



Brazil Scoping Study

Summary report

February 2019

Executive summary

Background

It is impossible to know the exact number of children and young people in Brazil who are forced into situations of commercial sexual exploitation. The organisation Terre des Hommes has estimated that the number could be as high as 500,000 (*Down to Zero Baseline report*, 2016). Others have concluded that, after Thailand, Brazil has the largest number of children exploited to service the sexual demands of locals and tourists in the world (*Child Protection Centre*, 2013).

However, despite the staggering scale of the problem, the commercial exploitation of children (CSEC) remains almost invisible to Brazilians across the country. There is little official data recorded by law enforcement or government agencies. The lack of reliable data makes it extremely challenging to develop effective public policies. Further, the invisibility of CSEC is compounded by widespread community attitudes that either trivialise the problem or regard it as “normal” practice.

Minors who fall victim to CSEC almost exclusively come from the poorest and marginalised communities in Brazil. The pathways that lead to CSEC vary, however. In cases of extreme household poverty, children are sometimes encouraged by their families to provide sexual services for food or other goods. Minors may also be lured by men – often connected with their local school – into exchanging sexual “dates” for gifts, such as shoes, clothes or mobile phones. Other adolescents leave their community and move to the city in search of a better life. Some will end up exploited in street-based sex work or trafficked by CSEC networks and saddled with a debt they can never repay.



Map: Scoping study field visits

Key findings of the 2018 scoping study:

CSEC is a vast but invisible problem in Brazil.

More and better data is needed to develop effective public policies to counter CSEC.

There are strong laws to punish perpetrators, but they are poorly enforced.

There is high demand for CSEC, which continues to fuel the problem.

Front line civil society organisations need more human and financial support to address the causes of CSEC and provide support for victims and their families.

Coordinated interventions among Brazilian civil society and law enforcement to address CSEC are non-existent.

Terre des Hommes Netherlands et al. (2014) estimate that CSEC, in its many various forms, can be found in all major cities in Brazil. Other anecdotal evidence indicates that there is also a high prevalence of CSEC in many regional and rural centres across the country.

A call to action to tackle CSEC in Brazil

In 2018, the Freedom Fund commissioned a scoping study to better understand the root causes and pathways into CSEC in Brazil and assess whether a hotspot program could help build new and sustainable partnerships to tackle this problem. Data collection was done in three locations: Belém (Pará state), Foz do Iguaçu (state of Paraná) and Belo Horizonte (Minas Gerais state), where the researchers met with local civil society, communities and other stakeholders.

The study's findings indicate that there is a clear opportunity for a Freedom Fund hotspot to lead a coordinated response to this problem. The hotspot program would aim to spur a response to CSEC involving key government structures, civil society organisations and the general public to end CSEC in the hotspot regions and beyond.

More specifically, a Freedom Fund hotspot would:

- 1. Equip minors with the necessary information and skills to avoid and leave situations of commercial sexual exploitation:** possible interventions include mobile and centre-based outreach to minors currently facing exploitation; engagement of health workers and other trusted community-based stakeholders as messengers and referral systems; school-based and recreational activities to raise awareness and change attitudes among young people about the problem; referrals to existing vocational and educational opportunities; empower survivors to become agents for change.
- 2. Support authorities to deliver an effective response to CSEC and hold them accountable for its implementation:** this could be shaped by a participatory review of the local child protection system and subsequent development of local action plans; analysis of public budgets and spending; and supporting the development of advocacy strategies for civil society and activists.
- 3. Reduce the demand for, recruitment into and facilitation of CSEC in the hotspot regions:** this could be achieved through evidence based local behaviour change campaigns; increasing efforts to prosecute of offenders; enabling services providers and survivors to access legal support and compensation; business engagement in the tourism sector to develop codes of conduct for employees.

The Freedom Fund would also seek to fill the knowledge gap around CSEC by commissioning research to better understand the root causes and drivers of CSEC in the hotspot, specifically, as well as the motivations of those who sell or buy sex from minors. Findings would not only inform the program's behaviour change campaigns but also shape advocacy messages and help better target service provisions to minors at risk of and those suffering from CSEC.

Commercial sexual exploitation of children in Brazil



Image: Ginny Baumann/Freedom Fund

Commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) in Brazil is an endemic problem. The Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre (2013) found that Brazil has the second highest rate of CSEC in the world after Thailand. The numbers of Brazilian children and adolescents affected are staggering: between 100,000 and 500,000, according to estimates by Terre des Hommes (2016).

The true scale of the problem, however, remains unknown. Reporting of CSEC in Brazil is extremely flawed. Not only does a lack of data make it impossible to develop effective public policy to combat CSEC, it makes the problem invisible to the broader community. This invisibility is compounded by attitudes and practices that trivialise CSEC. A survey of Belo Monte workers found that sexual exploitation and prostitution involving children in Brazil is considered “normal”. As a result, CSEC is a crime that too often goes unreported.

Rituals about traditional practices and values, strong appeals to sexual consumption, the objectification of women and the widespread practice of eroticising children also contribute strongly to the problem. While girls are most commonly the victims of CSEC, boys also experience commercial sexual exploitation. However, stigma and embarrassment mean that cases of CSEC involving boys are even less likely to be reported.

Which children are most at risk?

A 2018 study by Brazil's Ministry of Health, which analysed reported cases of harassment, rape, child pornography and sexual exploitation, found that three quarters (74.2%) of child and adolescent victims of sexual violence are female. Further, most of the victims are black.

While the study did not look at the victims' socioeconomic profile, experts working in the sector estimate that, unlike victims of sexual abuse, victims of CSEC are almost exclusively from the poorest sections of the population. When families live in extreme poverty, usually in the most remote regions of the country, it is often a parent or another relative that will arrange a sexual "transaction" in exchange for food or other goods. There are also cases where severe poverty, combined with drug addiction, can lead children and adolescents to exchange sex for drugs or small amounts of money.

In both cases, victims can be very young – as young as seven years – and generally do not attend schools. Of those victims that do attend school, most live in vulnerable situations. While there are no available statistics, specialists agree that the vast majority of these children experienced other forms of sexual abuse before being exploited. Victims commonly enter CSEC by exchanging sexual "dates" for gifts, such as sneakers, clothes, mobile phones or weekend getaways, which can partly conceal the commercial aspect of the exploitation.

They may refer to offenders – who they meet online or through recruiters, school colleagues or friends – as "lovers" or "boyfriends". When the situation evolves to include monetary transactions, children and adolescents already have a "portfolio" of offenders who can reach them by WhatsApp or social media.

Sex tourism in Brazil is also heavily reliant on CSEC. According to the Ministry of Tourism, the profile of a typical victim in this industry is a black, poor and poorly educated girl. She often comes from a rural home and moves to the city in search of better living conditions.

If the child or adolescent moves to the city by herself, it is likely that she may end up in street-based sex work. If she is recruited through a human trafficking network, the criminal network will "support" her travel expenses in exchange for a financial debt she will never be able to repay. She will be forced to work on the street or in venues controlled by the network.

The need for more and better data

The profiles of CSEC victims have been outlined in the literature, described by experts working in the sector and confirmed in field research conducted through this study. However, a lack of information collected directly from survivors, or those who may be in contact with them, means that this list of profiles is not exhaustive.

Likewise, we know little about the profiles of CSEC offenders. Data from Disque 100 reveals that over half (55.2%) of CSEC offenders are men aged between 36 and 40 years. In relation to sexual violence more broadly, offenders are most likely to be men (81.6%) with some family ties with the victim (37%).

In the late 1990s, Gomes, Minayo and Fontoura (1999) found that the types of CSEC in Brazil varied between different parts of the country. At the time of the study, the authors documented sexual exploitation in the North and Midwest in connection with the mining sector, while sex tourism was prevalent in the Northeast. In the Southeast, they reported street prostitution involving children and juveniles. In the rural South, children and adolescents were groomed to enter CSEC based on false information and by preying on the naivety of their parents.

Nearly 20 years later, Terre des Hommes Netherlands, ECPAT Netherlands, Plan Netherlands and Free a Girl (2014) state that CSEC, in its various forms, can be found in all major cities in Brazil. According to experts interviewed for this study, there is also a high incidence of CSEC in many regional and rural centres across the country.

“After four months of research and travel to the regions with the highest risk of commercial sexual exploitation of children, it is possible to affirm that Brazil is not aware of the problem.”

Marques Casara, journalist, researcher and founder of Papel Social

Strong laws, patchy implementation

Brazil has a strong legal framework to protect its children against all forms of sexual violence, including commercial sexual exploitation. The Constitution sets out that the “law will severely punish the abuse, violence and sexual exploitation of children and adolescents”.

Advocacy by civil society – led by national and international NGOs – has been successful in bringing the issue to the attention of parliamentarians and driving significant amendments to the 1940 Penal Code and the Child and Adolescent Statute, adopted in 1990. In 1993, a parliamentary inquiry recommended that the “commercial sexual exploitation of children” be criminalised. Ten years later, in 2003, a subsequent parliamentary inquiry proposed an expanded definition of the crime of rape.

And most recently, in 2012, with Brazil set to host global sporting events, including the Olympics and the World Cup, a parliamentary inquiry on CSEC established agreements with sporting bodies to protect the rights of children and adolescents.

These expanded legal safeguards provide a crucial protection for children and young people, making all actors within the CSEC “chain” – including recruiters, venue owners, drivers and abusers – liable to criminal prosecution. The challenge, however, lies in raising awareness among law enforcement officials, especially given that the specific articles criminalising different activities related to CSEC are dispersed across different chapters, and in different pieces, of legislation. This situation requires law enforcement officials to have a deep understanding of the legal framework in order to prosecute different types of perpetrators for different crimes. The onus also falls on them to stay up-to-date with changes to the Penal Code and other legislation.



Image: Daniel Zanini H./Flickr Creative Commons

Another key challenge is for prosecutors to obtain the trust and collaboration of victims, many of whom will be deeply sceptical of official institutions. However, without a survivor's testimony to describe the "commercial" transaction behind a consensual sexual act, it is virtually impossible to prosecute an offender for CSEC, especially in cases where victims are aged between 14 and 18 years. If victims are younger than 14 years, offenders are punishable for the "rape of a vulnerable person", regardless of the victim's consent.

Civil Society and CSEC



Image: Ginny Baumann/Freedom Fund

Brazil has a large and vibrant civil society, which works on behalf of the country's 60 million children and young people. These organisations have helped shape many of the laws and policies that promote the rights, safety and well-being of children and young people. In general, national and international NGOs tend to work on strategic responses to issues related to children's rights, while local organisations deliver a broad range of programs and direct assistance to children and young people.

National and international NGOs

The national and international NGOs most active in addressing CSEC in Brazil have employed three key strategies to bring about change: awareness raising, engaging key stakeholders, especially businesses, and advocacy. Awareness raising activities have included large national television campaigns and city-level campaigns, especially connected to Brazil's National Day to Combat the Abuse and Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents. These campaigns aim to encourage the public to report cases of CSEC, with most recording a spike in reports during and immediately after the

campaign. However, the campaigns have not had a documented long-term and sustained change in public attitudes and behaviour.

National and international NGOs have also sought to work with key stakeholders in both the public and private sectors to better understand, identify and confront CSEC. The “mobilisation of key stakeholders” strategy targets economic sectors that have been connected to CSEC – such as transportation, megaprojects and tourism – in an attempt to suppress demand for CSEC. This approach has yielded some impressive results, especially in the transportation industry. (See box.)

In addition to policy advocacy, NGOs have been seeking to work with municipal governments in order to support public officials and local civil society organisations meet their responsibilities under the System for Guaranteeing the Rights of Children and Adolescents.

However, with 5,570 municipalities across the country, it is impossible for these NGOs to cover all. It is vital, therefore, that national and international NGOs look for opportunities to collaborate and amplify their impact in the fight against CSEC, working towards shared strategic objectives.

Local organisations

Local civil society organisations (CSOs) have a key role to play in Brazil’s System for Guaranteeing the Rights of Children and Adolescents. They are commonly commissioned by local governments to work with at-risk children and provide activities that focus on prevention (e.g. offering sports and leisure programs), protection (e.g. running shelters and foster homes) and reintegration to society (e.g. workplace training).

The scoping study undertook visits to three regions where children and adolescents are vulnerable to commercial sexual exploitation: Belém (capital of Pará state), Foz do Iguaçu (state of Paraná) and Belo Horizonte (capital of Minas Gerais state).

Truck drivers urged to “be a hero” for children

Childhood Brasil’s “Na Mão Certa” (On the Right Track) program mobilised the Federal Highway Police, civil society organisations and more than 2,000 transportation and logistics companies to better understand truck drivers’ lifestyles. The goal was to turn them from potential offenders into protectors of children and adolescents – “Herói da Infância”.

After 12 years, Childhood Brasil reported that the number of truck drivers who reported paying for sex with minors had plummeted from 60% to 17%. There were reports, however, that “Na Mão Certa” had pushed the problem of CSEC from the highway to city centres. This highlights the clear need to address both the supply side and the demand side of CSEC.

The field research sought to assess the scope and likely effectiveness of local CSOs' activities and approaches to combat CSEC. The most important finding, however, was the near total absence of CSOs that work to directly tackle CSEC at this moment.

Among the three regions visited, and in nine other states reviewed, the research identified only one local CSO that works specifically on CSEC – and even this organisation does not undertake direct outreach activities with victims. Outreach and victim assistance are generally considered the responsibility of government and the police. However, public officials do not have the resources or the capacity to take on this role. Where CSOs do offer prevention or reintegration activities for children and adolescents who have been victims of violence, they generally provide these services without differentiating by type of violence suffered by the individual (i.e. sexual abuse or CSEC).

Limited outreach to minors experiencing exploitation

One of the biggest gaps identified by this study is the limited engagement of the NGO community with children and adolescents affected by commercial sexual exploitation. While NGOs may provide vulnerable communities and individuals with support and assistance, there is a clear strategic need to listen to the stories of CSEC survivors specifically and build a comprehensive picture of CSEC in Brazil that draws on their direct experience. This data is crucial in order to develop effective prevention and law enforcement strategies. Giving voice to the stories of survivors can also be a powerful weapon in overcoming the invisibility of CSEC and highlighting the impact it has on the lives of exploited children and adolescents.

Furthermore, there is a universal lack of funding to support work with vulnerable children and most organisations lack fundraising skills or capacity. As a result, local Brazilian civil society depends on partnerships with local governments, which do not invest in programs focused specifically on fighting CSEC. Moreover, public funds are not sufficient to sustain the organisations' activities, and funding levels have also been falling in recent years, reducing or shutting down completely many projects and programs.

However, and despite these limitations, our study revealed that there are several organisations and activists who used to work to tackle CSEC in the past, and who are willing and have enough expertise to revive their efforts with the appropriate funding and technical support. The Freedom Fund could play a potentially important role in not only providing the necessary funding but also injecting the dormant movement with the necessary coordination to build new momentum. A potential intervention is described in more detail below.

Developing a sustainable hotspot strategy in Brazil

A Freedom Fund hotspot in Brazil

To make real and lasting change around a deeply entrenched problem like CSEC, work at the frontlines is required. The Freedom Fund implements a hotspot model where we partner with frontline organisations to collectively prevent and respond to modern slavery, including CSEC, in regions where it is highly prevalent. Building genuine collaboration and developing local solutions is difficult, demanding and time intensive work but, as results from other Freedom Fund hotspots has shown, it is also one of the most effective ways to achieve large-scale and sustainable impact.

A central aspect of this scoping study was to assess the feasibility of establishing a hotspot intervention to address the significant incidence of CSEC in Brazil. The evidence suggests a clear need for an intervention that can build partnerships, focus expertise and resources, and provide financial sustainability to address the causes of CSEC and assist survivors and their families.

A successful hotspot in Brazil must address the key issues identified in this study:

- CSEC is a vast but invisible problem in Brazil.
- More and better data is needed to develop effective public policies to counter CSEC.
- There are strong laws to punish perpetrators, but they are poorly enforced.
- There is high demand for CSEC, which continues to fuel the problem.
- Front line civil society organisations need more human and financial support to address the causes of CSEC and provide support for victims to reintegrate into society.
- A coordinated effort among Brazilian civil society to address CSEC seems to be lacking.

The role of frontline organisations

Civil society is often uniquely positioned with vulnerable communities, trusted in a way that public officials or other stakeholders may not be. They are, therefore, the Freedom Fund's key stakeholder to reach populations at risk of exploitation as we consider them the most effective agents of change. If communities are going to put their head above the parapet and challenge the status quo, they need to trust the NGO staff members that are working with them; likewise, the NGOs need to understand the communities they are serving, the powerholders they are challenging, and how change can happen. Many of our partners are staffed by local people, from the same communities they are working with – and some are survivors of extreme exploitation themselves. The NGOs and the activists we support will be around for many years longer than the Freedom Fund's program. Investing in them and helping to build their capacity will strengthen civil society as a whole and will mean that the benefits of the project continue long after it formally ends.

Based on our findings, a coordinated effort among Brazilian civil society to address CSEC is lacking. A Freedom Fund hotspot program will bring together organisations that have been working on similar issues, even if they work on different aspects. Granting to a cluster of geographically proximate NGOs and supporting them to come together as a network for joint learning and advocacy is another core element of every Freedom Fund hotspot.

Our scoping study in Brazil highlighted the human and financial challenges that local civil society organisations face in delivering services. They are almost exclusively reliant on dwindling government funding to meet basic administrative costs and other program expenditures. Providing grants to these organisations to provide essential services, as well as technical and institutional capacity support, will be a significant component of the Freedom Fund hotspot and will empower an untapped force for change.

Engagement of local and national stakeholders

Victims and survivors: A deeper understanding about the experiences and insights of victims/ survivors of CSEC is currently lacking. A hotspot program would not only support the full recovery and reintegration of CSEC survivors, but also prioritise the inclusion of survivor voices across all campaign and advocacy efforts. The hotspot would support those survivors who are interested in doing so, to take an active part in a movement to bring an end to CSEC in Brazil by building their leadership capacity and creating opportunities for mentorship.

Source communities: It is vital that communities across Brazil, especially those that are socially or economically vulnerable, are resilient to forces that pull their children and adolescents into situations of CSEC. Minors in potential “source” communities need to be aware of their rights and the support available to them so they can protect themselves against all forms of violence, including CSEC. Similarly, the close support networks around at-risk children need to be strengthened and empowered to be able to offer effective guidance and protection to their children, where possible. Families must be included in awareness raising and education efforts. In this vein, local school teachers, social assistants, community health workers and police officers should be mobilised and trained to effectively engage with and protect children and adolescents from exploitation as well as build trust with communities.

Public officials: Public officials at all levels (community, city and state) and across all agencies (education, social assistance, health, human rights, police and justice) are directly responsible for implementing policies under the System for Guaranteeing the Rights of Children and Adolescents. Clarifying their different and complementary roles within this framework is crucial to energise the fight against CSEC, as well as address other forms of sexual violence. In addition, the political support from these government authorities can make it easier to promote engagement with lower levels of the public administration. Identifying key allies will be the first step to a collaborative partnership with local government to improve local systems and practices. Local civil society will be empowered to monitor the implementation of this system and hold officials accountable.

Law enforcement officials: The study found that many law enforcement officials are unaware of changes to the legislation regarding CSEC, which results in less cases registered and investigated. Targeted training is essential to ensure that they are able to identify the different types of CSEC-related cases they can investigate and prosecute. Moreover, successful convictions have the potential to counter the invisibility of CSEC and demonstrate to the community – and potential perpetrators – that these crimes will be punished. To be effective, however, law enforcement officials need to consider how best they can reach out, support and foster cooperation with CSEC survivors, especially if their statement or testimony is necessary for successful cases. In addition, when law enforcement officials are able to consistently classify and register CSEC-related crimes, it helps build reliable data sets that can inform public policy.

Local business: The role of business in the fight against CSEC cannot be underestimated. Hotel staff, taxi drivers, boat drivers, motel owners, and other local tourism-related business staff have been found to be facilitating CSEC in different ways, including through the provision of transport to “customers”, accommodation for the purpose of sexual transactions, etc. Any effort to tackle CSEC must explore campaigns to engage with the relevant businesses to improve business practice. Furthermore, alternative livelihood options are crucial for survivors’ reintegration. There is evidence, however, that some business operators are reluctant to hire “former sex workers” and that changing attitudes about CSEC victims will take time. Identifying local business leaders who can be champions for CSEC survivors could help overturn this prejudice.

Perpetrators and recruiters: CSEC is one of the most permissible and normalised practices of violence in Brazil (Promundo, 2012). The impunity and social acceptability around this exploitation sends an ambiguous message to (potential) perpetrators and facilitators of CSEC. Behaviour change campaigns for this target group need to be designed carefully shaped by their motivations and the social norms that guide the behaviour of the group. Furthermore, preventative campaigns with adolescent boys and girls, exploring sexuality and gender identity, could help prevent this type of exploitative behaviour in the future. Ultimately, reducing the demand for sexualised services from minors would directly result in a reduction of CSEC.

Why now

- Brazil is facing a deepening human rights crisis, which has placed the country in the international media headlines regularly. This international attention presents an opportunity to mobilise donors and other partners to stand up for human rights, including children's safety and well-being.
- At the national level, the changed political climate has led civil society organisations and activists working to promote and protect the rights of Brazil's children to mobilise. We should seize the opportunities offered by this momentum.
- Addressing the commercial sexual exploitation of children, specifically, was previously identified as a priority by the government. However, cuts to public funding and waning international interest have resulted in a reduction in programs to combat CSEC. There is an opportunity to revive these efforts in a Freedom Fund supported hotspot.



Overview of potential intervention

Goal: To reduce the prevalence of commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) in a Freedom Fund hotspot

Objective	Possible activities/outputs	Outcomes
1. Empower minors with the necessary information and skills to avoid and leave situations of commercial sexual exploitation	Produce an in-depth report exploring the root causes and drivers of CSEC from a survivor's perspective.	A better understanding of CSEC in the hotspot area informs services and campaigns.
	Support outreach activities to victims/ survivors through mobile and centre-based service provision, incl. referrals to alternative livelihood options; engage with key community members and public officials (from health, education, social assistance, and police) in the hotspot for trust building & information dissemination.	Victims/ survivors understand their rights and know where to look for support. Survivors have the opportunity to become agents for change.
	Engage young people through schools and other recreational centres/ activities, incl. preventative campaigns with adolescent boys and girls, exploring sexuality and gender identity.	Young people are aware of the risk of exploitation and ways to protect themselves. Traditional gender norms that facilitate CSEC are challenged.
2. Support authorities to deliver an effective response to CSEC and hold them accountable for its implementation.	Conduct participatory review of the local System for Guaranteeing the Rights of Children and Adolescents from through a CSEC lens; analysis of public budgets and spending; support the development of a local action plan to address identified gaps.	Authorities are able to more systematically prevent and respond to cases of CSEC.
	Support developments for CSO advocacy strategy to demand appropriate resource allocation to improve government service provision; build the capacity of CSOs to assist minors affected by CSEC and support their families, in line with the System for Guaranteeing the Rights of Children and Adolescents.	Civil society organisations are able to provide appropriate support services to CSEC victims/ survivors. Civil society understands their role in the local child protection systems and advocates for improved government services.

3. Reduce the demand, recruitment and facilitation of CSEC in a hotspot region	Training for relevant law enforcement officials on updated provisions in the legislation regarding CSEC and review and analysis of successful convictions; joint workshops between civil society and law enforcement officials to share challenges and opportunities to strengthen investigations of CSEC perpetrators.	Law enforcement officials in the ‘hotspot’ region are aware of current CSEC legislation and are able to correctly classify and register all related crimes and investigate CSEC-related cases, prosecuting involved actors.
	Development of legal guide for service providers on available legal options for CSEC survivors; train all relevant civil society and government services providers on this guide.	CSOs and government service providers understand the relevant legal processes and are able to advise or refer survivors appropriately.
	In-depth research profiling groups who seek to buy, sell or facilitate the sale of sexual services by minors to understand their motivations; behaviour change campaigns targeting perpetrators and facilitators based on this research; business engagement to develop codes of conduct; preventative campaigns with adolescent boys and girls, exploring sexuality and gender identity.	Individuals who seek to buy, sell and facilitate the sale of sexual services by minors understand the social and legal impact of their actions and change their behaviour as a result. Business operators that allow or directly facilitate CSEC understand the social and legal impact of their actions, know how to report CSEC-related activities and review and improve their business practices and policies. Broader awareness and understanding among the Brazilian public about the reality of CSEC.

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