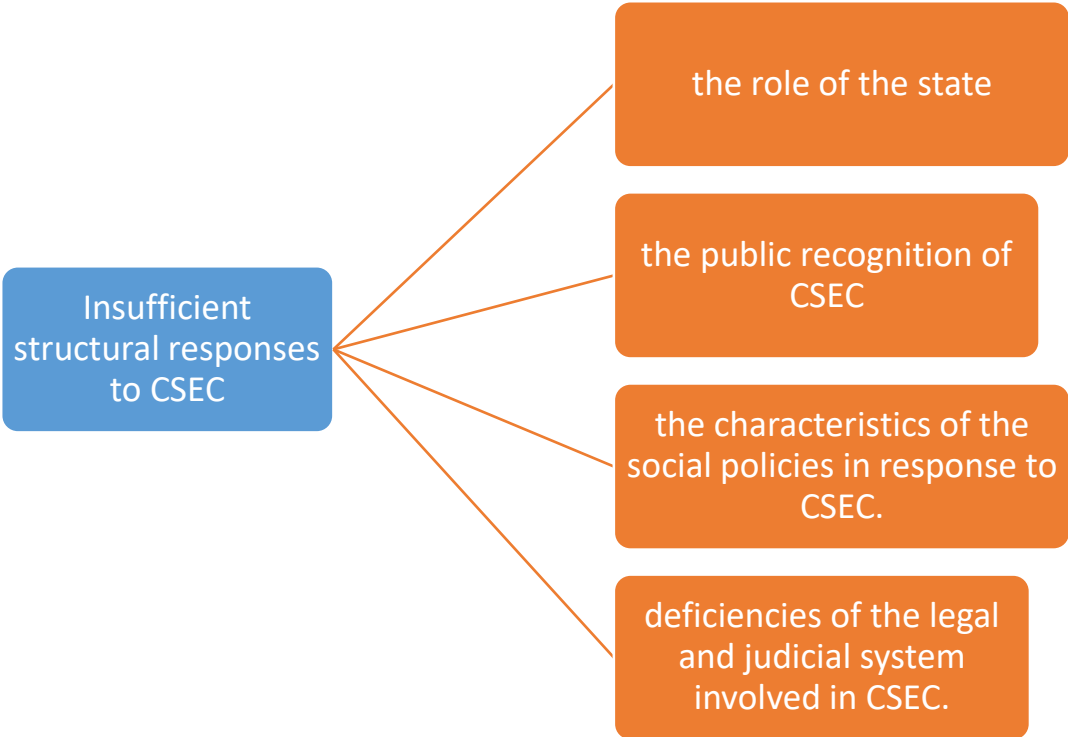
The Mixed stakeholder group recognises **the role of the state** in protecting children due to the inability of children to protect themselves. This role is executed through state powers and social policies. There is a paradoxical understanding of the idea of child protection by the state. On the one hand, the state would play a subsidiary role because in the private sphere 'families or communities cannot do it', consequently "the state has to interfere". This vision is not related to historical evidence in which families and communities were not able to protect children because protection was not the main experience in adolescent children (DeMause: 1998, 2002, 2010). Furthermore, the idea of "interfere" has connotations of a colonial period, republican, national or popular state, in which the authority, then the state, 'corrects' and promotes the care and control of children. (Salazar: 1989, Ramirez: 2004,

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Montecinos: 2007, Garreton: 2004). This vision corresponds to the notion of the 'minor':

"I think it's like (1) pure human ecology, because of the (.) the lack of the protection (.) a worse social damage, why protect childhood (.) because you could also say (.) Are we so bad that we're incapable of looking after children so the State has to interfere and protect them?"

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 91383-91717)

On the other hand, there is criticism of the way in which the state intervenes in child protection and particularly in CSEC. Even though Chile signed up to international conventions, including the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, there is criticism regarding the role of the state and its conduct in the child care system (UDP: 2008, 2009, 2014, 2016).

The criticism is that the state is going "as far as possible". This addresses the way in which society takes care of childhood and the standard of this care going "as far as possible". This phrase is an emblematic expression used by the first democratic goverment after dictatorship regarding the possibility of justice in crimes against human rights. The phrase expresses an intention and the attempts to look for justice in this context. At that time, the dictator was still chief commander of the army. Therefore, "as far as possible" meant doing something (justice) without risking the stability of the democracy.

The transference of this expression to this context is indicative of the limited possibilities to intervene in CSEC due to the limitation of resources (Avagliano: 2009) or the capacity of the state to deliver services and programmes for children and young people that have been in CSEC. Indirectly mixed stakeholder group can consider the possibilities of justice for them regarding prosecution and also concerning social justice (recovery and social integration):

"As far as possible, I'd say that (.) it seems to be the result of some sort of strong tension (.) related to how the State approaches (.)…. childhood and youth".

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 51795-52002)

"I think that there is a gross inconsistency (.) I don't feel the future looks prosperous (.) if such inconsistency isn't really understood in terms of how the State of Chile, the citizens, responds to the issue of exploitation (i). It may only be based on abuse-related programs, or exploitation, and what the SENAME can do about the management of the technical capabilities, or even the financial management of the resources".

<div align="right">(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 55103-55653)</div>

Implicitly in this criticism, there is a vision in which the State plays a leadership role in the conduct of initiatives in CSEC more aligned with the notion of human rights of children, but including the civil society through use of the word "citizens".

Consequently, through the role of the state, there is **a public recognition of CSEC**. The mixed stakeholder group identifies a 'jump' in terms of increasing the public recognition of CSEC as a phenomenon but also as a social problem. This jump implies advances in terms of the discussion of CSEC as violence against children rather than a criminal activity in the instance of children. The idea of child prostitution was a common understanding of CSEC (Montecinos: 1999) and started to change as a result of the influence of world congresses against CSEC (1996, 2001, 2009), the national plan against CSEC (1999, 2012), and the development of specialised programmes in child sexual violence (from 1996). A public scandal in 2003-2004, the 'Spiniak Case' played a role in recognising CSEC on a mass media scale. Coincidently, in 2004 the first specialised programmes in CSEC started across the country. These programmes helped to make CSEC visible in networks and other services regarding childhood. Furthermore, 'recognition' for stakeholders raises the possibility to discuss and reflect about CSEC:

"It's a public phenomenon and we can stay here asking ourselves questions and going over what at some point we thought to be an intervention option".

<div align="right">(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 50490-50683)</div>

"Why haven't you met in such a venue to reflect upon it? Haven't you wondered what am I going to understand as exploitation? What if he doesn't give him money but his sister instead; is that exploitation? I mean, it hasn't had that job (.) of thinking about

that distinction::: of the phenomena (.), which in turn, as you were saying, changes,
right? New things come up.

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 58112-58487)

However, at the same time as this 'jump' regarding recognition, the Mixed Stakeholders group identified a stagnation in these preliminary advances concerning a simplification of the understanding of the phenomenon disconnected from the associated factors (such as social, cultural, economic, individual). This kind of simplification of the recognition can be related to stereotypical views of CSEC based on the notion of moral panic as a response to it (Cree et al.: 2014):

"Also, we're:: light years away from making visible a phenomenon (CSEC) that is(.) narrowed down,(.) more specified"

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 50328-50481)

"If I reflect about what I think exploitation entails today, even if I try to disregard the impression I have, I have to say it anyway. I just don't agree we've made progress. I think it was, as I graph it like that, it was a tremendous leap when the CSEC started (.) in contrast that it happened with child abuse, and then it was like we stopped."

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 54556-54800)

The Mixed Stakeholder group highlights **the characteristics of the social policies in response to CSEC.** These responses are focused on the specialised programmes that provide services for children and young people that have been in CSEC. These responses are not necessarily adequate for the demands and requirements of them and the complexity of CSEC.

According to specialised literature, CSEC requires a multi-agency response (Staffordshire County Council: 2016; Greater London Authority: 2015; Scott and Harper: 2006); complex interventions (La Valle et al.: 2016; Hardy et al.:2013; D'arcy et al. 2015); and complementary programmes in health (Greenbaum et al.:2015; Cooper: 2015), and accommodation (Smeaton: 2016; Shuker: 2015). The main criticism made by mixed stakeholder group of social policies is that they are fragmented, separating different modalities of sexual violence and levels of

complexity, and whether the emphasis is on individual, family or community approach. As a consequence, the intervention becomes fragmented as well:

"Fragmentation:: leads to that. It's impossible not to do this that we're going to fragmentise(.) considering the existing public policy. Then, if that is subject to fragmentation:: it leads to fragmenting in the intervention models….. Whether we determine something to be exploitation or abuse. I shouldn't' do that. What shouldn't we do? It's treating children like objects".

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 79242-79683)

According to the annual report of the Chilean Child Wellbeing Service (SENAME: 2016), there are some attempts at partnerships and inter-agency work, however, it is evaluated as premature and with insufficient effort. This evaluation of fragmented social policies is against the principle of integrity that is profusely mentioned in the policies regarding CSEC (SENAME:2014):

"Where is integration? As raised by 'B' about this community integration by which we are inserted into this reality and view these phenomena as part of a childhood that is being abused by society(.) . This responds to an economic model that leads to individuality and in turn to objectification(.). We can't think that this is not going to be reflected in our personal relationships, social relationships and how we set up our own society".

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 79753-80312)

The last element highlighted by the Mixed Stakeholder group is **the deficiencies in legal and judicial systems**. Even though changes in the domestic legislation started in the 1990s in order to incorporate different sexual crimes into the definition of CSEC, there is a slow integration of these changes and also some of the characteristics of CSEC were difficult to incorporate into the legislation. While legislation clearly identifies the principles and legally protected interest such as sexual indemnity, sexual freedom, and sexual self-determination (Marchant: 2005), specific laws regarding CSEC create tensions related to the age of consent (Torche and Crettier: 2007; Smith: 2010), the characteristics of the offence (Shelton et al.: 2016) and the protective strategies in the prosecution process (Green and Tomkins: 2017). All of these elements are evaluated by mixed stakeholder group as a deficiency in the law:

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"If:: you read(.) the Criminal Code that penalizes these acts (.) that attack things recognised by the law and which society is trying to protect or defend(.) , you see that commercial sexual exploitation of children is not specifically covered (1). You have to assemble something mixing certain regulations; there isn't a specific one (1). This is the first weakness you detect when:: the law doesn't recognise this issue in one law. It may not be understood by those who have to hear the cases and punish them."
<div align="right">(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 12114-12725)</div>

Consequently, the last part of the quotation highlights the consequences in the understanding of the phenomenon by judicial agents. Implicitly, it is suggested that understanding, in this case, is the ability to translate from the psychosocial understanding of the legal rationale and directed to the judicial procedures. Therefore, the main deficiency is identified in the process of mediation between the protection, legal and judicial systems. The next example discusses the problem of the age of consent and illustrates the point of mediation:

"The phenomenon or the victim has been normalised :: by its family group::, its environment:: (.) and it refers to a boy or a girl who(.), before the age of fourteen, has been part of this circle and after he/she turns fifteen he/she part in this exploitation system(.). Sometimes it's difficult (.) for legal operators of the system to understand this phenomenon because they tend to differentiate between fourteen years old and older".
<div align="right">(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 13588-14009)</div>

These problems in the mediation between systems have been described in different reports about justice and human rights (Supreme Court: 2012; UDP: 2014), and it is endorsed by data about the lack of criminal prosecution and convictions in cases of CSEC, an issue largely analysed in previous sections.

In summary, the Mixed Stakeholder group concludes that there is an insufficient structural response to CSEC. First, this implies that responses are identified and based on evaluations that are insufficient to the volume and complexity of CSEC. Second, there is criticism of structural critical aspects relating to the paradoxical role of the state between its presence and absence (Le Breton: 2012), the relevance of public

awareness of CSEC and the advances and tensions, a fragmented and specialised social policy, and a deficient legal and judicial system.

7.3 Cluster Critical Points the Relationship among agents, CSEC and actions

Figure 29: Cluster Critical point - the Relationship among agents, CSEC, and actions

CRITICAL POINTS

inability of the intervention to align the different elements of CSEC

THE RELATIONSHIP AMONG AGENTS, CSEC, AND ACTIONS
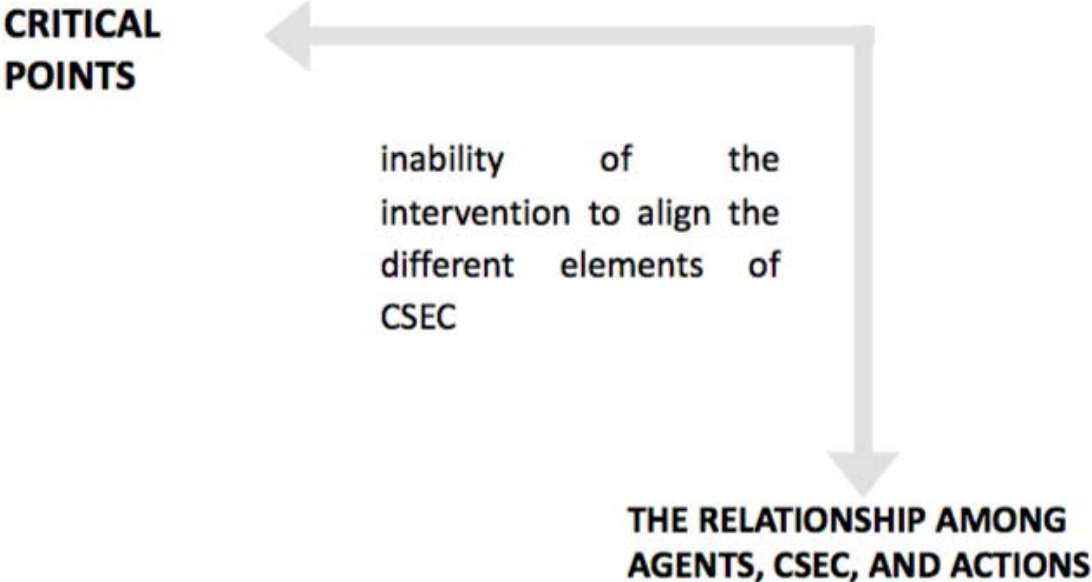
7.3.1 'Inability of the intervention to align the different elements of CSEC'

The Mixed stakeholder group identifies deficits in the way in which CSEC interventions are conducted and delivered. They consider that 'interventions are still not able to align the different elements of CSEC'. In the Chilean context, interventions are based on specialised programmes that provide and coordinate services for children and young people that have been in CSEC. The main aims are stopping the CSEC practices, developing recovery processes and promoting social integration. Preventative actions are rare, and they are more related to raising awareness and sensitisation. The critical evaluation considers gaps between CSEC and its understanding, gaps in the relationship with children and young people that have been in CSEC, and intervention framework tensions. The following diagram represents the main elements in this discourse:

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Figure 30: Discourse 'Inability of the intervention to align the different elements of CSEC'
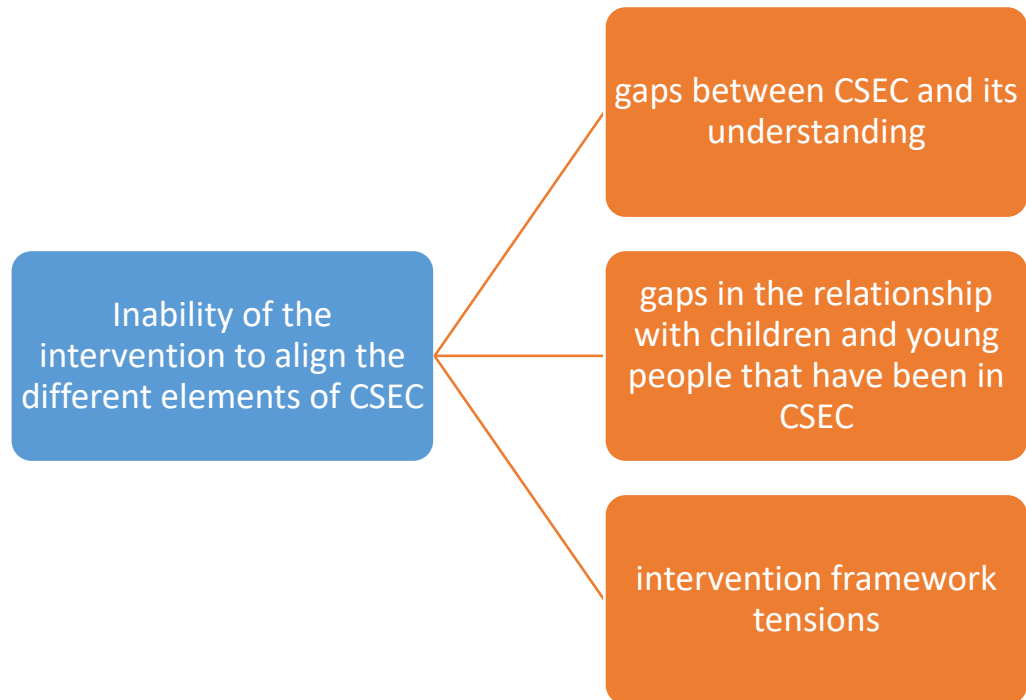
The mixed stakeholder group identifies **gaps between CSEC and its understanding**. One of the gaps is related to the CSEC phenomenon mutating faster than the understandings and responses to CSEC. This mutation is of varying degrees of complexity about the understanding of CSEC (Mardones: 2011; Dilacio: 2011;) and the CSEC intervention (Schlarmann et al.: 2011; Greenbaum et al.:2015).

The speed of change could refer to the subjective experience of time, in which the mixed stakeholder group has perceived the emergence of CSEC characteristics. Lipovetsky and Charles (2006) illustrates hypermodernity as a period in which the temporalities are heterogeneous and accelerated. The acceleration of daily life changes the perception of timing (everything feels faster) and amends the notion of 'urgent' and 'inessential'. Complementary to this, De la Aldea (2003) identifies the expansion of the idea of urgency and mutation as part of the "heroic subjectivity" of practitioners and policymakers involved in situations of violence. These elements would be a reason for the gap between CSEC changes, named as mutations, and the CSEC responses:

"When it comes to sexual violence, I think that it's a significant mutation. I, close to violence, I've been close to it since …… boys and girls who are victims of sexual abuse, mainly intra-family sexual abuse and I think that many of those boys and girls …… then moved to other, more complex, programs".

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 50745-51084)

The last part of the quotation refers to the idea of a kind of evolution of the violence that is represented through being part of another more complex program. Considering that, different programmes cover different phenomena, for instance, CSA, CSEC, Child Sexual Harmful Behaviours (CSHB) are covered by different specialised centres. In this kind of organisation, the perception is that if there are children referred from one program to another, they are automatically in the worst situation. This mechanism of being referred to a CSEC program is the most difficult. In this way, the notion of a continuum of violence and a matrix of violence is hidden. The lack of local knowledge of CSEC is another element that can contribute to this sense of a gap between mutations and the understanding of it. Even though advances have been made in this area in the last ten years (OIT-SENAME: 2004; SENAME-Universidad Católica de Valparaíso: 2007; Retuerto & Araya: 2012) there are strong recommendations to produce knowledge to understand CSEC in its new presentations (Ecpat: 2009). The mixed stakeholder group critically highlights the existence of "foreign solutions" and the absence of sustainable knowledge of CSEC. The consequences for the centres are that they are forced to 'work blind', meaning using professional intuition and managing the incoherence without a clear understanding of CSEC:

"When we started there was no research (.); there was an attempt at research, very concrete, but there hasn't been another like that one since then (.). It's like if we're blind (.). and the only clues we have are these local links (.)".

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 61336-61847)

The Mixed Stakeholder group points out **gaps in the relationship with children and young people that have been in CSEC.** One critical element is the view of children and young people that have been in CSEC as "victims". On the one hand, victimisation is related to a historical path of violence and abuse. On the other hand, the CSEC practices configure a series of different levels of violence and victimisation (poly-victimisation). Interventions have to develop a deep understanding of the children's experiences and rapidly detect and identify CSEC characteristics (Greater London Authority: 2015; Greenbaum: 2014; Raferty: 2016). These processes generate the impression that the same children circulate through the services increasing the seriousness of the violence and becoming a kind of chronic victim:

"I'm going to take advantage of the anonymity (.) when you receive (.) and check the children's background (.) they go into the exploitation project as you were saying. (.) You check (.) a development (.) an on-going increase of situations of rights' violations to which they have been exposed to (.) Thousands of projects that intervened not only residential spaces, but specialized ones (.) preventive projects, repair projects and they have a subject (.) with an extremely highly complex background (.) Eight psychologists saw him (.) Ten social workers".
<div align="right">(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 61906-62527)</div>

"No, because it isn't reality. He said that you see the same people in different projects and it turns out that they're always the same. I mean, if I thought someone was ok before, why should I see him again on this other issue".
<div align="right">(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 86815-87094)</div>

This understanding of children and young people circulating in the childcare system is building the idea of "SENAME's children". In the public sphere, to become "SENAME's children" could mean in the case of the juvenile system following a criminal path or delinquency career. In the protection system, it could mean that they are captured in a loop of protection/ vulnerability that has its highest point in CSEC programmes. In a cultural sphere, "SENAME's children" is a historical reference to the 'minors': poor children that are objects of care of institutions and control by the state.

Another critical element highlighted is the notion of marginalised children. Children and young people that have been in CSEC tend to be isolated or be expulsed from the social systems. Even though they are generally with their families in 70% of cases (OIT-SENAME: 2004, SENAME-Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso: 2007), families tend to expel them or generate conflictual relationships, and their social support networks deteriorate. The following example shows the mixed stakeholder group's view on the idea of isolation and expulsion:

"or directly no. The child is alone::. You can't keep them in the home, it has been shut down or they have to transfer them elsewhere and thus we remove all their support networks all their bonds and then we (.) became (1) their:: abusers too."

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 44697-44968)

Isolation and stigmatisation are characteristics of being in CSEC that can be identified and analysed because the children are in the 'system': they were identified and registered in some of the programmes of child protection. However, if 5% of 11-17 year-old children had ever experienced contact abuse and 10% have disclosed to someone and 7% report to the police (HM UK Government: 2017), a large proportion of children and young people that have been in CSEC have never disclosed it or received any support. According to the mixed stakeholder group, this group is the real marginalised group:

"However, I want to say just one thing. When I talk about what concerns me the most…sorry….I've got started (laughs)M: ok, after the P. what I'd like to tell you is that what……the most, it's to see kids back in the system again. I think that the major exploitation cases are those that never get to the system but… I mean … well….. you can immediately…..everything I ready. It's out. I think that case is the real exploitation case. The same goes for sexual abuse."

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 64930-6551)

The last element highlighted by the mixed stakeholder group is **intervention framework tensions**. Regarding the intervention framework, there is tension between the aims and goals achieved and the potential aims and goals. The technical

guidelines for CSEC programmes (SENAME: 2014) establish as aims stopping the CSEC practices, recovery from traumatic experiences, promotion of protection with significant adults and social integration at a local level. The goals are more specific: 70% of children to finish the recovery process in accordance with the aims; 65% of children to stop practices; 100% children without responsible adults to be in foster care or residential programmes; 50% of children to have a protector adult; and 100% of children to be referred to a local network in accordance with their needs.

The first opinion is that the goals are achieved, mainly those related to protection, in the shape of stopping the CSEC practices. This is considered a condition for the following levels in the process of recovery and reintegration. This idea comes from the guidelines of the child sexual abuse (SENAME: 1998, 2002, 2012, 2015) and developed by Barudy (1998, 2001) and Guerra et al. (2016). They point out the risk of emotional distress by trying to elaborate an experience (in this case sexual abuse) meanwhile it happens. Even though there is some questioning about these lineal ideas in CSEC (Arredondo and Toro: 2007), this is a persistence in the intervention programmes:

"In general, if you see the projects that work with us, the main progress they make is to interrupt the exploitation".

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 39280-39448)

Complementary to this, there are two ideas about the success of the programmes on CSEC. On the one hand, programmes achieve the goals, and professional teams delivered the interventions such as were planned. In general, there is a perception that the programmes are successful in doing that. This perception contrasts with evaluation of CSEC programmes at a national level that indicates the goal is for 60% of children to have concluded the intervention based on their individual plans, but in fact just 47% achieve that (SENAME: 2017). On the other hand, there is a criticism of the rationale and design of the aims and goals, in which even in the best conditions of interagency partnership, those goals will not be achieved:

"Goals are generally met. I've never seen any project that doesn't meet its goals. All goals are met as you well put it. Projects work, teams work, goals and objectives are met".

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 85446-85716)

"If we lived in an ideal situation(.): with appropriate laws(.), a health service that actually responded to our requirements:: and law enforcement bodies with all kind of prosecution mechanisms….. I wonder if, as a project, we'd have the capacity to actually implement intervention methodologies(.) and strategies that met the objectives established for us….and I think the answer is no".

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 93732-94235)

A variant of the previous reflection is questioning the accuracy of the mechanisms and instruments of evaluation. As was mentioned, the CSEC national evaluation programmes consider the coverage of the programmes, the goals based on the individual plan and the non-re-entry to the programmes in two years after finishing the intervention. The critical point highlighted is the relationship between the explicit aims and real achievement and changes in children's lives:

"Then you say(.) they even assess the level of compliance(.) And it's 100% (1) then I wonder(.)what objectives we are talking about. Is it that maybe these projects are built and thought to meet project objectives rather than worrying about the subject that is under intervention? I comply with these objectives because sometimes you can be very strict and say, "how could you take out of the program the child with 100% accomplishment?!!" Look, now I put him in the exploitation project and before he was in the program to repair the abuse (1) What did you accomplish (.)you couldn't prevent this crescendo of his vulnerability he has experienced."

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 93732-94235)

Following this criticism, programmes are questioned about their difficulties in raising awareness about CSEC, and the real possibilities to change the material conditions of the children and young people that have been in CSEC. In some ways it is suggested that there is a tension between the specific importance of the therapeutic goal and social integration goals and the relationship between both in the post-exploitation experiences (Palmer and Foley: 2017):

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"I don't know about any project (.) focused on raising awareness in society".
(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position:87499-87591)

"I think that this strategy(.)based on your own words (.)So that it's (laughs) ( ) what it does is to manage (.) misery, we're poverty managers".
(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position:83578-83789)

Furthermore, there are potential aims and goals, described as 'implicit aims and goals' that are developed in the intervention and play a relevant role in the subjectivity of the practitioners (Morales: 2003). For instance, trying to make social changes and cultural transitions. This aim identifies the cultural basis of the CSEC and aspires at the same time to achieve micro and macro changes:

"How can we convince people, whoever needs to be convinced, to do things differently or to complement this intervention strategy so (.) that the sexual exploitation can make visible, which I think has been met, moves to a phase (.) of :: cultural transformation?"
(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position:18458—18755)

Another issue is about institutional spaces and support to reflect and share practices that can be considered 'good practices'. Reflexivity is an integral process of becoming aware of the reality, knowing about the reality and responding to this reality (D'Cruz et al.: 2007). The mixed stakeholder group states that there are difficulties in developing good practices and discussing the role of academia in it, and at the same time, there is an aspiration to develop a reflective intervention based on the fieldwork:

"Because we lack enough training, we haven't really reflected about the practice"
(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position:95099-95300)

"I rather think about reflective social intervention and from that point of view it's hard for me to assume this idea about reflection belonging to academia and intervention elsewhere".
(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 96063-96255)

When there are identified 'good practices', the idea is to analyse the potential transferability of these practices to other scenarios, in this case to other programmes and territories. It implies strategies of systematisation that can identify processes and learnings Susaj and Joves (2014), and meetings to communicate this reflection. In the case of CSEC, observatories and national or local boards can be the best way to do it:

"By bringing in the good operation at a territorial level, you can visualize good practices that you can share (.)With other territories. There is intentionality, though (.) it can be achieved, but what you're mentioning are very particular situations. Good practices that you see in San Antonio, which differ from those in San Felipe, Los Andes and those here in Valparaíso."

Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx
Position: 74072-74554

In summary, the mixed stakeholder group states that interventions are still not able to align the different elements of CSEC. First, there is a gap between the phenomenon of CSEC and its understanding due to the changes of CSEC and the lack of knowledge about CSEC. Second, there are gaps in the relationship with children and young people that have been in CSEC in terms of the comprehension of their experience as victims and the marginalisation of their situations. Third, there are intervention framework tensions regarding aims and goals, with achievements, expectation and the reflexivity in these processes.

7.4 Conclusion cluster Critical Point

The Cluster Critical Point developed two discourses that highlighted difficulties and tension in the construction and the implementation of responses for CSEC. In the system and services quadrant was discussed the subsidiary and limited role of the state in CSEC, the importance of raising awareness of CSEC, the characteristics of the social policies that make difficult an efficient response and the limits in the legal and judicial system. In the agents, CSEC and actions quadrant the notion of inability to align stated gaps in the understanding of CSEC, gaps in the relationship with children and young people that have been in CSEC, and tension regarding aims, goals,

expectations and processes of reflexivity. All these critical points become challenges for the intervention.

7.5 Cluster Challenges about the System of protection and the network of services

Figure 31: Cluster Challenges – System of protection and the network of services
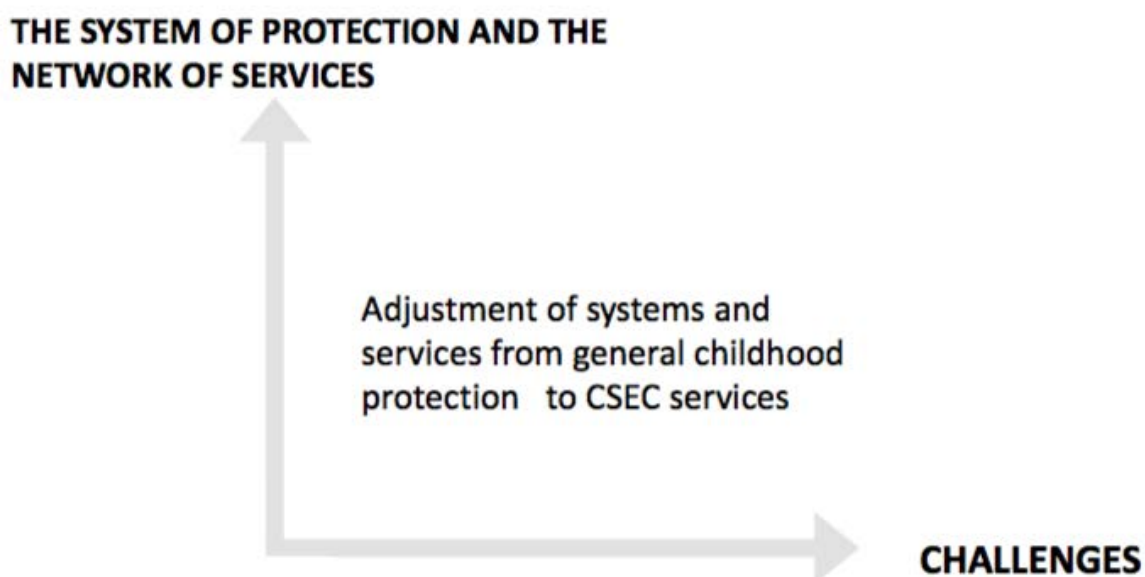
7.5.1 'Adjustment of systems and services from general childhood protection to CSEC services'

In the cluster 'critical points about the system of protection and network of services', the mixed stakeholder group stated that there is an 'insufficient structural responses to CSEC'. Similarly, in the cluster 'challenges facing the system of protection and the network of services', it is recognised that there is a need to adapt the elements contained in the system of protection to the network of services in CSEC.

Martin (2012) characterises this transference in order to articulate the notion of a system based on rights (such as the child protection system in the convention on the rights of the child) and services based on individual biographies (for instance children and young people that have been in CSEC). Therefore, the mixed stakeholder group

categorises as challenging the 'adjustment of system and services from general child protection to CSEC services'. This challenge considers changes and adjustment in the legal and judicial systems, the purpose and rationale of social policies, and conditions for CSEC intervention. The following diagram represents the main elements in this discourse:

Figure: 32: Discourse 'Adjustment of systems and services from general child protection to CSEC services'
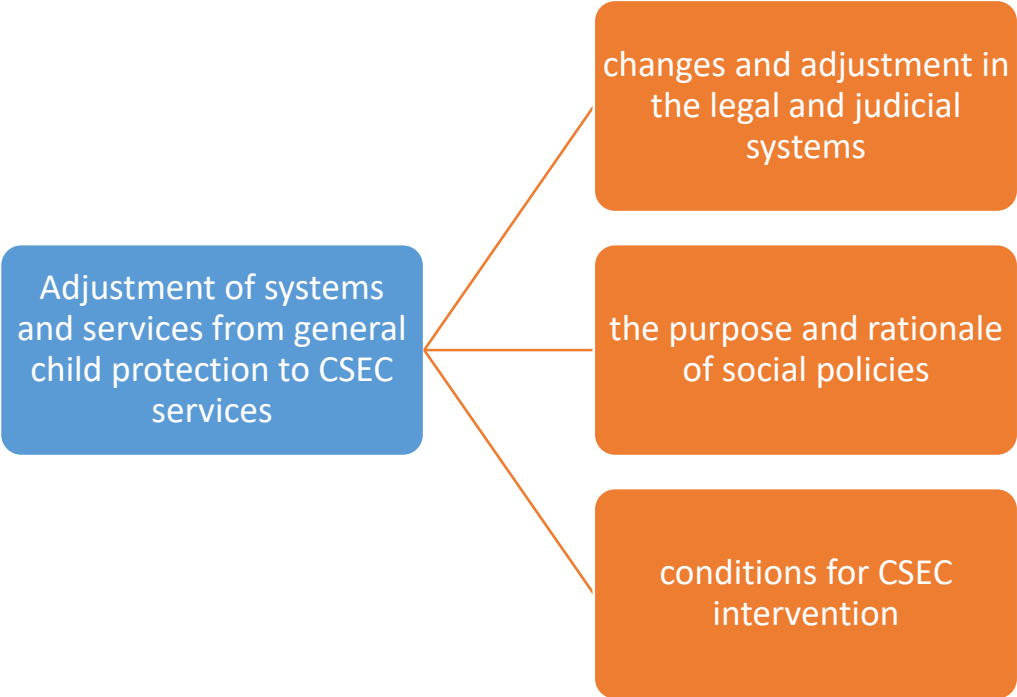
The Mixed stakeholder group proposes **changes and adjustment to the legal and judicial systems**. The main change suggested is the full implementation of the law of Integral Protection of Children's Rights that would replace the current minor laws (1967), which has been the subject of discussion in Congress since 2015.

This framework would allow the articulation of the different laws regarding childhood, including child sexual abuse laws, creating a connected body of laws (Espejo and Lathrop: 2015):

"You get entrapped by the fact there is no law defining exploitation (.) such as the general childhood law that should define(.), or start to define, all those things not covered (.) by the code of criminal procedures, right? So, we find ourselves among all these challenges and bottlenecks"

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 42720-42991)

Another change suggested is specifically related to typify CSEC as a crime. In current Chilean law, CSEC can be prosecuted indirectly by different expressions of the sexual crime law (Law 19.927) and trafficking law (Law 20.507). While some of the typologies of CSEC are covered in those laws (child pornography, trafficking) CSEC and CSEC in a tourism context have to be built using other categories such as rape, 'estupro' (to rape young people between 14 to 17 years old under some circumstances), sexual abuse with or without physical contact, facilitation of child prostitution, payment for sexual services (without rape or 'estupro'), and sanctioning to client. All these legal types cannot fulfil the international definitions of CSEC in terms of the characteristics of the economic exchange (Ecpat: 2014) and the limitations in terms of the age of consent (14 years old) that divide penal types, assigning conditions to be accepted and granting less punishment in these cases (Smith: 2011; Clough: 2013). The existence of a penal type of CSEC could affect prosecution and also have a social effect of raising awareness:

"In that case I think (.) MPs should make (.) and amend, because on top of that (.) if it's not done through the construction of this type of crime(.), society:: won't understand the severity of the act".

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 14017-14247)

In terms of adjustments, the Mixed stakeholder group indicates the needs to expand the understanding of processes in the prosecution of CSEC cases and consideration of the guarantees for victims, avoiding, for example, secondary victimisation (Zajac et al.:2017; Consejo Nacional de la Infancia: 2017); and promoting the use of international law to support the prosecution. This element has been analysed in the

application of international law in jurisprudence (Nash and Nunez: 2017). Furthermore, the Chilean Supreme Court in its resolution 2747-09 of 2010, suggested the use of international law to prosecutors and judges based on a public case of an international network of child pornography known as 'Paidos network' or 'Zacarach case':

"The criminal justice system protects the defendant (2) and you wonder why can't it protect the victim? No, because there is a clause in number ten:: of the criminal penal code about due process and it's focused on the defendant(.). Let's review (.) the process from a constitutional standpoint, a review based on international agreements because our view is narrow-minded, it only considers the criminal penal code. Then, you have to tell the judges (.) maybe it won't work the first or second time, but it might work the third time. Look, this is a system that goes beyond the code of criminal procedures."

<div align="right">(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 68462-69140)</div>

The Mixed stakeholder group also identifies challenges in **the purpose and rationale of social policies**. Current social policies against violence are based on the level of complexity (low level of concern, middle level of concern, and high level of concern regarding violation of children's rights) and level of specialisation (less to more specialised programmes). This scheme is represented in a pyramid (from the bottom to the top). The mixed stakeholder group proposed to modify this rationale and move on to an integrated rationale, in which the territory and the local level can play a more determinant role. These ideas are convergent with the proposal of the new system of protection that orientates purposes and rationale to primary, secondary and tertiary prevention and the consideration of family, school, institutions of protection and justice and community (Consejo Nacional de la Infancia: 2017):

"If we take up again what you just said, I don't know if that pyramid is the best idea(.) the way in which to approach the issues related to violence and exploitation. For instance, programs of brief intervention or:: focalized programs are extremely complex. Now, if you think how complexity is defined, then I don't have an answer, only a mere idea that such pyramidal structure misses the opportunity to see those phenomena based on what the community perceives.   Or what a local team could see from such an approach (.)like a layer of the phenomenon based on the place, the position, the territory where you are, right? Then (.) I think such structure (the pyramid structure) is not enough to reflect what really happens every day of an intervention."

<div align="right">(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 77126-78058)</div>

The quotation highlights the diffuse limits between each level of complexity/specialisation when the axis that articulates the intervention is the territory. This reflection challenges different aspects of the implementation of the social policies: intervention methodologies, inter-multi agency, and over-intervention. There is also a challenge regarding the resources granted to the different levels. According to the law 20.032, which establishes the resources granted to child protection programmes, there is a huge difference between each level (more specialised levels get the highest grant per child in the programme). This element is a limit to a local integration between programmes regarding sharing responsibilities about the case or defining aims and goals.

Finally, the mixed stakeholder group identifies **conditions for CSEC interventions**. They refer to the possibility of adjustment between general systems and services specific to CSEC in the territory and delivering services using appropriate strategies for children and young people that have been in CSEC. The work from the territory is an opportunity to reflect on CSEC and to articulate local actors. The territory can be a geographical and sociocultural space in which it is possible to develop integration from national to local levels. Solis (2015) explains this as mediation in the economic and cultural aspects considering local actors as main resources. National guidelines are implemented and integrated into the territories expanding the alternatives of actions in CSEC (Cameron et al.: 2015):

"Then, in order to approach (.) this issue to what commercial sexual exploitation of children is, we think that a possibility is to work based on the territory (.). And start articulating from there (.) the different parties that should be interested in participating in this engagement or reflection process, this analysis of how I'm behaving based on what I'm forced to do".
(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 77126-78058)

The way in which services for children and young people that have been in CSEC are delivered is by adapting these services using strategies oriented to their needs and matching it with the services and resources available. All the strategies identified in

different models such as diagnosis, risk assessment, building resilience, improving wellbeing, emotional support, social integration and raising awareness (Wilson and Butler: 2014; Sapiro et al.: 2016; Hickle and Hallet: 2016) describe the factor of mediation to the specific case. Mediation here refers to analysing the case, and discussing situated and creative responses. This disposition to innovate is a condition for the intervention:

"Projects asked to intervene have to try to create the best strategies so that the intervention is as positive as possible for those kids who are now victims. There are two areas that are directly related (.)but they kind of have:: different rationales (1) and in this regard :: I think that for the projects that work directly:: on creating mechanisms to interrupt the most complex situations of CSEC".

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 34853-35409)

"From there we have tried to create different strategies and methodologies so that projects can have more elements to work on the issue"

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 9778-9967)

In summary, the mixed stakeholder group stated that there is a need for an 'adjustment of the systems and services from general child protection to CSEC services'. This challenge considers changes and adjustment in the legal and judicial system that develop an appropriate legal framework for prosecution and protection of children and young people that have been in CSEC.

It also suggests expanding and discussing the purpose and rationale of social policies and identifying the territory and situated strategies as a condition for CSEC interventions.

7.6 Cluster Challenges and the Relationship among agents, CSEC and actions

Figure 33: Cluster Challenges - The relationship among agents, CSEC, and actions
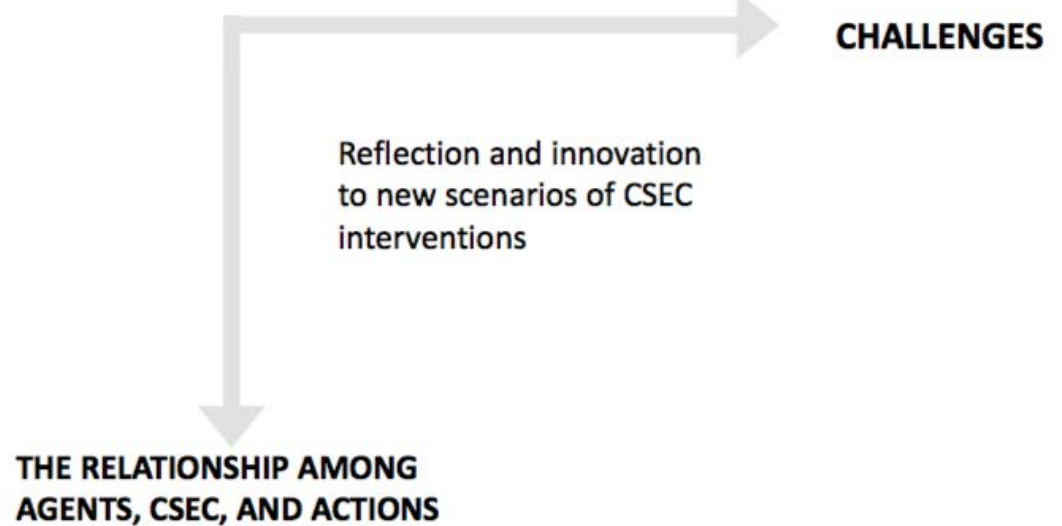
7.6.1 'Reflection and innovation to new scenarios of CSEC interventions'

In the cluster 'critical points about the relationship among agents, CSEC, and actions', the mixed stakeholder group stated that 'interventions are still not able to align the different elements of CSEC'. Similarly, in the cluster 'challenges of the system of protection and the network of services', it is recognised that there are new scenarios in which the intervention has to be analysed and developed. Some cases require a re-thinking of classic elements such as individual characteristics or the transactional character of CSEC (Miller-Perrin and Wurtele: 2017; William: 2012), and in other cases there are connections with development of technologies and virtual scenarios (Quayle and Cariola: 2017). Therefore, the mixed stakeholder group states as a challenge the 'Reflection and innovation of new scenarios of CSEC interventions'.

This challenge considers analysis of the individual dimension of CSCE, the transactional character of CSEC, and the relationship and attachment in the online environment. The following diagram represents the main elements in this discourse:

Figure 34: Discourse 'Reflection and innovation to new scenarios of CSEC interventions'
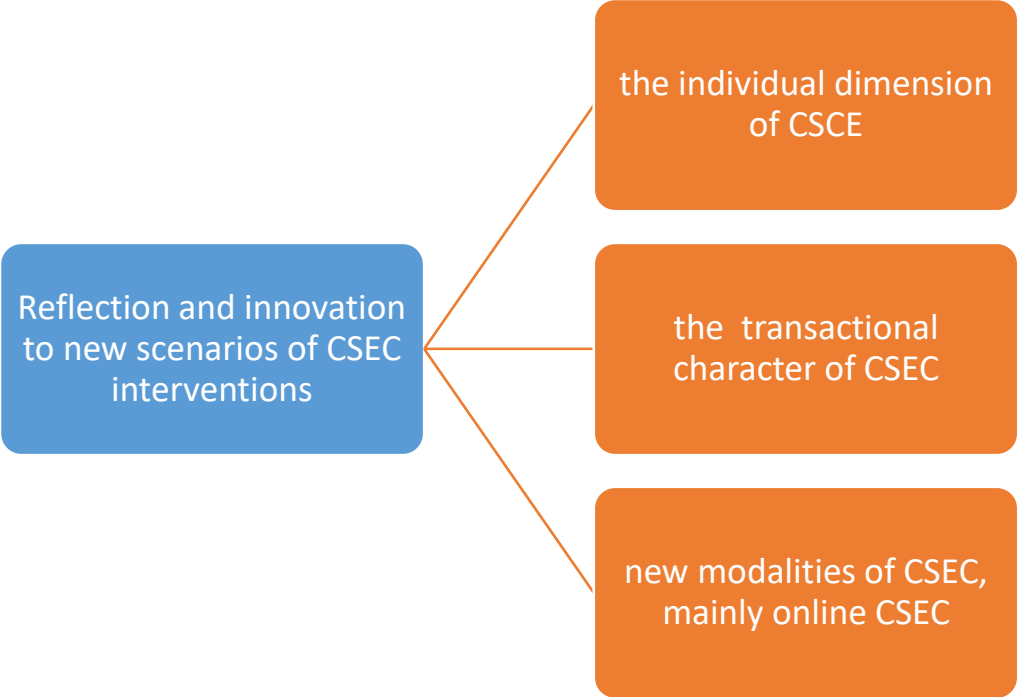
The Mixed stakeholder group highlighted the idea that, regardless of a complex comprehension of CSEC, there is a relevant **individual dimension of CSEC phenomena**. There are ideas related to the specificity of being CSEC victims. Despite the commonalities with other traumatic experiences, CSEC affects child development in a particular way (Twill: 2010; Read: 2008; Bessoles: 2008; Deb: 2011; Williams: 2012):

"As part of that complex process (.) of getting close to the exploitation phenomenon, as you were saying, the boys and girls who had been victims (.) become subjects of a totally different nature".

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 36419-36655)

The expression 'a totally different nature' indicates a kind of essentialism or a process in which something that is a social phenomenon is analysed as part of human nature. However, the meaning of that could be covered by the following interpretations. The

first is that despite the differences between CSA and CSEC, there is no clear understanding of the aftermath for children and young people, mainly based on a stereotype of victimhood (post-trauma approach). The second is that this notion of trauma changes the person in such a way that it is not possible to recover from it, therefore the idea of "repairing" is never complete. The third is that the reason for that is that violence affects sexuality and identity as basic elements of human nature. The fourth is that even though there is international research about trauma processes in CSEC (Homs and Woods: 2013), there is a lack of domestic research in this area, and therefore there is no clear understanding of what happens to children and young people that have been in CSEC. The fifth is that they are in the continuum of no victim, victim, survivor, repaired, and former victim. Therefore, it is not clear that they can leave these categories.

Associated with this idea of specificity is the notion of being a consumption object, which is the basic notion of being exploited. This idea challenges the centres since they understand, at the same time, the particular expressions of CSEC, such as being profitable (Arredondo: 2007), and the common experiences of being children and adolescents in modern societies, such as loneliness (Le Breton: 2012) and the connection points between both:

"But it's odd for someone to realise (.) You notice that. It's like that logic related to the body, you have to respect it when there's a series of elements that you have said (.) the consumption of the body as a commodity".

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 57176-57387)

"It's based specifically on people feeling lonely, without love (.) and unfortunately that lack of affection can lead to anything".

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 25959-26115)

There is a tension about the idea of body and sexuality. On one side is the notion of ownership that is represented in sexual indemnity, sexual freedom and sexual self-determination (Marchant: 2005), and in the idea of young people's sexual sovereignty (Graupner: 2005). On the other side is the notion of property that implies

the sense of commodities and profit that is fundamental to CSEC as sexual violence. This distinction derives from the following element, transaction in CSEC.

The transactional character of CSEC is the second element highlighted by the mixed stakeholder group. Transaction is the main differentiator element in CSEC (Chase: 2005; Williams: 2012). The intervention is challenged to incorporate this aspect and to understand its definitions and practices. This implies recognition of the economic dimension in the analysis, such as poverty involved in the experience of CSEC and the construction of a child sexual market, in which children are profitable products (Camacho: 2009; Williams: 2012). Even though there is not a causal relationship between poverty and CSEC, it is a clear factor affecting the dynamics in violence (Kerri Raissian and Bullinger: 2017). Furthermore, the challenge is implying the notion that CSEC victims are looking for some benefit in an exchange relationship rather an exploitation relationship (Robert: 2011):

"Child sexual exploitation seeks an economic reward or at some point () an adult touches a minor; we've realised that as part of the job, in many occasions these children start as a sexual activity and () they became sexually exploited"
                              (Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 6964-7292)
"It's there provided that there's a market (.). A sex market (.) that is related to the network of relationships it creates. (.) between a minor and a consumer by which children end up being a commodity".
                              (Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 16017-16245)
The paradox is the position of the victims/product that at the same time have a "commodity" to be sold. This possession creates a false idea of control over the client and exploiter (Cavagnoud: 2009; Toro: 2010). If we analyse the idea of creating a child sexual market, a market can be defined as "a medium for exchanges between buyers and sellers. Some markets are physically located in one place; others connect buyers and sellers by telephone, fax and e-mail, especially in the case of financial markets. Markets for goods and services are termed 'product' markets; for labour and capital, 'factor markets'. There is a linkage between factor and product markets in that the demand for a factor is derived from the demand for its product. Dealers in a market

seek to create an 'equilibrium' between demand and supply at a particular price". (Rutherford 2002:368). Some of these precepts are not fulfilled in the case of CSEC:

"Because the child doesn't have a clue about its virginity, its youth (.) while they're adolescents (.) their innocence is being sold (.) not directly for money, but somehow for a financial benefit for its family".

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 20689-20916)

For instance, in CSEC there is an impossible promise of exchange because there is an illegal product: children's sexuality is not interchangeable, and there is no intention to create the equilibrium because profit is based on the lack of price and rules to organise the exchange. Therefore, CSEC is characterised as a criminal market (Mackenzie: 2013). In order to be a functional market, actors have to use other strategies such as deception, threat and coercion to hide the real nature of the exploitation:

"But a commodity that is a subject that doesn't conceive itself as such. Or it may conceive itself as if it actually had control of the situation".

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 16252-16449)

"Why? Because there are people connected to fifteen, twenty, forty, fifty under-age kids with whom he thinks he has a relationship (.) a young attractive guy from Europe, like me, you know (laughs). They have this relationship that is validated by their families (.) I think my son will never be at risk".

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 21592-21986)

This quote described strategies to naturalise the exploitation using common life situations and roles (boyfriend, 'godfather') to fuse and hide the criminal and violent character of the relationship.

Finally, the mixed stakeholder group points out **new modalities of CSEC, mainly online CSEC**. They identify the online environment as a new scenario in which CSEC

is increasingly developed. One element of this exponential area is the notion of the internet as a hidden world for adults. They are incapable of accessing the rationale on the internet. This is called the generational gap on the internet (Kilian et al.: 2012; Fietkiewicz et al.: 2016):

"The first one exactly as you mean; I think that (.) the hidden world it's not native (.)to the computer world, that of the internet, that is, as an adult it's very difficult to understand the world of relationships of these kids through (.) connectivity, you know?"

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 31093-31384)

"It's as if we were out dated (.) we've managed or try to understand how they live in this virtual world, but we're late (.) Then, in that sense I think that what you were talking about relates to how, as adults, we can approach these kinds of relationships it's a permanent challenge".

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 31384-31792)

In addition to the generational gap, another challenge for the intervention is how to deal with the risk on the internet. The mixed group recognises a risk based on the offender's actions (Glasgow: 2010) and child risk behaviours (Gradinger et al.:2015):

"I upload something on the net and I make it public (.) I take a picture of me and my boyfriend in a sexual encounter on the weekend (1) I put it on line and make it public (.) because for a start, I don't know when the relationship is going to end; it may end tomorrow; I don't know if my relationship with my 14-year-old boyfriend is going to end and then I'm going to have another one, but these types of images are uploaded".

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 26945-27351)

"Then, this guy who's very attractive, like me, a South-American guy that all he does is to keep fake images and videos in order to capture the attention of children and adolescents (.) and charms them because I've interviewed minors who are still in love with the guy (.) and not just minors, this is a cross-age problem, I mean, there are children, adolescents and adults because it's all based on solitude"

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 25443-25954)

This technological change also challenges classic modalities of spaces for exchanges, for example the street is replaced by the internet. The online environment apparently looks less risky and 'under control' for children and young people that have been in CSEC and looks also less risky for offenders and exploiters that can develop remotely the arrangement and the requirements:

"But that is what happens. There isn't much (.) of an idea that pornography also exists; today you don't see girls in the street, like you saw girls on the corners in the past playing around, giving away flowers or something else, but it turned out they were actually prostituting themselves. Today (.), girls connect using the internet, that is how they make contact (.), they meet adults and again that (.) physical evidence of what is going on (.)and it happens at all levels. On many occasions parents don't have a clue (.) that their son is a victim of pornography".

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 30358-31010)

The mixed stakeholder group also reflects on and analyses the scope of the technologies and the practices associated with it, in order to define and understand the types of CSEC and also to innovate appropriate responses:

"Actually, what I understand (.) from my ignorance is that you pay (.) a minor for a sexual favour. For example: In Calera, a guy (.) poses as a teacher of physical education. They would charge credit to the mobiles of students of a school, in exchange for them showing their breasts through (.) the phone. Is that commercial sexual exploitation of children?

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 46530-46993)

In summary, the mixed stakeholder group identifies the need for 'reflection and innovation of new scenarios of CSEC interventions'. This challenge considered the analysis of the individual dimension of CSEC considering elements regarding trauma, victimhood and being objects; the challenges in the transactional character of CSEC; and the relationship and attachment in the online environment, considering technologies and practices in the internet.

7.7 Conclusion Cluster Challenges

The cluster 'challenges' developed two discourses that highlighted possibilities of change and connection between the responses from the system of child protection to the services of CSEC including the intervention. In the system and services was discussed adjustment in the judicial system to provide protective procedure and justice. The rationale of the social policies and their purposes is also analysed, and conditions for CSEC intervention are discussed. In agents, CSEC and actions, the notion of an individual dimension is stated considering elements related to trauma and recovery. Another element highlighted as a challenge is the transactional character of CSEC. Finally, it pointed out challenges regarding the online environment, relationships and practices considering new technologies and practices.

7.8 Conclusion Mixed Stakeholder group discourses

The four mixed stakeholder group discourses were organised in two axes that classified styles of discourses, critical points and challenges, and areas in which the discourses developed their contents 'The system of protection and the network of services' and 'The relationship among agents, CSEC and actions'. The 'critical points' cluster developed difficulties, tension and problems at a structural level in response to CSEC, and in the process of implementation of these responses considering the different dimension of CSEC. The cluster 'challenges' developed options to face these critical points analysing processes of adjustment (legal, judicial, policies, models). Furthermore, it reflected on a specific aspect of CSEC, new scenarios and innovation in the intervention. All
these elements highlighted the situated and integrated character of the intervention and the needs to reflect and innovate considering the dynamism of CSEC.

7.9 Integration of findings

This section develops the connections among the axes previously described: policy and legal framework, and intervention models and practices in CSEC. Through applying the sources and literature review to these axes, different discussions crystallise around each axis that allow for reflection on the understanding, condition, structure, tension and challenges of CSEC interventions.

Even though the main discussion in this research was focused on these three components, it usually happens that through the analysis of the data it is possible to discover new areas and emergent components that connect or complement the initial purposes. The process of reflexivity (Palaganas et al.: 2017) allowed me to distinguish a new thematic element: **CSEC recognition,** that was identified across all the sources, as part of the interrogation of the contents of policy and legal frameworks, intervention models and practices around CSEC, and also, as a proper and independent axis in its own right. This gave CSEC recognition a relevant position in the reflection about the relationship between policy and legal frameworks, intervention models and practices around CSEC.

In this case, **CSEC recognition** emerges as an articulated role between the other axes. In order to develop responses from the policy and legal frameworks, intervention models or the intervention practices, CSEC has to be made visible in a public sphere and understood in all its dimensions. Policy and legal frameworks highlight the system of protection and its purpose; the State's role in protection; changes and adjustment in the legal framework; the characteristics of policy and programmes regarding CSEC; and the role of stakeholders in CSEC. At the same time, the responses of policy and legal frameworks are developed because at a basic level CSEC is recognised and some of the purposes of policy and legal frameworks is to make visible and better undertand CSEC both as a concept and in its manifestation. For

instance, the role of the law in the definition of CSEC may indeed have had an effect in the process of making it visible within the public sphere.

Intervention models in CSEC point to the notion of specialisation; a tension between models and institutional rationales and procedures; the human rights and risks approach; and the notion of victimhood in CSEC. Intervention models highlight different dimensions of CSEC allowing a better understanding and comprehension of it. Finally, practices in CSEC identify different definitions, purposes, and strategies; ideas of a network of services; partnership in inter-multi agencies; the specialised character of interventions; and tensions and challenges. These elements allow CSEC to be made visible through fieldwork, for instance, highlighting modalities and giving the opportunity to practitioners to develop a situated perspective on CSEC. The following figure illustrates this discussion:

Figure 35: Findings integration
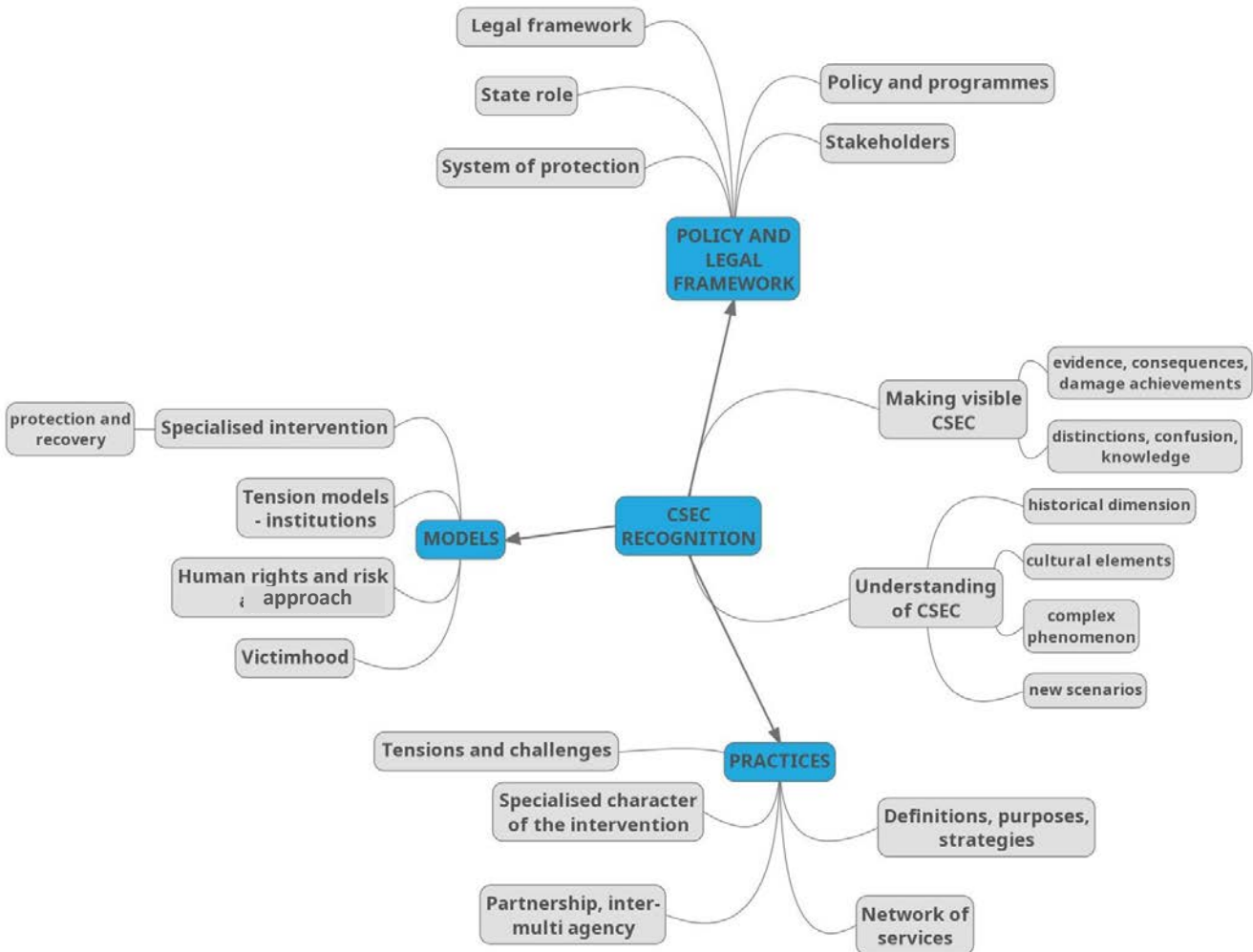
7.9.1 About recognition of CSEC

Based on the different sources, **CSEC recognition** emerges from the analysis as an articulation of the other axes. It assumes two modalities: (a) the understanding of CSEC and (b) the strategies to make CSEC visible. Both dimensions are related: in order to communicate this phenomenon, it is necessary to improve the comprehension of it. Furthermore, in the process of making it visible, new elements and dimensions of CSEC are questioned.

i) *The understanding of CSEC* requires reflection on the historical character of CSEC. When the question "how is CSEC possible" is asked, one of the answers can be traced back to historical and persistent evidence of child sexual violence and CSEC. This evidence includes different periods of universal history (DeMause 1998, 2000, 2010) and Chilean history as well (Salazar: 1989; Montecinos: 2007; Schonhaut: 2010). Consequently, violence, child sexual violence and CSEC have been a practice with children that remains, and nowadays in a more protective and human rights approach context, it appears as a social problem and human rights violation. Understanding CSEC as a long-term historical practice implies the recognition of the cultural beliefs and institutions that sustained this practice, naturalising this interaction and giving a different meaning to a violent practice.

Another element in the understanding of CSEC has been the development of social sciences, education and medical disciplines that provide a framework for explanation, protective practices and institutions for children. Following this trend, in the twentieth century a series of studies were carried out, firstly in relation to physical violence (Caffey: 1946; Kempes: 1962) and then more focused on sexual violence (Finkelhor: 1979; Cantawell: 1981; Baker: 1985). This introduced child sexual violence, including CSEC, as a field of research.

This scenario configured CSEC as a complex phenomenon. Complexity in this case is characterised by the multidimensionality of the CSEC: it involves many different factors such as social, cultural, economic, intra-family, and community factors (Castillo and Duran: 2015) and also requires the diverse profiles of children and young people to be taken into account (Moron and Sanz: 2017; Goldeberg at al.: 2017). In terms of its cultural dimension, the influence of the cultural transition of values (Mori: 2011); the cultural construction of childhood as object of care and control or subject of law (Rojas: 2010; Castillo: 2015) and gender inequalities and violence (Instituto Colombiano de bienestar y la Familia: 2015) have been highlighted as elements that influenced the emergence and maintenance of CSEC.

The complexity is also related to the specificity of CSEC as an expression of violence. In this case, it is the combination of abusive power, economic exchange and discourses that justify CSEC. (Reca: 2007; Arredondo: 2010; Robert: 2011). This combination implies some dynamics in which the effects of abusive power is amplified by the economic exchange and the discourses that try to hide the violent character of CSEC and replace it with culturally accepted social relationships (for example, relationships based on help and support, between boyfriend and girlfriend, or godfather and godchild). The notion of complexity is completed by the idea of defined and categorised CSEC. Definitions are related to who defines CSEC (agencies), the discipline from which it is analysed (field, empirically or theoretically constructed) and the purpose of the definition (to support law, social policies, practices). Regardless of its critics and limitations, to classify CSEC in typologies has helped to internationally agree specific expressions of CSEC, to identify boundaries and similarities and to support laws, and interventions.

An important part of the understanding is reflection as a continuous process of becoming aware of the reality (D'Cruz: 2007). In this case, the reflexivity is about some elements that are considered in the understanding of CSEC but can be

undervalued or need to be actualised in order to recognise the 'fast mutation of CSEC'. One example is the individual dimension of CSEC, particularly an open discussion about being a victim of CSEC. Consistently, the expression 'children and young people that have been in CSEC' has been used to differentiate between different expressions of victimhood in CSEC. This discussion is closely related to the transactional character of CSEC due to this dimension configuring the dynamics, position, consequences and suffering of children and young people that have been in CSEC. For example, the notion of passive or active positions in the practices of CSEC and the idea of consent are not related to the damage and traumatic consequences of CSEC.

At the same time, the reflexivity is about new scenarios and modalities of CSEC, particularly online settings which have emerged as challenging and difficult to decipher for adults, due to the generational gap and the idea of risk in the internet.

ii) *The strategies to Make CSEC visible* is the second modality of CSEC recognition. In order to subvert the hidden character of CSEC, it is necessary to make it visible at different levels. There has been discussion regarding the audience for this visibility: first of all, stakeholders related to the child protection and judicial systems, then school, communities, and the general population.

In this aspect, consequences of CSEC and damage in children and young people that have been in CSEC is evidence that something called CSEC exists. It follows that the presence of CSEC is 'evident' for others if they are able to connect this individual, family, community and social consequences to CSEC. It therefore demands this reflective exercise of observation and understanding.
At the next level, there is a need to reinforce this reflexivity, through specific research on prevalence and dynamics of CSEC in order to provide a scenario and hypothesis of how CSEC works in practice. The same effect happens with the evidence that specialised programmes in CSEC can provide in terms of achievements and changes:

initially there was scenario 'A' with its consequences and damage, and now there is scenario 'B' after a process of protection and recovery. Thus, these sources 'based on the field' show the existence and characteristics of CSEC.

However, making CSEC visible has its challenges, for instance in distinguishing CSEC from other expressions of child sexual violence. Boundaries are not clear enough because there are common elements between different expressions of violence (Pierce: 2004; Read: 2008; Williams: 2012). Even though typologies of CSEC are defined, they can be confusing or ambiguous for organisations, stakeholders and practitioners, or when written into policies. Typologies are also challenged by modalities, 'local and situated expressions of CSEC', due to the new and dilemmatic elements involved.

Finally, a challenge for 'sources based on the field' is the insufficient systematised databases and limited empirical research that can accurately illustrate CSEC.

7.9.2 About policy and legal frameworks on CSEC

Policy and legal frameworks is the second element from the analysis to be discussed. This axis was amplified from just policy to policy and legal frameworks, due to both elements appearing transversely connected across the sources. Even though they have different purposes, structures and origins (one from parliament and the other from the government), policies and legal frameworks established the necessary conditions for the recognition of CSEC as a social problem and a crime, thereby allowing the development of responses, resources and parameters for the intervention in CSEC.

Policies and legal frameworks are contained in the idea of a 'child wellbeing system', which aims at providing universal and integral protection to children. It means that it has to be accessible to all children (removing the distinction between children and minors) and it has to consider all dimensions of children's development, offering

multi-purpose responses. Protection here is the key integrator that connects the development of programmes of prevention, recovery and reintegration for children and young people that have been in CSEC. These programmes are critically aligned with laws that recognise CSEC as a crime and a serious violation of human rights, and with judicial procedures in family court and criminal prosecutions. The interaction of these components can build a political structure that supports the purpose of the 'child wellbeing system'.

In doing that, the different sources identified the role of international agencies in promoting, supporting, and sometimes lobbying for changes and adjustment to laws, policies and definitions of CSEC. The central role in sustaining the system, however, is played by the State. In Chile's case, this is something that has traditionally happened since the early nation-state in relation to, for instance, education, health and abandonment of children. However, the state is more hesitant to intervene in the protection of children, assuming a role subsidiary to that of the 'private sphere', such as the family or communities. From this point of view, the state 'interferes', meaning using an intrusive position more in the rationale of care and control. At the same time, there is an expectation that it should play a more active and leadership role in terms of child protection. It is criticised for failing to wholly fulfil its duties, as per signed international agreements and the national plans and goals for child well-being. Despite these considerations, there is discussion about the kind of state and development model to be used for the implementation of the child wellbeing system and consequently in responses to CSEC. Considering the classification of policies by Alcock (2004), the Chilean model is a mixture between a 'neoliberal' model of the subsidiary role of the state and a 'third way', in terms of the active role of the state in social affairs based on rights.

In this context, policy and programmes are in transition from the notion of services according to the level of protection (general, specific, specialised) to the notion of a system of protection based on rights that were mentioned before. There is thus a tension between the rationale of the specialisation (from general to more

specialised) and the seriousness of the situation (from low to high complexity) and a more integrated rationale based on rights and an eco-systemic level of prevention. This is the reason behind the child wellbeing services moving from the responsibility of the Justice Minister to the Social and Development Minister. There is, however, a challenge precisely in the process of adjustment from the rationale of a child well-being system to the specificity of responding to needs of children and young people that have been in CSEC. A key point is a local and territory approach that can connect stakeholder resources providing the services and allowing specialised programmes to coordinate appropriate interventions.

The second element, legal framework, considers human rights principles; the notion of subjects of law; the changes and challenges in law regarding the prosecution of criminal activities involving CSEC; the protection of children; and judicial procedures.

The foundation of the legal framework is the notion of human rights as an historical and political transition from the traditional models of child protection. This was developed from the philosophical theory of freedom and rights into the political theory of democracy and citizenship, cementing the idea of citizenship in the nation-state. Furthermore, it is an evolution of civil, politic and cultural rights to individual categories and specific human beings such as children (Bobbio: 1996). The twentieth century built the foundations for establishing a particular instrument, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, which recognised children as subjects of law. The impact of this understanding is captured as a clear statement, 'the intervention (in CSEC) has to recognise children as a subject of law'. This idea implies identifying childhood as a proper stage of life instead of a transitionary period towards adulthood.

Consequently, progressive autonomy recognises the diversity in childhood lives and the idea of active exercise of rights according to developmental stages.

Along with the idea of children as subjects of law, the notion of children as subjects of protection from CSEC has been established. In both cases, 'subjects' refers to an active position in their life that accomplish the UNCRC principles: best interests, non-discrimination, survival and development, and participation. In this case, protection from CSEC is in reference to consequences of CSEC and its definition as an international and domestic crime.

There are challenges in the process of adjustment between both levels, regarding the alignment of the international legal definition with domestic legislation and also in the process of interpreting the law and the application of judicial procedures and prosecution. Even though the Chilean state has modified and adapted its laws on CSEC, there are still discussions around some issues such as the age of consent (Clough: 2013), the characteristics of the offence (Shelton et al.: 2016), sexuality as a matter of public concern (Marchant: 2005) and strategies to protect victims during judicial processes (Zajac et al:2017).

The criminal process is also challenged to incorporate the principles of the victims' rights (Cumbre Judicial Iberoamericana: 2012) and the above-mentioned UNCRC principles in order to offer a safe and comprehensive environment to children and young people that have been in CSEC and are facing a judicial process. Furthermore, there is a tension in subordinating the protection and recovery process to the prosecution interest, challenging practitioners to coordinate timings and avoid secondary victimisation (Guerra and Canessa: 2007). The need for mediation between the psychosocial and judicial language and rationale has been highlighted. These deficiencies in the legal and judicial systems have to be faced in order to improve the standard and results of prosecution of crimes involving CSEC.

7.9.3 About models of CSEC intervention

Social policies implemented programmes in the main cities across the country, configuring centres that deliver psychosocial and community interventions. These centres are configured by interdisciplinary teams. These teams are specialised in order to achieve a complex understanding of CSEC and deliver sophisticated interventions.

An intervention can be oriented by diverse models and a combination of strategies such as those related to systemic theories in multiple variations, ethnicity and gender, institutional and organisational models that involve multi-agency responses. Furthermore, there is a group of models connected to trauma-informed, risk-harm reduction, and psychosocial attachment. Considering these nuances differences, the strategies involve assessment, building rapport and trust, and delivery of the specific tasks and techniques in order to achieve the goals and the idea of change that each model contains. There are discussions about the relationship between the internal rationale of the models and the institutional rationale and procedures. There has also been discussion about the relationship between the model definitions and the experience of children and young people that have been in CSEC, and about the general or specific character of these models regarding CSEC.

Regardless of this discussion, three elements that were modelling the intervention emerged from the sources: the human rights approach; the notion of risk; and the idea of victimhood. The human rights approach defines CSEC (the problem) as a serious violation of human rights, granting it a global character. It then provides a rationale, rights-based management, to develop responses.

Finally, it provides a criterion to make decisions, which are the best interests of children. The theoretical notion of risk (Beck: 2006) became an approach that develops strategies to assess (risk) and promote (protection) factors that can prevent

CSEC, reduce the consequences and manage the situation in which children and young people can be involved.

Through the sources, there are discussions about the notion of a "victim" that finally builds a victimhood approach. The notion of a victim is largely discussed in terms of decriminalising the participation of children and young people in CSEC. "Victims of CSEC" replaced the terms "child prostitute" or "child criminal" (Miller-Perrin and Wurtele: 2017). There is then a displacement from the individual profile and biography to characterise and explain victimhood, to the recognition of institutional victimisation (for example exclusion and discrimination) (Cameron et al.: 2015; Dubowitz: 2017). There is therefore the idea of the construction of the victim in CSEC that incorporates biographical elements, contextual situations, the event of CSEC, the consequences of it, and the idea of damage, including the paradox of some cases in which there is no apparent damage (Finkelhor: 1995; Rabbit: 2015). This victim-oriented approach organises the assessment clarifying the responses and services needed.

7.9.4 About CSEC intervention practices

The last axis, the intervention practices ties together the discussion through the sources about definition and purposes of the intervention practices in CSEC, a network of services associated to CSEC, partnership and multiagency, the specialised character of the intervention, and tension and challenges of the intervention practices.

The intervention practices were categorised according to the basis. Some are based on approaches (human rights and theoretical), others on purposes (protection and care, recovery), or based on characteristics (complex intervention, integrated intervention). These definitions highlight the diversity in the understanding of intervention practices and the criteria for developing a successful intervention; it

means an intervention practice that is able to change something. The basic criterion in the first category is the CSEC victims (victim-oriented), in the second category it is the organisation's function and professional roles, and in the third category it is the understanding of CSEC and being in a position to deliver interventions.

Challenges arise in the process of definition of intervention practices and criteria. The diversity of understanding intervention practices challenges the possibility of an agreement regarding aims, goals and strategies. Consequently, the lack of protocols to develop interventions is an element that makes difficult the establishment of appropriate standards in cases of CSEC. Finally, the lack of leadership and findings is an element highlighted as a critical point in the interventions.

The intervention practices are called to create a network of services to support children and young people that have been in CSEC and to spread an understanding of CSEC. The main aim of the network is to provide services that children need, to contribute to a protective childcare circuit and to collaborate with stakeholders for this purpose. This circuit is assimilated in the notion of partnership between agencies that is named as inter-agency or multi-agency work according to the level of involvement and agreement between agencies. The circuit aims to develop strategies for protection and recovery that include welcoming strategies, special services according to the children's needs, and specialised intervention in CSEC. The specialised character of the intervention identifies the intervention practices as a sequence of actions and strategies in a multidisciplinary and institutional setting. The relationship between children and young people that have been in CSEC and practitioners is highlighted as the core element in the intervention practices.
The idea of attachment a welcoming, comprehensive and participative approach is the main goal of the intervention. That includes working with the families, whether or not they are involved in the CSEC situation.

Finally, there is discussion regarding challenges and tensions in the process of designing and implementing CSEC intervention practices. The first group of challenges is about gaps between the phenomenon of CSEC and its understanding. It refers to ideas of mutation, evolution and changes in CSEC going faster than the understanding of practitioners and institutions and their responses. This gap is directly related to the difficulties in developing assessments, which basically is a difficulty in identifying the dimension associated with CSEC in a limited time to provide effective protection, referral and collaboration inter-multiagency. The second group is about the framework and management of the interventions. Mainly, there is discussion on the pertinence of aims, goals and achievements of the intervention and how meaningful is the intervention for children and young people that have been in CSEC and also for practitioners and stakeholders. Furthermore, the analysis reveals the deficits in the process of monitoring and evaluation and the role of these processes in giving feedback to achieve the goals proposed. Lastly, some of the processes of monitoring are related to the mechanisms of funding and consequently, to lack of resources to develop complex and situated interventions. This section aimed to integrate the findings, while considering the data analysis and literature review. In this process, each axis (policy and legal frameworks, intervention models and practices in CSEC) was developed through examining convergences and tensions. Through this a new axis CSEC recognition was identified in an articulated position between the other components. The following chapter will discuss these findings and their importance in the Chilean context.

The following chapter will discuss different alternatives in the relationship among CSEC recognition and policy and legal framework, intervention models and practices in CSEC in the Chilean context.

CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION

8.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a reflective and analytic integration of the different components of this research, specifically the cultural context, literature review and the findings in order to discuss the purpose of this thesis: to analyse the relationship between policy, models and practices related to intervention in CSEC. The chapter developed four potential relationships among the axes. Each relationship assumes a scenario of interactions and consequently establishs different versions of the intervention in CSEC.

8.2 Relationships among policy and legal frameworks, CSEC intervention models and intervention practices with CSEC recognition

This chapter offers a reflective and analytic integration of the different components of this research, specifically the cultural context, literature review and the findings in order to discuss the purpose of this thesis: to analyse the relationship between policy, models and practices related to intervention in CSEC. The chapter developed four potential relationships among the axes. Each relationship assumes a scenario of interactions and consequently establishes different versions of the intervention in CSEC.

Once each axis was developed at the end of the previous chapter, I identified potential variations of the relationship between CSEC recognition and the other axes. The variation relates to the directions and influences that each axis can take. A timeline was used to consider some historical key events that support the application of this analysis, in order to localise this discussion to a Chilean context. The first relationship can be named **Invisible – Incipient CSEC recognition.** The following three figures represent this relationship:

Figure 36: Invisible – Incipient CSEC recognition A
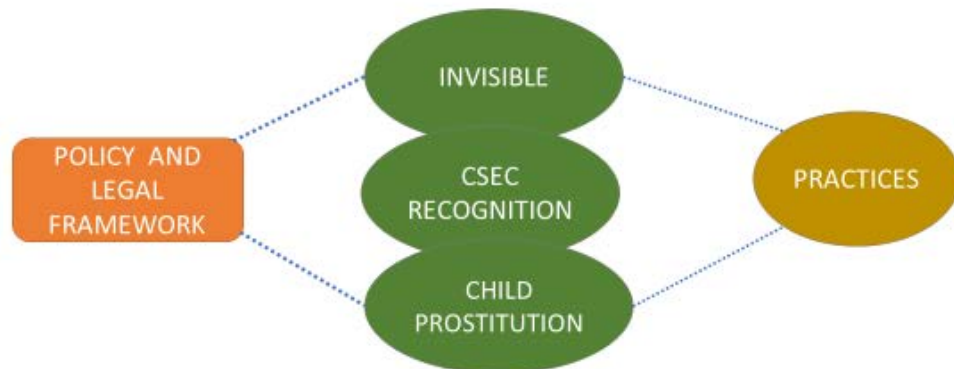
This period can be located during the 20th century. In 1920 there was the beginning of regulations regarding childhood, and universal social policies relating to health and education were developed. At this time, the phenomenon of CSEC was invisible in situations where children were abused through prostitution in brothels, but became visible when it was associated with children who were abandonned, living on the streets or engaged delinquency. Sexual violence across these contexts became named as child prostitution. The changing practices associated with this were both judicial and protective under the tutelary guardianship rationale made by social services or health visitors. These children were seen as needing to be managed.

In the second half of the 20th century, the development of the social sciences, medicine, education, and social work allowed the identification of child sexual abuse. The development of contextual models around sexual violence could promote an understanding of class and cultural factors that made visible a more complex notion of child prostitution or abuse through prostitution. Critical to this was a recognition of the gendered nature of this abuse. The following figure represents this moment:

Figure 37: Invisible – Incipient CSEC recognition B
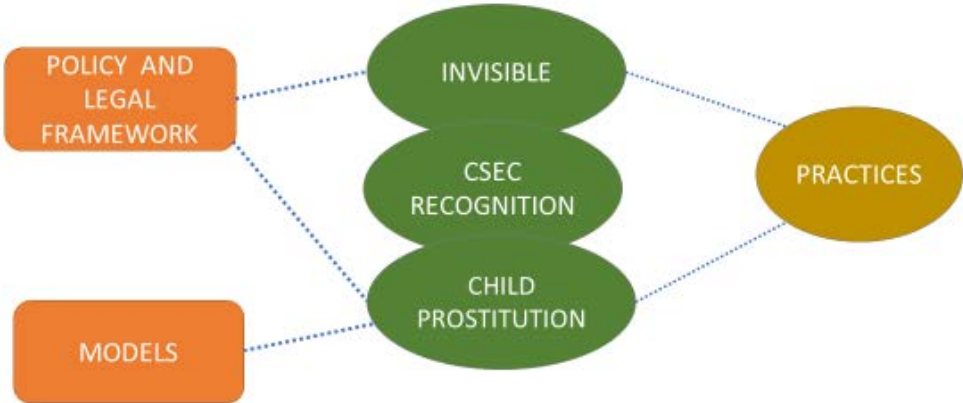
This was followed by a period marked by dictatorship. In this period neither policies or legal frameworks were able to recognise any situation involving children as a form of violence given the inherent structural violence of the regime. The emerging role of NGOs and alternative interventions based on human rights were the beginning of a recognition of specific phenomena that related to all forms of violence against children and which included sexual abuse and exploitation, both familial and commercial. The combination of early psychosocial models and approaches to child welfare and well-being based on human rights facilitated the conceptualisation of child prostitution as a form of CSEC. This co-occurred with state action to tackle all expressions of violence, and which highlighted the role of poverty in the economic dimensions of social life as the main social problems to be solved. The following figure represents this moment:

Figure 38: Invisible – Incipient CSEC recognition C
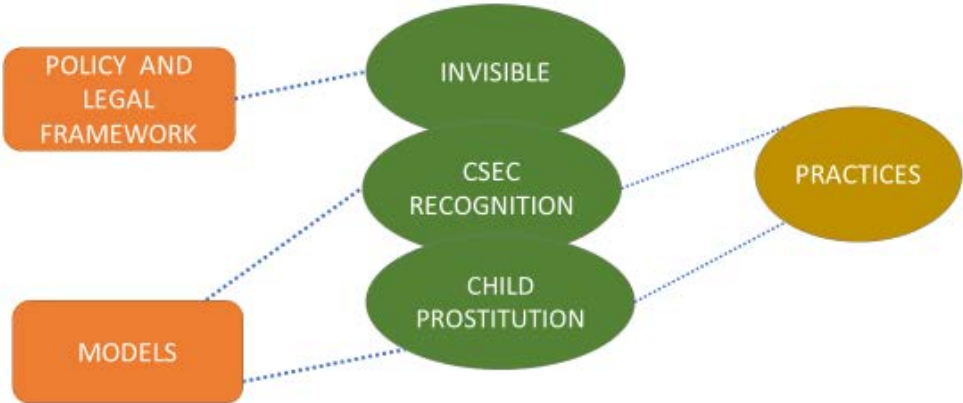
The second relationship can be named **CSEC recognition informed by policy and legal frameworks and models**. The following figure represents this relationship:

Figure 39: CSEC recognition informed by policy and legal frameworks and model
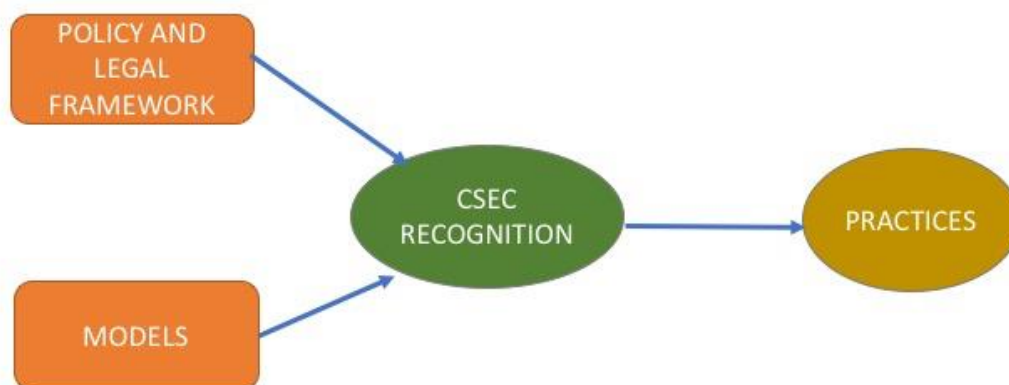
This period can be located immediately after the recovery of democracy to the first national programmes against child sexual violence (1990-2003). In this period, the UN Convention on the Rights of Children was an important influence in the development of the policy and legal frameworks regarding CSEC. The international agreements discussed in the World Congress against CSEC in Stockholm (1996) was considered by the Chilean State and translated into the first National Plan against CSEC (1999). In parallel, based on psychosocial and mental health models, human rights and an approach that considered gender-based sexual abuse, specialised programmes to counter child sexual violence were developed. Firstly, a general pilot programme (1996) and then a national programme created specialised centres across the country (1998). These centres provided therapeutic and social support for victims of child sexual abuse. The influence of the Optional protocols (2000) related to the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution, and Utilization of Children in Pornography, Trafficking and Smuggling explicitly made visible the problems and presence of CSEC. This recognition identified and drew attention to cases of CSEC present in child sexual abuse programmes, and set the scene for the development in 2001 of a pilot

programme for children abused through commercial sexual exploitation that, along with the first prevalence study (SENAME: 2003) provided a foundation for the national programmes for victims of CSEC. In this way, policies and legal frameworks identified CSEC as a social problem and a human rights violation, making it visible through clear definitions and contextualised responses. These models provide a theoretical framework for the phenomenon of CSEC and provide an empirical and theoretical foundation for the development of specialised programmes.

The third relationship can be named **CSEC recognition informed by practice**. The following figure represents this relationship:

Figure 40: CSEC recognition informed by practice
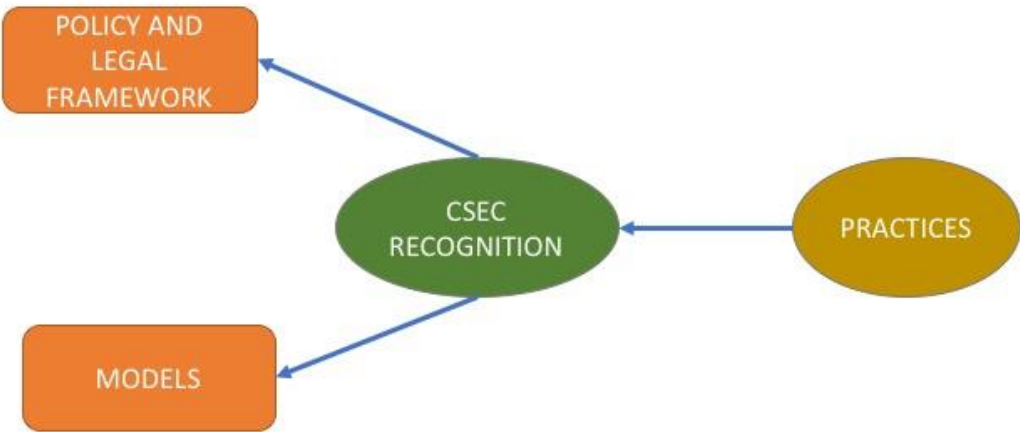
This relationship can be located in the period of the current study (2004-2014) which has considered ten years of the national programmes of CSEC. In this period, practices developed by NGOs, professional teams, and interdisciplinary and multi-stakeholder groups have significantly influenced policy and legal frameworks, providing feedback to the programmes, creating referral protocols with stakeholders, producing data through research and building databases. This embraced the challenge of distinguishing between CSEC and other expressions of child sexual violence. Furthermore, public campaigns and awareness raising efforts made CSEC a visible problem that required both government and social action.

In this example, CSEC is developed and socially constructed according to the elements found 'in reality' based on the child protection circuit cases and the reflection of practitioners and inter-multi-agency work. Considering these elements, CSEC recognition, making it visible and promoting an understanding of CSEC is iterative, informing change and promoting an adaption of policy and legal frameworks and further development of existing models. This last period sees a transition to a child wellbeing system encompassing a network of services and understood as presenting alternative possibilities for the relationship among the components.

The fourth relationship can be named **Aligned CSEC recognition with policy and legal framework, models and practice**. The following figure represents this relationship:

Figure 41: Aligned CSEC recognition
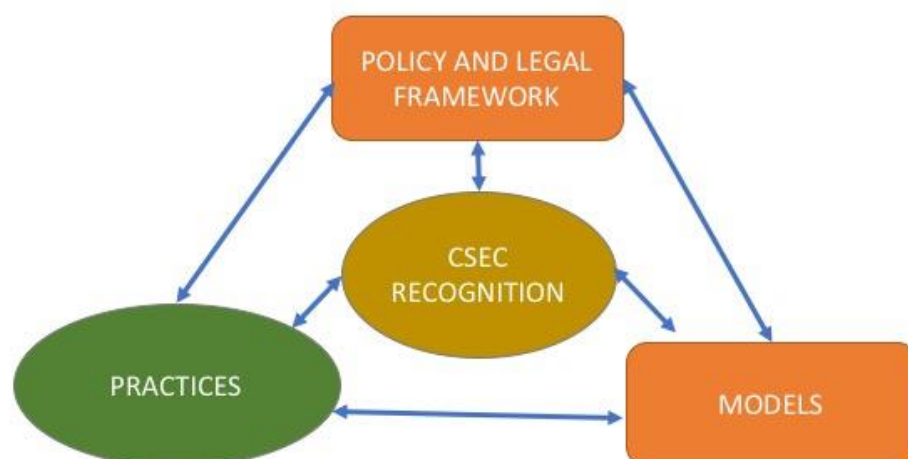
In this example, CSEC recognition is aligned with policy and the legal frameworks, models and practices. CSEC recognition articulates the elements contained in the other axes, and each axis provides a specific aspect of the responses: policy and legal framework provides parameters to make decisions; models provide the contents to promote changes; and the practices design strategies to achieve the proposed changes. Practices provide feedback from the 'fieldwork', models provide the theoretical knowledge and policy and legal framework of the agreements and child wellbeing system.

The last relationship can be named **Situated CSEC Recognition**, which involves fluid connections with the policy and legal frameworks, models and practice. The following figure represents this relationship:

Figure 42: Situated CSEC recognition
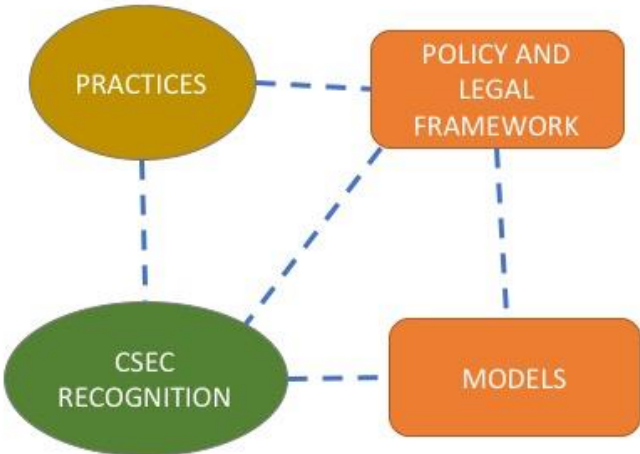
In this example, CSEC recognition produces fluid interactions with each axis based on interactive situations that develop the situation. The situation can be a case (practice-CSEC recognition), research (model - CSEC recognition), a process of monitoring and evaluation (policy framework - CSEC recognition), a trial (legal framework-CSEC recognition). Any case produces critical information that can give feedback in this particular interaction.

All these possibilities reflect the main statement of this discussion in terms of articulating the role of CSEC recognition in the analysis of the relationship between policy and legal frameworks, CSEC intervention models and CSEC intervention practices.

8.3 Chapter Conclusion

The chapter discussed five alternatives in the relationship among CSEC recognition, policy and legal frameworks, intervention models and practices. A timeline was used to develop this analytic model when applied to Chile. This is expressed as a continuum from CSEC taking place in child brothels and invisible to most of society to the recognition of children abused through prostitution and then a realisation of commercial exploitation in all its forms of sexual, and largely gendered, violence. Across those different periods, policy and legal frameworks, intervention models and practices played central roles to make visible the commercial sexual exploitation of children, and to produce a better understanding of how it is manifested and its impact on children. Throughout this account, different directions and influences on the increasing awareness of CSEC were described. Finally, two hypotheses of the relationships between these elements were developed, which considered the current transitions to a child wellbeing system in Chile.

The following conclusion will reflect on the process and the content of the research, alongside its limitations and strengths and the implications that it has for policy makers, practitioners and researchers.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION

9.1 Introduction

What does it mean to conclude something in an accelerated period of time? Byun-Chul Han reflected on the burnout suffered in a society consumed by working time: "to think and to conclude, you have to be able to close your eyes and contemplate" (2016: 21). This conclusion will therefore be a moment for reflection, stepping back from the process and the final product. Here I aim to analyse how the PhD process is inserted not just in my academic and professional path but in the analysis and discussion of CSEC, how the main ideas of this thesis can be read with a critical perspective, and how this process and thesis can be projected and disseminated. The first section discusses the process of doing the research, what was learned, the challenges faced, and the idea of cross-cultural analysis. The second section reviews the main findings and a critical analysis of the study. The third and last section discusses the limitations, projections and application of the elements contained in this thesis.

9.2 Reflection on my process of research

When I started my PhD in 2013, I had previous practical experience in the field of CSEC as a social worker and then as manager of a specialised CSEC centre of a Chilean Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO). At the same time, I had academic experience in the field of childhood, violence and child sexual violence. Occasionally there would be an overlap, in the form of a research project or in delivering training. My practical and academic experience allowed me to develop an understanding of the practices in CSEC; the relationship with stakeholders; the extent of, and attitudes towards, research on the phenomenon of CSEC at a local and national level; policies on CSEC; and the overall legal framework. I was thus actively involved in the area of CSEC.

Against that background, and the fact of lack of knowledge about CSEC and interventions in CSEC, I took the logical step of designing a research project into CSEC, considering the legal framework and the extent to which it is governed by policy, and programmes, models and intervention practices. I also considered secondary sources such as government documents and alternatives documents. As primary sources, I considered the experience of a mixed group of stakeholders, interdisciplinary teams and children and young people that have been subject to CSEC and finished their intervention programme. Initially, the idea was to try to cover the complete sequence of voices of people who can speak to the relationship between policy and legal frameworks, CSEC intervention models and intervention practices. In this scenario, the first challenge was to distinguish between the PhD research and a long-term research project. After evaluating criteria such as time, viability and opportunity, the first-year review board was the first filter to develop a more realistic research design. Then, at a more advanced stage, there was a second process of adjustment, considering the boundaries and requirement of PhD research. In this way, the PhD is not an isolated process: it is a pivot between the past background and a future research project.

Another challenge was to sustain the link with the local reality. The time for completion of a PhD sometimes is not related to the professional agendas, in terms of the purpose and urgency of changing the reality of CSEC. The challenge was building bridges between doing the research in Scotland (about the phenomenon of CSEC in Chile) and the agencies, teams, practitioners and researchers involved in CSEC. With this challenge in mind, I developed different strategies for dissemination, training and mentoring to support these relationships.

For instance, I presented three seminars online and face-to-face (when I was in Chile doing fieldwork); I met with professional teams (online and face to face) from six different centres across the country. I had mentoring meetings with individual professionals working in the field of CSEC at least monthly for two years. I also met

with researchers at a PhD level, who were doing research in similar areas. In addition, I evaluated research proposals (CONICYT and Universities') and articles for Chilean journals related to CSEC. I designed and delivered two courses related to CSEC to students studying for a diploma in childhood and community approach. Finally, I developed a virtual forum as a platform for exchange in both Spanish and English, with funding granted by the Innovative Initiative Grant of Edinburgh University. One of the components was an introductory online course in CSEC taught by academics, researchers and practitioners from Latin America, the UK and elsewhere in Europe.

All these strategies allowed me to understand the processes of changes in policies on childhood, to discuss the ideas that emerged from my analysis and to be more focussed in the discussions. It also gave me the opportunity to share experiences, sources and create the foundations for future partnerships.

9.3 Reflection on the study

The purpose of this study was to analyse the relationship between policy and legal frameworks, CSEC intervention models and intervention practices. Following the description of types of knowledge produced by Gurvitch (1977), this thesis can be classified as an intersection between: (a) scientific knowledge; (b) philosophical knowledge; (c) technical knowledge; and (d) political knowledge.

Scientific knowledge is based on conceptual assumptions, using a methodology to produce and analyse empirical data to support statements about the social reality. In this case, this was qualitative research using primary and secondary sources and analysis of discourses that state the articulating role of CSEC recognition among the other elements.

Philosophical knowledge was required in order to recognise a definition of the nature of the reality (ontology) and an option to approach and know this reality (epistemology). In this case, social ontology provided an understanding of the socially

constructed character of reality and the hermeneutic processes in which a text (discourses) make sense in terms of its meaning, contexts and intentions. Technical knowledge is the knowledge of the practical effects in reality of modifying and intervening in specific situations. For example, technical knowledge was involved in the reflections about models and practices, the notion of intervention as a sequence of strategies and the notion of change (aims, goals). Political knowledge is the knowledge of policies in terms of the state's actions and strategies, and the purposes of these policies. In this case, clear examples of political knowledge are found in the discussion regarding the system of child well-being and protection, networks of services, partnership and inter-multi agency work, and specific services for children and young people that have been in CSEC.

Considering some of these elements, the research faced challenges. I would like to highlight two of them. The first one was the attempt to develop an interdisciplinary approach. A basic definition of interdisciplinarity is "the practice of combining knowledge, expertise, and techniques from different disciplines in order to investigate the world or address a problem" (Castree et al. 2013: 96). Therefore, interdisciplinarity endeavours to solve real-world problems in the intersection of different approaches and to analyse integrated perspectives from different disciplines or by constructing a new joint field of research (Aldrich: 2014). In this context, the thesis tries to articulate, for instance, a historical/cultural view; a legal approach that considered rights and justice; and a psychosocial approach, illustrating the diversity of the approaches that can be interdisciplinary. This effort was oriented towards identifying ideas that can complete a more complex understanding of CSEC and the elements related to the intervention.

The second challenge related to the process of interpretation, firstly of the material for the analysis and secondly the process of translating from Spanish to English. This last element was a permanent point of discussion due to English being a second language. It challenged my ability to make sense of the texts in an English

environment, not just grammatically speaking, but in terms of the meaning and the intention of the text. This point was developed in the methodological chapter, in the sections on epistemology and the notion of interpretation, and the section on discourses as cross-cultural studies. Translation is not therefore a straightforward process of changing words from one language to other; in a discursive view, there is an adjustment between two different understandings on one hand the European/British point of view and on the other the Latin American, both in the particular field of child sexual violence. Thus, this adjustment implied a constant work of mediation that was faced with strategies of dissemination and exchange. For instance, in supervision we regularly discussed the meaning of some ideas and the better way to express those ideas in an English setting. Another example is dissemination in seminars and congresses. I presented every year in at least one specialised event (British or European) the developments in my thesis. These events were an opportunity to briefly summarise the main ideas of these advances for a specific audience (a community of interest) and also explain and develop these ideas in the informal spaces with researchers or practitioners involved in CSEC or CSA.

Another example concerns activities of exchange with practitioners and organisations related to CSEC or CSA. I was invited to present the findings of my thesis and to discuss some of my work experience in CSEC, at Barnardo's Edinburgh (twice) and Stop it now Scotland, a service which provides support for sexual offenders and their families. A similar experience was a collaborative writing group that I attended for three years. We met once per month, and each person presented a document that they were in the process of writing in order to receive feedback and discuss the contents. The participants are practitioners, academics or researchers in childhood, child sexual violence or qualitative research. These experiences allowed me to discuss ideas and incorporate local expression and understanding in the field of child sexual violence.

In term of the findings and thesis discussion, it is interesting to highlight some relationships. Government documents' discourses show the structure of interventions: the approach and mandatory-pragmatic discourse stance illustrated how the state rationale could target an area identifying the action (intervention) and the support (approach) for this action. Furthermore, this rationale can flexibly offer the audience an obligation (mandatory) or allow a sense of agency (pragmatic). A good synthesis of this dynamic can be found in the discourses 'the intervention as belonging to a child wellbeing system' and 'the intervention develops a network of services'. Each discourse emphasises different definitions, purposes and support mechanisms.

Alternative documents' discourses represent a movement between different purposes: monitoring evaluation – challenges – recommendations. The rationale is to identify different positions in the dialogue with the state or international agencies or stakeholders. Two ambits can be distinguished: CSEC and responses. For instance, the recognition of CSEC as a complex and hidden phenomenon mobilises responses due to an ethical imperative to do something. Once the basis of this response has been constructed, there are some tensions and problems in the intervention that can be identified.

Mixed stakeholder group' discourses were organised in two styles: critical points and challenges. In some ways, they reproduce the idea of structure (system-network) and agency (agents-CSEC-actions). For instance, 'insufficient structural response' is a critical point of the system-network that recognises responses, but which are not sufficiently well articulated, and 'reflection and innovation to new scenarios of CSEC intervention' refers to a challenge that agents face in the field whilst doing the intervention.

Finally, I would like to highlight that recognition of CSEC is an element that articulates policy and legal frameworks, intervention models and intervention practices. It offers

the opportunity to redefine notions and develop subsequent levels following recognition of CSEC. It also allows CSEC recognition to be a precondition to developing other kind of interventions and makes localised CSEC-recognition a continuous process. This could be related to the impression of policymakers and practitioners that they are starting to make CSEC visible all the time. Also, based on my previous experience at an intervention level, making CSEC visible, naming it and building an understanding of it, for instance, de-constructing ideas of responsibility or criminality, all require an initial recognition of CSEC. Some of these discussions will lead to new questions and lines of research that will be commented on in the next section.

9.4 Limitations, projections and applications

The time of finalising the process of writing up the thesis is an excellent opportunity to develop a balanced view of the limitations, projections and possible transference of the knowledge produced by the thesis.

Regarding interdisciplinarity, one limitation in the dimensions described was the lack of inclusion of an economic perspective. Even though in the findings an economic dimension is mentioned, it is necessary to develop in-depth micro and macro-economic factors in order to understand the commercial aspect of CSEC, specifically the criminal business aspect of CSEC. Intimately connected to that is the need for in-depth analysis of the idea of exploitation, using both philosophical bases (such as the master-servant relationship) and political explanations.

Another limitation is related to the original idea of the research. In this plan, the fourth source was intended to be a professional team because they can provide experiences and perspectives about all the elements of the research. However, for operative reasons, this source was excluded from this thesis. This decision leads to the first projection: a new research project would include professional teams, networks services, local authorities and children and young people that have been

subjected to CSEC and completed an intervention. Due to the thesis gave a framework for the understanding of the relationship of the three elements under analysis (policy and legal framework, models and practices), it would be a complementary proposal. This project can also be applied to similar areas such as child sexual abuse, and other violations of children's rights in order to provide feedback to policymakers and practitioners.

Finally, the notion of CSEC recognition, which includes making CSEC visible and the understanding of CSEC, should have a central role in the development of policy and interventions. This change requires the prioritising of resources for systematically raising awareness, training stakeholders and local networks, and systematic knowledge exchange between researchers and practitioners. Some of these initiatives can help to build a more robust child wellbeing and protection system and a more efficient network of services for children and young people that have been subject to CSEC.

The challenge of furthering these developments to the current system of child well-being relates largely to the separation between the different levels of action. Fragmented social policies promote fragmented interventions. The current notion of a child wellbeing system and a network of appropriate services cannot be operative due to the models of specialisation and the seriousness of the situation for children. The foundation of this model is the belief that sexual violence against children can be classified as being on a continuum from less to more seriousness/complexity, and the appropriate responses should be from general to specialised services. At the top of this scale would be CSEC programmes. This structure implies different organisations, centres and professional teams working in a geographical region of Chile and involving interactions with other stakeholders (such as health providers, General Practitioners, the judicial system, education providers and local councils). This hierarchical structure promotes hierarchical relationships between specialised centres and general centres. As a consequence, the main interaction in this hierarchy

is the referral process from the general level to the specialised level for children who are victims of CSEC. Furthermore, the location of the general programmes is based on the distribution of services within a geographical territory while the CSEC programmes are generally localised in the urban city centres. Within this scheme the possibility for multi-agency work is very limited.

In this scenario, and considering CSCE recognition as a critical element, it is possible to propose a change in the structure of the existing model, which articulates the importance of a child wellbeing system that is part of a network of services. The delivery of general, specific and specialised services need to be integrated and developed across a geographical territory.

Currently, third sector organisations compete in a public bidding process for funding to deliver specific programmes. The findings from this study would indicate that they apply for programme funding across these three different levels (general, specific, specialised) and based on specific criteria, programme funding is allocated at each level to different or the same organisations. Taking an approach that considers service delivery at a territory level, organisations could apply for funding that would support the development of centres which would offer all the services for children (general, specific, specialised) in this territory. This change would allow:

- A situated programme of prevention promotion, awareness raising and research. One of the elements that is less developed and during the process of the current analysis is the notion of prevention. There is a lack of resources to promote the systematic development of campaigns to raise awareness about prevention of sexual violence against children. Within a territory, it would be possible to design and implement general prevention strategies, for instance, sexual education, the management of violent and abuse relationships and specific prevention programmes regarding CSEC. In a territory is possible to identify key target audiences and strategies and also to develop a process of monitoring and evaluation. The territory centre can

identify sustainable resources that involve local partnerships. The establishment of a centre in a territory allows the organisation to develop local knowledge and establish a permanent presence to develop situated research on the scale and prevalence of the problems but also more coherent responses to these forms of abuse that avoid the current fragmentation of services. Such single-centre models have already been evidenced as providing a better and more child rights focus to service provision.

- In this scenario, a territory centre is another actor in the community, and that position can allow a more active role in the community to promote prevention of child sexual abuse, or identifying cases of victimisation through CSEC. The supportive role of the community is a key element to avoid discrimination and stereotyping of children and young people that have been subjected to CSEC.

- Promotion of Multiagency work. As all stakeholders are situated in the territory, (such as schools, GPs, and community organisations including law enforcement) a territory centre can offer a timely and appropriate response. Instead of just providing a referral process, this can enable more collaboration and developing a complex analysis of interventions connecting CSEC with other abusive practices. One consequence of a more efficient communication between stakeholders is the reduction of institutional stress with children and families that currently are in different programmes.

- In terms of management, a territory centre can be efficient in the use of public funding (economy of scale) and can develop a better process of monitoring and evaluation. This information can provide feedback to local authorities and also to the social policies.

A territory approach is compatible with human rights and gender-based approach, all elements that are highlighted in the previous analysis. The territory centre can be a complex instrument to develop multiple services within a specific territory, and which can function in dialogue with other social actors. The processes of public funding and monitoring of the system of child well-being can be adapted to this modality, and the CSEC recognition and service provision can also be promoted in this modality.

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APPENDICES

1. **Appendix Chilean policy and legal frameworks scheme**
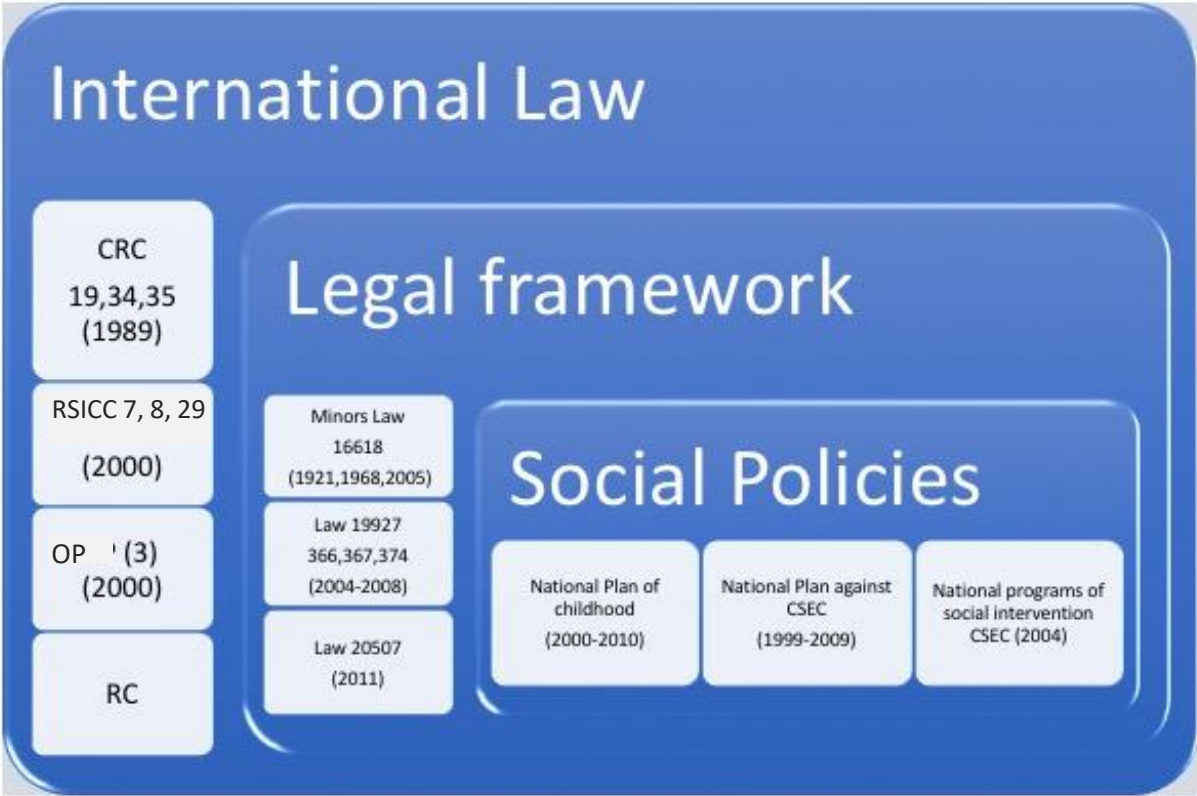
CRC: Convention of the Rights of Child Articles 19, 34, 35
RSICC: Rome Status International Criminal Court Articles 7, 8, 29.
OP: Optional protocols
RC: Regional conventions

2. Appendix Literature review process by systematic search

Phases of searching process

a) Exploratory phase, based on reports, grey literature and an initial selection of journals. The purpose was to generate a framework for searching, keywords and criteria of inclusion/exclusion.

	Literature review 1	Literature review 2
Material used	Grey literature reports Collection CSEC Child abuse review	Grey literature reports Grey literature thesis Collection CSEC Child abuse review

b) Intensive Phase, based on the feedback of the first draft, using systematic search method, descriptor keywords and specific topic to deepen the contents.

• Selecting categories of databases, using the university system Library resources by subject in alphabetic order, considering as criteria: Interdisciplinary approach, Social Sciences or similar disciplines). The next table identifies the results:

Literature Review 1

Historical Approach	Legal definitions	Psychosocial definitions
Social sciences History Women`s studies Anthropology	Law Social sciences Politics	Clinical psychology Counselling Social sciences

Literature review 2

Intervention definition and criteria – Services - Models and strategies - Critical issues
Clinical psychology Social Work Counselling Social science Spanish Social sciences

• Selecting the databases, considering as criteria: High number of records, coverage, geographical scope and expert criterion.

Literature review 1	Literature review 2

Historical approach ASSIA Applied social sciences index and abstract - IBSS International bibliography of social sciences - Social sciences citations index (webscience) SSCI - PsycARTICLES PsycINFO - pubMED – Scopus – PILOTS - America: History and Life - Historical abstracts - ProQuest Dissertations & Theses - Project MUSE - Academic Search Elite -Encyclopaedia of Women & Islamic - Cultures Online - Anthropology Plus – Anthrosource – WorldCat -ATLA Religion database. Legal approach European Sources Online - HeinOnline Westlaw UK - PAIS International -Race Relations Abstracts - Web of Science Core Collection - ASSIA Applied social sciences index and abstract - IBSS International bibliography of social sciences – PsycARTICLES - PsycINFO. Psychosocial definitions Nice - PILOTS – Scopus -Social care - Sociological abstract – Eric - Social services abstracts - ASSIA Applied social sciences index and abstract - IBSS International bibliography of social sciences - Social sciences citations index (webscience) SSCI – WHO- Scielo.	Eric – PILOTS- Medline – PsycARTICLES PsycINFO – Scopus- Social care - Sociological abstract - Social services abstracts - ASSIA Applied social sciences index and abstract - IBSS International bibliography of social sciences - Web of science core collection – Redalyc – Scielo – Beic.

- Selecting the basic keywords and the combinations in order to improve the four areas mentioned. These combinations were filtered according to each database in order to achieve an adequate number of records. Also, a process of evaluation of the relevance of some keywords in the database was made. The basic group was:

Literature review 1	Literature review 2
Historical approach 1. ((histor* AND (Child sexual abuse)) OR ((child sexual violence) AND (child prostitution))) OR (commercial and sexual exploitation) 2. 1 and childhood 3. 1 and childrearing 4. (((histor* AND (gender movement)) OR ((gender agenda) AND (commercial and sexual exploitation))) OR ((child prostitution) AND (Child sexual abuse))) OR (child sexual violence 5. (((histor* AND (epidemiological)) OR ((epidemiological scholar) AND (commercial and sexual exploitation))) OR	Child sexual exploitation OR Commercial sexual exploitation of children OR CSE OR CSEC AND Children or Young people and Treatment OR Therapeutic approach OR Psychological treatment OR Counselling and Trauma models OR Reducing the risk OR Child

((child prostitution) AND (Child sexual abuse))) OR (child sexual violence 6. histor* AND (explotacion sexual infantil OR prostitucion infantil) AND (abuso sexual infantil OR violencia sexual infantil) Legal approach Child* and Human Rights of the children and subject of law and subject of protection AND child sexual abuse OR child sexual violence AND commercial sexual exploitation of children OR child prostitution Psychosocial definitions Psychosocial AND Definition AND Distinction AND Child sexual abuse OR Child sexual violence AND Commercial sexual exploitation OR Child prostitution	protection model OR Child welfare model OR Child centred approach AND Social work services OR Multi agency response OR Multi agency treatment.

• Working with the databases to find the precise combination of keywords and the number of articles to be organised in: total articles, selected articles, useful articles and used articles, according to the relevance to the study:

PRISMA 2009 Flow Diagram Literature review 1.

Identification

Records identified through database searching History, Legal, Psychosocial
(n =15002)

Screening

Records screened
(n =1549)

Records excluded by criterion of pertinence and main content in abstract
(n = 1114)

Eligibility

Full-text articles assessed for eligibility
(n = 435)

Full-text articles excluded, with reasons of pertinence in the arguments irrelevant outcomes
(n =208)

Duplicates
(n = 14)

Included

Studies included in analysis
(n = 213)

PRISMA 2009 Flow Diagram Literature review 2.

Identification	Records identified through database searching Intervention definition and criteria – Services - Models and strategies - Critical issues (n =11002)
Screening	Records screened (n =792) → Records excluded by criterion of pertinence and main content in abstract (n =514)
Eligibility	Full-text articles assessed for eligibility (n = 278) → Full-text articles excluded, with reasons of pertinence in the arguments irrelevant outcomes (n =48)
	Duplicates (n = 98)
Included	Studies included in analysis (n = 132)

3. Appendix Ethic approval

Edgardo Toro
PhD Student
School of Health in Social Science

SCHOOL of HEALTH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY

The University of Edinburgh
Medical School
Doorway 6, Teviot Place
Edinburgh EH8 9AG

Telephone 0131 651 3969
Fax 0131 650 3891
Email submitting.ethics@ed.ac.uk

15 January 2015

Dear Edgardo,

Application for Level 1 Approval

Re: Analysis of programs, models of social intervention and interdisciplinary teams'
practices on sexual violence against children. The case of commercial sexual
exploitation of children in Chile: A discourse analysis approach

Thank you for submitting the above research project for review by the Section of Clinical
Psychology Ethics Research Panel. I can confirm that the submission has been independently
reviewed and was approved on the 13th January 2015.

Should there be any change to the research protocol it is important that you alert us to this
as this may necessitate further review.

Yours sincerely,

Kirsty Gardner
Administrator
Clinical Psychology

4. Appendix Informed consent form

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

PROJECT TITLE

ANALYSIS OF PROGRAMS, MODELS OF SOCIAL INTERVENTION AND INTERDISCIPLINARY TEAMS PRACTICES ON SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN THE CASE OF COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN   IN CHILE: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS APPROACH

PROJECT SUMMARY

The main aim of the research is to examine the relationship between different levels of social intervention with CSEC. Firstly, the programs in Chile related to CSEC, their logic and viewpoints (socio-political level); secondly, the models of social intervention and the way in which they are implemented (psychosocial level); thirdly, the interdisciplinary discursive and non-discursive practices by the professional teams (situated level).

The general objective is to describe, understand and analyse the programs of social intervention on CSEC, the social intervention models, and the interdisciplinary practices in commercial sexual exploitation of children, implemented in the last decade in Chile", through a qualitative research with discourse analysis approach.

By signing below, you are agreeing that: (1) you have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet, (2) questions about your participation in this study have been answered satisfactorily, (3) you are aware of the potential risks (if any), and (4) you are taking part in this research study voluntarily (without coercion).

_____

Participant's Name or ID number or initial (Printed)

_____   _____

Participant's signature*   Date

_____   _____

Name of person obtaining consent (Printed)   Signature of person obtaining consent

Revised by PREC Convenor 3rd April 2013

5. Appendix Support Letters NGO's and National services wellbeing

Carta de Auspicio

IVÁN ZAMORA ZAPATA, en su calidad de Director Ejecutivo de la ONG Paicabi declara conocer y auspiciar la investigacion "Analysis of programs, models of social intervention and interdisciplinary teams practices on sexual violence against children the case of commercial sexual exploitation of children in Chile: a discourse analysis approach" a ser desarrollada por el señor Edgardo Toro Quezada, en el marco del Doctorado en Ciencias Sociales Interdisciplinarias en Salud, de la Universidad de Edimburgo.

En, Viña del Mar, Chile a 20 de Agosto de 2014.-

Nombre: Iván Zamora Zapata
Cargo: Director Ejecutivo ONG Paicabi
Firma:

Carta de Auspicio

Denisse Araya Castelli en su calidad de Directora Ejecutiva de la Corporación ONG Raíces, declara conocer y auspiciar la investigacion "Analysis of programs, models of social intervention and interdisciplinary teams practices on sexual violence against children the case of commercial sexual exploitation of children in Chile: a discourse analysis approach" a ser desarrollada por el senor Edgardo Toro Quezada, en el marco del Doctorado en Ciencias Sociales Interdisciplinarias en Salud, de la Universidad de Edimburgo.

En, Santiago de Chile, a 22 de Agosto de 2014

Nombre: Denisse Araya Castelli
Cargo: Directora Ejecutiva
Firma:

Carta de Auspicio

PATRICIO LABRA GUZMÁN en su calidad DE DIRECTOR EJECUTIVO de SERVICIO PAZ Y JUSTICIA SERPAJ CHILE declara conocer y auspiciar la investigación "Analysis of programs, models of social intervention and interdisciplinary teams practices on sexual violence against children the case of commercial sexual exploitation of children in Chile: a discourse analysis approach" a ser desarrollada por el señor Edgardo Toro Quezada, en el marco del Doctorado en Ciencias Sociales Interdisciplinarias en Salud, de la Universidad de Edimburgo.

En Valparaíso, a 22 de Agosto de 2014

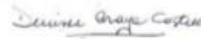Nombre   PATRICIO LABRA GUZMÁN
Cargo   DIRECTOR EJECUTIVO
Firma

SERVICIO PAZ Y JUSTICIA SERPAJ CHILE
DIRECCIÓN NACIONAL
CALLE ORELLA 1015 VALPARAISO
FONO 32-2158230 FONO FAX 32-2156246

SANTIAGO, 23.12.2014

MR.
EDGARDO TORO QUEZADA
PRESENT

According to letter 646 of 02 of September 2014, this Service has gave technical and ethical support to the research proposed "ANALYSIS OF PROGRAMS, MODELS OF SOCIAL INTERVENTION AND INTERDISCIPLINARY TEAMS' PRACTICES ON SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN. THE CASE OF COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN IN CHILE: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS APPROACH" that will be developed by Edgardo Toro Quezada in the context of the PhD Interdisciplinary Social Science in Health at the University of Edinburgh.

Yours Truly,

JOSÉ MIGUEL CANALES RODRÍGUEZ
Jefe Departamento Protección de Derechos
Servicio Nacional de Menores

MLC/IFO
Distribution:
- Mr. Toro
- Archive Deprode

6. Appendix Confidentiality agreement of transcriptions

THE UNIVERSITY of EDINBURGH

COMPROMISO DE CONFIDENCIALIDAD

TITULO DEL PROYECTO

ANALISIS DE LOS PROGRAMAS, MODELOS DE INTERVENCION SOCIAL Y PRACTICAS INTESDICIPLINARIAS DE LOS EQUIPOS EN VIOLENCIA SEXUAL INFANTIL, EL CASO DE LA EXPLOTACION SEXUAL COMERCIAL DE NINOS NINAS Y ADOLESCENTES EN CHILE: UN ENFOQUE DESDE EL ANALISIS DEL DISCURSO.

RESUMEN DEL PROYECTO

El propósito de esta investigación es analizar la relación en diferentes niveles de la intervención social en Escnna. Primero los programas de intervención en Escnna sus lógicas y definiciones; segundo, los modelos de intervención y la manera en que han sido implementados; tercero, las practicas interdisciplinarias de los equipos profesionales.

El objetivo general es "Describir, comprender y analizar los programas, modelos de intervención y prácticas de los equipos profesionales interdisciplinarios que trabajan en Escnna, implementados en la última década en Chile", a través de una investigación cualitativa desde una perspectiva de análisis de discurso.

Al firmar a continuación, **Isadora Quinteros Peña. C.I. 17.602.030-K**, estudiante tesista de la Escuela de Trabajo Social PUCV, se compromete en su rol de transcriptora de 3 grupos de discusión: (1) mantener confidencialidad sobre los contenidos presentes en estos grupos de discusión, lo que implica evitar comentarios a terceros, publicar parte o la totalidad de ellos, compartir en medios escritos o digitales, utilizarlos para fines o estudios distintos de los que fueron producidos, (2) borrar los archivos tanto de las entrevistas como de las transcripciones una vez finalizadas y enviadas (tanto de la carpeta que los alojo como de la carpeta de reciclaje).

Cualquier duda respecto al proceso o contenidos deberán ser discutidos con el investigador principal, en este caso estudiante doctoral.

Isadora Quinteros Peña. C.I. 17.602.030-K
Nombre y cedula de identidad

Firma   09/ Enero /2015.

                                      Fecha

Edgardo Toro Quezada
Estudiante de segundo año
Doctorado en Ciencias Sociales Interdisciplinarias en Salud
Universidad de Edimburgo
S1371947@sms.ed.ac.uk

7. Appendix Transcription symbologies.

[= interruption

[ ] = transcriber comments

(1) = a second of silence

(.) = less of a second of silence

:: = prolongation of the previous sound

( ) = inability to hear what is said

(words) = probably sounds

8. Appendix Screenshot software analysis dedoose

9. Appendix examples of quotes translated

"Se puede afirmar que en Chile   han ido aumentando la conciencia y   el conocimiento de las cuatro manifestaciones internacionales de la ESCNNA por parte de los responsables y   protección a las están aún invisibilizadas y se asume la existencia de un sub-registro. Este supuesto se basa en que, por un lado, se trata de dinámicas transnacionales de las cuales ningún país está exento, pero también en que en   Chile se dan algunos contextos que favorecen la existencia de estas dos manifestaciones de la explotación sexual".

"It's possible to claim that in Chile, awareness and knowledge about these four international expressions of CSEC have increased by those responsible for protection. Some expressions have still invisible and it is possible to assume the existence of a sub record because, on the one hand we are dealing with cross-border dynamics from which no country is exempt from and, on the other hand, in Chile there are some situations that favour the existence of both sexual exploitation expressions".

<div align="right">(Document: CMR_CHILE_FINAL.pdf, Position: 81040-81581)</div>

"Por trata de personas se entenderá la captación, el transporte, eltraslado, la acogida o la recepción de personas, recurriendo a la amenaza o al uso de la fuerzau otras formas de coacción, al rapto, al fraude, al engaño,   al abuso de poder o de una situaciónde vulnerabilidad o a la concesión o recepción de pagos o beneficios para obtener elconsentimiento de una persona que tenga autoridad sobre otra, con fines de explotación. Esa explotación incluirá, como mínimo, la explotación de la prostitución ajena u otras formas de explotación sexual, los trabajos o servicios forzados, la esclavitud o las prácticas análogas a la esclavitud, la servidumbre o la extracción de órganos".

"Human trafficking is the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Such exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal, manipulation or implantation of organs".

<div align="right">(Document: XII Informe 2012 Final a envio.pdf, Position: 66109-66842)</div>

"Estos estudios demuestran, entre otras cosas, que estamos frente a un fenómeno multicausal, que las víctimas tienen en común haber sufrido abandono y vivencias traumáticas previas (siendo el abuso sexual en el entorno más cercano muy frecuente), que se genera en un ambiente de pobreza, marginalidad y exclusión. Sabemos, también, que una cantidad importante de los NNA en esta situación se encuentran fuera del sistema escolar o con vinculaciones intermitentes, presentan problemas de salud a los que hay que hacerle seguimiento (infecciones de transmisión sexual por ejemplo), y/o presentan consumo abusivo de drogas y viven en situación de calle. Este conocimiento de carácter cualitativo que, por supuesto, es más amplio que lo que aquí podemos consignar, se ha realizado,

380

mayoritariamente, por iniciativa de las propias ONGs, consiguiendo financiamiento al margen del Estado".

"These studies show that we are facing a multi-cause phenomenon by which the victims share a common background of abandonment and trauma (in the case of sexual abuse normally from the close people), which results from poverty, marginality and exclusion. We also know that a significant number of children in this situation are not part of the school system or do not attend frequently, they have health problems that require follow-up (sexual transmission disease for instance) and/or they abuse drugs and live in the streets. This qualitative knowledge, broader than can be reflected here, has been mostly verified by initiatives of NGOs with private funding".

(Document: *Informe alternativo 2007.pdf,* Position: 48545-49499)

"es un fenómeno de carácter público y podemos hablar, podemos estar aquí también sentados haciéndonos las preguntas y repensando lo que en algún minuto eh se vio como posibilidad de intervención".

"It's a public phenomenon and we can stay here asking ourselves questions and going over what at some point we thought to be an intervention option".

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 50490-50683)

¿Por qué no se han sentado en un espacio así a reflexionar?, ¿no se han preguntado qué voy a entender por explotación? y si no le entrega plata y le entrega plata a la hermana ¿es explotación o no? o sea no han tenido ese trabajo (.) de pensar en esa distinción como::: del fenómeno (.) el que además, como tú decías, va cambiando entonces ¿cierto? se agregan nuevas cosas.

"Why haven't you met such a venue to reflect upon it? Haven't you wonder what am I going to understand as exploitation? What if he doesn't give him money but his sister instead; is that exploitation? I mean, it hasn't had that job of thinking about that distinction of the phenomena, which I turn, as you were saying, changes, right? New things come up.

(Document: transcripción grupo mixto.docx, Position: 58112-58487)

10. Appendix Examples of schemes and matrixes used in the process of analysis

Themes/categories/codes Mixed group

Theme: *DIMENSION IN THE PHENOMENON OF CSEC*		
Category	Codes	Text
Characteristic of CSEC	**Individual child-oriented characteristic** nuevas maneras de Escnna basada en creencias sobre deseos sexuales acciones de abuso son validadas soledad y falta de afecto como causa de vínculo con redes de Escnna idea de consumo individual a la base de Escnna **Economic dimension of CSEC** Escnna relacionado a recompensa económica y sexualidad modo de operar de redes de pedofilia forma de ganar dinero con redes de pedofilia Escnna relacionado con recibir dinero por favores sexuales imágenes de NNA y bebes abusados son vendidas	Title: transcripción grupo mixto.docx Codes Applied: soledad y falta de afecto como causa de vinculo con redes de escnna Excerpt Package: 25959 Excerpt End: 26115 se basa específicamente en que la persona se siente sola, carente de afecto (.) y esa carencia de afecto lamentablemente se puede caer en cualquier ámbito. Title: transcripción grupo mixto.docx Codes Applied: idea de consumo individual a la base de escnna Excerpt Package: 57176 Excerpt End: 57387 Pero es raro digamos que alguien se dé cuenta (.) te fijas de eso. O sea es como la lógica del cuerpo tenemos que respetarlo cuando hay una serie de elementos que ustedes lo han dicho ( ) al consumo del cuerpo Title: transcripción grupo mixto.docx Codes Applied: escnna relacionado a recomepnsa economica y sexualidad Excerpt Package: 6964 Excerpt End: 7292) como se puede pensar la explotación sexual infantil busca una recompensa económica o en algún momento ( ) un adulto tocando a un menor, nos hemos dado cuenta que dentro de los trabajos muchas veces esos menores parten por un proceso de incursión en ciertos temas

		sexuales donde ( ) (tos) los hacen ser explotados sexualmente. Title: transcripción grupo mixto.docx Codes Applied: merecado sexual estabece red de relaciones donde NNA pasan a ser mercancia

Themes/categories Alternatives documents

1. Building up the phenomenon of CSE

Definitions on CSEC
Technologies related to CSEC
Understanding on CSEC
Distinctions on CSEC
Studies research and reports on CSEC
Dynamics in different modalities of CSEC

2. The structure of the action on CSEC

International suggestion to domestic laws and plans
Sensitisation, promotion and prevention of CSEC
State role in child protection
Social policies and programs in childhood and CSEC
Circuit of child protection
Actors and stakeholders in CSEC

3. Direct actions with victims of CSEC

Social Construction of the victim of CSEC
Approaches in intervention on CSEC
Process of recovery in CSEC

4. Legal and judicial sphere in CSEC

Judicial system in cases of CSEC
Legal regulation and laws in CSEC

5. The impact of the human right of the children on CSEC

Different kind of violation of children rights
Human rights of the children approach

Themes/categories Government documents

GENDER APPROACH

- Gender as a principle
  - gender in human rights
  - relationship male-female
  - gender differences in intevention
- Gender as an analytic and interventive tool
  - differences by gender
  - differenced information by gender
  - differenced reorganising process
  - gender stereotypes
- Csec based on gender sterereotypes
  - stereotypes based on patriarchal culture
  - stereotypes hide the condition of victim
- Masculinity consideration
  - recognition of boys victims
  - incorporating male in intervention
  - hegemonic masculine model and csec

TERRITORIAL APPROACH

- Definition of territory
  - distinction rhetoric and practice
  - explanation notion of territory
- Territory and networking
  - knowing territory and articulating
  - integration local features
- Territory and intervention
  - special protecction in territory
  - territorial managment
  - specialised intervention in territory

APPROACHES IN CSEC

NOTIONS OF CSEC

- Human rights violation — volation HR in sexuality
- Causal explanation
  - multicausal
  - causal factors
- Dinamics in csec
  - tolerance of society
  - demand of csec
  - gender specificities
  - sexual market
  - vulnerability
- Csec related to other social problems
  - child labour
  - drugs abuse
  - street life
- Modalities
  - definitions
  - tourism
  - local characteristics related to modalities
- Economic dimension
  - cost for victims and nation
  - transaction
- Consequences
  - individual
  - social
  - as base of defintion of csec

RESEARCH, REPORTS AND DATA IN CSEC

- Research of magnitude and modalities
  - prevalence
  - trafficking
  - child labour
  - emotional attachment
- Data based on childcare system
  - public and ngo data
  - central registration of cases
  - programs registration
- Lack of knowldege on csec
  - bias in statitstycs
  - no prevalence in trafficking
  - lack of information client profiles
- report — answering protocols

Schemes Discursive production Government documents

2. TENSION STATEMENT STANDARD v/s CREATING PARAMETERS

- SPEAKERS/ AUDIENCES (THEMES)
  - PRINCIPLES GUIDE
  - APPROACHES IN CSEC
- OBJECT
  - THE WHOLE INTERVENTION
- CONFLICT
  - HOW TO DEFINE THE CONTENT OF THE INTERVENTION IN CSEC: HOW THE METHODOLOGICAL DECISION WORKS.
    - HOW
      - AXES OF THE ACTION
      - CONDITION OF THE SUBJECT

Schemes Discursive Production Alternative documents

Building the context for the intervention: the relationship between principle support, knowledge informed and situated practices

SPEAKER- AUDIENCE (themes)

- The Convention human rights of the children impact & Legal and judicial sphere in CSEC
- Building up the phenomenon of CSEC & Direct actions with victims of CSEC

OBJECT: The structure in the action in CSEC

CONFLICT: how to articulate the influences of Rights principles and Legal and judicial precepts with the knowledge and direct actions in CSEC in order to develop the context of the intervention.

- evaluation/monitoring
- challenge
- recommendation

Schemes Discursive Production Mixed stakeholder group

Dialectic between critical points and challenges

SPEAKER - AUDIENCE (themes)

- Dimensions in the phenomenon of CSEC
- Institutional responses on CSEC

OBJECT: The structure of the intervention

CONFLICT: how critical key points and challenges impact the way in which the intervention is defined, organised and developed

- structure of the centre
- methodological decision
- practitioners and teams