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**Cautionary note:** The terms 'child prostitution' and 'prostituted children' are used in this text to denote children that are sexually exploited and sexually trafficked. The connotative manner in which these definitions are perceived and analyzed may differ due to linguistic, cultural, and perceptual differences.

## MINORS AND YOUNG ADULTS: ACTORS OF THE SYSTEM OF PROSTITUTION

### *Young prostituted persons, young procurers and young sex buyers*

*Minors and young adults are the first victims of prostitution. This phenomenon, long denied, has recently begun to emerge in the news. Stimulated by instability, technological progress, the influence of pornography and the "glamorization" of prostitution, forms of exploitation are numerous: sex tourism, student prostitution, sugar babies, michetonnage, rootless young migrants... However, young people are not only victims of this exploitation, they are also participating as procurers and sex buyers. Faced with this phenomenon, it is urgent to construct a real policy of education on gender equality and respect of human dignity.*

From Canadian *sugar babies* to the street children of Manila and Parisian "michettones," prostitution of minors and young adults takes on a number of varied forms: local or foreign young people, sexually exploited outside or within networks... This heterogeneity, which is characteristic of prostitution in general, makes this worldwide phenomenon difficult to understand. It is also difficult to gather figures on adolescent prostitution because of the relatively occult nature of this activity. This explains why the Office Central pour la Répression des Etres Humains (OCRTEH) reported 29 prostituted minors in France in 2017, while other associations such as ECPAT International estimate their number to be between 6,000 to 10,000 (ACPE, December 2016). Certain causes of this opacity are common among all forms of sex trade, such as the growing use of the Internet or the development of indoor prostitution establishments like massage parlors. Other causes are specific to the prostitution of

minors, for instance young foreigners' mobility as well as their lack of papers. Furthermore, within France, public authorities pay more attention to the prostitution of foreign minors in the public sphere than to the prostitution of "local" minors, the latter being more discreet and more difficult to admit (*Les Cahiers Dynamiques*, December 2011). It was not until the arrival of young prostituted persons from Eastern Europe on the Parisian sidewalks in the early 2000s that the subject of child prostitution was discussed. However, entry into prostitution often occurs in adolescence: 10% of prostituted persons surveyed started this activity while they were minors and 39% were between 18 and 24 years old (FNARS, INVS, 2013).

Given the particular vulnerability of children and adolescents to prostitution, minors are subject to special legal protection, both at international and national levels. Article 1 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), known as the New York

Convention of November 20<sup>th</sup>, 1989 stipulates that a “child” is understood as any person under the age of 18, unless the national law grants majority earlier. At this stage, however, it should be noted that this chapter is not limited to minors in the legal sense, but extends to observing and analyzing the behaviors of young adults (under 25 years old) in order to identify the role of “young people” in the system of prostitution. Generally, the international protection of children against sexual exploitation is ensured by international texts prohibiting infringement on human dignity, slavery or trafficking in human beings, such as the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR) of November 4<sup>th</sup>, 1950, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of November 10<sup>th</sup>, 1948 or the Palermo Protocol of November 15, 2000. Specifically, minors are protected by Article 34 of the UNCRC, accompanied by an Optional Protocol on the prostitution of children of the May 25<sup>th</sup>, 2000 and Directive 2011/92/EU of the December 13<sup>th</sup>, 2011 on combating the sexual abuse and sexual exploitation of children. French law prohibits the purchase of any form of prostitution but penalties are more severe when the victim is a minor, being up to seven years imprisonment and EUR 100,000 (USD 113,185) fine (Law of the June 17<sup>th</sup>, 1998, Law of the March 4<sup>th</sup>, 2002, Law of the April 14<sup>th</sup>, 2016 and Law of the April 13<sup>th</sup>, 2016 / Articles 225-12-1 et seq. of the Penal Code). The same applies to procuring, with its participants incurring up to 15 years in prison and a EUR 3 million (USD 3.4 million) fine when their victim is a minor (Articles 225-7 et seq. of the Penal Code). To fight against child sex tourism, French criminal law’s jurisdiction is extended by derogation when the purchase of a sexual act from a minor

takes place abroad. Thus, the condition of double incrimination and prior filing of a complaint is not required, unlike other cases of offences committed outside French territory (Article 227-27-1 of the Penal Code).

While minors and very young adults are present among prostituted persons, they are also present among procurers and sex buyers, making them involved in the three strands of the system of prostitution.

### **Young prostituted persons**

#### ***The prostitution of young French people***

In addition to the exploitation of minors in trafficking networks, French minors engage in various forms of prostitution outside these networks.

#### *“Michetonnage”*

The familiar term “michetonnage” refers to a practice of female teenagers, often from impoverished suburbs, which consists in tricking a slightly older man by making him believe in a romantic relationship in order to obtain gifts or invitations. In slang, the term “micheton” traditionally referred to a “simpleton”: today, “michetonneuses” speak of “suckers.” While some succeed in getting what they want simply by dangling a potential future sexual relation in front of these “suckers” without giving it to them or by simply kissing them, they usually end up giving sexual favors. These young girls often have poor self-images, as they are residents of suburbs held in contempt by the public opinion, and also because of the difficult status that women in these suburbs have. They indicate that they feel caught in a vice between, on the one hand, pressure to resemble the sexualized canons of femininity of western societies (commercials, videoclips, cinema, reality TV) and, on the other hand, traditional values such as the “purity” to which their conservative families,

often immigrants, are attached. In fear of the often-permanent reputation of a “prostitute,” which circulates quickly throughout the “projects,” these girls engage in “michetonnage” outside of their neighborhoods, especially in Parisian shisha bars. The difficulty in handling their cases lies in their denial of the prostitutional character of their activity: they refuse to call themselves “prostituted persons”, believing they are taking advantage of the man when, in reality, it is he who takes advantage of their vulnerability by finally getting from them sexual intercourse that the women say they are subjected to. Their willingness to remain discreet is not without consequence. Indeed, they do not generally use methods of contraception for fear that their close relatives would discover it and deduce that they have a sexual life, which potentially leads them to getting abortions. Moreover, they do not systematically protect themselves, not daring to use a condom since they are not supposed to be prostituted persons, which exposes them to STIs. Finally, their initial discontent, worsened by their situation, frequently results in self-harm or drug addiction (Gil, 2012). Another form of “michetonnage” exists among young men as well. Its origins are different, as those men often rejected their surroundings intolerant of their homosexuality, thus becoming early in life estranged from their families and society: this corresponds particularly with young homosexual men arriving alone in Paris without any connections. Some researchers talk about a form of “identity” prostitution that is not only a matter of finding ways to survive, but also of building a gender identity. This form of prostitution flourishes in places where homosexual encounters are conducive to discretion, such as saunas, gay clubs or backrooms (Les Cahiers Dynamiques, December 2011).

#### *Student prostitution*

Another aspect of prostitution among young people has been subject to much more media coverage: “student prostitution.” Once again, no official data is available, however two studies carried out by the Universities of Essonne and Montpellier brought forth similar results. The University of Essonne concluded that 2.7% of university students had given a sexual act in exchange for compensation. While the compensation is most often financial, it can also be a “prostitution-trade,” for example in exchange for housing. 5.4% of university students have been offered to prostitute themselves, and 7.9% are considering doing so (Conseil Général de l’Essonne, 2013). According to the Paul Valéry-Montpellier III University, 4% of university students have been prostituted, and 3.3% have purchased a sexual act. Furthermore, 15.9% of university students have considered prostituting themselves and 10.5% have considered becoming sex buyers (Amicale du Nid 34, 2012). According to the UNEF, the students’ majority labor union, the major cause of student prostitution resides in instability, and its facilitation through the Internet. Also, among students in Essonne who have already prostituted themselves, 91% have claimed to have had financial difficulties, either regularly or not. This instability is, in a number of cases, caused by familial rupture that causes the isolation of these young people, which is thus worsened by the secret nature of their double life. Victims explain that after having begun to earn money quickly (but not easily), it becomes difficult to exit from this vicious cycle. The label “student” also acts as a guarantee of quality of service for the sex buyers. Websites like *Seekingarrangements* in Canada have understood this well, proposing to match “sugar daddies,” old

and wealthy men, with “sugar babies,” young and beautiful students. This practice was brought to Europe, for example in Belgium and France through the website *RichMeetBeautiful* which promoted at the beginning of 2017 in the student district of Paris. This form of prostitution prospers due to an idealized misrepresentation of student prostitution, which is advertised as being less “degrading” than street prostitution.

#### *“Pre-prostitution” behaviors*

Aside from explicit prostitution, some derived behaviors, deemed “pre-prostitutional,” have developed, attracting their fair share of threats to minors. This is the case, first of all, with sexting, which consists of sending sexually explicit photos via a smartphone, which can later result in threats to release these compromising photos on the internet (revenge porn). This is also the case of *dedipix*, where a photograph of a person’s autograph, signed on a part of their body, is exchanged for positive comments on the blog of the person sending the photograph. The goal is for it to gain popularity, the number of likes being proportional to the audacious character of the image. Finally, social networks are the primary place to exercise grooming, which consists of sexual solicitation of a minor online by an older person, who pretends to be the same age as their victim (*Fondation Scelles*, 2016).

In addition to the obvious weight of instability among the causes of underage prostitution, there are several other factors.

#### *Influence of pornography*

The large influence of pornography in the construction of the gender and sexual identities of adolescents, in their representation of gender relations, as well as sexuality, is a key to understanding the presence of minors among prostituted persons, sex buyers and procurers. In 2017,

French people aged 15 to 17 claimed to have seen pornography on the internet for the first time at the age of 14.4 on average, however 15% claimed to have seen it before the age of 13. Almost half considered that their first interaction with pornography, often accidental, happened too early. This age has been declining since 2013, when it was 15.1 years old (*OPEN, IFOP*, March 15, 2017). In parallel, the proportion of adolescents who have visited an X-rated website has risen since 2013, rising from 37% to 51%. This proportion remains more significant among young boys than among young girls; 63% versus 37%. These numbers confirm the findings of a study carried out between 2011-2012 by the NGO *Amicale du Nid* (ADN), according to whom 70% of boys between the ages of 14-25 years old regularly watch pornography, compared to only 30% of young girls (*Prostitution et Société*, January-March 2013). While portable computers are often used for viewing pornography for the first time, it is now smartphones that are used for the regular consumption of pornography. In any case, the first place of pornography consumption among young people is now the Internet, the use of pornographic films on television such as DVD or catalogues being in sharp decline. Furthermore, the vast majority of young people (over 80%) watch pornography on websites that are free, with very few (around 5%) watching this material on paid sites (*OPEN, IFOP*, March 15, 2017). However, the massive growth of these published sites, known as “tubes”, with so-called amateur videos, precludes the regulation of their content, which was previously ensured by X-rated film production companies. To resist this competition, a number of these production companies have abandoned “dad porn” to offer increasingly “trash” content such as “gonzoporn” (simulations of physical

aggression or even rape, multiple partners, etc.). Indeed, the majority of the today's pornography rests on the 3 following pillars: staging a desired submission of the woman, dissociation of the physical and emotional aspects of sexuality and representation based on violence necessary for pleasure. However, exposure to these images at an increasingly young age, when not accompanied by prevention and decryption, is likely to influence the sexual imagination without the ability to distance oneself from the content of these images. Thus, 40% of people aged 18-24 do not consider pornography to be a degraded representation of reality (*Prostitution et Société*, January-March 2013). There is a risk that this sexual imaginary domain builds itself by reproducing traditional patterns of male domination, this reproduction having for foundation a persistent "double asymmetry" in the collective imagination, where there is always opposition of the "quasi physiological" male desire and needs with the "feminine availability and feminine affective aspirations" (*Bajos, Bozon, 2008*). Prostitution confirms these norms by submitting to them: the prostituted woman is, like the women in pornographic films, constantly available and subject to the sex buyer's will in terms of practices. Almost half of young people, already having had their first sexual encounters, believe that pornography participated in their understanding and learning of sexuality, but, paradoxically, three-quarters of them felt as if it had no influence on their sexuality. This contradiction may indicate that the pornography codes have been integrated by millennials to the point that they no longer perceive their influence (*OPEN, IFOP, March 15, 2017*). This impregnation of "pornography culture" is responsible, according to gynecologists evoking a "school of non-consent", of

certain pre-prostitutional conduct that can be observed, as early as middle school, by actors of the worlds of health and education, such as the practice of fellatio in exchange for a mobile phone, which is not always perceived as prostitution by its protagonists (*Le Monde*, January 26, 2018).

#### *"Glamourization" of prostitution*

This relativization of the impact of paid sexual acts is also underpinned by an extension of the liberal logic to the human body, and is encouraged by some "glamorization" through certain media representations of this phenomenon, such as Zahia Dehar, who was prostituted at the age of 16 years old, and whose sex buyers professional soccer athletes. Since then, she reinvented herself in the fashion industry (*Fondation Scelles, 2016*). She became an icon of the stylist Karl Lagerfeld, and has been used as a symbol of success for a number of young girls, notably those coming from disadvantaged communities and hoping to be able to access a superior social class, notoriety and luxury. Thus, in 2014, 52.3% of young people considered that accepting a sexual act in exchange for a present or money could be a way to leave their economic insecurity behind (*Amicale du Nid 34, 2012*).

#### *Misunderstanding of the risks of prostitution*

The misunderstanding of the limits of the prostitutional sphere can be explained notably by the vague semantics that surround it, with the proliferation of euphemisms like "escort" that blur the reality. A study conducted by the NGO ADN in 2012 found that while people aged 14-25 overwhelmingly believe that money (95%), hopelessness (60%) and/or bad encounters (65%) are the main causes of prostitution, 21% still identify the quest for sexual pleasure by the prostituted person as a driving force. Additionally, only

26% of them perceive the internet to be a source of risk for prostituted persons (*Prostitution et Société*, January-March 2013). The subsistence of these points of ignorance among young generations is notably due to the low place that prostitution occupies in the sexual education provided by families and by the National Education. Parents don't always dare to bring up the subject, or they discuss it more with their daughters than with their sons, and health curriculums in middle schools focus more on the health aspect of sexuality (protection against STIs, contraception), not only because it is considered a priority, but also because there is no social consensus on the issue of prostitution. In any event, entry into prostitution often follows a gradual and insidious process that is divided into several phases (pre-prostitutional, occasional, systematic) that "traps" the prostituted person without him fully knowing it.

#### ***Prostitution of young migrants***

*On French and European ground: unaccompanied minors*

The large migratory wave that Europe has seen over the past few years (Arab Spring, Syrian conflict, authoritarian regime in Eritrea) has brought forth many isolated and uprooted children who are incredibly vulnerable to the risks of trafficking. According to Europol, around 10,000 migrant children have disappeared in Europe over the course of the past few years. Indeed, 48% of victims of human trafficking in Europe are children. According to UNICEF, 2 million children are victims of sexual exploitation around the world, of whom 1.2 million are exploited by human trafficking. A study carried out by UNICEF in 2016 in the Calais Jungle updated the gravity and multiplicity of the threats to which unaccompanied minors, who are not given services by the Social Assistance to Children, are exposed. They

are submitted notably to sexual violence, including prostitution, which takes different forms depending on the community. For example, young Afghan boys are subjected to a type of prostitution inspired by the practice of "Batcha bazi," literally "game of the boy" in Persian<sup>1</sup>. Regarding young Eritrean or Iraqi Kurdish girls, some may be prostituted in bars in the Calais Jungle and may frequently go back and forth to Paris, under the pretext of being able to rest there when in reality, NGOs find them on the streets of Paris, oftentimes under the control of Albanian trafficking networks. Vietnamese networks appear to be very organized, young girls being often sent to nail salons where they are sometimes prostituted. Prostitution, for these young women, minors or girls of barely-legal age, provides them with a way to finance their passage to the United Kingdom, which can cost between EUR 5,000 and EUR 7,000 (USD 5,659 and USD 7,923). During this long and difficult journey, these women often have to have sexual relations with the people smuggler, especially in Libya, in order to be able to get across the border faster. One can thus distinguish two forms of prostitution among migrants, notably minors who pass for young adults when confronted with administrative authorities in this context: "unchosen or resigned" prostitution in order to reach their destination and clearly "coerced" prostitution in the context of trafficking networks. Some young migrants may now be sent to Spain, from where they can fly to the UK for about EUR 9,000 (USD 10,187), which they earn by being prostituted in Spanish brothels (*UNICEF France*, 2016).

#### ***Abroad: child sex tourism***

In addition to "traditional" destinations for child sex tourism such as Thailand, Morocco or Mexico, other countries are becoming countries of predilection, such as

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Madagascar (ECPAT France, December 2013). Paid sexual relations with minors abroad are often filmed and feed into child pornography, which confirms the intimate connection between these two phenomena. Child sex tourism is not limited to pedophiles – who are sexually attracted to pre-pubescent children – but also attracts “occasional sex tourists,” who are motivated by a desire to experiment and profit from the anonymity of being abroad. This is why the profiles of child sex tourists vary: they can be nationals coming from other regions of the country or people from abroad, groups of people of all ages or solo travelers, for whom the purchase of sexual acts was the objective of the trip or just an “added pleasure”... On the other hand, minors, victims of sex tourism, are generally from disadvantaged areas in developing countries. Street children or members of ethnic minorities, orphans or even those who work in the tourism industry are particularly exposed (ECPAT France, December 2013). Prostitution of these children has grave consequences:

- First of all, medical consequences, as they more often contract STIs or HIV/AIDS, which reduces their life expectancy;
- Then, physical consequences, as they live in deplorable hygienic conditions;
- Psychological consequences, with psychological aftereffects of post-traumatic stress disorder;
- Societal consequences, as they are marginalized and cannot be integrated in hopes of getting out of the system of prostitution (Javate de Dios, 2005).

This type of tourism is encouraged by the anonymity which guarantees impunity, but also by a certain number of perceptions about child sex tourism. The result of an IFOP survey (made by the French Institute of Public Opinion) conducted in 2010 in partnership with the NGO ECPAT International is that, while almost all (99%)

of the French interviewed consider it unacceptable to have paid sexual relations with a minor, some arguments that take responsibility away from sex buyers are still very present concerning foreign minors. First, cultural relativism: almost 1 person out of every 5 (18%) believes that the prostitution of minors cannot be perceived everywhere in the same way, as the cultural context must be taken into account. Almost 1 person out of 2 (43%) think that the prostitution of minors in poor countries is sometimes, or always, a personal choice, while only one in ten (10%) thinks so for French prostituted minors. The humanitarian economic argument is nevertheless the most effective: almost 1 person out of 2 (44%) believes that, without sex tourism in poor countries, minors would not have the means to provide for their needs, as well as the needs of their families (*Prostitution et Société*, October-December 2010).

### Young procurers

#### Loverboys

The term *loverboy*, which appeared in 1995 in the Netherlands, describes a procurer under the age of 25 who targets fragile adolescents who confide in him on social networks. He seduces them, pretends to love them and even helps them to discover their sexuality for the first time. After offering them presents, allowing them to access the lifestyle of their dreams, but also progressively isolating them from their loved ones, the young man asks them to prostitute themselves among their so-called friends, in reality sex buyers, under the pretext of helping him repay his debts, telling victims that they are indebted for “all that he’s done for them.” The existence of an emotional relationship close to an emotional grip complicates the exit from this situation for these girls, whose poor self-images is taken advantage of by the

loverboy, even if they can also be kept under control by violence or drug addiction (Fondation Scelles, 2016). Loverboys act alone or within networks. This was for example the case with the Wolfpack gang in Canada, dismantled in 2003, half of whose victims were under the age of 14. This trend is developing also in the Balkans, where the loverboys profit from the pull factor generated by regulatory countries like Germany to send “their girls” west. The victims come from all backgrounds, and the loverboy presents himself often as a young man practically perfect in every way, who doesn’t prevent the adolescent from going to school, quite the reverse. Thus, parents remain generally unaware of the process that is being undergone. Young girls from minorities are particularly vulnerable, like the Inuk in Canada, especially Vancouver, as native people are broadly speaking a more vulnerable population (Fondation Scelles, 2016). Currently, the response to this threat is primarily through prevention, through awareness campaigns for adolescent girls, such as in Canada, or on sites like *Stoploverboy* in the Netherlands that call for vigilance.

#### **Procuring in suburbans areas**

Since 2015, France has been subjected to a form of procuring in its disadvantaged suburbs. It mostly affects minors between the ages of 13 and 17 who come from vulnerable neighborhoods, often are in rupture with their families and often stopped going to school. These minors are exploited by young men, usually under 25 years old, who come from the same background and generation as them, often known by the police for “average crimes” (local drug traffics, damage to property of medium severity). Keen on new technologies, they advertise on sites like *Vivastreet* and rent rooms in low-end hotels or apartments on *Airbnb* using fraudulent

bank card numbers obtained on the *DarkNet*. The methods used are also borrowed from those of drug trafficking, with touts for sex buyers, supervisors for girls, harvesters for money, with the same violence, such as the confinement of victims in apartments under the supervision of a network member. The recent interest in cyber-procuring among average peri-urban offenders from the projects was motivated by their discovery of the financial manna it represents and its risk/benefit ratio. Less dangerous than drug trafficking, which is strictly watched and reprimanded, procuring is less expensive and necessitates a less complicated organization than for armed robbery. This “low-end” procuring is all the more difficult to identify because it is not about strong, community-based networks such as Nigerian procuring, for example (*AFIREM*, January 2012).

#### **Young sex buyers**

Sex buyers of prostituted persons don’t fit into a monolithic portrait. Among the 5 major profiles described by the researcher Saïd Boumama, one can see the “sexually and emotionally isolated,” the “out of sync with equality,” the “buyers of merchandise,” the “allergic to commitment and responsibilities,” and finally the “compulsive sexual relationships” (*Bouamama, Legardinier, 2006*).

Swedish researchers have identified two sex buyers profiles based on gender representations: “losers” on the one hand, relatively elderly men who do not accept the contemporary tendency to weaken male domination; “cheaters” on the other hand, younger men whose gender identity was built on pornography and a consumerist ideology (*Mouvements, 2004*).

The twin categories of “buyers of merchandise” and “cheaters” are illustrated



by young French residents in the Eastern Pyrenees, border department of Spain, and who go to the Spanish commune of La Jonquera to buy sexual acts. For them, the use of prostitution is a rite of passage to adulthood and especially to hetero-normative sexuality: it is therefore a sexuality for others and not for themselves. Their “first time” with a prostituted person is often sponsored by a family member such as their father, by a sports coach or an employer, sometimes with a team building logic. By proving that they are “not faggots”, they are integrating the “men’s world,” built in opposition to women. Opposition in the first place because they obey the norms of manhood according to which men have sexual needs that must legitimately be met by women, who are “inferior” and always “available”, thus emphasizing an asymmetry: what is a right for boys is an impurity for girls. Next is exclusion because, apart from prostituted persons, women are excluded from male conversations on this subject and are not admitted in brothels.

These men’s perceptions of the Jonquera prostituted persons are differentiated from their perceptions of “their wives.” In this regard, it is remarkable that they refer to them as “girls” or “whores” and not “women,” in order to distance them from those they consider “respectable,” such as their mother or wife. The first difference is due to the foreign nationality of prostituted persons often from Romania or South America, which explains, according to the sex buyers, the particular inclination these women have for sex, in a conception impregnated with racism. Some explain that their lack of proficiency in the French language and thus lack of verbal communication is an asset that facilitates their classification because this is precisely the domination they can afford to exercise over them because of

their status, which makes them desirable. The second difference in the spirit of sex buyers resides in the beauty and experimentation of prostituted persons, as they correspond to the pornographic canons in their physique and sexual practices.

This discourse is fully integrated by the young women of the Eastern Pyrenees, who must define themselves through a moralistic perspective of their sexuality. This binary system of “the mother or the whore” constraints them to “choose their side.” They thus hope to distinguish themselves from prostituted persons, who are often judged poorly, notably in their choice of clothing, in order to gain “respect” from boys. However, at the same time, they have a complex because they want to feel as “sexy” and to be as sexually experienced as prostituted persons. They suffer from a competition that is most often implicit but sometimes explicitly expressed by boys, which can lead them to accept certain sexual practices that they do not really want, hoping to ensure the fidelity of their companion. These contradictory injunctions lead to a real “suffering of being a woman,” which many women seem to be resigned to (*Harlé et al.*, 2013).

In conclusion, prostitution of young people is characterized by its heterogeneity, not only in its spatial occurrences (northern countries/southern countries) and its sociological profiles (students/michetonneuses) but also in its occurrences in history because, while it is old, this phenomenon reinvents itself through modern forms adapted to new technologies. These circumstances complicate the adoption of a global approach to the fight against prostitution of young people. However, it is possible to disentangle the mechanics systematically at work in this phenomenon. It is always the

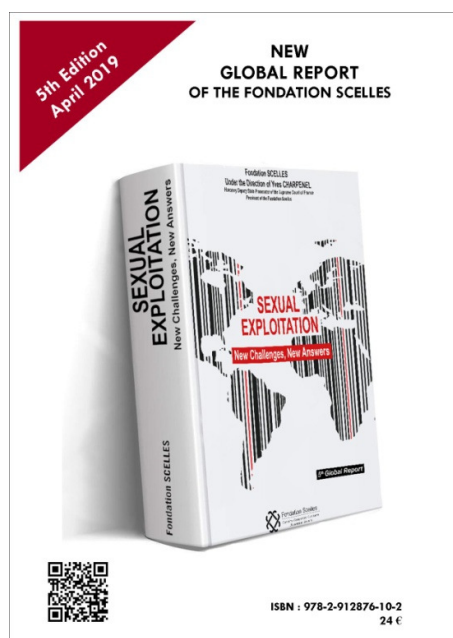
exploitation of an exacerbated vulnerability among young people, whether material or psychological, structural or circumstantial. In addition, it is often a matter of reproducing the male dominant system, which is relayed in particular by the imaginary world of pornography. Minors and young adults are not only victims of prostitution but are also participants, whether as procurers like loverboys or sex buyers such as the adolescents of the Jonquera. It seems necessary (but not sufficient) to create a real policy of education for young people on this subject, in order for future generations to be responsible and aware.

<sup>1</sup> In Afghanistan, during family gatherings, men and women are not supposed to meet. Pre-pubescent boys (*batcha*) thus play the role traditionally assigned to women, especially prostituted persons, who are not accepted. They perform household chores, but also dress up as girls and put on makeup to dance before a group of men in exchange for money, and then are used as sex slaves. This is done to boys with little sexuality and therefore very young because homosexuality is contrary to the Sharia laws. With the exception of a short period of prohibition during the Taliban regime (1996-2001), this centuries-old custom prospers, particularly in the southern Pashtun and northern Tajik regions, despite reports from NGOs and repressive messages by authorities. The possession of a *batcha*, which is a sign of authority and influence, is common in the high societies of military and political officials.

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The Global Report is produced by the International Observatory on Sexual Exploitation, in collaboration with internal and external experts (magistrates, lawyers, social workers, NGO leaders...), and the support of local NGO correspondents or international researchers.



The **Fondation Jean et Jeanne Scelles**, recognized as a public utility since 1994 and as a consultative status with ECOSOC, is an independent, non-profit organization based in Paris (France) dedicated to fight the system of prostitution and the exploitation of prostituted persons, through information, analysis, advocacy, trainings, awareness initiatives and legal actions. The **Fondation Jean et Jeanne Scelles** is a co-founding member of the Coalition for the Abolition of Prostitution (CAP International) which was launched in 2013 and today brings together 28 abolitionist NGOs from 22 countries.

The **International Observatory on Sexual Exploitation** is a worldwide hub which allows for information exchange on the system of prostitution. The hub is regularly consulted by French and foreign experts including NGOs, institutions, journalists, lawyers, researchers and those involved in the defense of human rights. The goals of the **International Observatory on Sexual Exploitation** are:

- to analyze all the aspects of the phenomenon: prostitution, sex tourism, procurement, child pornography, sex buyers, human trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation...
- to encourage reflection and to take a stand
- to inform the public who are interested in these issues

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