

Explotación sexual comercial y masculinidad

Un estudio regional cualitativo con hombres de la población general



Commercial sexual exploitation and masculinity

A regional qualitative study with men from the general population.

Authors:

José Manuel Salas Calvo

Psychologist

Álvaro Campos Guadamuz

Psychologist

ILO/IPEC

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INTERNATIONAL LABOR OFFICE

Authors:

M.Sc. José Manuel Salas, WEM Institute

M.A. Álvaro Campos Guadamuz, Instituto WEM

With participation in the collection of information from:

Guillermo Enrique Salazar, Guatemala

José Manuel Ramírez Navas, El Salvador

Marco Edmundo Pérez Ruíz, Honduras

M.Sc. Oswaldo Montoya Tellería and Lic. Camilo Antillón,

Nicaragua Dr. Carlos Alberto Leiro Pérez, Panamá

M.Sc. Ángel Pichardo, Dominican Republic

Research Assistants: Rafael Moya Delgado and Dagoberto Solano Marín General

Manager for ILO/IPEC: Guillermo Dema, Subregional Coordinator ILO/IPEC

Coordination and revision by ILO/IPEC: Bente Sorensen, CTA, Subregional ESC Project Coordinator, ILO/IPEC

Philological revision: Mayté Bolaños Mora

Illustrations: Oscar Sierra Quintero, "Oki".

Printing review: Victoria Cruz, Technical Assistant Subregional ESC Project Design and

production: Diseño Editorial S.A.

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Presentation

The fight against the commercial sexual exploitation of minors has gone through several stages, both at the global level and in each of the countries of the Central American region and in the Dominican Republic.

When the First World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation was held in Stockholm in 1996, the main concern was to achieve recognition of the problem, since it was found that children and adolescents around the world were suffering devastating physical and psychological consequences as a result of their use in the sex trade, without any intervention. The focus of attention was on victims who lacked care options, and a much more effective response was called for from the States in order to achieve protection alternatives. Commercial sexual exploitation, as a form of sexual violence, had existed for centuries without having been analyzed as such, and when the eyes of the international community were finally opened to this undesirable social phenomenon, attention was focused particularly on children and adolescents, because they required urgent care programs and because they were the visible and shameful face of a society that had failed to protect them.

It soon became clear, however, that there was a need to intervene in the factors that generated vulnerability among minors: the need to strengthen universal social policies, health and education programs and the fight against poverty. The community asked the States to promote income redistribution to enable families with limited economic resources to support their children and prevent them from being easy targets for exploiters.

At the global level, it is also at this time (1999) that ILO Convention 182 on the worst forms of child labor was approved, which aims to combat various forms of economic exploitation of children, from their sale, to their use in illicit activities, in the sex trade and in child labor.

assimilated to slavery. Through this Convention, not only States, but also employers' organizations and workers' organizations showed their commitment to the elimination of this social scourge.

At the Second World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation held in Yokohama in 2001, there was already greater concern about the factors generating the "demand" for children and adolescents for the sex trade and the conclusion was reached that without effective punishment of the networks that profit from the exploitation of children and adolescents, it would not be possible to protect them, and it was advocated that penal codes should be improved to criminalize acts related to sexual exploitation and to improve police and judicial investigation. This was also fully in line with two other international legal instruments that had been adopted the previous year by the Yokohama Congress in 2000: the Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography to the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and, in particular, the Protocol supplementing that convention to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children.

It is only very recently that the agencies involved in the fight against commercial sexual exploitation have begun to work more systematically to prevent the "demand" of children and adolescents for commercial sexual activities. One of the strategies has been to disseminate among private actors in the tourism sector that the commercial sexual exploitation of children and adolescents is an intolerable form of exploitation, and the establishment of codes of ethics and social responsibility among tourism establishments has been promoted. In addition, countries have begun to question the maintenance of economic "development" based on exploitation, with little awareness or concern for the negative effects it generates, and have emphasized that sustainable development necessarily includes the protection of children and adolescents. What is being requested is that the various actors in the marketplace, together, firmly confront the problem of sexual exploitation.

Another strategy, as yet little explored, is aimed at reducing the demand generated by the "clientele", the sexual exploiters. The rationale behind

This strategy is that a significant part of sexual exploiters are people who have not understood and internalized that the use of minors for commercial sexual activities is a crime punishable by imprisonment. Therefore, they continue to feed the clandestine and illicit business of pimping and establishments that profit from exploitation, which generate very considerable economic gains at the expense of children's integrity and the annulment of their rights.

It is believed that providing information to adults on how to manage their sexuality in a way that does not interfere negatively with the human rights of others, and particularly on the illegality of involving adolescents and children in different types of commercial sexual exploitation such as paid sex, the production of pornographic material and sexual performances, could help change adult behavior and reduce demand.

Without ignoring the fact that strategies for the immediate care of victims, on the one hand, and for the punishment of sexual exploiters, on the other, are still absolutely relevant, it is important that the various public and private agencies, as well as international cooperation, direct greater efforts toward prevention of the problem, obviously to prevent children and adolescents from continuing to suffer all the consequences of this form of exploitation, but also because the socio-economic costs involved are considerable, in each country and globally, to mitigate the effects of exploitation on the underage population (unwanted pregnancies, sexually transmitted infections including HIV-AIDS, drug addiction, illiteracy as a consequence of early school expulsion, psychological problems and other negative consequences) and to carry out police investigations, the proper functioning of the justice system and the maintenance of exploiters in the penitentiary system.

This last strategy - the prevention of "demand" - does not depend solely on the direct intervention of States, but to a large extent on civil society, and it is necessary to involve new sectors in the prevention of the problem, since at present the States in the region, by themselves, have sufficient resources to guarantee the effective protection of the victims, on the one hand, and the punishment of the exploiters, on the other. At present there is enormous tolerance for sexual exploitation in the various social sectors and spheres,

The potential of civil society and specifically of actors such as the media, churches and opinion makers to discourage the demand for children generated by adults in the sex trade is still great and little exploited, and the strategy of directing some of the efforts in the fight against exploitation towards the prevention of demand is very incipient and requires a much deeper understanding of the logic behind this type of behavior and the way in which adults think about commercial sexual exploitation.

This study is an input to gain a better understanding of the logic and factors that influence many people - in this case the adult male population - to continue using children and adolescents for commercial sexual activities, even though they risk imprisonment.

Without ignoring the fact that there are also female "clients", it has been chosen for this study to specifically investigate the male population, since several studies conclude that the vast majority of "clients" of children and adolescents in the sex trade -approximately 9 out of 10- are male.

The study was carried out within the framework of the ILO/IPEC project "Prevention and Elimination of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Minors in Central America, Panama and the Dominican Republic" and was made possible thanks to the financial support of the United States Department of Labor. The objective of this project is to support Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic in stopping the sexual exploitation of children and adolescents through institutional strengthening, awareness-raising and social mobilization, support for legal readjustment and international coordination.

I would like to deeply thank M.Sc. José Manuel Salas and M.A. Álvaro Campos, both psychologists from the WEM Institute, who accepted with great interest and enthusiasm to carry out the present study "Commercial Sexual Exploitation and Masculinity", which began in October 2003. Guillermo Enrique Salazar, Guatemala; Lic. José Manuel Ramírez Navas, El Salvador; Lic. Marco Edmundo Pérez Ruiz, Honduras; Ms. Oswaldo Montoya Tellería and Lic. Camilo Antillón, Nicaragua; Dr. Carlos Al-

berto Leiro Pérez, Panama, and Ms. Angel Pichardo, Dominican Republic, who organized -also with great commitment and responsibility- the focus groups and interviews with men from different sectors in each country to gather testimonies and perceptions. From the first introductory meeting on the topic of commercial sexual exploitation of children and adolescents held with the study coordinators and national researchers in November 2003 in San José, Costa Rica, and up to the completion of the study in September 2004, these professionals have demonstrated a high degree of collaboration and commitment not only to carry out the study but also as actors who can contribute to the solution of the problem of exploitation, knowing - through their institutional and professional work with men - how to promote a different masculinity that does not legitimize the exploitation of children and adolescents.

The countries of the region have indicated in various national and international forums the need for more information on the factors that generate demand, and we hope that this study will be one more tool to address the problem, particularly for all the commissions and public and private entities that participate with great dedication in the fight against the commercial sexual exploitation of children and adolescents.

M.Sc. Bente
Sorensen Chief Technical
Advisor
ESC Subregional Project, ILO/IPEC



Introduction

This document reports on the research process carried out as a result of the marked interest of the International Labor Office (ILO), for many years now, in addressing various problems in the search for better living conditions for various sectors of our populations. Among them, the most important are all those actions aimed at eliminating the worst forms of child labor, including the use of children and adolescents for commercial sexual activities.

Along these lines, Convention 182 was approved by the International Labor Organization in 1999, which provides the broad general framework for this issue. The Convention has been approved by all the countries in the region and to support efforts aimed at its implementation, the ILO's International Program for the Eradication of Child Labor (IPEC) is developing the project "Prevention and Elimination of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Minors in Central America, Panama and the Dominican Republic".

The present research is framed precisely within the terms and scope of this project, which has been underway for several years. Among the information that has been derived, it indicates that most of the exploiters are men, both nationals, foreigners living in the country and those who provide some forms of tourism activities related to Commercial Sexual Exploitation (CSE). In a regional study, when more than 700 victims of commercial sexual exploitation were asked about the sex of the last person who paid them for sex, 89% indicated that it was a man, 9% a woman, 1% a man-woman couple and the remaining 1% did not answer the question (Claramunt and Sorensen, 2003).

The same study concludes that

"In relation to so-called sex tourism, the situation in countries such as the Dominican Republic and Costa Rica is alarming."

In the last six months, about one-third of the children and adolescents interviewed cited that the last exploitative client came from other countries" (Claramunt and So-rensens, 2003: p. 44).

In other words, there is no doubt that it is men and their particular behavioral patterns that are at the root of some of the most important components of commercial sexual exploitation, in this case, minors of both genders are the main victims, and the condition of victims should be understood in a broad spectrum of implications, in the psychosocial, cultural, economic and political spheres.

Why is it mostly men who are involved in this activity?

In the context of patriarchy, men exercise unequal power relations with respect to other social sectors (women, children, adolescents, adults and the elderly), and these power relations are also expressed in the sphere of sexuality, which may include ties through money.

In addition, something happens with male socialization that causes many of the experiences of individual men to be saturated with conflicts, fears and negative forms of relationships. Although this affects both men themselves and other subjects with whom they live, whether close or distant, what is certain is that one of the most important and sensitive areas of human beings is of interest here: that of their sexuality and the concrete forms it acquires in the bonds between people.

And it is precisely at this point that the two major themes of this paper come together. On the one hand, we have the growing problem of the commercial sexual exploitation of thousands of children and adolescents, especially in conditions of poverty; on the other, the experience of mass sexuality which, for many men, includes sex with minors, often in exchange for payment. It is striking that, despite the compelling evidence supporting actions with men, these actions had not attracted the attention of various organizations.

For these reasons, we start from the assumption that perhaps the fundamental conceptual and methodological contribution of this work is to address the problem with a population that has not been studied exhaustively: men, their discourse, representations and perceptions of the problem of CSEC. It has been approached indirectly, based on the relationship of the victims. In particular, it is worth highlighting the reflections derived from the 2nd World Congress against Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents. World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (Yokohama, 2001), in which a series of considerations were made regarding sexual exploiters, highlighting their heterogeneity and their greater incidence in the male population. This leads to the need to work with sexual exploiters.

"All this implies that in order to protect children from CSEC, it is important to understand the ideas that underpin and guide the actions of sexual exploiters, and to discover ways to challenge and undermine the beliefs that allow sexual exploiters to deny, justify their exploitative acts, or believe that they are humane or natural" (Yokohama, 2001: p. 3).

Men in general have not been the object of analysis in CSEC, only those defined as exploiters, clients, pimps or other specific meanings of the situation have been mentioned, in one sense or another, in the accounts of the victims and other informants, but so far no reference has been made to men in the general population. In this study, we opted for the latter, seeking to find in their opinions and ways of thinking some indications about the levels of tolerance they present towards CSEC, as well as the identification of factors that encourage and inhibit participation in this activity, all understood in the context of the experience of male sexuality in the patriarchy.

In other words, we did not approach men described as pimps or offenders; we chose to learn about the situation of men in the general population, but not in terms of their personal experiences with CSEC, but rather about their opinions and perceptions of what they believe to be the reasons why men become involved in this problem.

For these reasons, what do they think, what is their opinion, what is their particular vision of the situation? are the main questions that guided the collection and analysis of the information contained in this document, which seeks to understand the ideological basis of the situation.

The aim of this study is to identify the logical and gendered aspects that are part of the collective and personal sustenance of male sexuality, in particular paid sex with minors, in order to rethink possible preventive actions in the area of CSEC.

There is, therefore, an initial hypothesis in this proposal: CSEC has to do with the socialization of male sexuality, given the bases and demands that patriarchal society makes on specific men, at a particular time and in particular situations. Although CSEC must be appreciated within the logic of the commodity market, in which sex can also be bought and sold, it cannot be understood more broadly without attending to the specific expressions of male sexuality. In this sense, we understand that CSF is sustained by a profuse supply and demand for sex, which may include sex with minors, for a corresponding payment. This, in turn, cannot be understood if it is not in the context of the violation of human rights and of an adult-centric and androcentric vision of many men.

It could be said that, strictly speaking, this work has revolved around questions about the relationship between the aforementioned supply and demand. It is our opinion that, in addition to all the information currently available on CSEC, it is appropriate to incorporate that which corresponds to the social situation of the general male population. Knowing how they think, what their perceptions of the phenomenon are, what links they make between CSEC and male sexuality, among other issues, can provide first-hand information that can help guide possible preventive measures and direct campaigns aimed at the male population to address the issue in question.

This means strengthening the legal, political and investigative actions being carried out to protect the victims and punish the perpetrators, and complementing them with actions with men to support efforts to ensure their non-participation in CSEC, their awareness of the perniciousness of this activity for the victims, and even their potential to speak out against it. Incidentally, with the above, it would be possible to aspire to an alternative male socialization, with sexuality as a priority.

Considering these notes, research was carried out in Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama and the Dominican Republic, with men from the population, with the characteristics, circumstances and procedures detailed in the Methodology section.

As noted, the research was carried out with men from the general population, with one researcher in each country, under the coordination of the authors. The national researchers were the following:

José Manuel Ramírez Navas	El Salvador
Guillermo Salazar	Guatemala
Marco Edmundo Pérez Ruiz	Honduras
Oswaldo Montoya Tellería and Camilo Antillón	Nicaragua
Carlos Leiro Pérez	Panama
Angel Pichardo Almonte	Dominican Republic

It is a team composed of professionals from various disciplines (physicians, social workers and psychologists), with professional and research experience in the field of masculinity and in working with men.

The general coordination, design and final preparation of the research work was the responsibility of José Manuel Salas Calvo and Álvaro Campos Guadamuz, from Costa Rica, with the collaboration of Rafael Moya Delgado and Dagoberto Solano Ma-rín. This team was also in charge of Costa Rica.

The document is structured as follows:

The first part describes in detail the general design of the research: the objectives, the methodology and the legal ethical framework that supports it. This last section is included here because its implications are related to the considerations that, in this aspect, must be taken into account in any research that addresses the issue of CSF, which must necessarily be translated into methodological and ethical precautions, both for collecting and analyzing the information. We are firmly convinced that a discussion of this nature is unavoidable in matters such as the one that occupies this work.

This is followed by the conceptual theoretical framework, which deals with the main categories and theoretical and epistemological notions that guide and support the work.

The research project is divided into two main sections: ESC in the context of patriarchy and the construction of male sexuality. This is divided into two main sections: CSEC in the context of patriarchy and the construction of male sexuality. With them, we intend to provide a general framework for a better understanding of the central theme of the work: the commercial sexual exploitation of children and adolescents by men.

The results of the research are presented below. It should be pointed out that, although some specific references will be made for each country, the idea is to retain general appreciations for the region; this was done when the analysis and the particular topic warranted it.

Based on the above, we indicate the main reflections and general conclusions we have reached, in an attempt to integrate a broad and rich information base, in order to formulate some recommendations for working with men, relevant for the purposes of confronting CSEC in our countries and other regions.

The structure given to the text is not whimsical. It obeys not only to a logic of exposition, but, above all, to a conceptual and theoretical logic. We are of the opinion that for a better understanding of the analysis achieved, we must start from the logic of male sexuality in patriarchal society and some of its particularities. There is a common thread, as we will try to show, that runs from masculinity and male sexuality to the commercialization of sexuality and ESC, in which the aspects of power and objectification of the links are determinant.

In line with this proposal, our most respectful invitation to those who read this document is that, in order to understand not only the male discourse but also his participation in ESC, it is necessary to take a journey into the world of patriarchy, particularly that of male sexuality, and to delve into male subjectivity and the male imaginary. It is necessary to understand the bases and manifestations of male sexuality, in its basic matrices, in order to deploy the analysis to other areas of it. the proposed "detour" will allow us to approach perhaps more gradually, but also more firmly to the understanding of the central theme of this research.

When we have affirmed the importance of working with men in the subject we are dealing with, we are referring precisely to that: to disarticulate ideologically and ideologically

In order to understand pragmatically and pragmatically the discourse that tolerates and legitimizes CSEC, it is also necessary to do so from men's own reasoning, from their own understanding. This means going into the way many men see, feel and think about sexuality and CSEC in particular.

This is not easy, because it leads us to confront and learn about realities or manifestations that may not be agreeable to us. But this is both unavoidable and necessary; perhaps some phrases we feel out of tune and upset us, but if we do not know the reality as it is, it will be more difficult to try to modify them. In fact, many of them were omitted because of their strong and even aggressive content. In this case, we believe that we cannot avoid the real everyday ways of thinking, feeling and acting of men, as far as their sexuality is concerned.

It is our wish that this work does not remain at the level of an academic research exercise, but that it can transcend to a propositional and political level.



Chapter I

Design of the research

A) PROBLEMS AND OBJECTIVES

Based on the background analyzed and the working hypotheses underlying the research, the following is the research problem that oriented the work in general:

From the particular perspective of men in the general population, what are the factors that influence and explain why some men have paid sexual relations with minors and participate in the commercial sexual exploitation of minors in various ways (direct sex trade, participation in sex shows or sexual spectacles, through internet pornography, among others)?

Objectives

1. To analyze the factors that influence and explain why some men have paid sexual relations with minors and participate in commercial sexual exploitation.
2. To determine aspects of the construction of male sexuality present in this type of practices.
3. To determine the "inhibiting" factors that influence men to abstain from this type of practice.
4. To determine the different "tolerance levels" of men in the general population towards paid sex with underage girls and other types of commercial sexual exploitation practices.

5. To provide some guidelines for preventive work with the male population involved in this type of commercial sexual exploitation practices.

It is important to emphasize that we are dealing with the particular vision, opinion or appreciation that men from the general population have about the topic and the reasons they attribute to the men who participate in the ESC. It is not an attempt to scrutinize the lives of the men in the study, an objective that would not be in keeping with the present proposal. This aspect will be dealt with in particular in the ethical and legal framework of the research and in the methodological proposal that was developed.

B) METHODOLOGICAL DESIGN

1. Type of study

In this research we were interested in what men from the general population, from the socialization and construction of their masculine identity and sexuality, think and give their opinions about commercial sexual exploitation. It was very important to gather their opinions, representations, ideas, and schemes of thought, **as they think and feel them**, since it is of interest to know, from a male perspective, why men become involved in sexual relations with minors.

Therefore, the research is qualitative. This type of research obtains information

"...in the subjects' own words, definitions or terms in their own text...Qualitative data usually consist of the deep and complete description (as much as possible) of events, situations, mental images, interactions, perceptions, experiences, attitudes, beliefs, emotions, thoughts and reserved behaviors of people, whether individually, in groups or collectively" (Hernández, Fernández and Baptista, 2003: pp. 450-451).

In addition,

"This kind of data is very useful for understanding the underlying motives, meanings and internal reasons for human behavior"(Hernández, Fernández and Baptista, 2003: p. 451).

Given the almost inexistence of experience in working with men on this topic, it was considered appropriate to frame the research under this methodological approach, which would allow a more in-depth approach, in which the direct discourse of the subjects would be the central element. It is hoped that based on the information obtained, other studies can be formulated to expand on particular aspects of the topic in question.

2. General procedure of investigation

The research was carried out with adult men, seeking to integrate methodologies and sources from different levels. Hence, the general methodological strategy that was developed involved several phases.

1. Pilot test: carried out in San José with a group of men from the general population with characteristics similar to those sought in the research, with which we sought to test and validate the methodological proposal, in its different levels, techniques and instruments.
2. Training of the research teams from each country, through an intensive three-day activity in San José¹, which was conducted by the coordinating team. As a central element, the pilot test carried out was taken as a starting point. Based on this, the theoretical and methodological framework of the research was reviewed, which allowed the instruments and general mechanics of the work (both in the field and in the systematization of the information) to be fine-tuned. Literally, this activity became a workshop on the topic not only of CSEC, but also on the state of the art in working with men in the region. This was made possible by the participatory and constructive modality that was established.

1 This was carried out through an intensive training activity in San José, conducted by the research coordinating team and IPEC/ILO officials in November 2003.

cer. The groups of men to be approached in each country were distributed on a consensual basis according to various criteria (ease of access, empathy, previous experience working with them).

3. Execution of the research in the seven countries involved. This included systematic follow-up and constant advice on the progress of the process. There was permanent communication with the national researchers, with supervision of those aspects of the work that required it.

It was agreed that, initially, six to seven focus groups and six to seven in-depth interviews would be conducted in each country, subject to adjustments for each situation, as shown in the Results chapter.

3. Subjects of research

The research subjects were adult men from the general population who had shown interest in participating in the focus groups by voluntarily attending the respective invitation. The same criteria were applied for the individual interview.

For both methodological devices, at all times, it was understood that the voluntary nature of participation included the possibility of withdrawing from the research, without this implying any consequence for the person who decided to do so.

The men who participated were aware that this was an investigation about male sexuality and the factors that cause some men to engage in paid sexual relations with underage women. Given this topic, absolute confidentiality was guaranteed in the handling of the information and the anonymity of all of them, and they were asked to consent to the recording of the sessions (group and individual).

4. Data collection procedures, techniques and instruments

The field phase of the research was carried out using different types of methodological procedures (individual, collective, qualitative), seeking greater coverage and access to different angles of the question, which, when integrated, could provide more valuable and detailed information.

Three basic techniques were used to collect information: focus groups, in-depth interviews and documentary analysis.

4.1. Focus groups

Focus groups consist of small group meetings, "... in which participants talk about one or several topics in a relaxed and informal atmosphere, under the guidance of a specialist in group dynamics" (Hernández, Fernández and Baptista, 2003: p.465). They constitute an organized discussion with a selected group of individuals to obtain information about their points of view on a topic. Focus groups try to rescue the multiplicity of points of view in a context of group interaction.

In the focus group technique, what the participants say is very important.

"The focus group is a social research technique that works with speech. What the group says is assumed as a point of insertion of what is socially reproduced and changed. In it, social order and subjectivity are articulated. The structure of a linguistic production, what is called discourse, shows a semantic field that defines which elements are included as pertinent, which elements are excluded and which relations are not accepted". (Colás, 1998: p. 253).

For a discourse to be as transparent as possible, it is necessary that in a focus group the subjects feel "at ease", calm and unconcerned, with the feeling that "they can express their opinions freely".

In this research, six to seven focus groups per country were proposed. Each group would consist of an average of 8 to 12 men, in a single two-hour session. As indicated, the groups

could be formed as follows, depending on the possibilities of each country:

- They are part of the general population, they represent a particular social sector, they can give a lot of information about popular sectors; they literally "walk the streets".
- Police.
- Migrant men.
- Men from coastal areas (fishermen, dock workers).
- Men from rural areas.
- Men associated with trade unions (these are popular sectors but not low sectors; rather, these groups tend to be middle sectors, some of them professionals or semi-skilled).
- Male students of a college or night school: they mostly work, provide heterogeneity in terms of the type of work, have a higher degree of schooling.
- Young adult male university students (last years of various careers).
- Professional men.
- Groups of men who explicitly declared themselves to be homosexuals could be contacted directly through the relevant organizations.

As indicated, this was the initial proposal, with the intention of achieving a wide range of characteristics in the participating men, so the previous division was changed, seeking a greater guarantee of access to them. The final constitution of the groups is shown in the chapter on Results. The variations were due to the circumstances of the research process, which implied adjustments and rearrangements along the way.

As a general guideline for the subjects of the research, the following was proposed, avoiding at all times to raise sensitivities or mistrust in the men contacted²:

² This aspect will be discussed in greater detail in the section on the legal ethical framework.

"They have been invited to participate in discussion groups on the characteristics of male sexuality, the type of people men seek and prefer to have sex with, and also to learn why some men have paid sex with minors."

These groups were made up of men who were recruited by contact with certain organizations, by the "snowball technique"³ or both. The previous experience of each researcher, as well as their knowledge of the situation in their own country, facilitated contact with each of the groups.⁴ This is also detailed in the chapter on Results.

For the work with these focus groups, some general categories or themes were discussed. For each of them, the following aspects were investigated: perception; cognitive factors (information, representations, beliefs, thoughts, ideas, values); emotional factors; experiences; learning mechanisms.

a) Construction of male sexuality

- General aspects about how men construct their sexuality.
- Identification of stereotypes and myths.
- Demands, sociocultural mandates about male sexuality.

b) Sexual practices and types of people men seek and prefer to have sex with

- Sexual practices that men prefer.
- Type of people with whom they have erotic-sexual contacts.
- Perception of erotic-sexual relations (from "dating" to paid sexual relations) with underage persons. Factors that induce the search for this type of person.

³ This is a technique for the recruitment of research subjects, in which one subject contacts others; these, in turn, contact others and so on in a sequence of gradual growth in the group to be investigated.

c) Factors associated with forms of commercialization of sexuality

- Men's perception of forms of commercialization of sexuality: nightclubs, pornography, prostitution in general.
- Perception of sexual relations with "very young" and adolescent prostitutes. Factors that induce to look for this type of people.

d) Commercial sexual exploitation of minors

- Perception of "underage".
- Perception about sexual relations with minors.
- Factors that induce men into commercial sexual exploitation with minors.

The aforementioned thematic axes were reflected and specified in a group discussion guide (included in Annex No. 1).

4.2. Interview at in depth

It was considered that from the previous phase, some men could be detected and selected with whom, if they wished on a voluntary basis, these interviews could be carried out, as "type cases". Furthermore, the selection of these men was not necessarily contingent on their participation in the groups.

A typical case was defined as, for example, a man who was tolerant of sexual activities with adolescents, or a man who flatly refused to do so. Depending on the circumstances, we aimed to conduct a number of interviews equivalent to one or two men per focus group.

"The in-depth interview, through questions directed to the social actor/s, seeks to find out what is important and significant for the informants and to discover events and subjective dimensions of people, such as beliefs, thoughts, values, etc. This information is fundamental to understand their own vision of the world. The objective of the interview is to

qualitative view is, therefore, to understand the perspectives and experiences of the people who are interviewed" (Colás, 1988: p. 275).

The axes of the in-depth interview were the same as those used in the focus group, with the adjustments that each particular case required. This guide was validated in a first pilot group experience -already mentioned-, which allowed us to make a series of adjustments to the original guide.

4.3. Analysis documentary

Basically, what was done was a general compilation, in each country, of local and international studies and research conducted with men on the subject, whether physical documents, virtual networks or some other electronic medium.

5. Categories of analysis

The information was analyzed on the basis of the following categories of analysis, some previously defined and others elaborated as a result of the information that was obtained. The final categories and subcategories were as follows:

Construction of male sexuality and its relationship with ESC.

General conception of sexuality and ESC

Instances and forms of socialization and their relation to CSEC

Representations about women and their relation to CSEC Representations about men and their relation to CSEC Homophobia

Commercialization of sexuality

Factors conducive to commercialized sex in its various manifestations

Conceptualization of the underage person and the young body

Perception of minor person Attributions to the young body

Perception of childhood and adolescent status Perception of sexual relations with minors

Commercial sexual exploitation

Knowledge of the term

Perception of crime or violation of rights Enabling factors

Inhibiting factors

6. Reliability and validity

The reliability and validity criteria that governed the research were as follows:

- Empirical validity: A pilot test of the instruments (questions for group and individual interviews) was carried out. In the same way, a test focus group and a test in-depth interview were conducted.
- Content validity (the instruments had to respond to the theoretical and ethical framework of the research).
- Concurrent validity (the crossover criterion of the research team was used) was applied both for the coordinating team and for each of the national researchers.
- Triangulation of researchers and techniques (at least two techniques) and with several groups and subjects.

Although this is a qualitative study and, therefore, does not pretend to be statistically representative, the fact that we are working with men from the general population, from different social sectors and from the seven countries, gives us a significant criterion of what men think and think. According to the initial projections (which will be detailed in the Results), the number of men with whom the work was carried out was 445 men.

C) LEGAL ETHICAL FRAMEWORK FOR RESEARCH⁴

Commercial sexual exploitation of minors constitutes not only one of the most serious forms of human rights violations, but is also a crime, according to the international conventions governing the subject. For this reason, social research in this field is subject to legal and ethical constraints, which means that in any research project, these must be made sufficiently clear, at least as a general framework and not necessarily to address particular situations. Some legal ethical principles may not come directly from social research; however, they may be applicable either directly or indirectly.

On the one hand, in CSEC research, the usual sources of information have been the victims, members of the police forces, pimps and exploiters in prison, analysis of secondary sources and the general population (of one gender or another, although it should be noted that research with this group is incipient).

In this context, according to the review carried out, the most detailed research is of the police type (Alvarado, 2003; Damazzio, 2003; Ramos, 2003), but not of the scientific or academic type. In fact, the former provides less information about the exploiters and even less from a psychosocial approach. Within the latter group, there are those carried out with victims (Claramunt, 1998; Sorensen and Claramunt, 2003; Claramunt, 2003). Specifically, in these studies there is no mention of ethical norms in the research process, with regard to the informant subjects or the general processes of scientific research; however, the corresponding legal framework is reported in a detailed and clear manner.

On the other hand, scientific research with men, as such, is practically unknown, especially if they are part of the general population. In the case of men sentenced for sexual offenses related to

⁴ This discussion is included in the methodological part because of the implications it has for the research design in this type of topics, which can precisely counteract or minimize some type of complications.

With the CSF, the legal ethical framework is very clear, since, given its condition, the research team would have solved the problem of mandatory reporting, with which the ethical problems would be largely resolved. except for the basic protection of the human rights of the informants, there would be no ethical restrictions for the persons who provide the information, since their legal situation is unambiguous. In other words, there are no important aspects of confidentiality, use of information, anonymity, among others, that must be guaranteed in the investigation or inquiry processes; it is known who is doing what and the implications that this may entail.

In the case of social research work with men from the general population, as in this proposal, in principle we would not be working with perpetrators or with men who have committed crimes related to CSEC, since what we were interested in was to know what "ordinary" men think, opine and feel about this issue, with the purpose of finding out how much these men tolerate the practices of CSEC. The purpose of this study is to find out how much these men tolerate CSEC practices, what their levels of tolerance are like, and where these men locate the "breaking points" that cause a man from the general population to become a sexual exploiter in any of its manifestations (whether through the direct purchase of sex, the use of child pornography, as sex show clients, or as an Internet user). However, although this is not an investigation with exploiters, an important ethical dilemma persists, since in the groups of men to be investigated, it is possible that the account of some of the participants could show the commission of sexual crimes related to CSEC.

While male exploiters may be referred to in this document, they are potentially "direct clients," those who pay directly for sexual contact with minors, and not as pimps or "business intermediaries. This is important because, although exploiters are placed under the same classification, it is believed that, from the point of view of psycho-social and subjective dynamics, a man who is part of a sex trafficking network is not the same as a man who uses the "sexual services" of underage persons, even if he pays for them. The "client" is one thing and the one who profits from the business is another.

In any case, this was an eventuality in the research, since the intention was to investigate with "ordinary" men, without them having any "common" or "common" knowledge, and without them having any "common" or "common" knowledge, and without them having any "common" or "common" knowledge.

The presence of the sexual exploiter is as a referent, from whom the male subjects of the research could issue criteria and opinions. The presence of the sexual exploiter is as a reference, from whom the male subjects of the investigation could issue criteria and opinions.

For the purposes of this proposal, it is necessary to differentiate social research, with the purpose of building scientific knowledge, from typical police or forensic criminological research, since both are based on different purposes that could imply different ethical and methodological procedural nuances.

In police investigations, the aim is to detect, capture and prosecute those involved, as well as to prevent the commission of crimes; in social investigations, the aim is to collect data on the characteristics, opinions and perceptions of certain people about commercial sexual exploitation. The objective is not to detect and prosecute sexual exploiters, but rather to contribute elements for the construction of a male sexuality that respects human rights within a framework of healthy and supportive coexistence and that prevents CSEC. This is even more evident when the aim is to access the general male population and not those already classified as criminal or in a close situation; in each case, the frameworks for approach and action are not necessarily similar.

The basic aim of social research is to generate knowledge, especially for preventive purposes with the general population, in order to prevent the commission of certain behaviors that can become crimes; however, the goal is to promote conditions of coexistence based on respect, solidarity and consideration for other people. Although it is important that men in particular become aware that certain behaviors are crimes, the most important thing is that they are moved by consideration and respect for other people. It is very likely that for many exploiters what they do does not qualify as a transgression of the penal system and so they act under the premise that they are not doing anything wrong. At least as far as men in the general population are concerned, what matters more than not committing crimes is that consideration and healthy coexistence with other people prevail.

With regard to the general framework of action of this proposal, it is necessary to distinguish between the legal regulations behind the ESC and the regulations of the ethics of scientific research, especially those that underpin research.

Although they are linked, they are not the same thing and their scopes are located in different orders.

From the legal point of view, the investigator must know in detail and abide by what the criminal codes and related legal bodies establish for citizens, particularly those in professional or academic practice. The investigator must know the crimes of public action and mandatory reporting, as well as the procedures for reporting them and the scope of their concrete actions, for which the most recommendable thing is for the investigator to seek legal advice in each particular situation.

Nevertheless, and notwithstanding the above, CSP is a topic whose regulation as an object of academic or scientific study is not entirely clear; it can be considered as a typical example of theoretical topics for academia, the so-called "academic cases" (Salas, 2003), since they present many gray areas in their discussion and resolution, which must be resolved in each particular situation, given the double ethical obligation of the researcher: with the public in general and with the informant subjects.

Generally speaking, there are two legal positions on the matter, especially with regard to the action that must be taken by the investigator if information is obtained that reveals facts that may be considered criminal. In short, from the perspective of legality, the question is whether or not to report and how to proceed. The two positions are:

- The "orthodox": it is denounced under any circumstances, on the grounds that there are superior goods that the investigator must safeguard (in this case, one could speak of the best interests of the welfare of children).
- The "heterodox or liberal": it holds that it will be necessary to evaluate the seriousness of the particular situation. It considers that in social or scientific research a particular type of trust is developed or generated with the sources of information -especially people-, which is thus defined by the objectives and the "contract" between the parties. This approach leads to the consequence that there is also an obligation on the part of the researcher not to "betray" the trust that has been placed in him/her.

This position is also based on the logic of scientific research itself, also discussed in this section, which, although it cannot be ignored, is not only a matter of the logic of scientific research, but also a matter of the logic of the scientific community itself.

In addition to the corresponding legal provisions, it has goals and objectives that do not necessarily lead to complaints or similar processes.

Given the above, it is necessary to insist on the need for each research team to review what is specific and particular to each country, especially from the legal point of view, so that from there they can more clearly deploy what corresponds to what is ethical and avoid any laziness between one and the other.

Various procedures and sources were used to resolve the ethical dilemma of this research:

- a) In particular, reference will be made to the principles applied to research in psychology, sociology, and anthropological research, especially ethnographic research, which, by virtue of their extension, are applied to research, without prejudice to the fact that the latter may have its own guidelines, based on other frames of reference. What is certain is that, in the end, there are a number of points in common that these contexts have in relation to the subject matter of this paper.
- b) Consultation of ethical procedures applicable to the clinical practice of psychology and extensive to research in this discipline, both nationally and internationally (key informants, Professional College of Psychologists, Code of Ethics of the American Psychological Association).
- c) Consultation of pertinent bibliography.
- d) Consultation with academic entities of the University of Costa Rica (Vice-Rector of Research, Institute of Psychological Research, School of Anthropology and Sociology).

In an attempt to synthesize, the following are the scopes considered most important, which are divided into several sections.

1. The ethics of qualitative research

As already indicated, the general methodological framework of the proposal is based on qualitative research, within the guidelines provided by the proposal.

The close relationship with what the subjects say makes it more than just another piece of information or a figure to be recorded.

Qualitative research is included in the phenomenological perspective in science, for which the main purposes are located more in the understanding of what people say, how they elaborate it and the meaning it has for them. Although not entirely disdained, the *causes* of the social do not become the central focus of research. A "real and objective" reconstruction (the "real or procedural truth", in the jargon of law) of the facts is not of interest, but rather how the subjects construct and define their reality.

"... (the researcher) wants to understand social phenomena from the actor's perspective. He examines the way he experiences the world. The reality that matters is what people perceive as important" (Taylor and Bogdan, 1986: p. 16).

Therefore, it has been stated that there is a clear difference in ethical management between qualitative research and quantitative research. It is not claimed that the latter does not exist; what is argued is that it is resolved differently, and this is defined by the very way in which the data are collected and processed, as well as the analysis made of them. The nature of qualitative research puts us closer to the ethical. To insist on the point, this does not mean that in other research modalities ethical precautions are not or should not be taken; what is at issue is the very nature of the research process.

If in the quantitative approach what is of interest is the data, who says it and how it is said is not so relevant, except in its basic demographic conditions, necessary for the processing of the information. On the contrary, in qualitative research what is of interest is to produce descriptive data, according to people's own terms, written or spoken, as well as the subject's observable behavior.

Thus, although it may matter who said what, it does not matter in terms of their names or the identity of the informants; they are of interest as subjects who handle, process and express thoughts and feelings, as part of their concrete experiences. Precisely for this reason, it is precisely because of these

circumstances, even if it is not intended, it is easier to specify what and who said it, so the "who said it" is more in play and it is much easier to identify who it is.

On the other hand, when faced with instruments that collect mainly ideas or expressions, it is more feasible for the informants to argue later "I did not say that", so that possible legal or ethical implications can be resolved in a simpler way. The truth is that anonymity is more attainable in extensive research; the commitment of the informant subject is not so broad in this research modality, while in qualitative research it is the whole being that is on the scene, including the identity and identification of the persons.

The above is reaffirmed if we take up again some of the typical characteristics of qualitative research, as outlined by Rossi and O'Higgins (1981: pp. 20-21):

1. It is inductive.
2. In it, the researcher views the scenario or people in a holistic perspective.
3. Researchers are sensitive to the effects they have on the people under study.
4. The research team tries to understand the people within their own frame of reference.
5. For the researcher, all perspectives are valid.

If these characteristics are carefully observed, it can be seen that the closeness, empathy and connection between those who take part in the research processes places them in a closer position with ethical implications beyond the process itself. In these circumstances, pretending to have access only to the "data" is something close to impossible, since it is precisely the close relationship between people that is the basis of this type or approach to research.

Without leaving aside all of the above, it can be affirmed that, in general terms, the various disciplines of the Social Sciences that use qualitative methodology coincide in pointing out that the researcher has a fundamental ethical commitment: to protect the people who participate as subjects of the research, in order to avoid abuses by the research professionals,

to protect the integrity of individuals, their confidentiality and their human rights.

Research with people is supposed to be a process of producing scientific knowledge, not criminal or police investigation procedures. This is true of the various social sciences, even if reference is made to some of them in particular; without this, the development of these social or human sciences would have been impossible. Among them are ethnography, community psychology, sociology; in fact, the enormous development of comparative research would not have been possible without this framework for action.

In the case of psychology⁵, the various codes of ethics of professional associations insist on the protection of research subjects, with respect for their human rights and confidentiality of information, and generally have as their goals the welfare and protection of the individuals and groups with whom psychologists work.

For example, the American Psychological Association (APA) (2003) establishes research regulations regarding the collection of information and informed consent, and some of its main arguments are discussed below, in which the ethical aspects mentioned are raised and which are considered relevant to the topic being developed⁶.

Psychologists must respect and protect civil and human rights, as well as freedom of opinion and expression in research, teaching and publication of results. This helps the public to develop informed choices and judgments about human behavior.

Standard 4.01 ("Maintaining Confidentiality") stipulates that psychologists have a primary obligation to maintain the confidentiality of information obtained and retained by whatever means; it recognizes that the extent and limits of such confidentiality may be established by the extent to which information is kept confidential.

⁵ These insights are easily applicable to other social or human disciplines.

⁶ The authors of the research made a free translation of some sections of the APA Ethics Manual (2003).

(on this subject, see also Standard 2.05).

Standard 4.03 requires informed consent to be obtained before recording voices or images of the persons providing the information.

With respect to "informed consent", according to standard 8.02, subjects participating in research must be informed:

- (1) the purpose of the research, expected duration and procedures;
- (2) The company has the right not to participate and to withdraw once the investigation has begun;
- (3) the foreseeable consequences of their withdrawal;
- (4) potential or adverse risks of participation in the research;
- (6) the limits of confidentiality;
- (7) incentives for participation;
- (8) knowledge of their rights as participants; participants are given the opportunity to ask questions and obtain relevant answers.

Standard 8.03 refers to "Informed consent" for magnetic voices and images in research, which should be given *a priori*, except in the case of observations in natural environments in public places, which, in any case, should ensure that the use of the equipment does not cause harm or facilitate personal identification.

In standard 8.08, the APA states that it is part of the rights of the subjects participating in a research, to know in a timely manner the progress and results of the research.

In Costa Rica, the Code of Professional Ethics for Psychology professionals establishes, among other aspects:

"Article 15. Professional practice:

...c.The written or verbal reports on persons, institutions or groups should exclude those antecedents delivered under the protection of professional secrecy and this is provided only in strictly necessary cases when they constitute elements to configure the report..." (Colegio Profesional de Psicólogos de Costa Rica, n.d.).

These provisions are applicable not only to the liberal practice of the profession, but, by extension, can and should also be observed in other types of activities, such as teaching and research (academic or scientific).

Kleinke (1998: p. 186), for his part, states that research subjects have the right to receive the following information:

- an explanation of the purposes of the research and the techniques employed.
- the work frame as explicitly as possible.
- a proposition about the limits of confidentiality.
- use informed consent. This may be written or verbal.

Regarding confidentiality, this author defines it as follows:

"... is an ethical principle that protects clients from disclosure of their information without their express authorization. Confidentiality is intended as a sign of respect for the client's privacy and his freedom to decide when and if his personal information should be disclosed to others" (Kleinke, 1986: p. 195).

In Anthropology, on the other hand, the subject occupies a central place of discussion and analysis, given the particular characteristics of its actions as a scientific discipline. It could be said that it is perhaps in this branch of the social sciences that from the outset the ethical discussion occupies a preponderant place, particularly with regard to the research subjects or informants, the basis of the theoretical and methodological edifice that they have managed to build, and it is also discussed here, given the scope that the knowledge derived from the investigation of groups, communities or even countries may have.

Taylor and Bogdan (1986) mention six areas of responsibility of the anthropologist, as established by the American Anthropological Association (AAA). For the purposes of this paper, reference is made to three of them, by virtue of their close relationship with the situation addressed in this paper:

"Relations with the groups studied. The primary responsibility of anthropologists is to those they study. Their rights, interests and sensitivities must therefore be safeguarded. From the outset, the objectives of the research should be stated as clearly as possible to the informants.

Their anonymity must also be guaranteed..... The possible consequences of the research must also be communicated as clearly and completely as possible to the people studied..." (p. 198).

"Responsibility to the public. Anthropologists are responsible to the 'consumers' of their professional endeavors and owe them a debt of innocence and truth. Not only must their discoveries be communicated to anyone who might be interested in them, but anthropologists must also make them public, contributing their information to public opinion and to the public policy that finds its foundation in them..." (p. 198).

"Responsibility to the discipline... They must not, therefore, carry out secret investigations or any kind of research that cannot be freely and publicly disclosed. They must avoid even the impression that they are carrying out clandestine investigations... Their responsibility... (consists)... in a... (consists)... in a constant commitment to openness, honesty and protection of the secrecy of their informants" (p. 199).

As can be seen, in both psychology and anthropology, research norms explicitly address the protection of the rights and confidentiality of informants in a number of aspects. However, these social scientists are obliged to respect human rights and the legislation in force in their countries. The question that underlies all this is, when is confidentiality broken, what qualifies such a situation and how should the researcher act? The above is even more blunt when the integrity of third parties is at stake; the commercial sexual exploitation of minors is one of them.

In these two disciplines, as in other socially oriented disciplines, one of the topics that most lends itself to this type of discussion is the question of respect for cultural diversity. How far should respect for what is proper to each cultural conformation go, how far can the evaluation be made from the point of view of the researcher "from the outside" and how far, therefore, should the researcher intervene in these processes, are just some of the most heated discussions that arise. The issue of sexuality and its various expressions must therefore take these questions into account and act on the most solid legal and ethical basis.

2. The limits of confidentiality

It is imperative that the investigator knows the laws, especially in relation to "mandatory reporting offenses" that exist in his or her country, especially publicly actionable sex offenses.

Both the APA and the Code of Professional Ethics of the Professional Association of Psychologists of Costa Rica state that confidentiality has limits in case of "danger to third parties", which could be interpreted as those cases where life, integrity of persons, sexual crimes and violence in general are in danger.

Explicitly, the Code of Ethics of the College of Psychologists of Costa Rica, in Article 15, paragraph b., states that:

"The information covered by professional secrecy may only be transmitted to avoid a serious risk to which the person being treated or third parties may be exposed; in any case, the information may only be given to the persons strictly necessary to fulfill the aforementioned objective" (Colegio Profesional de Psicólogos, n.d.).

Kleinke (1986) cites Knapp, Vandecreek, and Shapiro (1990), who suggest adopting the following guidelines advanced by Beck (1987) regarding the limits of confidentiality. It is worth mentioning that they apply in both a psychotherapy context and a research context:

"When therapists determine that their patients pose an identifiable danger to the victim, they may be released from the legal obligation of professional confidentiality and take whatever actions they reasonably deem professional, including but not limited to communicating the danger to the victim(s), notifying appropriate legal agencies..."(p. 198).

There are some circumstances in which confidentiality can be broken. The cited author states that in the laws of the state of California, for example, psychologist

"... is obliged by law not to disclose information in a legal process without the client's authorization, this professional secrecy can only be broken in the following circumstances:

- *When there is a criminal prosecution.*
- *When the information is part of a legal action.*
- *When the information is obtained for the purpose of providing an expert opinion to an attorney.*
- *When the psychotherapist acts as a legal expert.*
- *When the psychotherapist believes that the client is a danger to himself or others and believes it is necessary to prevent those threats of danger from being carried out" (Everstine et al., 1980: p. 837, cited by Kleinke, 1986: p. 195).*

In this issue of confidentiality, it is necessary to distinguish between opinions on a given subject and factual situations, as will be developed in the following point.

3. Opinion studies vs. retrieval of life experiences

This angle of the question is considered relevant, since, for various purposes, it is different to retrieve information about what people do or have done (even what they say they want to do) from that about which opinions, criteria or qualifications are issued.

In the case of research with people who participate as sexual exploiters, it is best to investigate them in a prison context, since being incarcerated solves the problem of reporting and handling information. In other words, the rules of the game and the ways of moving within them are made explicit for the various parties involved.

In the case of conducting research with the general population, the important thing is that these studies focus on opinions, representations, attitudes, perceptions, and not necessarily experiences (if criminal behavior is sought, the research takes on a completely different aspect, with a totally different framework). In this way, the problem of the obligation to denounce can be solved, since no person can be penalized on the basis of opinions. Opinions, perceptions, beliefs, thoughts, are not penalized, even if they go against the rights of others.

human rights. It is preferable to avoid the recounting of personal experiences. Opinion is one thing, but concrete action is another. The opinion can be challenged, confronted or rejected, but this does not "imprison" the person who holds it.

In this sense, it is valid to start from the assumption that, in this research, men were not summoned to come and relate sexual experiences in order to provide them with support or some other form of containment. These were not support groups or therapeutic in nature; they were focus groups according to a very clear set of guidelines:

"They have been invited to participate in discussion groups around the characteristics of male sexuality, the type of people men seek and prefer to have sex with, and also to learn why some men have paid sex with underage persons."

In this regard, directly, Hernández, Fernández and Baptista (2003) point out that in focus groups the subjects should feel at ease, comfortable and free to express what they wish, as a fundamental part of the underlying methodological design.

Even with these precautions, it is possible to expect that some situation may arise in the group dynamics: what to do if, even with this framework, someone reports his experiences, some of them being illegal; is it solved with the framework, with the informed consent; according to what has been noted, it is considered convenient to insist on the point, whether to warn of the crime or, finally, to make the corresponding legal consultations.

However, it is advisable to apply the principle of "sound criticism". For example, the source should be considered: who is raising the situation, is it one's own or someone else's, are mere suspicions being raised or are they witnessing something? The study of the construction of masculinity has shown that men's sexual bragging is one of the mechanisms to which they resort in order to maintain positions of power, privilege or leadership; on many occasions, this bragging is tinged with fantasy, including content that may be considered criminal or, at least, not approved by the bulk of the social group. This can be even more present and acute in the case of sexuality, which is an axis of masculine identity: sexual conquests are ideal for the display of "skills and abilities".

There are grounds to presume that sexual contact with minors (women, in particular) is established as an area in which ostentation, conquests and exploits can easily take place, not always with a firm basis, and this is accentuated if the issue takes on tones of competition, a scenario that is not very difficult to set up when working with men.

Regarding the act of reporting the commission of an alleged crime, the investigator should seek advice on the procedures that exist for this purpose in his or her country. He/she should be informed about private crimes (which only the victim can report) and public crimes (which anyone can report) and the type of evidence that should be provided in each case, in order to avoid a possible counterclaim. Based on the above, it is worth asking the following questions: What is whistleblowing, is it the same as reporting, and how far does the act of whistleblowing go? It is necessary to differentiate between suspicion and having evidence or concrete indications.

The company should act prudently and with adequate information. In any case, the basic recommendation is that if complex or unclear situations arise, it is best to seek legal advice and thus resolve each particular situation.

Precisely because of all of the above, we start from the imperative need to protect the informants (in this case, men), as long as their story does not raise situations that require police intervention (especially if situations are detected in process that violate the rights of specific individuals), which makes the issue move from the ethical plane to the legal and police plane.

4. The researcher must respect human rights

Researchers must respect human rights and the legislation in force in their country, and must be familiar with the particularities of the penal codes and related regulations of each country. On this basis, one is in a better position to construct the ethical principles that this framework allows to elaborate and apply.

In general, it is assumed that, in case of detection of persons involved in commercial sexual exploitation activities, there is an obligation to report, although the following should be kept in mind:

- It is one thing for a person to say that he/she does it and another thing to actually do it (procedural truth is one thing and "subjective" truth is another).
- To avoid this, it is preferable to tell people that you are not going to investigate their sexual experiences or practices, but their opinions. If this happens, it is advisable to insist on the framework of the specific technique or of the research in general.

That is to say, when necessary, the bases of the framework and the limits within which this group work will move will be recalled. It will be necessary to insist that the basic purpose of the work is to investigate personal and collective variables, according to the opinion of the participating men, and not to detect concrete situations of commercial sexual exploitation.

For this reason, reiterating what has already been stated, the invitation and instructions to the participating subjects were to be clear that the work to be carried out in the focus groups was to explore certain aspects of male sexuality (including sexual contact with minors); that the idea was not to detect their sexual behaviors, practices or preferences, but rather to gather opinions and perceptions on this topic. The aim was to obtain first-hand information (although the crime was not sought) and confidentiality and anonymity were offered in the handling of the information.

It is logical that risks were taken for the purposes of the investigation. If it was made totally explicit, valuable information could be lost, which was subject to whether or not the slogan was accurate, and precautions had to be taken to ensure this, and if it was not warned, it could lead to "complacency"; for these reasons, the position taken was that the matter could be resolved by emphasizing that no behavior was of interest and no therapeutic intervention was being offered. What mattered were the opinions expressed by the participants.

5. Ethical commitment to the problematic

As a way of showing ethical commitment to the issue of commercial sexual exploitation, researchers could inform groups of men about the legal implications of such acts or behaviors after the focus groups or interviews have ended. This can function not only as a framing reminder, but also as prevention for men who may be unclear about the issue.

Chapter II

Commercial Sexual Exploitation in the context of patriarchy and the construction of male sexuality. Some theoretical and conceptual aspects

This chapter is divided into two parts. In the first, we briefly review some basic concepts of CSS and some of its most important characteristics. In the second, we directly address the question of masculinity in patriarchy, including the role it could play in CSS, a situation in which we explain our position.

As indicated in the Introduction, CSEC is carried out mainly by men, with diverse sociodemographic characteristics, so it is valid to ask what happens to them so that, under certain circumstances, they can become involved in paid sexual relations with minors.³ For this reason, we consider it necessary to explore, even briefly, some topics related to male sexuality, which will allow us to approach CSEC from an angle that has not been addressed.

What we maintain, from the outset, is that something is going on with their sexuality that can lead them to such practices and that the underlying reasoning that sustains such behaviors needs to be unraveled.² Moreover, masculine sexuality must be understood in a concrete context that gives it meaning and relevance. This context has as its main backdrop the conditions of patriarchy and the particular demands it makes on men's sexuality.

A) COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION. SOME NOTES

This is a subject whose definition and scope have already been dealt with extensively and with relevance elsewhere (Claramunt, 1998; Claramunt, 2002; Claramunt and Sorensen, 2003), for which reason only a brief review and particular location will be made here.

CSE must be visualized within the patriarchy, as a sample of its practices and institutions, in which power and control over other people's lives is the characteristic feature. CSEC does not exist as an isolated practice, but is part of a whole system of discrimination and violence, as will be discussed in other sections of this chapter.

However, ESC not only takes us to the very foundations of patriarchy, but also to a socio-economic and political system that bases its actions on the commodification of everything; anything, anyone, any person, any situation, any institution or fact of daily life can be bought or sold; this market game is sometimes taken to the point of absurdity or even brazenness (the moon is already being sold).

In this way, such buying and selling can serve both commercial ends *per se* and the satisfaction of patriarchal privileges.

Patriarchy and the mercantiled system are violent in that they alienate and alienate people from their goals of well-being, solidarity and love, and this violence has various forms of manifestation, many of them exercised by a particular group: men. Male socialization and the power relations that men establish in the patriarchy are devices that the system has designed so that men are the ones who are closest to the exercise of violence against other men, women, boys, girls, adolescents, the elderly, nature...and against themselves (Salas, 2003; Kaufman, 1989; Corsi, 1995). Violence, then, is associated with gender condition; there is gender violence.

Within it, it is very important to visualize that associated with sexuality, one of whose expressions is precisely the commercialization of amorous and erotic bonds (or, at least, that is how they are intended to be).

The buying and selling of human bodies and subjectivities for sexual purposes is a form of violence and, within it, that carried out with minors (under 18 years of age) is the extreme example of how the "acquisition or purchase" of whatever is valid in the mercantilist patriarchy.

At this point, we are faced with the CSEC of children and adolescents, considered one of the most grotesque and extreme forms of violation of the human rights of minors.



CSEC is a form of violation of the human rights of children and adolescents; it also undermines optimal conditions for the psychosocial development of the person.

With Claramunt (1998: p. 55) we understand it as:

"...the sexual use of minors, where there is a commercial purpose for the child, the intermediary person, or any other person who benefits economically from the trafficking of children".

In addition, ESC is already understood and accepted internationally in a multiple typology and form of being carried out and manifested. It is worth mentioning that, therefore, the following are part of CSP

"These modalities include sex tourism; individual and/or organized local exploiters; trafficking of children for the purpose of using them in sexual activities, as well as the dissemination of pornography via the Internet" (Claramunt and So-rensens, 2003: p. 8).

In our opinion, although the commercialization of sexuality at any age should be unacceptable because it implies a process of commodification of relationships, people and sexuality, it is even more so when it involves children or adolescents. This is so inasmuch as the aggressions against people converge there with the non-observance of better conditions for people who are in full growth and who should only receive support and protection from adults. For this reason, as we have said, CSEC constitutes one of the most severe violations of human rights.

CSEC is not the beginning of the problem, but one more link in a chain of abuse, discrimination and vulnerability in which the basic rights of the underage population (health, education, food, protection, recreation) have been systematically violated, and which should be subject to these rights and special protection.

"The results of the studies show a very serious situation. Child victims of CSEC experience - often from their earliest childhood - all kinds of violations of their rights as human beings: extreme poverty, expulsion from school, early pregnancy, psychological, physical and sexual violence, drug addiction, neglect or abandonment by their families, and even abuse.

The "lack of effective intervention on the part of various institutions, etc."
(Claramunt, 2002: p. 8).



In CSEC, factors associated with patriarchal male sexuality are combined with situations of vulnerability in childhood and adolescence.

For these reasons, ESC must be confronted and solved from different fronts and with different weapons, and there are many sides to the issue and many different manifestations: legal, economic, ethical, psychosocial and anthropological, some of which are discussed in separate sections of this chapter and others in the literature that can be consulted on the subject.

Finally, it should be noted that although there have been reports of CSF for centuries, it is a phenomenon that has been increasing in recent years (Claramunt, 1998) and has led to the mobilization of different regional and global entities, with very different approaches and lines of action. The phenomenon has been

displaced from one region to another, with the common characteristic of having poverty, marginalization and violence as a background, as described above.

In this sense, Convention 182 of the International Labor Organization on the worst forms of child labor becomes valid. Likewise, the criminal regulations that have been promoted in national legislations along the lines of the criminalization of CSEC in its various manifestations, as well as its approach (investigations, prevention and public policy actions).

Since men are the social group most at risk of becoming sexual exploiters, are they aware of the above, that CSEC is a violation of human rights, or do they see it as a legitimized form of sexual diversity or, at best, as a variant of prostitution?

B) THE SYMBOLIC AND IDEOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION: PATRIARCHAL SEXUALITY

What causes some men to become involved in the CSEC of persons under 18 years of age, what sociocultural, historical, social, ideological or psychosocial factors influence the occurrence of such behaviors, what happens to these men in their ideological and cognitive structure, and in their forms of interaction and bonding structure? Such questions should not be approached from a psychologistic perspective, blaming only "personality problems" or "individual psychopathology" for men's participation in CSEC.

"Psychologism 'is the tendency to locate the source of social problems in the particular psychology of those who experience them'..... we can understand

The tendency to interpret social problems as the result of individual or interpersonal psychological dynamics is the tendency to interpret social problems as the result of individual or interpersonal psychological dynamics. Social problems are then understood as a derivation of certain personal 'pathologies' "
(Claramunt, 2004: p. 7).

To transcend psychologism in the theoretical explanation of why some men participate in ESC, it is necessary to focus on socio-cultural factors.

There is an underlying symbolic unity in the social structure that legitimizes, encourages and even "naturalizes" commercial sexual relations both with persons of legal age and with those under 18 years of age.

The symbolic context creates meanings and places people in real and imaginary places, as social actors in a social order that defines unequal power relations, and the CSEC is maintained, among other reasons, due to the existence and reproduction of a symbolic order that creates a very particular rationality and logic: the rationality of the triarchal culture, which requires ideological institutions that sustain it and power relations that recreate and reproduce it. It is of interest to know the language, the discussions, thoughts, beliefs, ideas, values that are attributed to sexuality and ESC relations from the male symbolic universe and the male social imaginary. From the male subjectivity (affections, thoughts, anxieties, fears), what happens and what is the symbolic order that sustains such subjectivity, what are the ideological representations of that symbolic order?

This section will attempt to delve conceptually into some of the sociocultural and ideological determinants that create meanings and construct the social imaginary in which men place themselves and interpret their actions. This imaginary includes the construction of male sexuality as the basis of patriarchal culture.

People's sexuality is not an abstract and ahistorical category. Sexuality is not primarily a natural phenomenon, but a product of historical and social forces. By social construction of sexuality we mean "*...the multiple and intricate ways in which our emotions, desires and relationships are shaped by the society in which we live*" (Cartledge and Ryan; cited by Weeks, 1998: p. 20).

Sexuality has a history. Sexuality and people's bodies have been perceived, interpreted, represented and lived in different ways in different epochs. Throughout human history, societies have interpreted sexuality and the body according to the economic and political needs of the moment. Sexuality, therefore, has been linked to social values and norms; it has been subjected to restrictions, prohibitions, mandates and its transgression has been subjected to political sanctions.

Patriarchy, as a system of social, economic and political organization, places the genders in different social positions. This sociocultural system is concretized in ideological institutions and power relations, all of which have direct effects on the experience of sexuality.

Two of the fundamental ideological pillars on which the triarchy is based are the devaluation of the feminine (which legitimizes the power of dominion over women) and the overvaluation of the masculine (which justifies androcentrism and the power of men over nature and the social order). This division places men and women in different and different social places, with different and unequal attributions, rights and duties; places that are structurally constructed, beyond the intentions of the individual psyche.

This is clearly shown in the phenomenon of CSEC, in which the gender disproportion between exploiters and victims is evident: the majority of the latter belong to the female gender. Claramunt and Sorensen (2003) state that

"...the largest number of victims are female. being female seems to be a vulnerability factor on its own"(p. 48).

On the other hand, the majority of clients are men (as indicated in the Introduction and elsewhere in this document).

1. Commercial Sexual Exploitation, male sexuality and the devaluation of the feminine

One of the ideological pillars of patriarchy is the devaluation of the feminine, which sustains misogyny and the various forms of gender discrimination and oppression. At the very beginning of patriarchy, matrilineal societies that worshipped the Great Goddess since the Upper Paleolithic, redesigned myths and rites, since the first cosmogony revolved around women. Rodriguez (2000) suggests that the conception of a male creator and controller God did not begin to take shape until the 3rd millennium BC and could not be definitively established until the following millennium. From 30,000 BC to 3,000 BC, humanity prospered under the protection of a Goddess.

"... the concepts and symbols related to procreation, fertility and the feminine, will be the basis on which the first formulations about the existence of a generative and protective divinity will be devised" (Rodriguez, 2000: p. 138).

During this period there was an abundance of statuettes and figures of stone, bone, wood and ivory in which the vulva and breasts stood out. These pre-patriarchal societies revolved around the cult of life: the woman, her body and her vital cycles were the model that signaled unity with nature; the fertility of the earth was homologated with the fertility of the woman (Arroba, 1998).

"With the introduction of agriculture, artificial irrigation and the plow, women and the Goddess would end up losing their place in an increasingly complex, agitated and competitive world" (Rodriguez, 2000: p. 202).

With patriarchy, male gods appeared according to the socio-political and economic needs of each culture and historical moment. As the patriarchal culture emerged, beginning as shepherd villages, women began to be considered as a belonging. The phallic principle began to appear, with the discovery of the role of semen in fertility, the penis, as a symbol of power, began to be worshipped as a phallus, and women began to be seen as valuable tribal belongings because only they could guarantee the flow of workers, and they began to be treated as tribal property that could be exchanged.

Some of the consequences of patriarchy on social life have been:

- a) The obligation to procreate legitimate children on the basis of political control of women's bodies and sexuality (Sagrera, 1972), through the creation and emergence of institutions of social control (marriage, maternity, virginity, compulsory heterosexuality, monogamy for women).
- b) The establishment of class, economic and political structures in the hands of men (Marx and Engels, 1975).
- c) War as a patriarchal male institution (Lerner, 1990).

Sexual political institutions (virginity, monogamy, compulsory maternity and prostitution) emerge in parallel as a way of regulating control and domination over women's bodies and sexuality. The sexuality of women is

sexuality into sexuality for reproduction (with the wife, to guarantee the legitimacy of the patriarch's children) and sexuality for pleasure with the "other" women; this unmarried woman was seen as a threat: on the one hand, as necessary (the prostitute); but, on the other hand, as dangerous. Women's bodies became despised, their fluids were interpreted as dirt or as something negative and inferior.

The history of patriarchal civilization is characterized, in matters of sexuality, by a series of conceptions that legitimize and justify domination over women's bodies and sexuality. Some of these ideological justifications are still part of the imaginary of men and women today. We will take a brief journey through history to identify some of the representations of the female body and sexuality that have a direct impact on men's ideological, affective and behavioral bases related to ESC.

Aristotelian Galenic thought illustrates, philosophically, these conceptions regarding women: Aristotle, quoted by Sissa (1996) speaks of the theory of sexual morphism, according to which it was justified that women were inferior beings because they lacked natural warmth. According to this author, feminine nature is a natural defect because women have small brains, weak voices, small feet; since their bodies lack semen, they are colder, weaker, their flesh is more porous, moist and less compact. This weakness of the female body was due to a lack of vital heat which entails a weakness in the metabolism; being a weak being, waste products are produced, such as the blood fluid that gushes out of the female body once a month. The man transforms the blood into sperm; the woman cannot do it, it remains in the blood, that is why she is inferior.

The current presence of this ancestral way of thinking, which has been transmitted generationally in the collective unconscious, can be observed in some of the justifications that the men in the research attribute to women's bodies, transferring certain characteristics to women under 18 years of age. This will be reviewed in greater detail in the chapter on Results.

This explains that the male provides the vital principle, the generating motor principle. semen is movement; since the woman has no semen, she has no movement, so she is passive by nature. when there is movement, in the semen is

The father is the one who transmits the soul and the form thanks to the movement inscribed in the sperm. The mother does not generate, the father does, the mother only contributes the inanimate, passive and dense material that is her menstrual blood.

In this highly misogynistic conception, if the semen that abounds is weak, a woman is born, if the semen is strong, a man is born. As a consequence of his old age, youth or some weakness, the father sees his creative energy weakened and gives form to an imperfect, defective, second-class, mutilated product, A DAUGHTER, who embodies his weakness. The birth of a woman corresponds to a failure in the transmission of the father's form.

On the other hand, Galen, quoted by Gilberti (1992) defines women as cold and humid. This coldness reiterates their inferiority with respect to men. It is an incomplete being that, given the lack of heat, their genitals could not descend.

Demosthenes, quoted by Rosenzvaig (in Gindin, 1991: p. 31) proclaims that men in patriarchy have the right to possess several women: *"We have mistresses for the sake of pleasure and concubines for the care of our persons, but wives to bear us legitimate children and to be faithful guardians of our home"* (Gindin, 1991: p. 31).

Plato, quoted by Sissa (1996), for his part, pointed out women's virtues as weaving and cooking. He defined them as not very daring by nature, they receive an education that compensates for their innate defect so that they can have a function. They must be controlled because their nature makes them a nuisance and a danger to the homogeneity of society.

Plutarch, quoted by Salisbury (1994) in the second century, postulates that in marriage man and woman are one, they must share everything, the same goods. But he states that the man is the sun, the teacher and the knight, and the woman is the moon, a pupil, a horse, and thus they complement each other. The woman has no initiative, the only possible initiative is lust, seduction and sorcery, so she must submit to her husband and do everything he does.

This way of thinking is still very much alive in men's minds. As can be seen in the chapter on Results, many men believe that adolescent girls live in sexual "debauchery" and that they are beings that should be under male domination and control.

In Roman law, women are considered to be weak in spirit (*imbecillitas mentis*), while men possess greater perfection (*infirmetas sexus*), and the value of women lies in being *materfamilias* and in being subject to a man, to a *paterfamilias*.

Medieval thought, inspired by Judeo-Christian and Greek thought, was based on a condemnation of the flesh, the body and sexuality, considering them sinful and contrary to the ideal of holiness and chastity. However, of the two bodies, men's and women's, women's bodies were considered more dangerous, since women were defined as lustful, capable of provoking men's sexual desires, and this conception that women "tempt" men and awaken their "lower passions" is of medieval origin. This inferior body of the woman was due in part to the belief that she was less rational than the man and at the same time less spiritual; on the contrary, the man was the possessor of reason and was also more spiritual.

In the medieval imaginary, women were considered as the *door of the devil*, since it was understood that sin and suffering had entered the world through them, and the only way for women to solve their "innate defect" was submission and obedience to men and the renunciation of being masters of their body and sexuality. To be saved, she must repent and do penance (sexual abstinence and obedience), not to have sexual pleasure, unless it is during the act of procreation. The Virgin Mary is projected by men beyond the reach of the women of this world, as an ideal that women must attain.

These ideological conceptions, along with others, are at the basis of the current belief, on the part of many men, that women, and especially adolescent girls, "tempt" and "provoke" them, making them responsible for men's sexual actions. In this way, sexuality is institutionalized in everyday life.

"Male sexuality as culturally defined provides the norm...men, by becoming men, assume a position in certain power relations in which they acquire the ability to define women"(Weeks, 1998: p. 63).

And it does not only define women, but also other social sectors (boys, girls, adolescents, adults and older adults, men who present non-heterosexual behaviors).

Patristic philosophy expresses a sexual worldview that legitimizes the domination and control of women's bodies and sexuality. Patristic thought was the basis of the medieval mentality in matters of sexuality and gender relations. It originated a sexual policy of control of the body, of the passions, of eroticism, of sexuality, which was later revised, starting in the 15th century.

Salisbury (1994) argues that, in this logic of thought, men were closer to the spiritual than women, who were closer to the carnal, and it is the duty of the more spiritual beings to dominate the more carnal beings. Strength and power is what characterizes men in the mentality of this period. According to the medieval worldview, men are stronger than women and must rule over them, particularly in sexuality. Just as the spirit must rule over the flesh, men (closer to the spiritual) must rule over women (closer to the carnal). Thus, being masculine is associated with being active, powerful and rational, and, sexually, it is associated with being sexually active, that is, penetrating from above.

"For the fathers, just as the heart of the physical realm was sex, the primordial characteristic of women belonging to the carnal world was lust" (Salisbury, 1994: p. 38).

It follows from the above that all women reproduce the primordial temptation of Eve, who has become an icon of many of the tragedies suffered by women and men alike.

This way of thinking persists in many passages of the mythology of the peoples and in, what Gramsci would say (in Gallino, 1978), in their "common sense". By way of example, we quote a passage from the novel "Gabriela", by Jorge Amado, in which the following is masterfully said:

*"Just a moment, doctor, don't blame neither the movies nor the dances; before all that existed, women already betrayed their husbands. **This custom comes from Eve with the serpent...**" - laughed Juan Fulgencio" (Amado, 1999: p.112) (the re-skipping is ours).*

Jerome, quoted by Salisbury (1994), argues that:

"It is not the harlot or the adulteress that is spoken of; it is woman's love in general that is accused of always being insatiable; it is made to gush and burn with flame; it is given in abundance and again feels need; it enervates the man's mind and clouds all thought except that of the passion it nourishes. By enervating the man's mind and interfering with his thinking, the woman takes him out of the rational world of the mind that defines him as spiritual and certainly defines his masculinity" (p. 39).

This thought, evidently misogynistic and even shocking, almost in the same terms, is present in some of the comments of the men interviewed, in other words, it is a thought that is also at the basis of the ESC.

The nature of woman was to be a temptress; even if a woman did not want to tempt a man, she did it, because she was the bearer of visual lust. Tertulia did not consider women as the door of the devil and for that reason they should always wear black, as penance, for the mere fact of being women, because they were responsible for *the fall*. Women had the power to seduce men and awaken their sexuality, just as with their menstrual blood they could cause, according to Isidore, wine to become bitter, trees to lose their fruit, iron to rust, bronze to turn black, rabid dogs, among other consequences.

"Men were considered saints when they exhibited the masculine characteristics of spirituality and power in their purest forms" (Salisbury, 1994: p. 43).

Holiness emerges from the natural male characteristic of power; this was possible because the male is the most spiritual creature. But, in the case of women it was different because women are carnal, they had to renounce acting as women because their nature was lustful, carnal. The Church Fathers considered that a woman, if she wanted to be a saint, had to renounce her nature as a woman and be like a man. In the theological debate, the question arose as to whether these holy women had ceased to be women, which was threatening to the power of men. Tertullian's conclusion in this regard was as follows:

"A virgin remains a woman even if she renounces the carnality of her sexuality" (Salisbury, 1994: p. 46).

They remained women to the extent that they had to remain passive and subject to men. Women had to be quiet, with their mouths closed, because a woman who opens her mouth wide is associated with openness to sexuality. Silence is, therefore, modesty.

For St. Augustine, on the other hand, although he considered sexuality as something natural and not necessarily sinful, it had to be carried out without passion, without eroticism, only for procreation, that each coitus be for procreation, not for pleasure. The man could not sexually desire his wife, he would only approach her to have children, and of course, only vaginal penetration was allowed, with the male position on top, hopefully without moving much or in a turbulent way, preferably as a rational act. St. Augustine insisted that reason must govern sexual activity, one must not lose control, because if this happens, pleasure can overcome reason. What was specifically feminine in this sexual relationship was its weakness and its necessary subordination to man. The serpent first approached Eve because she was the weak part of the human couple, because man would not so easily fall into that trap. Because the woman is weaker, marriage is the union between one person who rules and another who obeys. The woman must allow herself to be governed by the man, because the spirit governs the flesh and Christ governs the Church. The woman is like a vessel, a passive receptacle of the passion of men.

While this can be found in men's general conception of female sexuality, it is clearer in the commercial sex. As can be seen in the chapter on Results, some men viewed prostitutes as "machines," at their service and, more emphatically, toward girls and adolescents. The Augustinian image of a woman as a "vessel" supports the objectification of the female body, a primary link to subsequently justify its purchase.

After medieval thought, during Modernity, the Victorian era and throughout the twentieth century, a dualistic thinking continued to prevail regarding female sexuality, the oscillation between the "good girl", decent, obedient, submissive and the "licentious woman", courtesan, prostitute. Foucault (1976) argues that part of the project of the bourgeoisie is the implementation of the device of sexuality for itself as a class.

"...it was granted a body that had to be cared for, protected, cultivated and preserved from all dangers and all contacts...sex was not a part of the body that the bourgeoisie had to disqualify or annul in order to induce those it dominated to work. It was the element of herself that troubled her more than any other, that worried her, demanded and obtained her care, and that she cultivated with a mixture of fright, curiosity, delectation and fever" (Pg. 150).

It was a preoccupation with the body and sexuality, but by virtue of what their body could represent politically, economically and historically, as a way also of differentiating themselves from the exotic cultures discovered from capitalist neocolonialism, it was like a kind of expanding racism. and once again, prostitution and double standards accompanied this process, along with the processes of commodification/mercantilization of people and their bodies.

Double standards have accompanied the discourse on sexuality and have supported and tolerated non-legalized male sexual practices, at the same time that moral absolutism demands an ideal of sexual behavior in women and men, something like "private vices and public virtues".

For all these reasons, sexuality, in the context of patriarchal culture, is a political category.

"...psychological categories have become political categories to the extent that the private, individual psyche becomes the more or less voluntary receptacle of socially desirable and necessary aspirations, feelings, impulses and satisfactions" (Marcuse, 1995: p. 10).

"In the relations of power, sexuality is not the most deaf element, but rather one of those endowed with the greatest instrumentality: usable for the greatest number of maneuvers to serve as a support, as a hinge, to the most varied strategies" (Foucault, 1976: p. 126).

In synthesis, feminine devaluation, ancestral and anchored in the deepest male psyche, provides the historical and anthropological vision to understand how adult women, girls and adolescents are turned into objects, this procedure of individual and collective psychology is the one that allows access to the female body as an object that can be bought or sold, with which the passage to ESC, in this logic, is unfortunately justified.

2. Commercial Sexual Exploitation and "male overvaluation".

Patriarchy provides an ideological justification for "uncontrollable male lust" (Weeks, 1998: p. 18), and sexuality is at play in many of the most important processes of learning and displaying masculinity, which must be understood both descriptively and historically. In order to understand this sexuality, we must refer, above all, to the construction, consolidation and development of patriarchy, as the sociocultural basis of masculinity and male sexuality (an elaboration already made in the previous section). In their concrete manifestation, many of the mandates of patriarchal sexuality, which date back to the very dawn of patriarchy, are surprising for the identical form in which we see them expressed and deployed today in the daily lives of men, individually or collectively.

In the case of ideological institutions, for the case of men, the most important have been the following:

- a) misogyny
- b) androcentrism
- c) phallogentrism
- d) homophobia
- e) virginity for women
- f) compulsory monogamy and fidelity
- g) compulsory childbearing

The male is the representative of the human in patriarchy. With the patriarch, man was defined as the referent of humanity, *"man is always presented as the best example of humanity, the absolute from which woman is situated"* (Badinter, 1993: p. 24).

Patriarchy, as a system of social relations, has as a fundamental task for men the possession and control of women's bodies. Men, as patriarchs, must guarantee the subjugation of women's bodies and sexuality, and to this end, the historical dissociation of women into "women for reproduction", the "mother" of legitimate children and the "woman for pleasure", who does not have a man "to back her up" and "the woman for pleasure", who does not have a man "to back her up", is created.

The social function of providing pleasure to the patriarch. "Women of the casa, women of the street".

"...psychic representations, for both sexes, have been configured in relation to a phallogentric symbolic order, built on the primacy of male vision and sexuality. This order has been translated/consolidated in a hierarchical binary system of interpretation and in a patriarchal type of social organization, where man has been positioned as Subject, One, All (bearer of the only symbolized organ, the phallic emblem, and, therefore, of all powers, that which is considered valuable and superior). Meanwhile, the woman has been assigned the condition of object, the Lack, the lack, the emptiness, the void, that which is defined as inferior and devoid of value, the absence (of a sexual organ represented, of all power)" (González, 1998: p. 13).

The historical dissociation of women is defined on the basis of the needs of the patriarch as mythical man, prototype of the masculine gender. Thus, the "decent" woman, mother and wife, asexual, subject to man, subsists to the extent that other categories of women are created (the Greek hetaira and agate), women of pleasure, "sexual" at the service of the patriarch, but without a name (man) to support them. With the former, a commitment is made to "support" them and name their children; with the latter, no commitment is made.

This dissociation with the female body and sexuality is clearly found in the men studied, who, for the most part, speak of the fact that men in general need sex without commitment with some women, unlike the sex they have with their wives; that "no commitment" should be understood as those women who would not demand certain conditions that could endanger the institution of marriage and family; precisely, it is women in prostitution, and especially girls and adolescents in CSEC, who meet, with greater attractiveness for them, this requirement.

The wife is assumed to be the faithful guardian of the home, mother of the legitimate children.

"That idol of the Mother who has no sex, who is Virgin, Immaculate, attracts, then, extraordinarily to the patriarchal man, as satisfaction (ideal, since it cannot be real) of his contradictory values" (Sagrera, 1973: p. 153).

Female sexuality has been imprisoned by the

"... in all the contradictory meanings of woman: Life and Death, Virgin and Whore, Goddess-Mother and Witch, Pure and Sinner... The history of feminine sexuality has been the exaltation (idealization) of one pole of this antinomy and the denigration (fear-denial) of everything that was far from this mystical femininity turned into supreme value. Therefore, every expression in her is subject to a double and opposite interpretation, depending on whether or not it fits the ideal image: her glorified body of the asexual mother - desired Virgin - may be the dirty and/or despised (feared) body of the woman actively desiring sexuality" (González, 1998: p. 205).

Women are the property of men in patriarchy, both on the real and the imaginary plane, which means that they are not only a fact in the social structure, but also a component of male subjectivity as an imaginary: in terms of desires, expectations, fears, frustrations, identifications.

"And it will be a material property - of his body - because, through it, he will be able to transmit his material goods to his children. But it will also be a spiritual property, because, thanks to his previous innocence, he will be guaranteed her (affective and/or factual) ser- vity only by being the first and only one who has given him the possibility of being able to pass on his material goods to his children.

The male has been able to conjure his fears (rivalry with the Other, her abandonment/disaffection) and to realize his fantasies of exclusivity in love and/or dominance, thus achieving the protection of his narcissism" (González, 1998: p. 199).

With expressions close to this author's quote, many of the men in the study justified the importance for men of the virginity of their partner, associating this condition with greater submission, obedience and ease of control, as well as guaranteeing their virility.

Men have had the power to control and subdue women's bodies and, therefore, their sexuality. For this he needs monogamy/fidelity as a prescription/imposition and virginity as a condition, virginity being necessary to guarantee control of the female body: to be master of its past. *"The prescriptions of virginity and monogamy are the two fundamental norms on which control over women's bodies is based" (González, 1998: p. 199).*

The patriarchal man must also construct, define and reproduce power relations with respect to other social sectors that do not have power (women, children, adults and older adults, other men). Before them, it must reaffirm its virility and power, as a way of demonstrating its masculinity and superiority.

"Duty, tests, demonstrations, are words that confirm the existence of a real race to become a man. Manhood is not granted, it is constructed, let us say it is fabricated" (Badinter, 1993: p.123).

"Masculine identity is associated with possessing, taking, penetrating, dominating and asserting oneself, using force if necessary" (Badinter, 1993: p. 123).

Although in patriarchal societies masculinity is identified with heterosexuality, and misogyny and homophobia are institutions of power, control and ideological reproduction, the truth is that all men, in the patriarchy, are subjected to the same ideological mandates, regardless of their diversity (cultural, economic, political, sexual, age).

"If the male becomes more virile, more valued, more narcissized, with the exhibition of his sexual potency, precisely the opposite happens to the woman, for whom the expression of her desire implies a loss of value, of respect for social (self-) status" (González, 1998: p. 211).

From our point of view, the study of men's sexuality should have as its starting point and backdrop the construction of masculinity, insofar as sexuality occupies a place of primordial importance and determination. As will be discussed below, sexuality and its construction is one of the most important aspects in the shaping of male subjectivity and in the concrete experience of life in men; that is, although masculine identity does not include sexuality alone, in men it does play a very important role, much more so than other components that make it up.

A "good" sexuality, that which responds to sociocultural mandates, as well as that which "fails," possibly also as a consequence of those mandates, occupy a decisive place in being a man, whether to be much or little. Whatever happens in this sexuality, for better or for worse, will have a direct impact on the concrete conformation and experience of masculine identity.

The transmission and consolidation of the main pillars of Masculine sexuality, throughout hundreds of generations, are currently incorporated into their lives with the same strength and affective tone with which they did in their beginnings. The vein of the collective unconscious possibly has in sexuality one of its most complete manifestations. It is for this reason that, according to our perspective, it is not possible to access male sexuality today without looking at it through the prism of how it has been historically, emphasizing those points of inflection in its evolution that remain latent in the everyday life of the people with manifestations in individual and collective subjects.

Thus, it is important to remember that masculinity is not an immutable state or condition, given at birth or acquired automatically by the males of the species; it is a process and involves the bringing into play of a series of aspects, processes and levels of individual and group reality. It is the construction of a specific gender identity and experience: that of the masculine gender. It is a complex process that is forged in personal biography, the history of the group to which one belongs and the history of humanity, as a species capable of generating culture. Male sexuality cannot be understood without this sociocultural background, which sets the guidelines and the paths through which it must travel.

That is to say, although sexuality has a fundamental natural biological basis, in the case of human sexuality it cannot be understood only from that angle; in particular, masculine sexuality, despite the common thought that it is "more animal or instinctive" ("Many females are sought to perpetuate the species"), is traversed and affected by culture and social norms. Perhaps, of the "basic" human activities, sexual activity is one of the most regulated, normativized and codified by different groups in the history of mankind.

To understand sexuality only as the manifestation or development of the innate characteristics that humans possess as an animal species is to reduce it in its vision and in its approach. Although, as in other species, sexuality is basic for the conservation of the species, in the case of humanity, it achieved from the initial moments of its existence the separation of procreation and pleasure. Thus, sexuality is not only for the perpetuation of the species but also for pleasure, contact with others and for the erotic bond. The object of erotic desire is to satisfy desires for contact, which may or may not be accompanied by the

reproduction. Erotic contact does not take place only in the rutting season; the human female is receptive to coital sexual contact at any time and is not only under the command of hormones.

It is not in vain that we can affirm that sexuality is perhaps one of the most advanced expressions of humanity, insofar as it implies subjectivity, fantasy, desire for the other, incorporating the other into my subjective experience and putting myself in his place; in short, it implies the erotic. It is in sexuality where one of the concretions of human anatomy and physiology is integrated with the most varied sociocultural practices and patterns -pulsion, in Freudian language-, giving rise to a level of integration of the highest degree of complexity. Therefore, almost without exception, human beings will have access to sexuality, beyond sex; in the ESC these elements of integral sexuality are absent, since it is a matter of power relations and not of erotic pleasure.

As we have said, sexuality, as a central aspect in the construction of male subjectivity, has an enormous weight that is experienced from the earliest age, not only in the human species as a whole, but also in the particular vicissitudes of the subjects in their personal biographies. It is a sexuality that carries with it ancestral patriarchal mandates, associated with power -virility-, procreation, dissociated from affection, and with penis as an essential goal. As in other expressions of human activity, sexuality is tinged with a heavy phallocentrism.

Like masculinity, male sexuality is constructed in the social sphere, even with attempts, from various sectors, to naturalize it, to automate it, as already indicated, where most of the commands of hegemonic masculinity are played out and reproduced: from and in order to exercise power (Campos and Salas, 2002; Kimmel, 1997). The history of male sexuality is the history of patriarchy and its most diverse institutions and mandates, an idea outlined a few pages ago. One of the aspects most controlled and observed by patriarchal power is sexuality, which, although it has been ostensible for women's sexuality, also applies to men's. Their experience of sexuality does not escape the mandates and demands: the many "no's" to women's sexuality have the counterpart of "no's" to men's; to these are added the "yes's" of male sexuality, which become orders to be fulfilled and not invitations to enjoyment and enjoyment.

Badinter (1993) highlights three mandates in the construction of masculinity:

- a) differentiate from the mother (I am not her baby)
- b) differentiate from the female sex (I am not a girl or I am not a woman)
- c) you are not homosexual

In addition to the above, the "hard man", an expression used by Badinter (1993) to refer to traditional patriarchal masculinity, as a masculine ideal, is summarized by the four imperatives cited by David and Brannon as follows:

- a) Nothing effeminate.*
- b) Important (demand for superiority over others). This leads him to seek experiences and situations where he feels powerful.*
- c) Solid oak (need to be independent and count only on oneself, denial of the need for others).*
- d) To be the strongest "Man must appear to be bold, even aggressive, to show that he is prepared to take all risks, even when reason and terror advise the opposite" (Badinter, 1993: p. 161).*

As we have been reiterating, the important thing is that this institutionality is not in the past: it acts today as such and is incorporated in the psyche and in the actions of men and groups, as well as in women, logically. It is surprising that many of the precepts instituted thousands of years ago are still in force with the same effectiveness and in the same form (which moulds the thoughts, feelings and particular behaviors of individuals and groups). Even idioms or expressions of common use seem to be taken directly from those old texts or ancestral precepts.

In contrast to what is said in many places about the particular and even with what we have said about the potential of human sexuality, we consider that male sexuality is not very erotic.

It is a matter of quickly reviewing the erection-penetration-ejaculation scheme that defines and sets the tone for sexuality in men and in particular men. This is a scheme that is learned from infancy, trained in adolescence and consolidated in adulthood, i.e., there is a centering of the sexuality of men.

The response of men to the response given by a part of their anatomy and large amounts of vital energy are wasted in making that part work, or even more if it does not work. Thus, sexual "failing or not measuring up", according to the indicated prescriptions, is one of the specters that most accompany men throughout their lives. By worrying about not failing, other sources or possibilities of enjoying sexuality, with or without intercourse, are left aside.

One of the manifestations that most clearly reflects this basic sexual scheme is the millenary existence of prostitution in patriarchal societies. Why do many men, many of whom have stable sexual partners -wife, for example- turn to prostitutes? Ortiz (1996) studied it and answered it precisely: because with the sex worker "one gets to the point", not much time is wasted and there is no need to worry about whether or not the other person was satisfied.

In another study, the authors (Salas and Campos, 2002) report some manifestations of the so-called everyday sexual life of Costa Rican men, including the notion of "the night was expensive for you," as an expression of men who enjoyed a very romantic evening (dinner, dancing) with a woman but with whom "nothing happened": not only did he not take her to bed, but he did not penetrate her, that is, the investment was very high for such low returns. It is evident that what marks the achievement of the goal is the obligatory penis.

While one of the main mandates for male sexuality is that it should be heterosexual, associated with the institutions of virginity, fidelity and marriage (which are more applicable to women) and should therefore be aimed more at procreation and ensuring the legitimacy of offspring, when it is lived and deployed in homosexual ties, the dominant triad demands to be exposed in the same way. What is in evidence here is not the man's sexual orientation but the way he lives and transmits his sexuality, regardless of the sex of his partner. Thus, the main mandates of male sexuality - power, dominance and control - are deployed independently of the characteristics of the erotic object. The sexual orientation or sex of the partner is not an obstacle to show who is in a position of command.

Monick (1994) states that the phallus is the symbol that structures masculine identity and power. In the sexual sphere, phallus refers to penetration.

That is to say, the penetration of an erect penis symbolizes the conquest and appropriation of an area, a scenario that should belong to men: taking possession of the property, regardless of the affective substratum that sustains the situation.

The consequence of a sexuality thus incorporated or thus lived is that, paradoxically, men often experience their sexuality in a dangerous way, which is not easily expressed or evidenced. The demand or mandate to please the other, the prerequisite of *saber*, the impossibility of "failing", the fear of the presence of the "other" who can do it better, make the sexual experience not a field for pleasure and growth, but a field of battle and competition - against oneself and against others.

Many of the men in the research showed that in order to avoid this "performance anxiety", many men require a "quick" sexuality where it is guaranteed that the evaluative gaze of others will not be present. Precisely, one of the justifications most frequently used by men is that in relationships with older people and especially in CSEC, performance anxiety is practically nil or quite attenuated.

In this way, a dimension of the human being that can contribute to the elevation of life, to its full enjoyment and contribute to a better coexistence (Londoño, s.f.) becomes like a boomerang against men themselves, and thus, against all people and their life as a group.

It is lived in this way, at least in a double sense: on the one hand, with this restricted way of focusing on the penis, its erection and penetration, and on the other, with the paradoxical mission and cognitive distortions that masculine sexuality is destined to please women, which is intended to be achieved with the model of learned sexuality, on the basis that men are the ones who know and that they should transfer this knowledge to women (so that they "enjoy" it, not so that they learn it). It goes without saying that such knowledge in matters of sexuality is given to men by the mere fact of being men, a place that is learned from the first years of life, which, once again, places us in the situation of knowing it better than others, so that no one will try to take away what belongs to me.

The problem we have observed is that

"Rather, such responsibility is experienced as the duty of the one who knows how to transmit knowledge, thus curtailing her proactive capacity to share in intimacy as well; thus, pleasing the partner is not a pleasure, it is a duty" (Campos and Salas, 2002: p. 212).

In accordance with the above, Gindin (1991: p.18) postulates the following paradigms of male sexuality that should be followed in the best way by men:

*"Men should know all about sex.
There are two types of women: whores and ours
Men are responsible for female enjoyment
Man must always be ready
The man can handle every woman."*

3. Erotization of the power link

Given the above, we believe we are in a position to question whether what is at stake in ESC is not only the pleasure derived directly from sexuality, but also the pleasure derived from the exercise of power. Dominating the sexuality of the other is a symbol of dominion over the body and subjectivity of the other. It is the greatest and most forceful proof of the subjugation of some over others. The private acquires a public and political character.

In this way, we consider that some men *"...learn to become aroused by domination, submission and humiliation"* (Batres, 1999: p. 13).

Mastering the feminine means mastering one of the most mysterious facets that is the subject of most male attention: women's sexuality, which, whether we like it or not, cannot be under the total control of men, but not their fantasy and imagination.

This sexuality should be seen in the light of its experience and reality in patriarchy, that is, within the unfolding of power relations.

"Sexual coercion and the objectification of women's bodies are aspects of sexuality considered as instruments of power"(Corsi, 1995: p. 37).

"In them, sexual 'exploits' and amorous 'conquests', more than with affective fulfillment, have to do with triumph over women" (Corsi, 1995: p. 37).

Even with the questioning that this already suffers, it adds new elements of concern. That is to say, it is precisely this questioning that shows what is at stake in sexuality from the perspective of power. If it loses any of this power, it comes into criticism:

*"Men do not know how to deal with both types of women: **the old submissive and the new fighter**, and therefore fall into constant contradictions that lead to serious and important conflicts in their sexual life" (Gindin, 1991: p. 18) (emphasis added).*

This practice is not new; it has even been taken to the theater of war, a scenario in which the private sphere acquires the trappings of trophies and the ostentation of wealth. In fact, the systematic rape of the women of defeated peoples to the point of impregnating them is ancient, and here sexuality is not only aimed at showing who is in charge, but also at tearing apart the roots of the emotional bond between those who make up these peoples, by virtue of the connotations of "bastard" children begotten by the one who is most hated: the enemy.

As mentioned, there is eroticization of the power bond, insofar as male sexuality in many cases or on many occasions is not erotic: it is centered on "can-do": erection, penetration and ejaculation (fertilization can be added), as symbols of power in other dimensions.

If one of the basic activities of human beings, such as sexuality, is associated with the exercise of power, by simple Pavlovian conditioning, there is an association between two aspects of life that are not originally linked: power and pleasure. In this way, the conditioning achieved is deep and rooted in people's psyche.

It is a fact that in different political regimes sexuality has taken on such roles in the service of the established, that in some cases it has been taken to art in a dramatic and masterful way ("Salon Kitty" and "Night Porter", to cite just two examples of the seventh art).

The phallus, in terms of its subjective implications

As already indicated, the phallus is an erect penis, as a symbol of power. That is to say, the phallus goes beyond the penis as a concrete existence and assumes the role of a suprahuman instance, to whose presence social groups must pay obeisance. Without a hint of exaggeration, it can be said that this constitutes a good part of the history of patriarchy.

In this symbolic function, displacing the ancestral cult of the female vulva, the phallus is established with patriarchy itself: in the Old Testament, Yahweh makes his covenant with Abraham, for which the circumcision of his penis and that of all the men of the following generations will be a seal, ritual and eternal symbol of him.

Centuries later, David gives Saul 100 foreskins as proof that he can pay for the marriage with his daughter. Thus, the vulva, symbol of the power of regeneration and life - proper to feminine divinities - is replaced by the phallus and its derivations. This happens just when patriarchy had already been installed in the various human formations of Old Europe, the Near East and North Africa.

It is pertinent to recover here some of Monick's (1994) proposals, for whom the reference to the

"Archetypal masculinity means concentrating on the phallus, the erect penis, the emblem and standard of virility.all the images through which masculinity is defined have the phallus as their point of reference.vigor, endurance, efficiency, penetration, righteousness, hardness, strength-the phallus makes all this effective.the phallus is the fundamental mark of virility, its seal, its sign" (p. 14).

"The phallus always brings confirmation of masculine strength" (p. 39).

The phallus, as a symbol of power, runs through all patriarchal and parochial societies, that is to say, phallogocentric. The erection of great constructions such as castles, pyramids or obelisks will be faithful images of the presence of male power; in the same sense, the king's staff will symbolize who holds power and who must be obeyed, which synthesizes the image of masculine power in societies, even taking autonomy and ascendancy over men.

In relation to this, we can affirm that, then, sexuality has taken on the character of merchandise and fetish, according to the Marxist notion (Marx, 1976). That is to say, it has use value and exchange value and then acquires properties of autonomy that are above the will of the people and passes to the market without any major problem, since the human and therefore social character of the persons in ESC is made invisible when they are turned into merchandise and are converted into a commodity.

"...takes on, in the eyes of men, the phantasmagoric form of a relation between material objects..." (Marx, 1976: p. 38).

By being commodified and fetishized, sexuality is sold and bought like any other article and loses its basis of being one of the most important areas of humanity. This is especially true in terms of power and reproduction (Figueredo and Montero, 2004).

To this is added, in the specific case of male sexuality, the notion of the phallus as a fetish, a stage in which this dimension of the biology of the human male is granted special powers, beyond the will of the individual man. The phallus will dominate the will of the subject and will demand the most incredible feats in order to be pleased.

In this way, sex understood as merchandise, acquires the dimensions of fetish more clearly in masculinity, and this more anchored in the phallus; thus, the erect penis will have special powers, even above the will of man. So much so that the erect penis has been the object of adoration since antiquity.

In masculinity and the maintenance of its main characteristics, the internal world plays a decisive role.

The phallus is flaunted in both dimensions of men's lives. Berger and Luckmann (1976) allude to reality as a subjective construction; it is probable that, in many cases, men, faced with the weakening of objective reality, resort to mechanisms of subjective compensation that allow them to know and feel themselves in certain places, which applies to diverse areas of masculinity and, in particular, to sexuality.

The men studied, in their discourse, express the particular ostentation of the phallus in the specific case of sexual relations with minors. Although it may sound grotesque, the phallus in its symbolic dimension was compared to a bottle "opener" that "uncovers" the virginity of girls and adolescents. It is worth noting that the idea of "uncovering" appears frequently in several groups studied.

If everything is about getting an erection, penetrating and ejaculating, age can act as an inevitable enemy, so much so that *Viagra*, or similar drugs, works on all ages - adults and young people - with different discourses but with a similar basis of reasoning.

Campos and Salas (2002: p. 211) note in this regard:

"If it 'no longer works', 'I am no longer a man, or I am less of a man', this places male subjectivity around erection, the man thus becomes PSYCHOERECTUS.

Men's reflections on erection problems refer to such problems as one of the major fears and threats that make them vulnerable.

We have noted the large number of myths that men have about erection and about the penis, to the point of considering it as a being with its own independent existence, which moves at its own will and whose 'movements' have nothing to do with the social, interpersonal and subjective world of the man who carries it".

Perhaps this is one of the main concerns of men, precisely because of the focus on phallic sexuality.

The triad of male sexuality can easily fail to work: no penis, no fertilization, no dominance. Male sexuality, structured in this way, is ostensible, easy to see and not very mysterious; on the other hand, female sexuality is (men cannot prove that there was an orgasm which, if not, can hurt them given the mandate of some myths, as exposed). Even in sexuality for reproduction, very controlled by patriarchy, there is no absolute certainty of who holds the paternity. In the end, only the woman knows who the father is and, incidentally, whether or not she has reached orgasm.

In a study conducted by the authors (Campos and Salas, 2002), it was found that men, when they do not have intercourse, think that they "lost the night" or that "nothing happened. When a man says "Nothing happened the night before" he is affirming that the issue is that he did not exercise his sexual duties as a man; that is, he did not complete penetration. The accessory, the preliminary, the affective (pre and post coitus) do not weigh much in all this. Despite the fact that, as already indicated, contradictorily, the main concern of men is the pleasure of women. What is not said is that the genuine concern is that *he* did not bring her to pleasure, which implies ignoring the autonomy of people to access these pleasurable states and, on the other hand, especially in men, the great concern of "If I don't do it, someone else will!". In the end, it is not the pleasure that is of interest, neither his nor hers, but the ability to show dominance and control.

This statement "If I don't do it, someone else will" was found in several groups of the men studied, who argued that if they did not accede to the demand for minors in CSEC, other men would.

The "failing phallus" is synonymous with falsified manhood. If in women, non-motherhood is synonymous with non-femininity, in men, non-erection is the inability to penetrate: I am not a man.

Without going into greater detail, it is interesting to question whether the non-presence of orgasm in women has the same weight or role as non-erection in men, in terms of defining their identities as such. This aspect is beyond the scope of this research.

In this regard, Gindin (1991: p. 25) notes:

*"Much of male sexual problems are due to what Masters and Johnson call **performance anxiety**. Men must perform sexually, and if we don't we are put off. And if we are put off in this, we are unmanly. Then someone else is going to quickly displace us or our partner is going to stop wanting us" (emphasis added).*

Given the phenomenon of double standards in patriarchal male sexuality, even though there may be prohibitions, regulations and controls with respect to certain sexual practices that violate the rights of the persons involved, the truth is that there are mechanisms that encourage the opposite to be done. For some men, what is prohibited is attractive and seductive, even if in some cases there are only vague notions that they are transgressions.

For some men, sex, the body of the young can act as a sexual stimulus, apart from the fact that this is a double message: a desire for the young and the new - for example, the bodies of young women - and the prohibition of access to them.

Chapter III

Results

This chapter presents the most important results obtained in the research process and is divided into three main sections. The first section contains the information corresponding to the survey of the documentary base on the subject in the region. In the second, some quantitative data are obtained to provide a general description of the subjects of the research; and finally, the basic elements that make it possible to respond to the core component of the research are addressed (this is the most extensive part).

A) REVIEW OF RESEARCH OR WORK WITH MEN ABOUT COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

In all the countries (Central America, Panama and the Dominican Republic), research, publications, background work or other sources (newspaper reports and Internet documents) on the specific topic of men and CSEC were investigated in accordance with the objectives set for the study.

In this regard, with very little difference between countries, there was practically no evidence of research with men under the conditions mentioned.

There is a constant, however, which consists of referring to men from the point of view of other groups (especially victims) or from the perspective of the institutional or legal framework (i.e., the questions of what and how to work with men are answered). But, we reiterate, the approach to men, the "client", is practically non-existent.

Even on the very subject of CSEC, the work carried out is incipient. Research carried out with the support of the IPEC/ILO program is reported, in which men also appear as objects and not as subjects of the information.

Some studies have been conducted with adult women in prostitution or their clients. In these cases, the focus on adult prostitution predominates.

As we have said, the characterization that has been achieved about the client (age, nationality, sex, socioeconomic level) is by reference to the victims. A characterization, product of the inquiry of the men themselves, does not become visible, there is a lack of knowledge of their dynamics, little is known of the critical route they have, their main characteristics are ignored; information of fundamental importance if preventive measures are to be taken with this population.

In other investigations there are references to the client (indirectly, based on the victims' accounts) or to the demand as such. Among them, we can mention those carried out in Nicaragua by several researchers.

Medrano (n.d.) found that it seems that sexual exploiters exist at all socioeconomic levels and that, depending on the place where it takes place, so will be their level. Some men have economic solvency, while others, if they earn even sporadic income, may "invest" in paid sex with minors. Within the group of exploited men are both local men and men who are passing through (van drivers, men coming from other cities or countries). Finally, the author reports that money is not the only form of payment, but that in some cases there are also payments in kind.

Madriz (n.d.), for his part, inquired about what the clients do and the places where CSEC takes place; he mentions, among others, restaurants, massage parlors, brothels, border locations, street corners, desolate places and private homes.

Zenteno (n.d.) analyzes, among other aspects, the feelings of power that prevail in these men and those sexual practices with the victims that do not occur with their conjugal partners.

In a National Consultation in 2000, coordinated by the Centro Dos Generaciones de Nicaragua (n.d.) on the sexual exploitation of children and adolescents, it was concluded that the "client" as a direct agent of CSEC is not made visible, which is more the case with the victims. It is indicated that the client likes to dominate and manipulate, that he corresponds to macho patterns and that he is perceived from a pathological perspective, and that it is necessary to understand the motivations and dynamics of these men.

As for legal aspects, mention is made of the treatment given to this issue in IPEC/ILO documents and a work published by the Honduran press.

In Guatemala, the Dominican Republic and Panama, no findings have been reported.

This situation should be seen in the context of a region in which the issues of CSEC, on the one hand, and masculinity, on the other, have only recently been considered of interest to academia and institutions (of various kinds). In other words, if work with men and on CSEC alone is scarce, it is even scarcer if approached from the perspective of linked issues.

Finally, a premise from which this research also started, in these studies there are references to men described from the point of view of other people (especially victims) and men directly involved in CSEC (clients, pimps, exploiters). However, the approach to men from the general population and their relationship with CSEC is nonexistent in the area⁷, especially in the case of studies where men are the ones who speak directly.

Therefore, the results presented here may serve as a starting point for the further investigation that the subject requires in the region, along with other related topics.

7 We are aware of the recent publication "El Cliente pasa desapercibido" (published by Save the Children; Lima, Peru; 2004), coordinated by Verushka Villavicencio. This work is of interest because although it is true that it does not belong to the geographical area investigated, it is a reference that should be analyzed in due course.

B) QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE CHARACTERIZATION OF MEN INVESTIGATED, BY COUNTRY AND REGION

The research was carried out with a total of 445 men (from 35 focus group sessions and 40 individual interviews), according to the following breakdown by country:

PAÍS	NÚMERO DE SUJETOS	RANGO DE EDAD
Costa Rica	83 personas	19 a 63 años
El Salvador	79 personas	20 y 61 años
Guatemala	85 personas	20 a 65 años
Honduras	63 personas	35 a 50 años
Nicaragua	36 personas	19 a 63 años
Panamá	59 personas	21 a 54 años
República Dominicana	40 personas	19 a 83 años
TOTAL	445	

The criteria and the way in which these men were contacted led to a wide diversity in their socio-demographic conditions. Thus, diversity was achieved in the following aspects: socioeconomic, labor, geographic, educational, ethnic, sexual orientation, marital status, and age. The criteria and opinions of peasant men, city dwellers, professionals, workers, university students, policemen, drivers, cab drivers, tourism workers, bureaucrats, informal sector workers, etc., were taken into account during the fieldwork (focus groups and interviews) from October 2003 to May 2004.

Ages ranged from a minimum of 19 years to a maximum of 83 years (in the country descriptions, the numbers in parentheses indicate the minimum and maximum ages). The majority, however, are between 25 and 55 years of age. That is, in effect, they correspond to people of adult status, an element that was predefined as fundamental for the purposes of the research.

Given the above, we can affirm once again that, although there is no statistical or random representativeness, the male population surveyed shows us, quite accurately, precisely what the research proposed: the opinion and general structure of thought of men in the region regarding CSEC.

C) PRESENTATION OF THE RESULTS

In this section we provide a detailed description of the subjects' responses and comments, grouped according to four categories of analysis (see methodology); for each of them, we insert some of the most representative phrases or comments collected both in the groups and in the individual interviews; it should be noted that the aspects included in one of the sections, in many cases, are mixed with those of other sections, since they are intimately linked and overlap in their expression.

The presentation is made by collecting representative textual quotations; some of them are strong or shocking, but their reading is required for a better understanding of the underlying logic of thought. The men's sentences are highlighted (in italics).

The four main categories, elaborated before and after the elaboration of the data, are: male sexuality and CSEC, commercialization of sexuality, conception of underage person and, finally, young body and Commercial Sexual Exploitation. Some of these were further divided into subcategories for ease of presentation.

1. Commercial Sexual Exploitation and the Construction of Male Sexuality

They teach you that you have one thing in front of you and that you have to defend your pride... your name.

For one the most important thing is to have the organ, the penis.

For men, sexuality is the most important thing, it goes over even God's head.

This section includes the answers that men gave to the questions regarding their conception of sexuality, sexual socialization, type of sexual relations, and the type of relationship they have with their partner.

The following are some of the factors that induce them to engage in various forms of commercial sexuality.

This is perhaps the broadest category of analysis, since all the other reflections derived from the information processed are derived from it. We give an important weight to sexuality, both from an epistemological and ontological perspective; that is, within the concrete life of individuals. In our opinion, as we have already postulated, this is where the main foundations of ESC are being laid, which, for its manifestation, combines this sexuality with other determined socio-economic and political variables.

This is so because, as we have stated, sexuality is one of the spheres in which, in a privileged manner, the most subtle and powerful mandates that patriarchy places on masculinity and on men in particular are deployed. The way in which the demands of masculinity and male sexuality are learned, developed and lived are a faithful reflection or sample of how patriarchy and its most pronounced components act. To delve into the cracks of male sexuality -in this case- is to listen to the intimacies of the system.

It is precisely for this reason that we have chosen to subdivide this category into various subcategories or components. It goes without saying that they are presented and analyzed separately, knowing that in reality they are closely linked and that when dealing with one we are also dealing with others.

Talking about sexuality requires a reference to issues such as: general conception of sexuality, socialization of sexuality, sexuality and gender, the pairs that men prefer, education for sexuality, and others.

1.1. Commercial Sexual Exploitation and general conception of sexuality

As a first approximation, we can say that, in the men investigated, it is basically divided into two major notions. One is more directed towards what sex is directly and in which the concern about what men should learn and do revolves around coitus, penetration, coital positions, masturbation, genital organs and the human sexual response.

The other notion is that which, to a lesser degree, points to aspects that have to do with a vision of sexuality proper, with explicit comments about sexuality being more than sex or genitality. Hence, elements such as affection, bonding, gender formation, consideration for the other person are incorporated.

All the elements that have to do with the intimate life of the individual and include not only the genital part, but also the whole social life; elements of a psychological and social nature (such as sharing with the family); it is not only an individual matter. (Nicaragua)

Predominance of the physical and corporal in the attraction, very great emptiness in the inner, spiritual part. It is relegated to the background. At least at the beginning, what moves the attraction is the physical: age, characteristics, sex, although the latter does not play a role at the beginning, except in unhealthy cases. The sexual act is the culmination of the relationship (Nicaragua).

Attention, more than sex, attention, a beautiful relationship with the person I am going to have sex with, with whom I usually have sex, I am very interested in discovering, talking, sharing, eating, that is what attracts my attention, that is what most attracts me (Honduras).

Thus, for most of them, the most important thing is related to genital function, in particular, their penis. This specific meaning and experience is found in practically all the men studied, regardless of some of their characteristics as particular groups.

In the men's discourse, the need to have sexual relations with many sexual partners is emphasized as a symbol of virility, and the penis as a "passport" to establish such relations. Note how in some of them the act of penetration is crudely recounted, in some cases associated with the ability to fertilize.

Look, what you have there is for you to use with women.... (Dominican Republic)

For one the most important thing is to have the organ, the penis (El

Salvador) For procreation, to have children, and others for pleasure

(Costa Rica).

*When you already have them naked, you don't even realize it, you just want to put it in.
...(Guatemala)*

*... I see that we men are very poorly educated because what we seek is pleasure,
pleasure, pleasure and pleasure... (Costa Rica).*

*The most important thing for a man is to feel the sensation of being watered, to feel
strong, powerful, that he has that lapse of pleasure. (Costa Rica)*

The following sentence is illustrative of the cognitive distortions that men make
about their sexuality.

*You have to be a dominant male, you have to have it this size, you have to put it in
until it comes out through the other's tongue and think simply in terms of pleasure.
(Costa Rica)*

Put it in, take it out and have a lot of carajillos that look like me (Costa Rica).

*The more women I fuck the more men I am, if I have a big dick I'm a man, but if I have a
small dick, shame on me... (Costa Rica).*

Pull, pull and satisfy yourself (Costa Rica).

It is to satisfy the need to "fuck". (Guatemala)

*They teach you that you have one thing in front of you and that you have to defend
your pride... your name (Guatemala).*

It is striking that the old Greek injunction summarized by Demosthenes, to
the effect that a man should possess several women for different functions (wife
for motherhood; the hetaira for sexual pleasure and the agate for affectionate
companionship), continues to be valid in the thinking of these men. The
following sentence is an example of this.

*A man's sexuality is divided into three parts: formal, legal sexuality with a partner, which
is based on love, furtive sexuality with a mistress, which is based on "get to ride and
go," and overseas conquests, which is based on hunting.*

In this case, there is a tendency to look for much younger women, and the younger they are, the more extensive the hunt feels and the more rewarding it is, regardless of whether I know it or not. (Costa Rica)

Now, Dad, you have to hunt anything that moves! (Costa Rica)

In addition, the above phrases, specifically the expressions "hunt anything" and "marking territory" refer to a colonialist vision of male sexuality and the role that women play in it. It does not matter if she wishes to "be conquered", what prevails is the will of the male, as if all women were his property or could become so and the only thing he has to do is "choose".

In these men there prevails a vision of sexuality as something that cannot be controlled because, according to them, it is part of their biological nature. This nature ("man in his natural state"), besides being understood as the most important thing, is so powerful over man that he conceives that it is above his highest values (God).

For men, sexuality is the primordial thing, it goes over even God's head. (Costa Rica)

The most important thing is the sexual act, that's where you go... (Costa Rica)

That is something very natural, since one is born as a man, if one lived in the mountains, one would look for a woman and how to reproduce, but sexuality has been instilled in one since childhood, that one has to get a woman and all that about the way one dresses. It is something very personal for men, that you have to get more women, it is something very natural, like an instinct (Costa Rica).

For some of mankind is at the mercy of instincts, which must be peremptorily satisfied and in which, for example, the action of hormones is inevitable and implacable. Thus, the nature of the human is overdetermined by the biological basis of the species. Directly, some manifestations point to the fact that the cultural yields to the push of the call of biological needs.

Although not in all cases, these appraisals are used both to explain and to justify specific behaviors in the sexual area, as well as to legitimize those institutions that support and reproduce them.

Sexuality is a biological necessity (El Salvador).

This depends on the force of nature. There are men whose hormones are more altered than others, those who have half female hormones and the other half male are more stable; on the other hand, those who have 80% more male hormones are more altered, therefore they make more mistakes, which is what leads to the act of rape and stealing a female. (El Salvador)

I believe that man is like an animal, a beast, he wants to have something new (Dominican Republic).

Women provoke us and men, because they are weak, feel the need.... (El Salvador)

In the above sentences, unacceptable conceptions about being a man and being a woman are intermingled, and in their logic of thought, some of them justify acts of irresponsibility and gender-based sexual violence, based on the supposed power of hormones, to which men succumb, stimulated by the seduction of women. Note the relationship with the medieval thinking of the "temptress woman" discussed in the conceptual framework.

It was striking that some groups of men from some countries showed a discourse that was more oriented towards an integral conception of sexuality, which was more evident in men with a homosexual orientation and in professionals, and that this more integral vision of sexuality contemplates different dimensions of sexuality: biological, psychological, social, affective. What was said in other focus groups dealt with sexuality in more conventional terms.

This difference could be due, on the one hand, to greater access to information, and on the other, to life experiences that make some men more flexible than others in relation to this issue. In the case of gay men, being singled out and discriminated against because of their sexual orientation undoubtedly awakens many reflections on this and on sexuality in general, which men with different experiences would not necessarily have.

Another possible explanation for this phenomenon could be associated with a greater tradition that some of them have in the gender-sensitive line (e.g., having received training in gender issues, in the fight against gender violence) and a greater level of education in gender and power issues and their implications in sexuality and, particularly, in commercial sexual exploitation.

Referring to male sexuality, the following sentence is a good example: *"It is very focused on the genital, on phallocracy, on that power that comes from possessing the phallus as a fundamental instrument of pleasure"* (Nicaragua). The terminology and the underlying reasoning are an expression of a more structured and directed thinking, although it should be noted that later, when other areas are taken up, some samples of a more traditional type of conception reappear.

Another way of understanding sexuality and its socialization is based on the order of divine mandate. Sexuality, including its natural manifestation, is determined or prescribed by God. Therefore, it is taken for granted, it will simply follow the paths that have been marked out for it and the person has to obey and follow them.

Thus, in these people, we can appreciate a certain degree of immobility with regard to sexuality, inasmuch as it is not learned and has no possible variations. Either nature schedules the development of sexuality, or diversity sets the path.

Sexuality was not invented by man, God created it (El Salvador).

Sexuality is part of nature itself, from childhood (El Salvador).

This is without prejudice to the striking phrase that sexuality is more powerful than God, in the sense of the dominion and control it exercises over the will of men, i.e., sexuality has powers associated with divinity itself.

Another important notion that emerges from these men's accounts is the assumption of sexuality as a field of battle and honor. In sexuality, the typical and stereotypical dilemmas of masculinity can be played out, such as the following

This is especially true for women and, within them, especially young girls.

[sexuality] ... is like an attribute of power, fundamentally, in the masculine: power of domination, power of subjugation, power of affirmation, of gender identity, which must be demonstrated with ostentation, with the arrogance that I am capable of having sexual contact, of seducing, of conquering a woman or a man. (Ni-caragua)

In relation to the above, men find it justified to seek several sexual partners, which alludes to a stereotypical conception that monogamy was not invented for men, because it is against their nature. Some of the phrases are typical of those found in men's conversations and reasoning in different contexts.

Honestly, I'm not so sure that the human being is completely monogamous in nature. (Dominican Republic)

It is difficult for a man to have only one woman (Dominican Republic).

Well, but I'll tell you straight to you, what do you prefer, one wife or three girlfriends? (Dominican Republic)

The dominion of men over women seems to have a kind of culmination in the ESC. The following sentence is particularly significant insofar as it conveys such domination, which is shown in a forceful manner if it is exercised over minors. This can only be understood in the context of patriarchy and misogyny as a fundamental ideological component.

So, sex with minors is the conquest of the superiority of men over women. The subjugation of women to men, consciously or unconsciously, is revenge (Dominican Republic).

At a level that will be discussed later, it is here that the relationships between sexuality, pleasure and dominance are settled, so that women must be dominated (by nature, by divine mandate, because they are considered weaker) and men must take on this task. Thus, to be a man is to be

not only not to be a woman but also to dominate the woman; this obviously includes sexuality. It is not difficult to move from this point to one in which male sexuality must be active and female sexuality, as a complement, passive.

In these men's conception of sexuality, one can also identify the ancestral dissociation of women into wives and prostitutes, which the system tolerates and legitimizes.

The easiest, what the woman in the house does not fill, the woman in the street fills (Panama).

Most people-male people-are looking for... businesses where there are women because, You know, it's occasional, because it's just a pleasure, in other words, the pleasure that they don't find at home, maybe they go into business because it's just for pleasure. (Honduras)

I like whores, who like to do their job, and do it well (Dominican Republic).

A woman who costs us something, "good, beautiful and cheap". (El Salvador)

The old task that the patriarchy assigns to prostitution appears here, still refined with the good intention of preserving the institution of marriage. In some of these phrases, discriminatory and objectifying conceptions of the female condition and of women are filtered, which evidently constitute a violation of their fundamental rights, as they are degraded to the condition of waste objects, "drains".

To gain experience and then practice sex at home with the woman, he will practice it to avoid losing his home (El Salvador).

After the woman of the house, the ladies are "drains". (El Salvador)

Because sex in the same way in a home is boring, it is necessary to innovate technology (El Salvador).

This is the basis for understanding the role that the commercialization of sex plays in the patriarchy, which in turn is the breeding ground for the commercialization of sex.

The following are some of the most important factors in the ESC of minors. In fact, the route that leads many men to approach this type of experience of their sexuality has to do precisely with this commodification of love bonds, which is illustrated by the following phrases, although it may not be pleasant to hear them.

Sex is something that can be bought and sold (El Salvador).

First, he is paying for sex, where he does not care if there are of legal age or not and sees sexuality as a value, a garment to conquer and that assigns a value to him. (Dominican Republic).

Possibly those men who look for her in the prostitution centers or with the pimps, is possibly because his own wife was not a virgin in the marriage, or with him or with other men, so the value of virginity leads him to buy that. (Dominican Republic)

Without much difficulty, this type of reasoning leads to double standards in matters of sexuality, especially when it comes to women's access or behavior. At certain times something will be right with some people, while with others it is not, and a devaluation of the underage category is expressed, insofar as their rights are not perceived, all from an adult-centric perspective.

Another typical characteristic of masculinity and its concrete projection in their sexuality should be pointed out: there is little self-care in sexual practices, with few exceptions; this has already been confirmed in the direct experience of the authors; moreover, the truth is that such carelessness is not only present in sexual life, but is part of the daily experience of men in other aspects or areas: work, recreation, health.

1.2. Instances and forms of socialization. Their relationship with Commercial Sexual Exploitation.

To understand male sexuality we must understand how masculinity is constructed and socialized, and it is necessary to remember that this gender condition is constituted by a series of mandates, demands and requirements made on individual men; obviously, sexuality is not a social condition.

is outside of this scheme of life. Men's sexuality also has this burden of "requests" and in order to respond to them, myths, stereotypes and lies are resorted to. Many of these are easily found in the discourse of these men.

They learn to be men because their fathers put them to work from an early age and, at the same time, they are punished more severely than girls (Dominican Republic).

But such a way of learning does not occur in the air. The system "provides" the respective socializing instances; overwhelmingly, men report that it is the street, friends, prostitutes, masturbation, cy- ne, pornography, magazines, older adults - family members or not - who taught them and showed them what and how to become a man, and within that, what role sexuality plays.

Many times we learned it in the street, with friends, my first masturbation.
... (Panama)

What we learn, we learn in the street in many ways, through movies, books and magazines (El Salvador).

It is something you learn in the street, in the park, on the bus, as you get older, you learn from young people (El Salvador).

They learned that becoming a man, among other requirements, demands assuming sexuality in a certain way, that they must behave with others in a certain way, that they must relate to themselves in a certain way and that their relationship with women also has its own particular form. They were instructed in a scheme in which sexuality has a greater presence and is more determinant than other components of being a man.

It is, therefore, a traditional socialization, in terms of the forms and con- tentions of what it is to become and be a man. The stories and anecdotes presented by the men are no different from what experience has shown us in other areas and situations, with scenes, characters, stories and messages that are well known to most men.

It is striking that, in a convincing way, these men indicate that their sexual socialization has not been carried out by the institutions that traditionally, it is said, are the ones called for such a thing; it is "unofficial" instances that teach men about their masculine being and the sexuality that follows from it.

Talking about sexuality at the time when I grew up was taboo (Costa Rica).

There is no sex education in our homes (Honduras).

We learn about sex as something forbidden, in which we all participate, but we cannot talk about it openly (Nicaragua).

Sexuality is not discussed at school either, and when it is, it is done in a very moralistic, prudish way (Nicaragua).

Who is to blame? As far as I know, it's everyone: the tatas, the nannies, the teachers, the church, the government (El Salvador).

We learn it in the street, because our parents did not have the capacity to guide us on how to behave (El Salvador).

No institution does anything, neither the school nor the church (El Salvador).

The truth is that one learns, and this is a cultural issue, when parents do not teach one, one goes to brothels (Honduras).

Related to this topic, it is interesting that for occasional sex, most of these men prefer women -or men- who do not compromise the established bond in any way; but with the characteristic that it should be with older women in order to learn and then be able to teach, an aspect that will be taken up again later on.

To learn sexuality is to become a man, and this is achieved by entering into coital relations. But this must be done with a certain type of women who are there for this purpose: prostitutes, in addition to masturbatory practices and the study of available material, especially pornographic material. In the background, there are still rituals of passage, by means of which the boy becomes a man under the scrutiny of the gaze of other men, especially adults.

By the way, they understood that occasional sex -and sometimes conjugal sex- should be easy, fast, without having to convince anyone. Sexuality has to lead quickly to intercourse, without further delay. This explains to a large extent the justification for even paying for sex, as will be analyzed in the section on the Commercialization of Sexuality.

The fastest is with the prostitute (Honduras).

In many of these men, the ritual practice (as an initiation rite) of the first sexual experience with a prostitute still prevails, thus learning and legitimizing the objectification of women and sexual practices linked to commercialization, which begin to be seen as something normal and legitimate for men.

Because fathers take their children to brothels to "deflower" them. (El Salvador)

Most of us learn it by going to the prostitutes. The trend is that we take the morrito to the girls so that they can "blunt" him, "to take the air out of him" (El Salvador). (El Salvador)

Many of us were taken by our parents to a prostitute and told, make me a man! (Dominican Republic)

In a few other cases, the mark of being or becoming a man is given by working hard to collaborate with family demands, which was much more evident in peasant and poor sectors of the population.

On the other hand, men have learned that a fundamental part of their masculinity is to have many women, in an ostensible way. This is possible in a cultural context that justifies such forms of behavior, sustained by both men and women.

The five years of school are used to see the women's record, it is like the training stage to start the career, it is the "fogueo" (Costa Rica).

We learn to be men by playing and it is always said, when a boy gets fresh with a girl, if the girl's mother complains, the boy's mother answers: my rooster is loose, you tie up your hen. (Dominican Republic).

This last sentence shows the important factor of supply in the ESC. To use the same words, if there is a supply of hens, the rooster is exempt from liability, just because he is a rooster.

1.3. Representations about women and their relationship to commercial sexual exploitation.

It is striking that the men studied, with regard to their representations of women, emphasize a partialized vision (body parts), which are easily compared to parts of objects. In relation to sexual attractions, practically unanimously, what captivates the gaze of these men are parts of women's bodies, which in some cases can be integrated into a total body, although there may be certain particularities by country or geographic area, the "erogenous zones" are very similar.

She can be skinny, fat, tall, black, whatever she is, she will take it because she is unbridled (Honduras).

That it has good "grips, that it has something to hold on to". (El Salvador)

The synonym of woman is charming breasts, face, full lips... (Dominican Republic)

Los senos paraitos (Dominican Republic)

Within sex are the breasts, but what excites is the vulva or the bum as we say (Honduras).

Seeing a girl from behind... it's the richest thing there is... That's what every man who is a man thinks, otherwise who knows (Guatemala).

This produces a clear objectification of women in sexual matters. That is to say, the problem is not that certain parts are more attractive than others, as is usual in human sexuality. The issue becomes more complicated when we observe in detail how this is reasoned. In fact, the comparison of the female body or parts of it with an automobile is often repeated: it is appreciated and valued as is done with the vehicle or with some of its parts: it is the qualification of the female body or parts of it as a car.

of an object that possesses certain attributes, but that time and use depreciate it.

Have a good bomper (El Salvador).

It is the same if you pay more for a new car than for a used car. Being the first to use it has a value for men and they are willing to pay more for the simple fact of doing something unusual, that is to say, exclusivity. (Dominican Republic)

To look a young and beautiful woman, it is not the same to show off a car from 20 years ago than a latest model! (El Salvador)

Young women are attractive because they are new; that is, they have little use, they are not experienced, they have never done it, and one goes crazy to give oneself that little cheese. It's a sponge cake just made. (Dominican Republic)

In this way, sexuality is a commodity that is embodied in concrete subjects: in the bodies of women, of other men, of young people and of boys and girls. Hence, the transition to the image of something that can be bought and seen and is governed by the laws of the market is not so difficult to make; moreover, the laws of the market are implacable and that which does not retain exchange value is not useful and, therefore, justifies being discarded.

This logic underlies the commercial principle that what is new is better, and the process of objectification of women's bodies, their partialization and assimilation to objects similar to those of a vehicle, it is obvious that access to "new" or "little-used" objects, i.e., to minors, is desired.

It is the pride of saying, "I had sex with a 13- or 14-year-old girl!"
(El Salvador)

Well, because an older woman is already very loose to begin with, and you don't even feel like putting her in, but with a brunette, just by opening her up, you'll be happy. (El Salvador).

This conception is very similar in most of the groups and men investigated. It could even be observed with almost the same terms, independently of the

on of origin, educational level or sexual orientation. That people are sexual objects is seen as such by both heterosexual and homosexual men.

This objectification of women allows us to understand some derivations. Among the most important is that, although not only in sexual matters, "older" women are very demanding and difficult to please; on the other hand, younger women are more controllable, it is not necessary to conquer them (without ignoring the fear of not being able to do so) and they can be dominated with less effort. Young women are attracted by their youth, their freshness and the fantasy of absorbing these gifts.

There is a particular reference to virginity as a symbol of status, power, pride and privilege that can be obtained by those men who have access to it and can "get it"; in this case, the man not only teaches but also leaves his stamp on the subjectivity of women, which gives rise to a series of myths and fantasies that fill masculinity.

The following is a transcription of some phrases with a strong macho content, which illustrate not only the process of objectification of women and minors, but also the symbolic value that some men attach to virginity.

... to disclose that that woman, I made her a woman! (Honduras)

Sometimes it is also due to the machismo of us men, because it is said: "I was the first, in the uncovering!"

But the pleasure of being the first to deflower a woman weighs heavily, as does the power to say that I was the one who broke her. (Dominican Republic)

We all have the luxury of saying I was with so-and-so, I was the first, I was the first, I broke it, that is, I gave myself the luxury of being the first (El Salvador).

It is to have that pleasure and say that I deflowered her and I will never forget it, because we say that if you take a woman's virginity, you will never forget who took her virginity. (El Salvador).

It is a seal that you put on it; you do not forget who took the cork from you. (El Salvador)

Also the female does not feel the taste, because of the pain she feels. Nor does one feel much taste, because it is not the same and you are breaking... in other words, one feels good, because one was the first one. (El Salvador)

For the same reason that when a heterosexual man is going to marry a girl who is a virgin and the same thing happens with a boy of a man who wants to feel that experience of being the first, that is to say to feel it "socadi- to". (El Salvador)

For the fantasy of being the first to defibrate it (Dominican Republic).

Well, I like virgins better, because it is something that is more closed, and the foreskin only breaks if you are with a virgin. That is, until a man is with a virgin, he is a virgin (Dominican Republic).

These phrases, some of which are unacceptable from a rights and gender equity perspective, exemplify not only very concrete, syncretistic and distorted thinking, but also substantial ideological deformations. It is striking that in most countries men compare sexual intercourse with a virgin with allegories that emphasize violent actions, new objectivizations of the victims and actions in which they maintain power. Thus, the reference to "breaking", "uncovering", "uncorking", "uncorking", "removing the seal" allude to the power given to men to act in this way and, on the other hand, to the characteristics of women and minors as objects to be molded to their will.

That is why with women, without prejudice to the division in which they are included, a beneficial relationship can be established. With older women, one learns sexuality and its most important secrets; this school can take place with good women or with "bad" women, what is certain is that they teach. With girls and adolescents, the skills learned can be deployed, not only because they do not know, but also because, according to men's criteria, they are pursued by them to teach them or satisfy their insatiable youthful sexuality.

The scheme is not so complicated: they are in the middle with the permission of the system that legitimizes and promotes the way things are. To become a man is to embody these teachings in the best possible way. Needless to reiterate that at the base of all this there coexist other dissociations typical of patriarchy, such as that of wife-prostitute, already identified.

When you are a 15 year old boy and you sleep with an old lady (Honduras).

I am looking for a woman much older than me, maybe because of the experience she has (El Salvador).

An adult person with more experience (El Salvador)

The above sentences lead us to an important aspect of the way some of the men surveyed think: although it is the man who sets the tone in matters of sexuality, the woman incites the man, which brings us face to face with a new contradiction: that of the weaker sex and the stronger sex. Men, masters of the situation and of control, are weak in the face of female temptations and charms, a scene that has been present in mythology since the dawn of mankind.

nity. Young women, including underage girls, who, according to men, because of their inexperience and the thrust of the hormones, seduce the strong, are not exempt from this.

A 13 year old girl came to me, she sat alone so that I could see everything and many times I had to stop myself because I knew that if I did something with that girl, I know the law and because I know the law, I did not proceed. (El Salvador).

Boys provoke men (El Salvador)

The issue of girls and adolescents seducing does not stop there. Adultcentrism together with androcentrism leads to attributing to them all responsibility for what happens in the ESC, even to the extreme of sexual violence. The following sentences are illustrative of this discriminatory and objectifying mentality.

Girls fall in love, and people with little experience, and the man rapes her for her vice... (Dominican Republic)

...that's what women are for: for us men to enjoy ourselves, that's what God put them in the world for... yes, well, that's why I'm like that!

1.4. Representations about men and their relationship to commercial sexual exploitation.

Expanding on ideas already outlined above, in the mentality of many of the men in the region, men are strongly conceived as being in a "natural state", especially when it comes to sexuality. There is a clear tendency to justify men's actions: he does everything because of his nature, because of his hormones, because of God, or because women do not understand him or frustrate him.

Closely related to the traditional machista male mentality, the man assumes a place of omnipotence and as the bearer of the law, in the sense that he feels he has the right to violate or accommodate the laws as he pleases, which would lead him to actions that are prohibited but which he minimizes or denies. These may range from casual sex outside the couple's relationship, to sexual intercourse with minors, including the possible commission of a crime.

At a certain point, reflection in a group took the issue back to the biblical story of Adam and Eve to argue that transgression is a consensual part of being human, which is still present today.

Even in direct relation to CSEC, a basic contradiction arises: it is assumed that CSEC of minors is a crime, for which it is necessary to inform and toughen measures, but, simultaneously, some men, as part of their minimization and denial, argue that what is forbidden is very attractive and that many do it for that very reason.

Our criterion is that it is resolved by means of male omnipotence: one may have a notion, however vague, that CSF is a crime, but no one will know about it or nothing will happen to me, I am smarter (this will be developed at length in the section on CSF).

In this conception of man, there are logically present the well-known demands on men not to express certain affective components and the expression of others. Not to cry, not to show certain affections and not to show tenderness is part of the instruction; being tough is the counterpart. In matters of sexuality, we have already referred to the main demands and the image of the "always ready" man in matters of coital or human sexual response stands out.

To be a man is to be in power and in positions of dominance, to be in control of the situation, which, it is worth mentioning in passing, is perhaps one of the main mandates given to men in the patriarchy.

It is something very personal, as I am a man, I don't want to look bad, in any situation you have to get ahead of the so-called weaker sex; I would say that it is something like not to be left behind, not to be left behind, like saying "I am the man here", even if you are crawling, but you are the man, you are the macho. (Costa Rica)

The man as the head, and the woman to accompany the man and reproduce. Sexuality is a reward for the effort of the human being and above all for the man, who on earth has been the most sacrificed since he has to take the reins in many matters. (Costa Rica)

The following box illustrates expressions given by the men of the region that express the main mandates and tasks of hegemonic masculinity.

They are evidence of misogyny, discrimination against women and justification of male superiority.

Man has to be at the helm in life (Guatemala).

Demonstrate that he is a man (El Salvador).

To be a man is first the sex and second, to be clear that you are a man and not a woman (Dominican Republic).

To be a man is to be the head, the gift of command (Dominican Republic).

The man must see to it that everything runs smoothly. He is the one who has the greatest responsibility in the home and society (Dominican Republic).

According to the Bible, everyone owes respect to man (Dominican Republic).

1.5. Homophobia

As already indicated, we observe the dominant presence of patriarchal ideological institutions in men's discourse on the conception of sexuality. The action of misogyny, phallocentrism and androcentrism, and together with them, homophobia in their structure of thought, can be clearly seen in the current experience and in the processes of socialization. Virginité also appears here, as already described.

It is worth noting that in some groups, with greater emphasis, the homophobic issue appears not only as a current condition in their lives, but also as one of the main components of their sexual socialization. The rejection of homo-sexuality is a clear order from the earliest childhood, which is later coupled with strong misogynistic content. It is worth noting here that homophobia is precisely one of the deepest and most ingrained characteristics of patriarchal masculinity. The narratives of many of the men are saturated with it.

The only focus groups in which the possibility of men choosing same-sex partners was contemplated were those of professionals and gay men (more clearly in some countries than in others). In all the others, it was automatically assumed that when we asked about sexual partners, we were referring to women. This less heterocentric attitude could be interpreted as a greater openness and tolerance towards homosexual orientation, not very present in the bulk of the male experience.

In fact, in some cases, the traditional confusion of gender condition with sexual orientation has arisen: to be a man is not to be a woman and not to be homosexual or not to present certain things that could lead to homosexuality. The problem is that in order to counteract this fear, these men have also banished multiple experiences and sensations that are simply put out of circulation. Thus, the curtailment of some human experiences is the order of the day.

The man has to walk straight, not like a faggot or an asshole...as we say, right, is to have use with the woman, right? We should not use fags or assholes, that's where sexuality comes from (Honduras).

Not to be classified or identified as a "culero" (El Salvador).

From a young age we start to fall in love and he who does not fall in love with other girls is a faggot (Dominican Republic).

The following sentence shows that homophobia, as a characteristic of masculinity, is not only experienced by men, but is also carried by women, which is explained by the fact that it incorporates the hegemonic masculinity that does not tolerate anything close to the homosexual or feminine condition.

I remember the other day I was going to wear a pink shirt and she told me: "No daddy, that's a girl's shirt" (Dominican Republic).

2. Commercialization of sexuality

With money you can buy whatever you want... even some fantasies...

The one who pays is the one in charge.

This category includes men's responses to questions related to men's reasons, preference, and willingness to pay for access to various paid or commercial sex activities (nightclubs, pornography, or prostitution), and whether men like the participation of young people or minors in such activities.

Male participants in the study expressed high levels of tolerance toward various forms of commercialization of sexuality. This tolerance is rooted in a number of beliefs, structural justifications (and beliefs) about sexuality. One of these is that men need more than one partner to satisfy their sexuality, that men do not have enough sexuality with only one person, that is why they need others to satisfy them, and that is why they need casual, uncommitted sex. Many argue that men must do this because the official partner, "the wife," does not "fulfill well" her sexual obligations and thus leaves them "unsatisfied.

Men pose that doing this does not mean breaking up with their official partner, but simply distracting and satisfying themselves. For such purposes do not need to be very demanding, choose anyone.

Multiple or parallel relationships are justified for many men, since in the pursuit of satisfaction and multiple experiences, any means will do.

That his women do not please him well and resort to other satisfaction (Dominican Republic).

Most of them are for more experience and self-satisfaction (Honduras).

Some participants pointed out that, in general, men find it difficult to deal with painful feelings that place them in positions of vulnerability, especially loneliness or emotional grief, and that a virile man is not supposed to experience feelings of pain or sadness and, if he does, they should not dominate him; he should know how to control them through reason. The search for sex is a way to manage these difficult feelings.

There are men who are very lonely and are looking for a little company... especially when they drink. (Guatemala)

Others go because they are disappointed... the wife or girlfriend left them... (Guatemala).

For these purposes, they pointed out that some choose to look for more stable relationships and others (the majority) opt for easier relationships that do not require them to get involved affectively. They look for easy sex and people who are easy to "conquer".

Women with whom they have casual relationships are those who have little knowledge about sexuality and sex (Nicaragua).

There are men who say: "This one doesn't know anything, she's easy, she's naive". While the woman who does have knowledge about sexuality, about sex, makes the relationship a little more difficult. This is associated with the level of education. (Nicaragua)

In this context, the search for occasional sex may lead them to commercial sex, whether in the form of prostitution, buying pornography or visiting nightclubs, all justified on two grounds: because the wife does not satisfy them or because male sexuality is so strong and instinctive that it needs other novel experiences.

If you do not have adequate satisfaction at home, with your partner, you will look for certain adventures outside your home (Dominican Republic).

I would say it does the same as a man's desire to buy a new car. In other words, innovation becomes a pleasure (Dominican Republic).

Men assume that they can present uncontrollable desires and when that happens they are easy targets for commercial sex, and the consumption of substances is used as a justifying element for this. In this commercial act, the other is of no interest as a person, it is important insofar as it is a means to discharge oneself, it fulfills masturbatory functions, it is not an encounter with the other, it is an activity with oneself through the other.

The drugs, the beers make men act that way to go to these places (El Salvador).

When you don't have a wife, you are desperate to find someone to take away your desire (Guatemala).

The important thing in this case is to have sex without commitment, to have sex with women that after the act you don't have to know anything about them, that you are not interested in them as people. (Guatemala)

In the previous sentences it is evident that they are not interested in knowing anything about these women. They are not considered as persons, they are only "al- go" that takes away the desire, it is an impersonal, anonymous sexual activity, without affective involvement, encounters in which one can put an affective distance such that "nothing happens with me".

As a way of satisfying this search for "pleasure or sex without compromise", commercial sex appears, which for men "shortcuts" the conquest process, justifying it as a way to obtain sexual pleasure without having to deploy the male conquest ritual, as most men see it as a "fast track". Supposedly, men are synonymous with sex, but at the same time accessing sex is difficult because they have to conquer and use a series of resources and skills; if they cannot, they pay, but the latter may also be frustrated because they do not have money. There is an idea in the male imagination that accessing sexual experiences that are not paid for involves a great deal of work on the part of the man, since he has to demonstrate and pass the test that he is a good conqueror. The man perceives that he must display verbal and seductive skills, he feels he must eroticize the environment and this takes time and, given the supposed urgency of satisfaction, the easy path of commercial sex solves the problem, so that sexual activity is no longer seen as a job of demonstration and the man can relax.

Men go to the clubs to avoid having to talk the talk and not having to convince the woman... They go straight to the fact (Panama).

In a place like that, there is no need to talk (Panama).

There is also the fact that in a brothel one is more carefree and relaxed than in one's own home. They are not reminding you of debts or complaining about the children's trave- sures (Guatemala).

The married man is in search of favors totally free of commitments: "pim pam pum pum... so as not to get entangled... it is not the same as going to the bar and picking up a girl". What they want is basically sex, but deep down they are looking for affection: "I feel this way". (Panama)

Men from the various countries give a number of very similar reasons for visiting nightclubs or prostitution centers:

Visiting clubs is part of the culture, it's a sexual training phenomenon that is ingrained in Latinos and Western culture. A nightclub is a place of "hunting", it is to feed a little and to know if I do things as they should be done; that's what pornography is for; men go to see the bodies...they want to see another kind of women, they want to compare what they have at home with what they have here...(Panama).

They want to forget about routine...(Panama)

Things your wife won't do...(Panama)

At home the wives will not make them a "striper"... (Panama) For fun.

(Nicaragua)

To look for women with whom I can have sex (Nicaragua) Pleasure seeking (Nicaragua)

They may be dissatisfied, perhaps because they do not find what they are looking for at home, they may have a very "prudish" relationship with their partner, or they may have had a fight with their partner. (Nicaragua).

It may be out of frustration or "pleasure gluttony": the pleasure they get at home is not enough, they go in search of more. (Nicaragua)

They assign prostitution a primary function: to guarantee sexual satisfaction without having to answer to anyone and without compromising themselves.

Because it is the easiest way, because women fuck a lot, I pay a woman 2000 pesos and I satisfy my animal desire (Dominican Republic).

The best thing about prostitutes is that you pay for sex, live your experience and leave. (Dominican Republic)

The prostitutes do what the couple does not want and they pay for a nice time, but they have the idea that they are paying because they are not pleased at home and the prostitutes are because they are a machine (Panama).

These reasons point to different aspects, among them the most evident is the frequent dissociation that men make of women into wives and prostitutes. With this dissociation, sexuality is also divided into "official" and "occasional pleasure" sexuality.

In addition to immediate and quick anonymous satisfaction, they assign to prostitution other important functions for men: to reaffirm their masculinity by making them feel very virile and with great sexual skills and, on the other hand, affective functions, such as affection and companionship.

Feeling macho (El Salvador)

A friend of mine who is a sailor frequents brothels because they are very affectionate (Panamá).

Prostitutes make men feel good. They exaggerate (Dominican Republic).

Note in the sentence the expression "they exaggerate". It doesn't matter that it is known that they are acting, the important thing is that it made them feel important and virile, even though it is known to be fictitious. It is like paying for a dream, the dream of being very virile and the dream of being accompanied; and this one does not require any responsibility:

To avoid responsibility, because they pay and then everything is over (El Salvador).

Prostitution and other forms of commercialization of sexuality are thus totally justified in the context of the market; sex is experienced as just another commodity. Men pay for their services as if they were buying any merchandise on the market; the logic of the market has permeated male sexuality. Thus, once again we find expressions that allude to the objectification of women and sexuality.

The consumer society we are in right now sells us carnal pleasure (Dominican Republic).

... is a body to which you have access because you pay him (Dominican Republic).

Some men have internalized the process and logic of the market in terms of supply and demand, justifying commercial sex as a product of the meeting of supply and demand for sexual services.

... who is actually buying the merchandise for its price in order to feel the satisfaction he is looking for, that is why when a man goes out on the street like this and is presented with an opportunity he is willing to pay the price for the figure and the merchandise. (Dominican Republic)

Note how, in the act of justification, the other must be degraded to the level of a commodity. A commodity without rights, as in the logic of capital. It does not concern the human aspect or the social relationship. It is a relationship between a client and a product, and the laws of the market operate effectively, and this act of commodification of the human will be analyzed later in the section on General Reflections.

The woman who is providing the service has to expose herself and if not, the product that is not exhibited is not sold (El Salvador).

No commitment: if she is a woman who is being sexually exploited, that she will not claim anything, that she will always find her on the streets, that she will be satisfied and that's it. (Nicaragua).

Payment is associated with power, money acquires the characteristics of a fetish that gives power to man. In the logic of the market, the customer is always right because he is paying, no matter what he is buying. Payment gives him the right to experiment and to set the limits of how far he can go in a relationship; the "purchased object" has no right whatsoever to choose or to set limits. This object characteristic can be attributed to individuals and, in this context, minors are more vulnerable to such a situation.

Whoever pays is imposed... they pay for control, for the exercise of power (Nicaragua)

As you pay, you experiment! (Panama)

If you pay, you are the one who sets the limit (Costa Rica).

I paid you for a service, you have to give it to me in full. (Costa Rica)

Because of a power relationship, because the man who is paying is going to exercise and the other person is going to do it. It is a power relationship, where he pays and expects to be remunerated the product of what he has paid, I am paying and you will do what I say, as I want (Honduras).

When you pay you have the right to demand and there is greater control over the payment, if it is not well served you return it; that is, you leave it where you picked it up. (El Salvador).

We believe that the prostitute is going to do sex without limits... I am paying her for this service: you are going to do what I want (Panama).

In any case, many men see sex without commitment as a form of economic investment and a direct relationship between sex and economic investment, regardless of whether it takes place in a formal context of prostitution; this is more notorious in the case of people who are not formally engaged in prostitution or CSEC, but because of their conditions of economic vulnerability are easy targets for access to sexual favors in exchange for some economic or in-kind "help".

I've never paid \$20, but I've bought a pizza (Nicaragua).

It is also like an investment, because you say: "As long as I grab a girl, tell her the story, invite her and then go to pay for the room and then you have to go and drop her off... sometimes it is more expensive. (Costa Rica)

Even if they do not pay, there are always "indirect costs. In this sense, all sex is paid for (Nicaragua).

In the context of prostitution, men who engage in this avenue of sexual satisfaction are prone to cross the line and go beyond, beyond the legal age allowed from the "supply" of young women and men; among them, women and men under the age of 18. Applying market logic, if men are involved in commercial sex activities and preferentially turn to this medium to satisfy their "sexual urgency" needs, they are likely to engage in CSEC activities. Crossing the boundary into CSEC is not seen as such, it is perceived as

part of the variety offered on the market, it is perceived as a form of prostitution, as part of having commercial sex with younger and younger people.

It's like a market and if you want to sell you have to offer the newest things, and if you want to sell you have to look for new, pretty girls, who can dance, who are determined to do anything: go out with an old man, with a young man, or go out with women, with whoever. And the market is full only of young people now. (Nicaragua)

Following the logic of the market, some consider that young people and those under 18 years of age constitute a demand with a high economic value, for which men require a process of objectification of prostitutes, especially minors. The phrases transcribed below reaffirm this process of objectification.

I believe that this is due, first, to the fact that if there are fewer teenagers, because of economic theory, there is less supply, probably the demand will be greater; and, also, the risk it means for the person in charge of the place, and since they are scarce, it is difficult to get them. (Dominican Republic)

Besides, the younger the person is, the more they sell, the more coveted and the more desirable they are. You don't see a 50 year old stripper, you see them up to 25 years old, that's what they sell, fresh meat and that's what excites (Nicaragua).

Sex enters the market like any other merchandise [...]. In the market there is sex with adults and there is sex with minors, if you go looking for a minor then there is already a preference. (Nicaragua)

More money is paid for the young woman, because she is of higher quality (Costa Rica).



CSEC must be understood in the context of a system that commodifies people and their relationships, including sexuality.

Some men give natural justifications for getting involved with younger and younger women.

You see it with the grass and the cattle that are looking for the most tender little lamb, and when that is over... yes... it is like an instinct of living beings (Costa Rica).

It is worth mentioning that no significant differences in thinking logic were found among men of different socioeconomic status and sexual orientation. Many of the men of homosexual orientation who participated in the study stated that:

They look for the easiest, whatever is at hand. They look for men who prostitute themselves. (Nicaragua)

Others, even if they do not seek men in prostitution, always have to pay "indirect costs": cab, food, cigarettes, etc. There are also those who have sex with men who provide them with other services, such as cleaning (Nicaragua).

For me, the costs are always indirect, as I was saying; maybe you don't pay, but the cha- valo cleans the house, washes you, whatever, he is there and suddenly at night you arrive and have sex. In other words, those are indirect costs, you pay them, but in a disguised way. (Ni- caragua)

Differences on this issue were found in some men with a higher level of education, since some expressed a critical view of the commercialization of sexuality. However, such critical discourse does not seem to be accompanied by internal coherence, since although they have a critical position, they end up justifying and/or tolerating commercial sex.

As for pornography, most men felt that it is an activity that men engage in during adolescence and continue to do as adults, as a way to learn about sexuality, or as a means to achieve stimulation for arousal.

Couples go to porn theaters to "educate" themselves to look for positions that they will later practice at home (Nicaragua).

It is a means to teach or learn about sex (Nicaragua).

In cases of therapy, they recommend the person to enter the world of pornography to stimulate sexual desire (Nicaragua).

On the one hand, some criticize the man who participates in commercial sex as if he were insecure, an aberrate or a man in decline who can no longer conquer because he has lost his skills; but, on the other hand, they justify his actions because of his "masculine nature" or because of the frustrations he is experiencing. For a man to engage in commercial sex may be an indicator to other men that he has lost some of the skills to conquer a woman without having to pay her.

As is well known, there are a series of sexual aberrations that motivate men to visit these places (Dominican Republic).

A man with healthy and impeccable conduct will never have a relationship with a prostitute... then this man -whoever does it- is a sick man and we must seek a cure for him. (Honduras)

(El Salvador) Because he is already old and the blah, blah, blah resource no longer works for him (El Salvador) Because he is shy and still doesn't have the courage to talk to a woman... (El Salvador)

...feeling insecure about being able to establish a relationship with another person without the need to pay, they solve that need by paying. Since I can't conquer someone, diay, the only thing I can do to solve that need is to pay. (Costa Rica)

Because of shyness, because they are not able to establish relationships and that is why they go to the bar shows. Older men do it because they are lonely and look for young people (El Salvador).

Despite the criticism, most of the men justified the conduct as follows:

If we could all pay to satisfy a fantasy, we would. (Nicaragua) If that's an older man's fantasy, he does it and pays. (Nicaragua)

In the various countries, the issue of men's purchasing power is emphasized, with very slight differences in the groups. They associate the involvement in commercial sex with CSP, to the extent that men possess sufficient economic resources.

The bad thing is when you have no money (Guatemala).

Because they are capable, they have money, they have the economic capacity, because you can like it, but if you don't have economic capacity, what good is it? (Honduras).

There are people who do it because they like it and others who can afford it and others who may want to and cannot afford it, because there are people who are solvent, that is to say, there is money to do it, it has to do with economic position (El Salvador).

People with greater economic power are the ones who go to nightclubs, because they are very expensive and are not within the reach of poor men, which makes going to one of these clubs a symbol of economic status, which is also an incentive to visit them. There are poor men who save up to go to nightclubs, because of the status it gives. (Nicaragua)

Those who can pay for sex have wives, mistresses, and the latter may be minors (Panama).

However, most expressed that if they had the financial means, men would engage in commercial sex.

On the other hand, very few men pointed out the lack of sex education as a factor associated with commercial sex. As can be seen in the statements of the men in the region, commercial sex is totally legitimized and is based on the dissociation of women (pure woman/licentious woman), characteristic of patriarchy, which shows how the patriarchal institution of prostitution is totally incorporated into male subjectivity, regardless of whether or not it is resorted to, and this is precisely the basis that leads to CSEC. This will be explained in more detail in the section on "men's critical path to CSEC".

3. Conceptualization of the underage person and the young body

There is no minimum age, there are minimum bodies...

... to have a young woman in bed, that's the glory. One who listens to you, who adores you...

Men are looking for the feeling of youth, that elixir of youth that can be found in the body of a "chiquita", a fantasy of taking a lot of years off.



There is no minimum age, there are minimum bodies... This phrase summarizes the way of thinking of most of the men surveyed regarding CSEC and the conception of minors.

This section includes the answers men gave to the questions about sex with young or underage persons; the factors that explain their attraction, as well as the representations and characteristics they assign to underage persons.

To better understand this category, it is necessary to refer to some of the elements that are part of male sexuality and how some other fundamental components are derived from it; one of them is precisely how these men understand minors, particularly with regard to sexuality and the youthful body.

In a continuation of the conception that men have of the male body, in their discourse, the attraction to the young body and the desire to possess it, to touch it and to appropriate it, is something that should be understood as a fact, as something that is so, without major complications. For them, it is something intrinsic to the masculine nature (in certain cases, this nature can be understood from the biological substratum).

This cult of youth was made explicit by some of them, in the sense that it is a value that the same social system has been creating and imposing as an ideal of beauty, health and wellbeing, so, they say, the magnet of youth should not even be questioned.

Because there is a strong nature in man (El Salvador).

They are very young women, very beautiful, super sexy, we are talking between 22 and 15 years old. Men have two sayings, Barbie-Grandma and Cuchi-Barbie. Barbie-Grandma is a young woman who is over 23 years old and Cuchi-Barbie is when you are already messing around with people over 30 years old.

(men) ... (Dominican Republic)

A good bite (El Salvador)

The younger ones are richer (El Salvador).

In the "young body" category, men take into account only physical appearance, regardless of whether they are adults or minors.

So, it doesn't matter if it's a girl or a teenager or a 22 year old, what matters is that their appearance is "youthful".

Among the other advantages of accessing young people (including adolescents) is that, because of his inexperience, the man is spared performance anxiety and having to comply or satisfy; the principal person does not question him and whatever he does to him will be fine.

Because it is easier to persuade her (El Salvador).

A teenager is a person who ignores many things (Honduras).

... to have a young woman in bed, that's glory. One that listens to you, that adores you...(Guatemala)

When you grab a little brunette, you quickly dominate her; on the other hand, an experienced "maitra" (older lady) may be giving you a handjob and for pleasure, you never get anything out of her. (El Salvador).

Men do not like it, especially in sexuality, they do not like to be taught, just as they like to be taught (Costa Rica).

If you are going to take a 45 year old woman from me, don't think that you are going to conquer her as easy as conquering... I conquer two 15 year olds easier than a 45 year old.

If you mess with a carajilla, whatever you do to her will be fine because she doesn't know anything... but a fogueada makes demands... and what you want is to solve a physiological problem. (Costa Rica)

This model of the adult/youth relationship is based on the premise, for most of them, that man possesses a kind of special wisdom to evaluate whether a person is young or under age. An experienced man just by seeing her, just by detecting some behavioral and thinking traits, knows that he is young.⁸ This is without prejudice to entering into certain contradictions, since

⁸ The relationship between adult men and young women is analyzed; however, the same scheme can be used to understand the relationship between adult men and young or adolescent men, as it is done for convenience of exposition.

As we will see a little later, at some points they state that today it is very difficult to establish the age of a girl just by looking at her, as the physical characteristics are misleading.

If we look at her, we have that knowledge and we say: she is underage!
(Honduras)

Let him show his teeth: if they are still sawed (El Salvador).

Although it is becoming increasingly difficult to see the line and easier for men to turn a blind eye, the sexual age is starting to become earlier and earlier. (Dominican Republic)

In the discourse of many of them, it is worth reviewing some of the myths that surround the young body. Among some, the one that stands out is the desire to absorb the youth of the young person, with all the implications that this entails. There is a fantasy of gaining access to the elixir of youth just by having contact with a minor. Likewise, it is attracted to aphrodisiac characteristics for men who have already lost their sexual desire or erectile capacity.

To seek to live your adolescence through that young person is to relive my adolescence (El Salvador).

The old rooster has to be put with a young hen, because if you put an old rooster with an old hen, what are you going to get? Chickens that are no good, you have to put in a young hen to get something useful. (Dominican Republic)

In addition, men pay to have beauty and fulfill their fantasy of eternal youth. (Costa Rica)

Men long for the youthfulness of the young body that does not age, which becomes a cult of the young female body, and in young women things like beauty, youth, innocence come together, and when men grow up they look for a way to live all this again. Men seek to feel young, that elixir of youth that can be found in the body of a "chiquita", it is a fantasy of taking a lot of years off their shoulders. (Costa Rica)

Older people have difficulty getting an erection, so they need more stimulation, which is why they look for younger people, because they are more aroused by them. The physical aspect is "the engine of libido". (Nicaragua)

Other myths that support the above and other types of male fantasies are related to the characteristics of the physical development of young women. Thus, many of the men are of the opinion that the action of hormones with the onset of puberty causes "girls/women" to experience high doses of sexual desires that adult men can satisfy; in any case, they believe that because of hormones, girls attract men for such purposes. The onset of menstruation marks not only the beginning of the development of secondary characteristics, but also of the sexual impetus described above.

A young person is very juicy and has plenty of sex to give (El Salvador).

...and that women have sexual desire and that when these girls develop these hormones what they are looking for is a male, like mares in heat, and some have more desire than others and if they have more desire, they go to a brothel. The one who thinks with that mental burn will think that it is not a crime, but that he is doing a favor to that girl. (Dominican Republic)

From 12 to 16 years of age, their hormones are stirred by even a compliment (Dominican Republic).

A girl with the body of a woman will excite anyone and anyone's dick will stand up (Costa Rica).

In general, the age limit I would reach is 12 years old, because that is when the kids start to masturbate and pull out their milk and they are in that furor (Costa Rica).

Menstruation gives women a vice of sex. A woman, after menstruation is removed, loses her sexual appetite, but menstruation gives young women a vice that does not go away. (Dominican Republic)

Note how in the previous sentences the concept of "temptress woman" is expressed, but this time applied to minors, regardless of their sex, and this characteristic of "temptress", "provocative", "desirous of sex", is applied to social groups that do not hold power in the patriarchal system.

The term "patriarch" is also used to refer to the children and adolescents who are responsible for the patriarch's "falling into temptation". In this sense, it applies to boys, girls and adolescents of both sexes.

It is interesting that, without abandoning the previous reasoning, girls or young girls are also attractive because they are innocent. That is to say, the naivety and candor of the novice become another strong magnet.

The young woman from 12 to 18. If she is 12 and under, she is a girl; from 12 and up she begins to develop her adolescence and is in the madness of her development: if a young man speaks to her, she can easily fall.... (Honduras)

It is when the girl's physical development breaks the limits of visual innocence. (Dominican Republic)

Innocence is attractive. (Dominican Republic)

I am very attracted to the innocence, the naivety of young girls and they also look for maturity from a man, someone older who makes them feel protected, especially when they have not had paternal love. They look for that maturity, they look for that affection in someone who will protect them. That is what it is, to feel protected, they generally look for a paternal figure to feel protected. (Costa Rica)

There is the fact that young women are innocent women who want to live and live intensely and to them there is nothing more than parties, outings, fun, good food and luxuries; that is what happens to them, in their age between 15 and 20? because from then on they grow, and the more they grow, the more they correlate with people and then they learn from him, from him, from him and from him, then they already have four men; they have four experiences that they assimilate and they become very can- cheras as they say in my country, they are women who play well... (Costa Rica)

In men, what makes them feel attracted to minors, and..., people that they consider the first to have sex with them, they feel important, they feel that they are in control, they feel that they are the ones who put and manage the control. (Honduras)

For me, I would do it for three reasons. One, it is because of his appearance; two, because of his contractions (because of his first experience) and three, because somehow one in the relationship always wants to keep the power. (El Salvador)

Another element to highlight is the sensation that the young body emits more heat, as opposed to the coldness of older or "old" women. It is evident that this bodily sensation also feeds other myths and fantasies of men. The Aristotelian thinking current in ancient Greece, as discussed in the frame of reference, is actualized in the psyche and behavior of many of these men.

Because of the "woman's warmth", that is to say that at the moment of the relationship with the woman, she is very hot and the old woman no longer has that warmth. (El Salvador)

*That they are in the mood Also because young flesh feels, it is warmer.
(Guatemala)*

There are some who are small and are more ardent than those who have been at it for years, they have hot blood and hot minds (Guatemala).

It's nice to ride a hot female (Guatemala)

Thus, the young body also acquires the character of an object; here again the image of the young body is compared to a car, the possession of which gives its owner status and image in the eyes of others, who will look enviously at what he or she has given up. To be able to acquire a recent model is seen as a triumph in the eyes of others; the same is true of a vehicle as of a young person or a minor, especially through their sexuality or their body.

The possession of the article or the new body is experienced as the possibility of using it, that is, of using it without anyone else having touched it before; in this lies the triumph not so much over the girl, but over the other men.



For many men, sexual access to minors is a triumph and a trophy to be displayed.

Expressions such as obtaining a trophy, glory, privilege or paradise, as a result of having possession of the young person, are frequent in the accounts of the men interviewed, and it is at this point that it will be necessary to discuss the relationship between the pleasure derived from sexual contact and the pleasure derived from the power relationship that underlies it. The men, in front of others, not only talk about the "richness" of sex with these people, but also about the luxury they have in possessing the girl. The important thing is to exhibit the trophy before others.

I think that a man who goes out with a young girl likes to show off, to show off....
(Honduras)

Perhaps the comparison does not fit, but as men, how we feel in a vehicle, going inside a vehicle all carpeted, with upholstery, with air conditioning, with electric windows, with all the extra things that make us feel totally comfortable, as opposed to a vehicle with broken seats that not even the shock absorbers work; making the comparison, I am not saying that it does not fit, it would be good to see that change between an old woman and a teenager, it sincerely makes her feel better, it makes her feel good. (El Salvador).

The relationship with young girls is to impress them, as well as the people who know about this relationship, they are seen as "trophies" as awards or ranks that you acquire and that reaffirm your virility (Panama).

It is a source of pride to be with a young woman because then people think you have money (Nicaragua).

You get your breasts out of hanging out with a young woman (Costa Rica).

The processes of objectification mentioned above reappear and are at the basis of the apparent idealization of the young body and the devaluation and desire for the bodies of women who are no longer young, as illustrated in the following sentences, which are tinged with a strong contempt for women, which can be interpreted as misogyny.

It's like they turn it into a trophy, it's a prize, it's a medal for being with a woman, and the younger the woman is, the bigger the trophy, the prouder he feels to say it in front of everyone. (Costa Rica)

Men, mainly, see women as something disposable, they are taken, used, when they are very ugly, they are thrown away (Costa Rica).

The idealization and possession of the young body, in turn, as already mentioned, is related to the implications for many men of "being the first" and having this possibility is experienced as one of the most satisfying and confirmatory experiences of virility. Again, the reflection on the experience of power and eroticism in being the first man to have access to a woman's sexual experience was recounted in these terms, whether or not sex is paid for.

It is common to find, in the stories collected, the idea that the man who deflowers the maiden will be in her subjectivity and in her memory forever. For men, this is equivalent to leaving their imprint or seal, a particular mark that can never be erased. The fantasy or desire of men is that she may have sex with other men, but he will always be present.

In addition, for the man who achieves the above, the feeling of triumph corresponds to the certainty that with such an act, he made her a woman. In other words, it is assumed that part of the men's task is to transform girls into women through coital contact; in a way, this is a translation of the male experience of accessing coital relations as a marker of entry into the world of adult men. The passage of women will have to pass through similar paths, but on paths governed by men.

This explains why it is so important for men to gain sexual access to a virgin woman, and if they do, they obtain one of the greatest triumphs to which any man can aspire. Logically, although possessing a virgin may remain in the private world of the man, it is also true that on many occasions it will be exhibited before others as an achievement. The triumph is enjoyed before the gaze of others.

There is, therefore, a homosocial validation of the achievements that men can attain in this area. It is before others, before their eyes and their checks, that men exhibit their conquests, which will be shown as valuable commodities that they were able to obtain, by different means, including paid media, which is again in the logic of the sex trade and CSEC.

Virginity takes on even more mythical characteristics when it comes to minors. The following sentences are indeed very strong and show a discourse that violates the human rights of minors, but they illustrate what many men in the general population of the region think and believe about the possibility of having sex with "virgin" minors, as well as, once again, illustrating the power relations that are established between adult men and minors in CSEC.

If you see a girl who is not running straight, she is devirgado, she has to run straight and if she is catty, she is already stepped on (Honduras).

I imagine that his mistress was not a virgin and so she wants to break that web.... (Honduras)

This is like in the heterosexual sphere, when it comes to a virgin woman you have to uncork her and this is like winning the lottery. (El Salvador).

The prettiest little bug, they want to release it (El Salvador).

To make numbers and thus make the agenda bigger, it makes us feel big, to know how many were virgins, in that aspect it makes us feel more macho (El Salvador).

Men have the conception that a virgin woman, or one who is not used, is the most he can get, because he is the first to recognize, he is not afraid to experiment, he is going to teach, that excites him and he pays more than what she is worth in the market. (El Salvador).

Men prefer sex with underage girls because they have a closed vagina and are more experienced in the subject. However, a woman who stops having a large vagina is no longer attractive (Panama).

You won't let go of that bite, if they put it in your hand like that (Nicaragua).

The similarity found in all the countries with respect to the physical characteristics attributed to the genitalia of minors is striking; for example, the phrases "they are more slender" or "they have a narrower vagina" were found in all the countries as an element justifying sexual practices with them. The reduction of femininity and women's bodies, in particular, to the condition of objects, in terms of their characteristics and their use, persists; according to those interviewed, men can exercise power and dominance, or try to do so as a sign of virility. Another element to highlight is the fantasy or need to control women's bodies and sexuality, including what has happened in the past.

The pleasure of being with an undermined girl (Nicaragua)

In our very conservative society, being a virgin is synonymous with quality control: no one has ever stepped on this ground before (Nicaragua).

Sleeping with a young patoja makes you feel alive; you feel seductive, successful; besides, the body of a patojita is something to be discovered, while the body of an old woman already has all the signs of the fucks she has been given (Guatemala).

It is to have the privilege of being the first. It is the pride that it is with you and that nobody has stained it, nobody has tasted it. It is a virgin vagina, being the first one imposes a certain macho stamp on you, it is something that gives you the feeling of power. (Guatemala)

The girl must be a virgin, because that shows you that she has only been yours... that she will respect you (Guatemala).

Men are dogs, nobody passes up an opportunity like this. That's better than winning the lottery...(Guatemala)

Undressing a patoja is something mysterious... one has the feeling that you are getting a trophy... that you did the greatest thing a man can do (Guatemala).

There is no man who in his life has not desired to possess a virgin woman. It is part of male nature. This is confirmed by the reactions of the different species. The male fights because the females are his (Guatemala).

It is a use value and an exchange value, and see if it is so much so that a woman who is not a virgin is devalued in the marriage market (Costa Rica).

It is necessary to confirm that your female has not been touched, that you can trust her, that you have control over her past (Guatemala).

It is not the same to make a road, than a road that has passed many people (Dominican Republic).

Since it is very difficult to get a woman on the street, if she appears (a menor girl) in one of these places she would be one more in the offer. Whoever is in this place is

because his parents do not offer him a guarantee at home (Dominican Republic)

Another way to realize this is that if you go to a place where minors are being offered, and you go for that, then you already know that they are minors. (Dominican Republic)

In addition, this access to virginity for minors assigns to men, from the macho and patriarchal mentality, a value, a status and a place of power and privilege equivalent to a king, and this goes beyond the sexual to settle in the real or imaginary of how relationships with others are established.

The more virgins a man has, the more valuable he is (El Salvador).

The nice thing about a girl is that... she's tight... that makes you feel powerful... she gives you a hard-on... (Guatemala)

You get the best fuck of your life. Knowing that you are the first one to fuck her makes you feel like a king, it's your turn to make her female. (Guatemala)

It's like luxury food. A virgin duck..., that's paradise, and no way, it's more expensive. (Guatemala)

The tender, that which has not yet been used much, that which is inexperienced...it gives you strength and makes you feel more powerful. (Costa Rica)

In some ways, the latter can be associated with one of the reasons why men may pay for sex with minors. It consists of the opinion of some men that, in order to remedy the situation of men who no longer have the capacity to seduce girls, in the face of this lack, they pay in order not to look bad in the eyes of others. Although CSEC has to be viewed in the context of the commercialization of sexuality, men's subjective substrata also play a large role in the assumption, as many of the phrases included here show.

If he has had only older women and cannot have a younger woman for other reasons, he can pay to please his ego.... (Honduras)

Sometimes, we men reach an age when we have to pay to get a young woman (Honduras).

Mostly they do it because they are not fluent with words (Honduras).

For an insecurity... (Nicaragua)

They are masters, not arm wrestlers; if they were masters who would arm wrestle her and work a female, that's fine, but they are masters who don't have the capacity to arm wrestle a woman. (Costa Rica)

In the quest to feel like a powerful king, obtain pleasure, rescue lost youth and achieve status, some men may not hesitate to engage in CSEC relationships, without scruples or feelings of consideration for the victims.

If there is a young person of 14 or 15 years old offering her services and there is a man who is interested, why shouldn't he agree? (El Salvador).

The case, let's say, of older people now experimenting with young girls of 12, 13, 14 or 15 years old, which in this man's youth he may never have experienced, and it was only now that he can, because he has the money. (Costa Rica)

For men it is of the utmost importance to be participants in and directly responsible for the bodily, subjective and sexual changes that girls acquire in their transition to "women"; they fantasize that in this way they will never be forgotten by that woman. All of the above makes it possible to postulate the thesis that there is a sensation of participation in the metamorphosis of the child's body into the young body, as well as of her psyche; being the architects of this process is highly appreciated by men.

As a central element of this section, with regard to the implications for CSEC, it should be noted that the contours or definitions of what a young person is are not completely delimited, since all minors have the right to be protected from CSEC, even though they may freely exercise their sexuality, as defined according to the parameters of each national legislation.

Everyone knows that 18 years of age establishes the entrance to the age of majority. But, at the same time, everyone is clear that for sexual purposes the criterion is different; thus, there is talk of sexual age or the minimum body. The statement that there is no minimum age for sexual initiation is paradigmatic. It is the appearance of secondary sexual characteristics in pubescent girls, the limit that marks the possibility of their being in conditions of coital sexual activity which, in some cases, acquires violent and subjugating edges over young girls, as can be inferred from some of the transcribed sentences.

Without contradicting the above, such criteria allow the investigative process to escalate downward until reaching the minimum age limit: for many men, it is around the age of 12 that the license for sexual access to girls, boys and adolescents is established; if the person has "developed signs" of being a woman or a man, he is already fit; if he does not, he is still a girl or a boy, so that sex with them acquires connotations of psychological illness or crime. Above this threshold, for the men surveyed, with a few exceptions, there is no doubt about the right and non-dangerousness of sexual access to minors. In one extreme case, the age limit was lowered to 8 years.

For reasons similar to the above, there is therefore no major difficulty in distinguishing between pubescent and adolescent persons. For almost all the male subjects of the investigation, the latter are already women or men with sufficient endowments to indulge desires or to withstand the coital access of the adult male. Needless to say, the fascination of the youthful body and the pleasures it can derive from it appear here once again.

From the age of 13 to 18..., that is to say, it is in its apogee, to be insinuating one... and from there one focuses more on it (Honduras).

If you like her and there she is and you wrap her up and take her away, you won't care about her age, you just want to be with her (Honduras).

Today, in these times, nobody thinks she is a girl (El Salvador).

In the expressions of some of these men, underage status is lost with the fact of having coital experience; that is why some of them mention the concept of "sexual age" as opposed to chronological age or

The idea that they cease to be minors when they have been penetrated because they have already "endured" the penetration. Related to the above, in most of the groups that participated in the research, the idea appeared that they cease to be minors when they have been penetrated because they have already "endured" a penis. Thus, we are facing the updating of the old rituals in the first patriarchal civilizations, in which, in honor of the phallic gods, the maidens were deflowered by priests directly with their penis or with phallic objects, all symbolizing an en-tregation to the male god.

... from 13 to 15... that is when he starts to develop and suddenly he finds himself a fuck-up and tells him let's go to what we are going to do and there he stopped being a minor because he already knows what he did (Honduras).

If it exceeds 70 pounds, it "no longer dies", it is already dead (El Salvador).

(El Salvador).

There is a difference in a 12 year old girl who has not developed and another who is well developed, any man is struck by its nature (El Salvador).

Right now you see a 12 year old girl around and they look 25 and they are already open, that is, they are not young ladies (Dominican Republic).

He is taking her where she doesn't know, it is the vice that makes her go, the ambition to give herself that man, because girls from 8 years old fall in love (Dominican Republic).

Legally, a minor is 18 or younger, but for sexual relations, a minor is 13 or younger, because at 15 they start to paint themselves and throw a party to present themselves to society. In other words, what they are saying is: here she is (Dominican Republic).

It doesn't matter if he is an adult or a minor, as long as I like him, that's it (Nicaragua).

As long as they "put up with it", a 13 or 14 year old is well developed and they tell you: "Is that all daddy? and they dress very sadistic (Costa Rica).

The phrase *There is no minimum age, there are minimum bodies...* condenses and summarizes the patriarchal ideological re-presentations of men and, we believe, includes all of the above.

The particularity that the issue acquires when the variant provided by cultural relativism is introduced cannot escape these comments. Thus, in the specific case of Guatemala, the ethnic factor gives other guidelines or approaches to the point in question; in the Mayan Quiché cultures there is another conception of youth, which allows that from a very young age, even underage, women can be accessed for marriage or sexual activity, without this representing a transgression or an affront (however, this takes on other nuances when it comes to CSEC, a topic that will be analyzed in the respective section).

On the other hand, in rural areas (in different countries), for example, pretending sexual contact with young women, including virgins, has more of a character of a device to guarantee marriage with the intended young woman. To take possession of her virginity is like a life insurance that guarantees her trustworthiness with the man who deflowered her. Sex with these women is to marry them, thus restoring the affronted honor.

In the countryside they look for a female virgin to be with her all her life and the payment is fidelity on the part of the man or both of them (El Salvador).

In the countryside there is no man who will pay for a virgin woman, and if there is, it is for a promise (El Salvador).

It is not paid economically, it is paid with affection, with marriage (El Salvador).

The patoja is small if she is 9 or 12 years old at most, although in the villages, at that age, they can get engaged to a boy. When they reach 15 or 17 they are already women with several children... they already look old (Guatemala).

On the other hand, from an angle that might seem contradictory to everything we have been stating, in this dilemma of the location of allowed or disallowed ages, some of the few ESC inhibitors that have been identified make their appearance.

In others, the actual or potential existence of daughters of the same age acts as a deterrent to sexual access to very young women and girls.

Walking in the street is a lot... Anywhere, but I would not sleep with a 15 year old girl, since you are a parent and you will not like it... since you do not know the destiny of your daughter (Honduras).

I do not do it out of respect, because I am faithful to my wife (Honduras).

However, it is clear that sex with "developed" adolescents is not seen as inappropriate; it is with girls or pre-pubertal girls. This particular point is discussed in more detail in the ESC section.

There are girls of 12 or 13 years of age with developed breasts and hips who lose the concept of adolescence and become young, and the attraction is due to the physical volume of what they represent sexually, which makes most men put them in the category of young woman. (Dominican Republic)

4. Commercial sexual exploitation

The economic makes the difference: he who has the money to do it, does it.

If I can buy a nice car, why can't a 12-year-old girl?

This section includes the men's responses to questions related to their conceptions of commercial sexual exploitation in its various manifestations, the identification of enabling and inhibiting factors, as well as men's awareness of the crime.

The majority of men in the region felt that they were unfamiliar with the term Commercial Sexual Exploitation. They perceive it as a very technical and academic term, difficult to understand, and associate it with prostitution in general or with extreme forms of sexual violence (rape, torture, white slavery, child abduction, pimping, coordinating networks of pimps, among others), but not with the term Commercial Sexual Exploitation.

For them, the client is a consumer of services and as long as he fulfills his part (pays), he is exempt from responsibility. In this sense, they perceive that prostitution and any other form of commercial sex (whether with persons over or under 18 years of age) is a right of men as clients, is an access to a sexual service and should not be penalized.

Some of their views on the term "commercial sexual exploitation" were as follows:

It's a fashionable term, child prostitution, people take it as a job, a way to raise funds, how there is no work! (Honduras)

Men will know the term but it tells them nothing (El Salvador).

The term ESC is a very complex term, it is at a very high intellectual level.
(Costa Rica)

Unknown to many, the term "child abuse" is better known (Nicaragua).

The term is too intellectual to be handled in a general way. (Nicaragua)

It is the "pretty" name. They don't relate it to the phenomenon (Nicaragua).

Exploitation for me is when you take a minor from one country to another, but always on the ticket because you don't take her there to work in a healthy way, you take her to take her to a night club. (Honduras)

They understand that ESC is related to prostitution, to the use of women through propaganda, through the Internet. There is no clear awareness of the term itself, but some of them do link it correctly with pimping. (Panama)

In some cases, there is evidence of exploitation through white slavery or criminal prostitution of minors, subjecting them to pressure and threats, albeit at a domestic level (Guatemala).

Despite the lack of knowledge of what the term tells them, they all know that, as a reality, CSP exists and is perceived as a business.

Almost everyone knows that the business exists (Costa Rica).

Yes, we know about everything that goes on, there are girls who are commercialized, there are businesses that are just facades, but inside they teach them something else, but the system is inoperative (El Salvador).

...and this exists because there is a child pornography business and if there is a good sale, it is because there are buyers (El Salvador).

The fact that the victims are under 18 years of age does not seem to cause in many men an ethical awareness of harm, since it is considered that they are people (children or adolescents) who are in "the business" out of necessity and by their own decision, and that for this reason, there is consent for it, even if they recognize social factors of vulnerability, such as poverty and lack of family support, ultimately, the responsibility falls on the victims and/or their parents.

This way of approaching the problem exempts men from any responsibility and is seen in this way when applying the logic of the market to a problem such as the ESC. In the market logic there is, on the one hand, the structure of supply, the merchandise that is offered; and, on the other hand, the structure of demand. The client is part of the latter and, therefore, has no responsibility in the whole process; on the contrary, he/she is the party with more rights and protections. Many of the men surveyed consider that people under 18 years of age who are in CSEC do it by their own decision and because they like it, since due to their age (especially if they are adolescents who have already passed or are going through puberty) they have an unbridled sexual desire.

The responsibility is not exclusive to the pimp or the client, it is primarily that of the child's father (Dominican Republic).

It also happens that there are minors who harass you with the idea of taking money... (Panama)

They don't associate the term "*commercial sexual exploitation*" with a crime, nor with themselves. It is something like depravity that has nothing to do with me, because I am a good consumer and a good client, and when they associate it with crime, they don't think they are part of it or know how it operates.

When a man decides to have something with a girl, who buys her, he does not perceive that he is committing a crime... legally it is a crime, but the man does not perceive it (Honduras).

Most of them don't know... They go to a brothel, they get a minor... they say: "I pay for this and that's it!"

Men know that it is punishable by law, but they do not know how it is punishable (El Salvador).

There is a constant justification that, if the services received are paid for, there is no harm; the harm consists of not paying or mistreating the girl; in some cases, explicitly and implicitly, the action of hiring the girl's sexual services is seen as a favor to the minor because she needs the money. (Guatemala).

I don't know... I don't think it's one's fault, it's not for nothing that they are there and one is not going to change a world that is in shambles. What is wrong is to rape or kill for sex (Guatemala).

If she wants to, nothing happens... now if she doesn't want to, it's rape... that's when she gets screwed. (Guatemala)

When a woman charges you, it's not your fault. What you are looking for is that they give you pleasure, if they are not old enough, that is not your fault. (Guatemala)

If you grab her and take her to the bush then you are pure shit but if she wants.... what's the problem (Guatemala)

The prostitution of girls will attract attention only if it occurs between the ages of 10 and 12. If the girl is not taken by force at the age of 13, the person is considered responsible for the decision to prostitute herself (Guatemala).

Nobody forces them to be there, I didn't tell her to come, she was there waiting for her services (Costa Rica).

Men see the participation of other men or their own as a matter of business, therefore, the logic and laws of the market operate. The si-

he following story illustrates the inner logic of the man who participates in this type of activity, the testimony of a 55-year-old cab driver:

I can't get a stable mature woman to have my sexual relations outside my house ... I look for her and I don't get her ... I want a woman of about 40 or 45 to be with her ... but there aren't any ... and then what happens is that they go around in groups of 4, in the street [the girls]. ...the other day I was walking by XXX and there were these 4 and they told me if I wanted to have something with any of the 4. They told me, the oldest one told me: "Which of the 4 do you want to take?" They told me that "20 dollars" was the rate... I wasn't looking for anything and besides I had no money... In the end I asked them for the cell phone and they gave it to me...

About a month later I called the number because I had it there in the cab, in case anything happened... and since I had a little money coming in I grabbed the number and called....

And one answered me... I don't think it was the same one... but I told her and then she told me to meet her at XXX, and I got there, but I got out of the cab on the other side to see what the merchandise looked like... and I didn't like it... and then I saw that one was coming, but she had a nose like a parrot and I didn't like it... and I kept going... but it turned out it wasn't... and then I saw another one and then I made a gesture to see if it was her and then she approached me and asked me if I was the one who had called... but since I am a businessman... I told her no... what was that about... to make me believe that I was not the one and to be able to see the business of the deal... and then I talked to her and told her that I could not pay 20 dollars, but that if she wanted for 15 dollars we could go... (Panamá)

The ultimate justification for CSEC is found in the following very illusive sentence, which comes from a 55-year-old man, a street vendor, of modest means, who said he was against CSEC for religious reasons. He expressed that he would never participate in CSEC activities and that if he would ever get involved with a woman other than his wife, he would do so with a woman of his own age. However, the justification he gave for CSEC, from a market logic, makes it clear that even if men are not participating in CSEC, they tend to have significant levels of tolerance.

It is wrong to punish a man because he pays an underage prostitute to be with him, if he is paying her for her services, he should be punished.

gar is to the minor for exercising that profession, not to the man; the man pays where he is given the services anywhere (Costa Rica).

It is something very difficult because one does not go around asking them, well, thank God, I do not frequent that, I do not frequent brothels or anything like that, but one or those who frequent that situation are not going to go around asking for a woman's ID card to see if she is older or younger? (Costa Rica)

The factors conducive to CSEC have to do with several aspects: the factor of attraction to minors is important as one that motivates participation in the search for minors, but it is neither sufficient nor the only one. Other additional factors are required, such as, for example, the vulnerability and inexperience of the victims, poverty, the lack of family support and protection networks, the power relationship established with them, the purchasing power of the men, and the social climate of impunity and tolerance. In other words, factors of a structural social nature are necessary; personal variables are not enough.



Many of the men surveyed know that CSEC is associated with factors such as poverty, violence and, in general, the vulnerability of the victims.

Some of the men's statements, in this aspect of the enabling factors, were as follows.

I would, I like young men (Honduras).

Because the younger one is weaker and inexperienced (El Salvador).

Because minors are more vulnerable, they are more ignorant and inexperienced (El Salvador).

It makes it possible for them to give free rein to all their sexual fantasies and to know that they own the people they have bought and that they only use it to give free rein to their fantasies. (El Salvador)

We know it's forbidden, but the more forbidden... if no one is watching me, the more excited I get to know that I'm having sex with a guy. (Honduras)

Because a minor cannot set limits (El Salvador).

He who pays will have sex with anyone who sells himself and, in addition, the economic capacity he has to obtain something expensive or more expensive (El Salvador).

The younger you are, the more desirable you are (El Salvador).

This responds to the law of supply and demand, the more they want it and the less there is, the more expensive it is (El Salvador).

Despite the enabling factors, some inhibiting factors were identified in men. Of these, the imminent awareness of imprisonment, specifically years of incarceration and the knowledge that they will be denounced, seems to be one of the strongest. Secondly, the fact of having daughters under 18 years of age appears in this aspect for two reasons: on the one hand, participating in ESC with people of the same age as their daughters makes them feel guilty and seems to be a strong inhibiting factor (at least in men who do not have paedophilic tendencies); and, on the other hand, for reasons of "patriarchal honor", since they consider that life may charge them for this bad action against their daughters and, therefore, they may be disgraced before society; in other words, the patriarch takes care of his name and prestige. The religious factor appeared in very few men as an inhibiting factor.

In fact, in groups of men with a strong identification with religious values, the levels of tolerance and justification found were very high. Algunas of the significant phrases are the following.



Research indicates that, for many men, the existence of underage daughters may inhibit them from participating in ESC.

When they know that there is a situation that could denounce them, I think that's the only way to inhibit them (Costa Rica).

Because they don't want to be in the boat (El Salvador).

What inhibits a man from having sex with minors are factors of convenience, not conviction (Costa Rica).

Walking in the street is a lot... anywhere, but I would not sleep with a 15 year old girl, since you are a parent and you will not like it... since you do not know the fate of your daughter (Honduras).

If you are responsible, you analyze a lot of things, because "He who kills with an iron sword dies with an iron sword", maybe you are hurting a woman, maybe you don't care about her, maybe you don't care about her, maybe you don't care about her, maybe you don't care about her, maybe you don't care about her.

you are realizing that at the same moment they are hurting your sister, your daughter or any of your family members. (Honduras)

Well, maybe I would do it with an adult from 17 and up, not with a teenager, from 15 and down. I wouldn't do it because the first thing I would think if there were no law, is that I have my own daughters and I wouldn't want someone else to do the same. (Honduras)

The right man, who follows God's laws, will not walk in such things (El Salvador).

I have two daughters... Suddenly that I have daughters, suddenly when you have daughters, suddenly when you have daughters, you... (Costa Rica)

I was afraid that God would take the blame for all the sins that one has committed, I hope he is not going to take it out on my daughter, I said. That worry that no wretch will do to her what I have done with the young girls, that's all. It's like you start to become aware that you have daughters. (Costa Rica)

The evil you do to others, comes back (Panama)

This is bad because if one does the damage for pleasure, a ten-year "salation" awaits him (Guatemala).

Very few men condemn ESC by giving more inclusive arguments, related to human rights violations.

If there is pleasure in the minor, it does not mean that it is not commercial exploitation, since the minor has no way of defending himself (El Salvador).

I consider it an aberration to have sex with minors, and the children's rights are being violated, as they are being cut off from their healthy development.

The perceptions and opinions of the men surveyed regarding men who have sex with minors and who participate in CSEC are diverse. Almost all disagreed with paid or unpaid sex with persons under 12 years of age.

However, many agreed that if the person is older than 12 years of age, he or she is not seen as a child, but as an adolescent. It is worth mentioning that in the reasons given for their disapproval, more clinical or psychopathological criteria prevail, and not assessments of the harm done to the victims or the protection of their rights. Having sex with a 13-year-old girl is not a problem; having sex with a 10- or 11-year-old girl is depraved.

For me, I would take them as satyrs (Honduras).

Because those who have sex with children have a problem and need treatment, because from the moment they seek to have sex with children there must be something wrong and they need someone to guide them (Honduras).

Yes, they can buy adolescents and girls because it is a mentality of every person...a sexually ill person. (Honduras)

But with children it is already a situation of morbidity and deep mental illness, and that is already criminal. (Dominican Republic)

But, if we are talking about an 8 year old girl, that is rape, brother, that is an aberration; on the other hand, you are not taking anything from a 14 year old girl that she does not want to give you. (Costa Rica).

Teenage girls are 12 to 13 years old, and girls are 8 to 9 years old, who do not call attention to themselves, as 12 and 13 year old girls do, and those who like girls, are sick, that is what men who are depraved do. (Dominican Republic)

I consider that a person who goes around looking for boys or girls at this age is no longer a normal person. I can still accept if you want, in quotation marks, a person who is looking for a teenager, speaking of a teenager, a girl 16 years old or older, well, I think it could still be acceptable (Nicaragua).

Sex with a girl, everyone knows it's a crime. With a teenage girl, who knows! (Nicaragua)

Some justify commercial sexual exploitation with the fact that they are offering help to the girl and if they don't do it, others will. From

In this way, inhibitors are blocked by disguising ESC as a means of economic assistance; that is, in this line of thought, such a payment is viewed as a social good.

He is a person who needs to be helped financially (El Salvador).

If there is a young person of 14 or 15 years old offering her services and there is a man who is interested, why shouldn't he agree? (El Salvador).

Pity (Guatemala)

To help you (Guatemala)

A sample of the high levels of tolerance was found in one of the focus group and individual interview questions, which revolved around their opinion about whether, knowing that no one would report them, the men would participate in CSEC or whether they would do so if no one knew about it. The response was unanimous:

THEY WOULD, IF NO ONE DENOUNCED THEM OR IF NO ONE NOTICED.

They doubted whether it was about themselves; here they did not dare to answer with severity, they were divided between yes and no; the yes to mention "the flesh is de- bil and one is a man", an answer that was shared by other members, while another related his experience as a father in relation to his daughter. He recounted the experience when a man passed by and saw another woman who "*was almost naked*", he realized that he saw the other woman and it was his daughters, "*I protected them from this man who was going to touch them*". But this same man accepts that he has visited places of prostitution with other friends and what he sees is the "fresh face" (the young women).

It is notable, in the discourse of men, the presence of counter- dictory and inconsistent elements with respect to the issue of CSEC, although there are men who condemn it, there is a striking tolerance, so that it can be said that a double standard prevails.

The above opinions correspond to the men of the region, finding great similarity among them, in spite of their particular differences. It is worth highlighting some of the particularities found in the differences among them,

despite their individual differences.

ethnic group, specifically in the Northern Quiché region of Guatemala (*Keq'chi* group and Mayan groups in general).

According to Ramírez (2004), in some communities of northern Quiché, in Playa Grande Ixcán, the CSEC of minors has increased because in an area where 80% are Mayan speakers and where oral and religious rules are very rigid, there are sophisticated prostitution organizations: girls who contact each other by cell phone, houses where services are offered through catalogs, etc.

There is no doubt that the geotourism factor (45 minutes from Playa Grande) has added to the complexity of the underage sex trade.

As in the *Keq'chi* group, it is very important that the girls are considered girls, not because of the chronological reference, but because of the stage of development they are in, if they have already developed physically, they are already women.

The Mayan group is much more hermetic when it comes to communicating aspects related to sexuality. There is a defensive posture regarding questions related to sexuality in general, since culturally it is considered a private and personal topic:

- a) Sexuality is part of personal and not social space. Talking about it involves putting one's self-image at risk and exposes intimacy.
- b) It seems that Maya society places greater emphasis on emotions linked to shame. Therefore, the private (understood as secrecy) is intrinsic to sexuality.
- c) Shyness in these spaces reaches high behavioral levels. Addressing the topic of sexuality generates a lot of discomfort and anxiety; it is an aspect of life and development that is avoided or approached superficially and defensively.
- d) The Mayan sector accounts for more than 60% of Guatemala's overall population. It has a much lower level of (formal) education than the urban ladino group. For this reason, they have fewer educational and informational opportunities with respect to legislative developments in the country regarding sexuality and the family.

- e) Cultural aspects related to the family show marked differences. The man's choice of partner prioritizes the value of the woman's youth. The ideal age of the young woman should be no more than 17 years old. This raises the prognosis of good motherhood, capacity for work and health. For these reasons it is not surprising that a young girl during early adolescence maintains an active sex life. The girl in ESC is a cause for astonishment and rejection, since she transgresses the moral and cultural limits regarding modesty and decency.
- f) Linked to the previous idea, prostitution is generally viewed from a religious, moralistic and punitive perspective. The appraisals are aimed at making women responsible for the option, without further analysis of the context and circumstances.
- g) The girl, from an early age, is made responsible for her decisions. The first reading of the problem is that she is responsible for the decision to "prostitute herself" and that if she had the will and the appropriate values, she could avoid such activity.
- h) The girl in CSEC is excluded not only from the family, but from the community itself.

The Maya world theorizes very little about sexual life; it is a natural dimension of the human being that needs no further explanation. No one theorizes about a yawn or a sneeze. By exercising extreme control over sexuality, a simple need is made complex.

Fear and lack of security regarding the way of thinking and feeling about sexuality is reflected in the extreme expressions when talking about the subject. The position taken by most men is to avoid the discourse and emphasize a moralizing reading, while a minority express it in an aggressive and exaggeratedly uninhibited manner, probably as a defiant response to the rigid structure of control over sexuality.

Chapter IV

General Reflections

In this part, we propose a more integrated level of analysis that aims to give an overall view of the large amount of qualified information collected. The categories of analysis are interwoven at a higher level of understanding, so that there may be a feeling that some passages are reiterated (in some cases this will be true literally).

The considerations made for one category, in some cases, will require allusion to another, for which it will be necessary to reiterate certain approaches and illustrative phrases. The various axes of analysis referred to above form a single group, which is divided for expository purposes only.

The following are the transversal axes of the research and its main results.

A) THE RATIONALITY OF PATRIARCHAL MASCULINITY AT THE ROOT OF COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION: DECOMPOSING ITS LOGIC

As we have repeatedly argued, in order to understand why some men participate in ESC, it is necessary to access their logic of thought, their cognitive structure, their vision of the world, what leads them to establish certain forms of interaction with others; this logic is the patriarchal logic, which creates very clear and precise meanings and significances, without these same characteristics being perceived by individual and collective subjects. And it must be stated that such logic is found in the majority of the men investigated, belonging to the general population; in a certain sense, it is probable that they show us the way of reasoning and acting of the bulk of the general male population in our countries.

In other words, it must be clear that we are not talking about men who are pimps, clients or brokers of CSEC, but about ordinary men, who are sons, brothers, husbands, fathers, friends, just like anyone else. What we are talking about is the dominant thinking of many men in the region, who are not necessarily perceived as being interested in CSEC.

Of them, we can say a few things.

These men are socialized in the hegemonic and archetypal triarchal masculinity, which can be affirmed not only by the content of the thoughts they hold, but also by the fact that, with very few exceptions, it is the structure and content of the thinking of the majority of the men studied, regardless of their sociodemographic characteristics. Even in those men who have a greater sensitivity and degree of awareness in some of the aspects analyzed, at other times, they revert to traditional ideas about being a man and their sexuality. As we have stated, a more comprehensive conception of sexuality is no guarantee that the commands of hegemonic patriarchal masculinity will not be assumed, even if only partially, including degrees of tolerance of CSEC.

Such similarity is surprising. In fact, the same phrases are used without the differences by country, region or educational level interfering. Even with the expected differences, the similarity of the discourse could also be assumed not to be surprising, since we are in the presence of the traditional or dominant masculinity of patriarchal systems; it cuts across groups and individuals and applies the same standards to them.

In this sense, we can affirm that, therefore, the socialization received by these men, in addition to being similar, has been extremely effective. The messages received have deeply penetrated their subjectivity, which can be affirmed by the firmness and conviction they show that this is the way things are and that they are fine. With few exceptions, there is no major contradiction or discomfort with the state of affairs: being a man, being a woman and the sexuality that people can display obeys the most traditional conventions within the patriarchy, despite how violent, crude and, at times, even bizarre the reasoning of many of them seems, there is no dissonance in their thoughts and affections. The general feeling is that it seems to them that things are

well, or, at least, there is no further questioning. Perhaps in an excess in the use of clinical language, we can affirm that an ego-syntonic⁹ management of the situation predominates.

The structuring of the genders, the construction of male and female identities, the mandates for each of them and the most deeply rooted stereotypes of thought and action are easily seen in the bulk of the population studied, as has been illustrated by many of the expressions collected. We can affirm that, to a large extent, these men could be reliable representatives of this hegemonic masculinity of our populations.

For this reason, some underlying ideological elements that give meaning to their cognitive and bonding structure are readily apparent; along with them, signs of the presence of the main institutions of patriarchy are also easy to detect; although we would not like to see it, patriarchy is more evident than we would like. Misogyny, homophobia, phallocentrism and androcentrism are clearly present in the men in the study and in those of whom they expressed opinions.

As is frequent in the work with diverse population groups, in this case, the traditional confusion of gender condition with sexual orientation was present. The aforementioned reasoning that to be a man is not to be a woman and not to be homosexual or not to present certain things that could lead to homosexuality reappears. That conceptually these confusions exist is not strange, but what should lead us to meditate further is that in these men we can clearly detect the banishment of any element that could bring them closer to something that smells of homosexuality. The most important thing is that if this was achieved, one was more of a man. Homophobia, one of the axes of the construction of masculinity, is deeply rooted in the men studied.

It is obvious, therefore, that the main characteristics of masculine sexuality are traversed by the mandates and demands of that hegemonic masculinity: it could not be otherwise, since sexuality is perhaps the human sphere in which patriarchal institutions and control over people, even in their most intimate corners, are most easily brought into play.

⁹ It is in tune with the self. Whatever it does or thinks, it does not produce any discomfort to the subject.

Thus, behind the tolerance that these men have for ESC, we are in the presence of a sexuality that responds in a typical way to hegemonic masculinity, a sexuality that is more heterocentric, coital and genital. What and how men should be at the genital level is the dominant note in the lives of these men. This concrete meaning and experience is found in practically all the men studied, and it is striking that it occurs with no dependence on their age; even in the new generations these schemes are still in force.

The images of men and women and the links established on the basis of these images portray the most traditional stereotypes of our genetic condition. The discourse of men points out that being a man and being a woman responds to the mandates imposed by the system; for example, being a man is synonymous with active sex, and being a woman is synonymous with passivity (in several areas, including the sexual).

Becoming a man required initiation into coital techniques, whether or not accompanied by affective aspects, either with women for casual sex or by paying for sexual services. For many of them, going to the prostitute was an obligatory ritual, not infrequently encouraged or demanded by their own parents. This was complemented by conversations with friends, adults, reading or watching pornography, and street teaching, which above all encouraged coital access with women, the *crux* of the matter was to put the penis to work, as a guarantee that one was becoming or was already a man.

The slogan was to gain access to women, either by conquest or by payment. In both cases, one could boast: either one had a good lip or had the purchasing power to pay and make demands. In either case, one had to penetrate them as an immeasurable sign of being a man. Most report that this is the learned agenda, and this is regardless of whether it is with adult women or people under 18 years of age.

Although in some groups, the condition of gender and corresponding sexuality is understood as part of social and political processes (even with a direct allusion to the fact that they are processes of social construction), the general tendency, specifically in the notion of man, is close to a sort of biological essentialism, in which the subject has only his biological and instinctive endowment,

that must be attended to immediately. There is a call of nature animal that imposes itself on the will of individuals. We have called this "*man in his natural state*".

This is the image of a man accompanied only by his instinctual bases which, as we have already indicated, require immediate satisfaction. Male sexuality is basically genital, coital and penetrative. The triad of erection, penetration and ejaculation remains the conventional model of sexuality for many men. So prominent is this image that it is frequently reported, but not understood by men, that they lack self-care in the exercise of their sexuality; this appears when some men state that sex with minors may carry less risk of infection.

Crudely speaking, to be a man is to learn how to "put it in"; if you don't penetrate, there is no sexuality, you have achieved nothing; it is a clear demonstration of the importance that masculinity and men give to the penis functioning efficiently; in other words, it is the cult of the phallus. It is a phallic sexuality avid for pleasure, for which it does not matter if one has to pay or not, it does not matter the age of the other person, what matters is to satisfy the need of the almost divinity, which is the phallus.

This can be interpreted not only as the penetration of the female body (and male as well), but also as the power of men to invade and conquer territories, understood as the bodies of women, regardless of whether they are girls, adolescents or adult women.

However, if such a conquest is made of territories or precious goods, it acquires much greater weight and importance for men. Virginity also appears here, as already described. This sexuality, which must be enjoyed, takes on a higher level of satisfaction if the man is able to penetrate into forbidden or untouched terrain: virginity and virginity is the greatest conquest to which a man can aspire, according to one of the interviewees. To achieve the penetration of a virgin woman, which is experienced as leaving one's "personal seal", in a sense, is equivalent to nailing the flag's mast in the newly conquered territory. It is a taking of possession.

In order to satisfy their sexuality, men assume that women must be at their service and under their domination, so they must learn with older women who do what they want, and then do it to those who do not know how to do it and would not protest (including minors). Here the virginity or "whoredom" of the woman is not a determining factor, since these women fully comply with what the patriarchy needs: to dissociate sexuality into that which is relevant for pleasure and that which is relevant for reproduction, both of which, together, are difficult to accept.

For these reasons, the old dissociation of women into wives and prostitutes is also present in these men's conception of sexuality. Such dissociation is not only given by the division between sex for reproduction and sex for pleasure, but also between "decent" sex and "unbridled" sex: with the wife, the "lower passions" cannot be satisfied, but must be satisfied by resorting to the irremediable medicine offered by the prostitute. If, in order to resolve this division, one must resort to links mediated by commerce, the system has no qualms about doing so and tolerating it.

This, moreover, is related to the aforementioned relationship between teachers and students that, in matters of sexuality, men establish with older and younger women. The older women, especially prostitutes, are assigned the role of teachers and the younger ones, that of inexperienced women who must be instructed.

Many men have a misogynistic conception of women, who are also perceived and treated as objects. This object can and should be at the service of male needs, so by lowering their human qualities (they are like cars) women can be used for many things. We believe that this is one of the matrices for understanding the existence of the sex trade, which can include CSEC. At best, if they are not exploited, they are the receptacle of many men's sexual fantasies and needs.

In our opinion, the ancestral male fear of female power, past and present, is at the base of this need to subject them to male control. For many of these men, women need and desire this control by men. In an extreme case, the possession of young women's bodies is the revenge that men take on femininity. This is not the time to elaborate on the issue, but it is worth noting that, in part, it is not the only way to get to the heart of the matter, but it is the only way to get to the heart of the matter.

The fact is that female sexuality has for men a halo of profound mystery and enigma that must be known and mastered. Many of the patriarchal institutions of control of female sexuality have this reasoning in their genesis and development. Our particular view of this is that fears must be countered or exorcised in some way.

In understanding tolerance of CSEC, if masculinity and male sexuality are traditional, so is sexual socialization, so much so that those instances that the establishment says are responsible for gender and sexuality formation do not appear in the biographies of these men; reference to the family, school, church or other official instances is very little in their narratives; they are not mentioned as instances of great importance in the formation of people in matters of sexuality. On many occasions, there is an explicit complaint about the lack of sexual education, even as an explanatory basis for CSEC or other inappropriate behaviors of men in particular.

It is important to note that, with very few exceptions, the general subject matter of the research did not give rise to major fears, doubts or concerns among the men surveyed; in general there was openness and confidence in expressing opinions and points of view, especially considering that, traditionally, sexuality is a taboo subject about which there is little to talk about. When fear was expressed (either explicitly or by requesting not to record the sessions), it was argued that the subject is private and that in that country, sexuality has practically acquired a political character; under these conditions, sexuality was decreed to be of a private nature.

Therefore, it is necessary to rethink the issue in terms of whether this socialization is not conventional; that is, that it is not carried out by official entities, but that it is conventional insofar as it responds to the usual way in which these processes are carried out. What is certain is that the research with these adult men places us once again in a position to affirm that "official" sexuality education is still absent (Campos and Salas, 2002) and that sexuality continues to find its own channels of learning and experience.

In summary, most of the men surveyed have a patriarchal conception of sexuality, which legitimizes and reproduces traditional conceptions of sexuality.

In many cases, there is no notion that this is the way things are. These ideas and thoughts are incorporated without further questioning and are assumed to be the way things are, and in many cases, there is no notion of the latter.

This ideological substratum provides the basis on which the structure of tolerance presented by men towards ESC is built.

B) COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION, EROTICISM, SEXUALITY AND POWER IN PATRIARCHAL MEN.

To begin this part of the analysis, it should be noted that, for a significant majority of men, the attraction to the young body and the desire to possess, touch and appropriate it is totally legitimized. It is an issue that does not merit further discussion, since it is assumed to be part of being a man and of male sexuality, and the mere fact of inquiring about it caused surprise - and derision - in many of them, since it is taken for granted. Youth is a precious commodity, either by having it directly or by gaining access to the body, subjectivity and desire of the young person (especially women, although homosexual men expressed very similar positions in relation to other young men).

Along with the above, the major factor that was presented as the most determining factor in liking young people more is that, just by virtue of their youth, they are easier to dominate or control. Within this easier domination, of course, is the area of sexuality, in which young women must be instructed by others with greater experience and wisdom, and this is inevitable because for these men, young bodies are thirsty for pleasure, they want to be satisfied; therefore, the "girls" go around looking for men and seduce them in order to be pleased. This last idea will serve as the basis for the discussion that follows.

This attraction to the young body, how does it relate to sexuality and what is its connection with ESC? The first part of the question we will deal with

The second is left to be dealt with in the specific section for this purpose.

It is clear that the connection between sexuality and power is not only well documented and discussed by prominent authors, but in the concrete experience of the men in the study as well, it is so deeply rooted that it is not even questioned by them; it is taken for granted.

What concerns us here is a particularity of this general question. The question is: what happens to the relationship between eroticism and power when sexual contact is with young people in general or under 18 years of age in particular?

We believe that this question can be approached from two closely linked perspectives.

A first perspective leads us to the discussion about the power of being with a young person or the sex one can have with them. A clue to this is provided by the fantasy expressed by many of the men that if one has contact with young people, especially of a sexual nature, all the virtues of youth will be transferred to them. The freshness, the energy and vitality, the smoothness, the softness of the skin, the muscular firmness, and all the attributes that the young person may possess will be transmitted to the adult man who comes in contact with them. In fact, the fantasy is that he will return to his youth or that his life will be revitalized almost magically. It is to live again adolescence or youth.

There is a kind of absorption that man would make of the qualities of young people and that, incorporated, would allow them to return to past moments of their youth. This is not entirely different from the ancient quest for eternal youth that has unveiled humanity. For some of them the situation is not experienced in an *as if*, but acquires edges of concrete reality. Thus, fantasy touches the borders of reality.



The fantasy of rejuvenation is one of the main reasons men give for their preference for underage sex, which contributes to their preference for sex with younger people.
to promote sexual exploitation

To elaborate further on this point, the reference to the body heat emanating from the youthful body, as opposed to the coldness of the adult or "older" body, is striking, although it appears only a little in the stories collected. In sexual contact with them, this warmth is easily perceived, according to what they say. The commentary is really important in that it refers very easily to the theory of the "older" body.

Aristotle's theory of sexual dimorphism, with which the Greek scholar tried to explain the difference between men and women. For Aristotle, women are colder; for these men, older women are colder. In both reasonings, the result is the same: women are devalued and placed in secondary places.

It is obvious to admit that greater sexual vitality is also acquired. The libidinal energy and strength that is given to young women and adolescents will also be transferred to men, and their potency and virility will be reactivated. The effect, given the importance of sexuality in shaping masculine identity, is that men will feel more masculine and assured of their virility. Paradoxically, this vitality could remain only in the public sphere, since what is exhibited is not a reliable proof of its effects; much is also at stake in the imaginary of the man who possesses it and of those who are observing him.

The other perspective that can be incorporated is to reflect on what really causes pleasure: is it the carnal access to the young woman or is it the feeling of power that derives from it, is it the erotic contact or the exercise of power, is it both, is it the erotic contact or the exercise of power?

These questions bring us face to face with the importance of power for men, and we have already stated that sexuality is the most dramatic manifestation of the need to be in a position of power or of the actions that can be taken to achieve it. This is precisely the neglected focus of the social struggles waged by humanity, which is why sexuality, affectivity and subjectivity are left out of any consideration of social and political change, because the outlook could be very worrying for the dominant sectors, if the population acquires autonomy and independence in the experience and management of their sexuality and intimate life; people freed in this area are "dangerous".

According to the men interviewed, there coexist traits of pleasure derived from physical attraction and genitality ("they are rich") and traits of pleasure derived from exercising their sexuality ("they are rich").

power. Many expressions point to the pleasure of touching, seeing and admiring the virtues of the young body; others directly allude to the pleasure of sexual touch, with special emphasis on penetration (including the particularity of it being with a virgin woman). The manifestations are of sensations that are highly gratifying, exciting and, therefore, much desired by them.

So far, it is clear that the pleasure derives from coital activity and from everything that emanates from the young body, regardless of whether it is the body of a minor. Along with that pleasure, the other important effect is that of the revitalization that is achieved. That is, having sex with young people is highly valued for its erotic components, or at least intended to be so.

But at the same time, immediately, it has to be placed on the plane of public knowledge: that intimate, profound pleasure of mine, if I make it public, also gives me power, prestige and status, which is also experienced as very gratifying. At times, both dimensions intermingle and one does not know where one ends and the other begins. That is to say, the bond of power becomes eroticized, charged with sexual energy.

In other words, we are of the opinion that both are at play and it becomes more complicated when the power exercised is linked to the component of erotic pleasure. Of course, there is pleasure in both dimensions, but the fusion is consolidated when the direct pleasure of genitality or sexuality is detached or strengthened from public pleasure. In a Pavlovian scheme, conditioning is achieved through the association of an unconditioned stimulus (sexual pleasure) with one that is conditioned (the place of power); once the conditioning is established, the relationship is strengthened and difficult to modify.

The men's comments indicate, in fact, the presence of both dimensions; some of them are even rude or violent, again denoting the characteristics of an objectified woman and of a primitive, genitalized and mechanized masculine sexuality. In other words, they "fall in love" with power, especially if it is confirmed that it is not only exercised over them, but is also shown to others. It is obvious that the perspective is dark, because many men enter the game and their relationships become a contest of who has more power and more control.

This brings us back to an aspect that has already been analyzed. It allows us to understand that, as happens with women in general, particularly with young women and adolescents, the link is objectified and the person acquires the characteristics of objects that can be taken, bought, sold and exhibited. The metaphor of the new vehicle enters the scene again. The relationship that many men establish with vehicles they own, especially if they are new, seems to identify traits of a kind of fetishism in it. In a certain sense, something similar happens with the young body; that possession, it is true, is enjoyed; but, sometimes, it seems to be enjoyed more the mere sensation of possessing it and that others enjoy it.

In the ESC section, we will see the situation of the inhibitors that act in some men so as not to enter into the dynamics of ESC. One of them has to do with what we are discussing: men say that they will not do to others what they do not like to be done to **them**. They will not hurt the other as I do not want them to hurt **me**; the suffering is not so much of the offended daughter or sister but of the man who sees his honor and good name threatened; the harm, then, is for them, insofar as it may happen to "their" women.

Within this scenario of competition that is opening up, the relevance for many men of "being the first" or the fantasy of being so also makes a lot of sense. The message is clear: I have already "used it" and no one else can have that privilege. It does not require much effort to find this type of communication in many popular songs or sayings.

In other words, control and power over the body of the young or adolescent girl transcends the immediate physical plane to transcend the control of subjectivity or the internal world of women. It is difficult to conceive of a fantasy of greater power, although it does not appear much in the stories collected, the reference to the body heat that emanates from the youthful body, as opposed to the coldness of the adult or "older" body, is striking, although it appears little in the stories collected.

All of the above allows us to postulate the thesis that there is a participation in the metamorphosis of the infantile body to the young body, as well as of the psyche, an act which is attended both by adult men as well as by young people and minors directly. It is for these men like a rite of initiation, in charge of the adult, who transmits the experience and wisdom and who, in turn, transmits the experience and wisdom of the adult, who, in turn, transmits the experience and wisdom of the adult.

It is a sort of mutual transmutation, whereby the young and underage person acquires experience and leaves behind his innocence and the adult man acquires youth. Even so, in this game of *te doy me dás*, the power relationship is on the side of the adult world or at least reaffirms it, establishing a combination between adultcentrism and androcentrism.

We are in a position to affirm conclusively that for most of the men surveyed, chronological or civil age is the infallible criterion for determining with certainty the status of a minor; on the other hand, the criterion for sexual access to girls and boys is not related to legal or civil criteria.

The symbolic universe that is woven behind the expression that there is no minimum age for sexual initiation is more than illustrative. It connotes a way of conceiving human relations. The minimum is the body with "women's features", regardless of chronological age and with ignorance of their psychosexual development, as well as of their rights as a person. The phrases that allude to the fact that if a young girl can withstand penetration she is already a woman, is a transposition of the male psyche, in the sense that it is still the coital that defines many situations of people. It is needless to say that here the masculine logic of being powerful and that not everyone can withstand its onslaught, even with the crude and primitive nature of this type of thinking.

This explains why for many men having sex with minors does not imply any transgression. In the male imagination, they are already women and, therefore, for them there is nothing objectionable in the sexual conduct described.

The logic that underlies and underpins this prototype of thinking is what we believe sustains and legitimizes CSEC, along with other determinants of this ex- pressured commercialization of sexuality, will be addressed in later sections.

C) SEXUALITY AND MARKET LOGIC AS AN EXPLANATORY STRUCTURAL FRAMEWORK FOR COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

*It is a body to which you have access
because you pay him.*

*I paid you for a service, you have to give it
to me in full, you are going to do what I
want.*

The ESC makes sense in a market economy, where sex and bodies acquire the character of merchandise and, therefore, men gain access to commercial sex through the logic of the market.

It's like a market, and if you want to sell you have to offer the newest things, and if you want to eat, you have to look for new, pretty girls, who can dance, who are determined to do anything: go out with an old man, with a young man, or go out with women, with whoever. And the market is full of only young people now. (Nicaragua)

With my money, I can buy these younger girls (Nicaragua).

It is a use value and an exchange value, and see if it is so much so that a woman who is not a virgin is devalued in the marriage market (Costa Rica).

In the previous sentences, we can see how men assume a market logic of supply and demand to approach the phenomenon of prostitution in general and ESC in particular, which helps them not to feel bad, since they see it as an economic, not an ethical issue.

"In modern times, sexuality represents another consumer good - among so many - that can be purchased on the market. The experience called sexuality is lived fundamentally in the sphere of externality - as something that does not belong to the subject - while in internality this experience leaves a feeling of emptiness, of lack that, most of the time, appears metaphorized in the symptom or in "perversion" as it is conventionally understood (Campos and Arrieta, 1996: p. 1).

For most of the men in the region who participated in the study, CSF is justified to the extent that it is seen as a trade, in which goods are sold and there are clients who have the money to pay for those goods.

How do men make it invisible that this is a violation of human rights? There are several processes at work here, one of which is the commodification of bodies and sex and, when they are turned into merchandise, they undergo the process of fetishization.

Marx (1976) referred to the concept of "commodity fetishism" to explain the logic of capitalist commodity production and its implications for subjectivity. In broad terms, the concept referred to the dual character of commodities (use value and exchange value) and to the apparent impersonal and anonymous character of commodities, stripped of all human acts, where the social relations that gave them their *raison d'être* are mystified and hidden. In the following sentences spoken by one of the men in the study, the logic of the conversion of bodies into commodities is made very clear:

... but I got out of the cab on the other side to see what the merchandise was like... lest I didn't like it... (Panama).

... but since I am a negotiating man... I told her no... what was that about... to make me think that I was not and to be able to see the price issue... and then I talked to her and told her that I could not pay 20 dollars, but that if she wanted to go for 15 dollars we could go... (Panama)

How can we understand this phenomenon?

Vidales (1978) states that in the process of fetishization, people become cosified and things become personalized. For this author,

"The reign of fetishes depends on the degree of dehumanization of man, who by ceasing to be responsible for his action on others and becoming the object of objective and natural forces, degrades and alienates himself" (p. 15).

With money you can buy whatever you want... even some fantasies (Guatemala).

There is an idea that they are being paid because they are not being pleased at home and the prostitutes are because they are a machine (Panama).

Paraphrasing Campos and Arrieta (1996), in Western society, physical appearance plays a very important role in sexual attractiveness and is based, at least in part, on external body characteristics, which vary according to the historical and social context.

The body in contemporary mercantile society acquires the character of a commodity: an ideal of beauty localized in the body is disseminated, which is presented as a series of characteristics in terms of age, skin color, eye color, hair color, certain size and height, certain form of physical texture, certain voice style, certain way of dressing, certain genital characteristics that include from the size and shape of the external genitalia to the "copulatory" techniques that are in vogue in the market. This commodification of the body is part of a more global commodification to which the subject as a whole is subjected in this society: the subject turns himself into a commodity and his processes become governed by the laws of the market. These psychosocial processes are analyzed by various authors (Cushman, 1991; Benhabib, 1992; Rosenau, 1992; Giddens, 1991; Gergen, 1991; among others).

Gergen (1992) considers that the individual has been deprived of rationality, intentionality, self-knowledge and coherence. Intense experience with the other has been replaced by the acquisition of lifeless objects.

"Replacing human love with sexual commodities is one of the best businesses and industries in Western culture. Men can purchase inflatable women, artificial women's faces with open lips, and stereophoned vids complete with pubic hair" (Gergen, 1992: p. 141).

The commodification of the body leads to the maintenance of a body industry, an industry that promotes the beautiful body of the moment, elevated (or denigrated) to the rank of a commodity. In the case of men, it is the body that acquires the rank of a fetish; in the case of women, it is their body fragmented into parts that acquires that rank; in the case of ESC, precisely, the infant and adolescent body is fetishized, stripped of its humanness (it is not seen as a child, as an adolescent who is the subject of a fetish), but as an adolescent who is the subject of a fetish.

The body is seen only as a body, a body for others, for pleasure.
/power of others, a body that restores youth, vitality, status to those who eat it,
a body without subjectivity.

The beautiful body is accompanied by certain psychic characteristics, it is a "complete and happy" body, sexually fulfilled, usually associated with sensuality and eroticism. Those who possess a beautiful and youthful body also possess full sexuality. This is a myth that is exploited mainly by the pornography industry.

Sex, people under the age of 18, when they become merchandise, like all merchandise

"... acquires its own substance, increasingly disconnected from what it is: social relationship between men and becomes a transcendent sphere, an object that subjugates man" (Vidales, 1998: p. 17).

That's why men say phrases like the following:

I have money, I'm going to go find a girl and pay her (Costa Rica).

The man who pays, feels and thinks that these women belong to him (Costa Rica).

In this context of commodification of sexuality and the body, patriarchal gender power relations are put on stage. Eisler (2000) states in this regard that

"Today, at least in principle, the possession of one person's body by another, the appropriation of her services, and the denial of her right to make fundamental life choices are almost universally condemned. But there is one area that, even in principle, has been particularly resistant to change. In relation to women's bodies, services and choices, much of the world is ideologically, legally and economically wedded to the traditional notion that men should have the power, choose the options and control the female body" (Eisler, 2000: p. 183).

Prostitution is a business; large segments of the global economy depend on it.

"This includes not only girls and women working in the sex tourism industry and the countless sex bars and stores where men drink, gamble and have sex with prostitutes, but also families who sell their daughters into prostitution" (Eisler, 2000: p. 184).

In patriarchal culture, in the context of late capitalism, female sexuality is used to sell and women learn that sex is their main commodity; sex work is a private commercial transaction.

"What the prostitute ultimately sells is the ritualization of female sexual submission the essence of which is that the man chooses and the woman is there for the use and abuse of the client" (Eisler, 2000: p. 185).

The prostitute is the greatest witness of male "weakness", who seeks shelter and/or hypercompensation through an objectified female body, turned into a commodity.

"Powerful in private, she will be, on the other hand, despised and humiliated in public, because her power (her knowledge) will have to be violently neutralized. They know even more than the other "pure" women, the male secrets (their tastes, needs, perversions), but they end up paying dearly - socially - for it. The power (the enjoyment) they derive from this knowledge...Every sexual act is a The man faces man with his own substantial impotence and with the realization that he is not desired as such but as just another client... Man is in charge, 'by paying for certain services, which gives him security and the illusion of not being controlled'" (González, 1998: pp. 211-212).

Money gives man a feeling of master, owner, customer with rights. Paying turns him into a consumer and from that consumer logic, what he buys is justified: he will buy what is advertised and offered for sale in the market and it is not his problem what is being sold because, after all, in mercantile logic, what is advertised is to be bought, the customer has the duty to buy and does not have to worry about why certain products are sold.

The consumer society we are in right now sells us carnal pleasure (Dominican Republic).

Where he pays and expects to be remunerated the product of what he has paid, I am paying and you are going to do what I say, as I want (Honduras).

When you pay you have the right to demand and there is greater control over payment (El Salvador).

Based on the above, we can affirm that the man who is involved in ESC relationships, in mercantile logic, is positioned before the product as a consumer. Schiffman and Lazar (1991) state that one of the consumer's needs is the need for power.

"This need seems to be closely related to the need for ego, in that many individuals experience increased self-realization when they exercise power over objects or over people..."(p. 93).

The virgin, innocent woman, who "does not know" about sexuality, especially if she is a minor, allows the man to fulfill his fantasies of domination. By being innocent and supposedly "not knowing", by paying, by "buying" her (from his imaginary), the man can impose all his desires on her, thus overcoming his performance anxiety, before an other who does not know, who is innocent and who is reduced to a commodity. There is nothing to prove, except that I am the master. Something like I pay, *"I need you not to know, not to demand anything from me and, moreover, to please me in everything I am going to ask/force you to do"*, and all this in an environment of innocence, of an obligatory ignorance on her part.

From this perspective, paid sex with minors offers men, as Qualls (1997) would say, pleasure, excitement and vitality.

"She is the lover whose beauty is exciting, whose virginal nature brings new life and leads to Wisdom" (Qualls, 1997: p. 133).

This leads the men to have expressed the following:

Paying to be with a girl It's like they turn it into a trophy, it's like a trophy. a prize, it's a medal for being with a woman, and the younger the woman is, the bigger the trophy, the prouder he feels to say it in front of everyone. (Costa Rica)

D) MEN'S CRITICAL ROUTE TO COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

It's like the vice of liquor; first, you start with a drink and then you can't control it. First you start paying in brothels with older women, then you move on to girls.

One of the main conclusions of this research is the finding that adult men in the general population have high levels of tolerance toward sexual relations with persons under 18 years of age, even if they occur in a context of commercial sexual exploitation. This tolerance is greater if it is towards adolescents 12 years of age and older, coinciding with the appearance and development of secondary sexual characteristics.

As discussed above, for men, persons under 18 years of age are classified into two major groups:

- a) Boys and girls: those who do not yet exhibit secondary sexual characteristics; although some men reported younger ages, most considered 12 or 13 to be the cut-off age. Most men censored and/or condemned sexual activity with this population under the age of 12 or 13 as part of psychophilia or a sexual aberration. It is easier for them to identify sexual activity with this latter age group (commercial or not) as a crime, so there was no tolerance for people who engage in sexual activity with this group. Reactions in general were of dislike and rejection.

I consider a person who is looking for boys or girls at this age to be no longer a normal person, I can still accept if you want, in quotation marks, a person who is looking for a teenager, talking about a teenager, a girl of 16 years old or older, well, I think it could still be acceptable.

- b) Adolescents, of either sex, over the age of 12 or 13, who are experiencing the changes of puberty. They are no longer considered as boys or girls, but as people who, because they are in the process of puberty, are perceived as being in the process of developing.

In their developmental stage, they have very strong sexual needs and desires and look to others (especially adults) to teach them and satisfy their desires. Sexual activity with this group (paid or unpaid) does enjoy high levels of tolerance from most of the men in the research.

It is worth mentioning that the tolerance we are talking about refers to activities such as being a "client" in the purchase of direct sexual relations, participation in sexual shows and even Internet pornography (a situation that appears very rarely in the stories collected) to the extent, as mentioned above, that they are adolescents older than 12 or 13 years of age, but even for this age group, we found a resounding rejection of the following forms of CSEC:

- a) participation in procuring networks
- b) human trafficking
- c) forms of sexual violence or torture
- d) taking victims by force

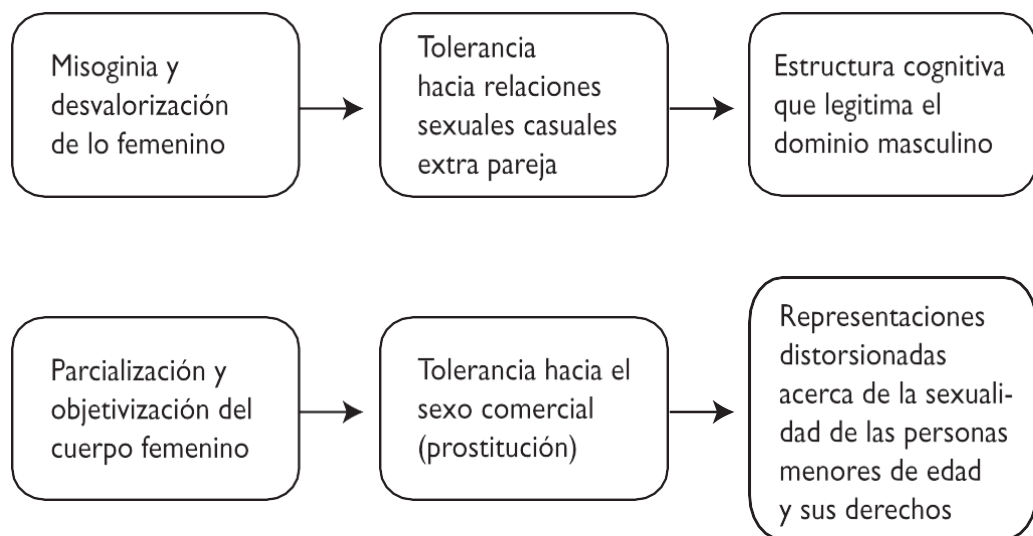
However, the fact that there are high levels of tolerance toward the CSEC of persons over 12 years of age, in terms of consent to sexual relations, does not mean that all men in the general population participate in this type of exploitative relationships in their capacity as "clients. What factors cause some to do so and others not to do so?

The answer to this question leads us directly to the identification of the route that some men take to reach the ESC. In this research, we understand the critical route to be the process that allows some men to approach and remain in the CSEC.

We can identify diverse routes on men's path to ESC. All of them have a common axis: the construction of male sexuality in the context of patriarchy and its relation to power; eroticism related to power, as explained in the section "Commercial sexual exploitation, ~~eroticism~~ sexuality and power in patriarchal men". The routes have a sense of

The sexuality of the individual is set in a symbolic ideological context, which is patriarchal, in which power and dominion over others is the central element. It is not possible to give a clinical psychology explanation to a bond structure that transcends this sphere and that connects sexuality from the symbolic intra-subjective level to the political level.

At this symbolic level, the structure of thought or directly the ideology that underlies the men who initiate the route to ESC is characterized by the presence of the following elements, as links that establish meaningful relationships among themselves.



Based on the foregoing, we set forth below what, in our opinion, correspond to the various possible levels and routes that make men carry out actions conducive to ESC.

First situation. Men socialized in patriarchal hegemonical and archetypal masculinity

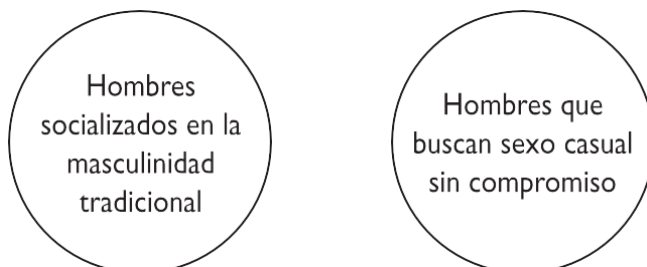


In this situation are men socialized in the traditional patriarchal model, with the tasks of hegemonic and archetypal masculinity, but who have few possibilities of participating in CSEC activities. This is because the tasks of demonstrating masculinity through sexual adventures and the lover archetype¹⁰ were not as developed or stimulated in these men, both in their personal history and in the socializing instances in which they participated. Perhaps these men were stimulated to assume other tasks of masculinity, such as being a provider and/or protector, the non-expression of feelings and responsibility; thus, by assuming such tasks, they demonstrate their virility.

These men are more likely to criticize the exercise of traditional masculinity and to assume alternative roles. Nevertheless, they may present in their cognitive structure levels of tolerance towards CSEC, even if they do not participate directly in it or in other forms of commercialization of sexuality or sex without commitment. In these men, some forms of rejection or disagreement with CSEC might even be expected.

¹⁰ Gillete and Moore (1993), as representatives of the mythical-poetic current of masculinity, propose the archetype of the lover as one characterized by the incessant search for sexuality and eroticism. The other archetypes they point out are the King, the Warrior and the Magician.

Second situation. Men socialized in traditional masculinity who seek casual sex without commitment.



These are men who, regardless of their sexual orientation or preference, from their traditional masculinity, learned to manifest their virility through phallocentric sexuality. Demonstration orders, by means of having sex with many people (men or women) and the archetype of the lover, were central axes in the construction of their masculine identity. This leads them to seek and establish sexual relationships without affective commitment with multiple casual partners.

This group includes the typical "casanovas", who find great gratification in their capacity for conquest and seduction, as a way to feed their narcissistic needs. Because of their behavioral structure, these men may frequent commercial sexual activities (nightclubs), but they are not necessarily frequent clients of prostitution, as they would see this as an indicator of the loss of their capacity for seduction. They may engage in sexual activities with very young people (even under 18 years of age) in a context of conquest and seduction, but not overtly of CSEC, although they may do so indirectly, by being accompanied by a young person to "show off" and show her off to other men, and this usually leads them to "invest" money in this process of conquest.

The following story is illustrative:

If the young woman (17 years old) has made up with you, then you invite her to the next day, take her to the movies, take her shopping, some sporadic details, but it is not to say: "To me 5000 colones, make love to me". No, that is not conquest. It is physical conquest, it is a matter of conquest, it is another area (Costa Rica).

These men, as the years go by, may become involved in commercial sex activities as a way to compensate for their "lost charms", with all the implications that this entails.

Third situation. Men who engage in commercial sex



In this category we have men who are socialized in the traditional patriarchal masculinity, who seek casual, impersonal, noncommittal sex and who frequent paid sex activities (nightclubs and/or prostitution centers, access to pornography in general), regardless of their sexual orientation. These men hire the sexual services of prostitution and are comfortable with the fact of frequenting these activities.

The frequency may vary from isolated events to habitual practices. This depends on several factors, especially the purchasing power these men possess and the ease with which they are able to leave their homes at night on a regular basis, especially in the case of married men or men with regular partners.

Many men considered that being involved in commercial sex is like starting a career of drug dependence (they speak of "vice"), since the person becomes accustomed to experiencing new experiences in relation to commercial sex, to the point that he loses his inhibitions.

The man is becoming desensitized to the point where he is acquiring higher levels of tolerance. This may mean experiences with younger and younger people, to the point of ESC, as men become desensitized to the point where they become more tolerant and uninhibited to engage commercially with younger and younger people.

Yes, he can do it, because as he goes along this trajectory, he becomes more eager for the girls and can even go to that extreme. He already, when he says "I did it with that girl who is so old and I get that younger girl", they start to encourage her too. (Nicaragua)

I would imagine so. A man who is going to have paid sex with a woman who is 30 or 25 years old imagines: "How many men have gone through her? The man says: "If I can get an 18-year-old woman, who has had fewer men, then all the better for me", as they say: "fresh meat". (Nicaragua)

And if I can with a 16-year-old who has had fewer men in her life than an 18-year-old, And I think that goes to the extreme: one of 14, one of... (Nicaragua). (Nicaragua)

Involvement in CSEC should not be seen as a mechanical result of commercial sexuality. There are several factors at play, which can be summarized as follows:

- a) degree of involvement in paid sexuality and its environment (frequency and intensity)
- b) the need to experience new situations and experiences in relation to sexuality
- c) inclination for physical attraction to the young body (particularly of teenagers), which he might "admire" through pornography
- d) purchasing power
- e) ease of leaving home in the evening or "sneaking out" of work during the day without having to give an account
- f) contact with procuring networks in prostitution centers that handle the "supply" of persons under 18 years of age
- g) vulnerable conditions of people under 18 years of age, due to poverty or poor family support networks.
- h) cognitive schemas characterized by high levels of tolerance towards ESC

- i) impunity or inefficiency of laws that attack and criminalize CSEC.
- j) maturity of inhibitory factors mentioned by men

In this sense, although the initial intention of these men is not to participate in CSEC, their activity in paid sex puts them at risk of entering CSEC, at least for people between 12 or 13 years old and 18 years old, and for them it does not mean any paedophilic act, it means one more variety within a commercial sexual activity, since from their cognitive structure they are paying for the "sexual service".some phrases are illustrative:

I'll explain it to you. It's a brothel, in a chair we have Juana, she's 33 years old, here we have a 25 year old, but over there in a back porch we have three 14 year olds... What does that awaken, what does that awaken in man? It is the libido. A man can say: "I've already slept with 35-year-olds, I've already slept with 23-year-olds, but what about the 14-year-olds? That is like a sick thing in a man, but it exists in all areas (Costa Rica).

People who pay to be with 14-year-olds, I think it's the youth, I think it's the youth, it's definitely the youth, it would be experiencing the unfamiliar, it's like getting out of the routine.If you are a bar guy and you go into a bar and the bar is balanced between 25 and 30 something years old and they bring you a young girl, you are a client of that bar and you are able to have correlated with several from there; and the young girl, the new one in the bar, is going to be the young one in the bar, it's like they say: she is going to be the piece that shines the most at that moment in that business. (Costa Rica)

The foregoing is further stated in the reflections of Yokohama (2001)

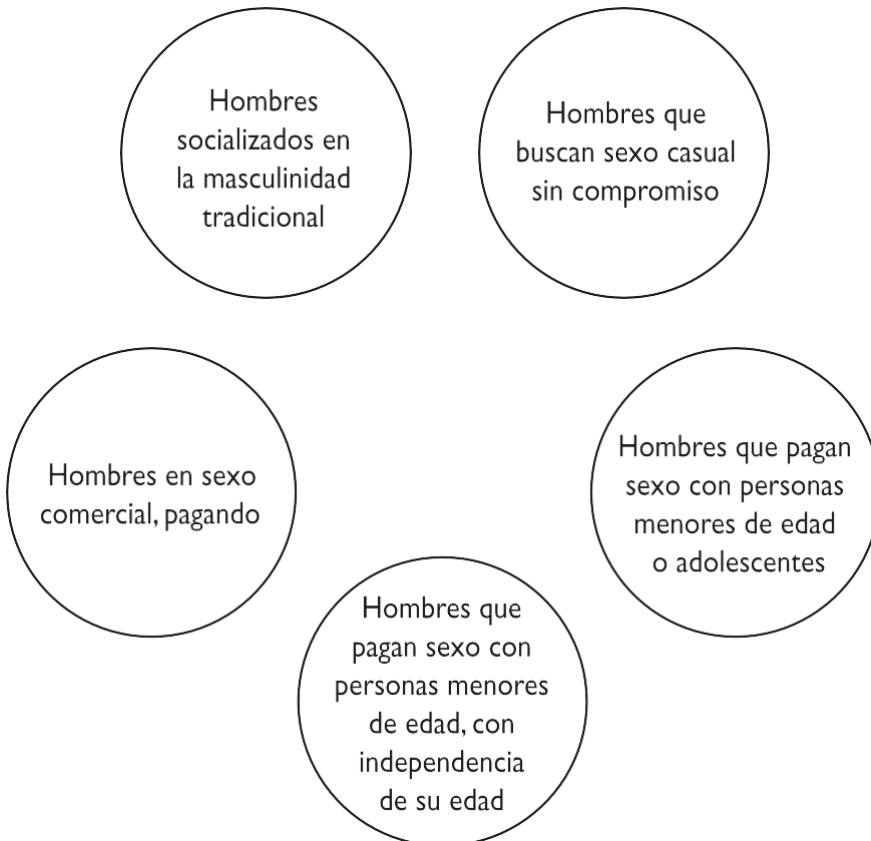
"...clients of child prostitutes are often simply members of the broader groups of prostitute-users in general, rather than prostitute-users whose sexual interest is focused exclusively on children. In other words, many individuals come to sexually exploit children as users of prostituted persons in general, and not because they use prostitution to gain access to sexual relations with children.

...When prostitution is organized in a transactional manner like any other exchange of goods or services, the buyer may believe that the power he exercises over a child is legitimate. In that way, he is behaving like any sovereign consumer in a free market..."(p. 5).

Fourth situation. Men who engage in commercial sex and CSEC relationships.

We believe that this category includes two groups of men, with different routes.

One corresponds to the men in the previous situation who, as a result of their frequent involvement in commercial sex, become involved in CSEC relationships to the point that they become habitual sexual exploiters. These men need to overcome their inhibitions to become attuned to CSEC. They are most likely to become involved with persons under the age of 18, but younger than 12 or 13, as the pursuit of the sexual characteristics secondary to puberty is still prevalent.



The other group corresponds to men who find motivation for sexual relations with persons under 18 years of age, probably due to paedophilic tendencies. Paedophilia or pedophilia, according to clinical psychiatry as set out in the DSM IV-TR (2002)

"...involves sexual activities with prepubertal children (usually 13 years of age or younger). The individual with this disorder must be 16 years of age or older and at least 5 years older than the child..... People with pedophilia report being attracted within a particular age range, with some individuals preferring boys, others girls, and others both sexes. People who are attracted to girls generally prefer them between the ages of 8 and 10, while those who are attracted to boys prefer them older. Pedophilia involving girls as victims is much more frequent than that involving boys.

...These activities are commonly explained away with excuses or rationalizations that they may have 'educational value' for the child, that the child derives 'sexual pleasure' or that the child is 'sexually provocative,' themes that are otherwise prevalent in pedophilic pornography" (p. 639).

People with paedophilic tendencies may commit acts of child sexual abuse and CSEC. However, as the reflections of Yokohama (2001) suggest, not all paedophiles are sexual exploiters, nor are all sexual exploiters paedophiles.

Taking up the factors mentioned by Finkelhor (1980) as explanatory of sexual abuse, a similar mechanism could operate in these men. In the groups of men who participated in the research, apparently, no one was identified who agreed with this type of practices. However, we believe that if the factors mentioned by Finkelhor are present, ESC could operate as follows:

- a) Motivation to have sexual contact with minors (i.e., paedophilic tendencies).
- b) Expiration of internal inhibiting factors
- c) Victim vulnerability factors (considering those mentioned by Claramunt, 1998 and 2002)
- d) Overcoming external barriers (the existence of supply of persons under 18 years of age in CSP networks)

e) High levels of tolerance and impunity for CSEC in society

These men probably enter directly into CSEC, without having to go through the previous process that men in the other group go through, and it is to be assumed that the age of the victims is not necessarily over 12 years old, but that the age limit may be lower. However, it is necessary to conduct research with this type of population to better detail and study their critical route, given their particularities. It is likely that this group includes those men who have a greater tendency to consume and exchange child pornographic material, which they may use in various ways (Internet, movies), and it is to be expected that this tendency does not appear in a significant or systematic way in men in the general population who do not have paedophilic tendencies, since it is not part of their sexual preferences.

The above outlines are not intended to be the last word in establishing the critical path for men involved in CSS; they are only working tools to be developed in future research; however, we would like to highlight the constant elements in the critical path that we have found:

- a) A symbolic universe tolerant of patriarchal masculinity and its methods of exercising power through sexuality.
- b) Ideological elements that legitimize, in the construction of masculinity, casual and commercial sex.
- c) Lack of spaces for comprehensive sexuality education for men.
- d) Climate of tolerance towards ESC
- e) Non-compliance with legislation related to SSC
- f) Lack of preventive ESC campaigns aimed at the male population that are adapted to their cognitive styles and discourse production logics.

The men who are most at risk are those located in the third and fourth positions, according to the proposed scheme. Therefore, preventive measures should be adjusted to these conditions, although in the first two situations there could be a greater probability of effectiveness in the actions to be developed.

Notwithstanding the possible routes outlined, we can state that there may be sporadic situations where a preparation process is not required.

This is the case of men who are not accustomed to visiting nightclubs or prostitution centers, due to economic limitations or because they have not incorporated it as a daily practice, but if at a given moment they have some money and visit such a place where the presence of persons under 18 years of age is "offered" as part of the sex trade, from a market logic, there is a probability that this man will "choose" this option. It is to be expected that these men will engage in this behavior on a given occasion and that they will not necessarily repeat it in the future.

If there is a choice, it is even better (El Salvador).

Of course, when it is decided to have sex or look for sex in the street, in many cases, there is no discrimination whether it is a girl, adolescent or young woman (Honduras).

Many of the men (the majority) stated that if a man is presented with the opportunity to have sex with underage persons, even if it is on a paid basis, the necessary conditions are in place (motivation of the man to become sexually involved with persons under 18, existence of the "offer"), it is guaranteed that no one will legally denounce him and that there will be no consequences for his reputation or for his family, the response was almost unanimous: "I would do it!"

E) A METHODOLOGY THAT CONFORMS TO THE MASCULINE LOGIC OF DISCURSIVE PRODUCTION

Experience in working with men, on different topics and with different methodological devices, has led us to the conclusion that working with men requires certain technical and procedural conditions that allow an approach to their own reality, without raising barriers or resistance. The truth is that men do not like to talk about themselves or have others inquire about them; however, experience is leading the way. That is why we would like to share some reflections on this subject.

The first step to transform reality is to know it (Marx, 1975). For this reason, we decided to use a qualitative methodology, since we were interested in

To learn about men's discourse, their cognitive structure, their worldview about sexuality, masculinity, commercial sex and CSEC. Precisely because of this approach, we decided to illustrate the analysis with textual phrases from men in the region, phrases that are significant and representative of their discursive production. Many of these phrases may be "shocking" to the reader, since they reveal the imprint of patriarchal masculinity in all its limits and in many of them misogyny, androcentrism, phocentrism and, on occasion, a very simplistic vision of sexuality are evident. However, this is the reality we have encountered and it is precisely on the basis of this reality that we can organize strategies to transform it. Moreover, the internal logic that we have tried to give to the document and to the background analysis would not be fully understood if such phrases were omitted.

The methodology used was adjusted to the male logic of discursive production. With some slight modifications (typical of the flexibility of qualitative methodology), the focus group discussion guide allowed the men to show little resistance in approaching the topic. With very few exceptions, in countries where there is greater repression and social control over sexuality, in most of the groups there was an openness and rapid entry into the discussion, with no major fears about confidentiality or handling of the information. There were no major problems in audio-recording the session, except for one of the groups that requested not to do so (which was not an impediment to a great openness and fluency in their comments). It is likely that the flexible framing helped in this regard.

The framing was attached to the fact that we were not investigating their personal experiences, but their opinions and perceptions about why some men participate in ESC and their appreciation of other aspects of masculinity and male sexuality, and they were told that they could speak in the same words as they did in their daily lives.

From an ethical point of view, all the men knew that they were participating in an investigation and were aware of its objectives; nevertheless, many of them easily referred to personal situations, so it was necessary to reframe immediately, as planned.

It was opportune and appropriate to conduct the research with a greater weight given to group activity. This was not only for the information provided, but also

The presence of others does not seem to inhibit opinions or appreciations about a topic. The presence of others does not seem to inhibit opinions or appreciations on the subject.

The overall methodological design allowed for adjustments to be made on the fly. In particular, the focus group discussion guide could be streamlined to focus more quickly on some of the session topics. At a certain point, it was even possible to evaluate whether the saturation effect of the information was already taking place, thus making it possible to make important decisions with a particular group or with the process in general. The choice of some men for the individual interview could be further refined based on the above. In general, as we have stated, the methodological design was pertinent to the needs of the research and to the demands of working with men.

The individual interview, with members and non-members of the groups, was very pertinent because it allowed us to deepen or corroborate appreciations or ideas arising from the group experience. Whether or not they were members of the groups did not affect the substance of the information obtained.

At the end of the focus groups, many of the participants expressed that they felt very good and very comfortable with the experience. They stated that these spaces are very necessary for men, since they do not have these opportunities. For many of them, it was the first time they had sat down to talk about these topics and they indicated that it had helped them to reflect on themselves and their sexuality. They recommended opening group discussion spaces, such as those achieved with the focus groups, to work on the topic of sex education for the male population and to educate men about CSE. In many groups, at the end, the researchers explained to the participants the reality of CSEC and the myths surrounding it.

It is worth mentioning the case of a man who participated in two focus groups and an in-depth interview. When he participated in the second focus group, when a member said that he did not agree that CSEC was a crime because it is the responsibility of the girls, he told him at the end: *"Buddy, you think that way because you are deeply rooted in machismo"* (Costa Rica). This shows that the men's participation in the group experience transcends the limits of an investigation and begins to produce movements in their cognitions.

The researchers had to assume a posture of facilitating free discourse and guiding the discussion within the objectives set. It may be difficult to tolerate very strong statements about justifications for CSEC or misogyny; however, the technique employed is to promote free discourse, being careful that men do not believe that they are being legitimized in their way of thinking. Nevertheless, it is clear that the purpose of these methodological strategies is to collect information that is as faithful as possible to men's thinking in order to promote relevant measures and actions.

The authors, as members of the WEM Institute, have constructed a methodology based on popular education, the dialectic method and constructivism, which has the following logic:

- a) In the case of this research, to start from the experiences and experiences of the participating men, starting from their opinions and attitudes, from their beliefs, without censoring their production.
- b) Reflect, based on the experiences or opinions expressed, and, from there, begin to question the discourse that has appeared "naturalized" to them.
- c) To provide a moment of theoretical reflection that allows them to take a step back and analyze their discursive productions (or their experiences).
- d) Return to opinions and attitudes or experiences, with the elements acquired from the discussion and theoretical contributions.

While the focus groups were not intended to bring about any change in the participants, the above outline could be useful for focus groups that aim to give men an alternative view about living their sexuality and CSEC. This will be detailed in the Recommendations.



Chapter V

Recommendations to prevent Commercial Sexual Exploitation of the male population

The 445 men who participated in the study, regardless of whether their discourse legitimizes and justifies patriarchal masculinity and sexuality and CSEC, are representative of what men in the region think and perceive about CSEC and, at the same time, provide us with elements to recommend actions to be taken to prevent CSEC in the male population. Based on the discourse of these men, the contributions of researchers in each of the countries studied, and our own analysis, we make the following recommendations for preventing CSEC among the male population.

Given the nature of the intersubjective, ideological and political foundations of ESC, the actions to be taken are not of the same type or at the same time; some of them can be carried out in the short and medium term, but there are others that must necessarily be conceived in the long term. The latter are those aimed at in-depth approaches and these, as we have shown throughout this report, must be examined in the most deep-rooted and deep-rooted regions of patriarchy, which have taken shape in the experience and subjectivity of many men. Confronting ESC and its main pillars (concepts of masculinity, femininity, sexuality, commercialization of sexuality, young person or minor, among others) is to target the very foundations of patriarchy, and if this is not visualized in the long term, frustration and hopelessness will soon appear, and these are not subjective states that we can afford to experience.

A) IN THE SHORT TERM

1. The need to transcend the psychologistic approach in the understanding and preventive approach to CSEC with the male population. It has become clear in this research that, although some men may present paraphilic tendencies¹¹ that motivate them to participate in CSEC, the reasons why men participate in it are found in the very foundations of the ideological structure and symbolic universe of patriarchal culture. More than a matter of psychopathology or deviations from eroticism, CSEC is a matter of power.

Foucault (1976) explains the relationship between sexuality and power in the sense that power should not be understood only as that exercised by the state, its institutions or rulers. Power should be understood in broader terms, as a set of relations resulting from inequalities and imbalances. They obey a logic, they have rationality, intentionality. And the rationality we are dealing with is that of the logic of the patriarchy and the logic of capitalist mercantile society.

Foucault (1976), regarding the relationship between sex, power and knowledge, suggests the existence of rules that may be useful for the subject at hand.

- a) Rule of immanence. Power is at the inner core of the relationships established around sexuality. It is not something external to it; there are local foci of power-knowledge, for example, everything related to the attributions made to the child and adolescent body, which implies a deep ideological work, where the schemes with which they are interpreted are modified.
- b) Rule of double conditioning. No local focus acts alone, it is part of a great chain, of a more general strategy, which Foucault calls the politics of sexuality that characterizes an epoch, a society. This requires social relations that support the general strategy, although they do not necessarily reproduce it mechanically. This presupposes the definition as public policy of attacking CSEC in an effective manner.

¹¹ Paraphilias are defined as certain sexual practices considered unusual, including voyeurism, pedophilia, pederasty and hebephilia.

and, within this policy, the need to work with the mass population of the general population.

2. Organize mass campaigns to prevent CSEC aimed specifically at the male population; campaigns that are adapted to their internal logic of discursive production, that use their codes of communication and understanding of reality and that emphasize the direct consequences for them. For this purpose, information that remains only on a cognitive level is not enough. In this sense, we recommend the following:

- a) As was made clear in this research, the term "commercial sexual exploitation" reflects an objective social and political reality, but says little to men because they associate it with prostitution in general or with extreme forms of sexual violence. It would be necessary to create a term that adjusts to the mentality of the male population of all social strata, and for this it is important to work beforehand with "ti- po" groups that contribute to the creation of slogans for the campaign.

A term is needed that means the same thing, but is more popular.
(Nicaragua)

- b) It is not enough to inform that CSEC is a crime, because from the male imaginary, men think: "That will not happen to me!", "They will not tell me what to do because 'I am the Law'!

To surpass the law, the norms of society, to impose and defy those same norms. (Dominican Republic)

- c) Some men said in the research that "the forbidden is more exciting and gives more pleasure". On the other hand, the association with the word "jail" or "X" years in prison seems to produce better effects, because it produces fear, sets a limit and directly exposes the consequences.



The research indicates that the possibility of years of imprisonment appears to be a major inhibiting factor in CSEC, provided there is an environment of strict law enforcement.

- d) Nor does the word "underage" "stop" men or cause them to have a "moral conscience," since, as noted above, men tend to exclude from the underage category persons who are in the process of puberty and the child and adolescent population who have already been sexually active.

Man is not clear about the concept of minority in terms of chronology, but rather in terms of physical development (Costa Rica).

It already has a body, it already can, it already holds it (Costa Rica).

- e) Nor does it stop them from emphasizing that CSEC violates the human rights of the victims, since for men, violating human rights is associated with death or torture. These considerations lead us to propose that the slogans should be very direct; for example, we propose the following: *"If you have paid sexual relations with a woman, you should not be a victim of CSEC, because for men, violating human rights is associated with death or torture.*

The "*X*" years of imprisonment, even if they consent. This does not mean that the idea that CSEC is a violation of human rights should not be linked to the campaign at all times.

- f) The themes or conceptual contents that guide the campaign could be based on the scheme proposed in the previous section, in the sense that they are links that allow questioning the underlying ideological structure.

The campaign proposed for the immediate and short term is informative but of massive coverage, from a masculine logic and with the purpose of making men aware of the phenomenon, making them aware of the type of actions it includes and incorporating into their imaginary that it is a crime that is paid for with jail time, which goes against the patriarchal logic that tells them otherwise and makes them see paid sex with adolescents under 18 as "a trophy" and "the best thing that can happen to a man".

Although sexual practices with persons under the age of 18 do not have legal support and, on the contrary, constitute a crime, this is within the framework of positive law. But sexuality in general and especially male sexuality in particular, sexual practices are governed more by customary law, by everyday life, by the legitimizations derived from the force of common sense in the Gramscian sense (Gallino, 1978), which promulgate a system of values that privilege male needs and desires, and especially phallogentrism.

Thus, sexual relations in general and paid sexual relations in particular are perceived and legitimized as men's rights and privileges acquired consuetudinally. A campaign implicitly involves asking men to relinquish their rights and privileges, which is why it is so difficult and time-consuming.

For an immediate campaign to be meaningful, men need to perceive that society condemns CSEC, that it is a crime, and that the laws against it are enforced. The climate of impunity is one of the factors conducive to CSEC. One of the men recommended the following.

They should be made aware of the consequences of having relations with minors. No one knows if it is a crime or not and no one is interested. One understands anything as sexual, one does not get the commercial aspect, one gets the idea that it is preventive, not repressive, to use a language they can understand, they do not know that it is going to affect them. One thinks that they are there for that. You think that the person who is going to be punished is the person who hires the girls, but not me as a client, that has nothing to do with me, let them punish the owner of the place where they are; you think that the one who does wrong is the owner of the place and not the client. (Costa Rica)

- 3) Design a campaign strategy, including a diversity of men (by socioeconomic level, academic level, sexual orientation, geographic and ethnic particularities, and different age groups). This campaign should seek the initial training of a group of men from the general population who can be promoters of the campaign and who themselves can take the information to other men.

B) IN THE MEDIUM TERM

In the medium term, actions are needed to re-educate the sexuality of young and adult men. It has become clear in the research that men have many cognitive distortions or irrational beliefs about male sexuality, sexuality in pubescent persons and commercial sexual exploitation, and these distortions must be seen and placed in a broader context than the cognitive framework. They constitute ideological deformations of the patriarchal system, of the patriarchal sexual ideology, where the repression of an integral sexuality is the basis of the system. An integral sexuality is built on egalitarian relations between the sexes, supposes gender equity and respect for human rights.

Paraphrasing Castilla del Pino (1984), ESC would be a form of sexual transgression within the framework of a repressive cultural structure of sexuality. The male is repressed in his vulnerability, his feelings of indecision and fear, and on the contrary, he is forced to display the phallus, all within a framework of double standards.

"The more repressive it must appear the more deeply it buries and conceals the plane on which the transgression itself takes place" (p. 51).

This leads us to rethink the concept of repression of sexuality in the case of men. With a phallogentric sexuality so devoid of values, one might think that repression of sexuality does not operate in men. However, what sexuality are we talking about? In our opinion, sexual repression exists to the extent that it is not considered necessary to educate men for a non-abusive experience of their sexuality. Men in the region were very emphatic in stating that they had not received an education on sexuality that would make them reflect on their attitudes and complained about the absence of public and private spaces to talk about sexuality and educate themselves about it, since what they know, "they learned in the street".

"Sexual repression is a subtle expression of the ideology of an oppressive social system, which tends, above all, to immobilism and the perpetuation of the status achieved, and it is ideology because repression is justified, rationalized, in the form of morality, sin" (Castilla del Pino, 1984: p. 64).

Thus, *"Sexual repression is, then, a component of the ideology of the authoritarian system"* (Castilla del Pino, 1984: p. 112), the patriarchal system in the context of contemporary late capitalism.

Repression is a political act, and so is the alternative, which Castilla del Pino proposes as "de-repression".

"And politics is also the instance of de-repression, of lesser scope if it takes place within micro-groups, of greater scope if it affects groups in which consciousness acquires the mode of social consciousness" (Castilla del Pino, 1984: p. 67).

We take up this proposal for the specific case of working with men's groups, since, in the long term, we could have men's movements against CSEC. Something like men against commercial sexual exploitation. This is a political act.

"Sexual behavior is one of man's ways of acting, and as man is a social being and his action is projected in and on others, his mode of action -whatever it may be- becomes a mode of political action... The planning of a sexual policy must derive from factual, real situations, valid for a given socio-historical and cultural context" (Castilla del Pino, 1984: p. 68).

The sexuality education proposed for men must have as its axis the critical review of the construction of patriarchal male sexuality, which inevitably connects with the Masculinity and Power axis, leading to the critical identification and recognition of the impact of hegemonic and archetypal patriarchal masculinity on men's experiences, thoughts, beliefs, bonds and forms of interaction.

C) IN THE LONG TERM

Preventive policies for the education of male sexuality must be included in the context of an alternative rationality to gender oppression and to the devaluation and exploitation of vulnerable social groups, which implies political educational work, since it implies questioning and deconstructing the masculinity, sexuality and power axis with the male population, and this is questioning the very heart of patriarchy: this is the macro-political level. One of the men interviewed provided some guidelines in this regard:

If one is not clear about the direction of one's life, one can go in the wrong places thinking that one is going in the right direction, then there is no awareness of my life and I do not assume the consequences of my actions... If I am not clear about the meaning of my life, I do in my life what I want and I don't give a damn about the meaning of life that another human being may have. It is necessary to reflect on "What is it that makes us as men feel satisfied and fulfilled from our sexuality without this implying harm to ourselves or to others" Sexuality is very rich, it is what makes us feel good about ourselves, because, ultimately, what makes us feel bad is what leads us to commit all those barbarities. (Costa Rica)

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Annexes

ANNEX NO. 1

FOCUS GROUP AND INTERVIEW DISCUSSION GUIDES

The following is the general guide that will be used to guide the work to be done in the sessions with the different groups, broken down according to the topics indicated.¹²

I. Construction of male sexuality

What does sexuality mean for men? What is the most important thing for a man in sexuality, what attracts them, what turns them on? What do men learn about male sexuality, how and where?

II. Sexual practices and types of partners that men seek and prefer

What kinds of people do men choose to have sex with, which ones are the most attractive, why are they attracted to young people, do men like to get involved with young people and/or teenagers, what do men consider a young person or teenager to be, in what ways do they like to get involved (dating, partner, just for sex, commercial sex, pornography or shows), and how do they like to get involved?

¹² As part of the work sessions held with the research team, this guide was duly adjusted, revised and adapted.

III. FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH THE COMMERCIALIZATION OF SEXUALITY

What makes men like to visit nightclubs, watch pornography and have paid sex with prostitutes? Do they like very young and/or adolescent people to participate in these activities? Would men pay for these types of activities?

IV. COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION WITH MINORS

Regarding sex with underage persons, what do you think men think, what is an "underage" person for a man, how does a man realize that the person he is going to have sex with is underage, what do you think induces men to pay for sex with underage persons, do you think that the man who pays for sex with teenagers is the same man who pays for sex with children?

What do men know about commercial sexual exploitation, are they aware of this term, and do you think men know that such behaviors constitute a crime?

ANNEX NO. 2

GLOSSARY

Costa Rica

Cojollito: most tender or new part of plants, especially edible ones. **Jalar:** in this context, to leave ("Jale": go away or let's go). It can be used as an invitation or in an imperative tone.

Güila: child, girl, adolescent.

Mae: contraction of "maje", which in Costa Rica is used as a crutch in any expression: "Mae, how are you doing?", equivalent to "Hombre/mujer, ¿cómo te va?"

Diay: popular expression of multiple use (as an interrogation, acceptance, reclamo or scolding). "Diay, where were you?" is equivalent to "Y..., where were you?" or "Diay" can mean "I'm sorry".

Carajillo/a: can describe a young person or a literal boy or girl. An adult "carajilla" is a person considered immature.

Pulseadores: enterprising, insistent men who persist in pursuit of a goal.

La doña: the wife or official partner.

El Salvador

Agarra: take it.

Grabbers: nice body, breasts, buttocks. **Aliviana:** give her something, either money or free sex.

Baboso: to refer to someone or a person.

Babosada: to refer derogatorily to something.

Catfish: it is a fish with a big head, long and fat and they say it ironically because it is ugly.

Bichas: word used to refer to young women, girls or girls; girls.

Bisne: economic transactions.

Bomper: buttocks, buttocks.

Boat: jail.

Cachimbón: someone who feels very good.

Cachiporras: young women who generally parade on September 15 wearing miniskirts.

Cipote: boy, young man.

Chavas: girls, girls.

Desaguar: to have sexual relations. **Deschongue:**

form to refer to a problem. **Degeneradas:** know or know more about sex.

Despunte (despuntar) to have the air taken out of him: the first sexual experience that the male has.

Destapar: to deflower, to have sex for the first time.

Desvirgarlos: First coital experience of a young man.

"Pushing the pile in Mariona": Mariona is the maximum prison where all kinds of prisoners arrive, especially rapists, and when someone who has committed some kind of rape arrives, it is his turn to be raped by someone from the group of prisoners.

Facade: concealed image.

Fufurufas: someone who is a strawberry girl.

Female hesitant: a woman or man who likes to party or who is known to be accessible for access and dating and who is uncompromising.

Maleantes: to refer to criminal; here it is stating that someone has many skills in his favor.

Malias: someone who has learned skills for their own benefit.

Maitra: Madam, adult woman.

Mommies: attractive women.

Maña: repetitive habit.

Mara: in this conversation they refer to a group of people.

Morrita / Morrito: girl/boy, boy, girl.

Nanas: moms.

Paja: lie.

To be stopped by the ball: that is to say, to be excited by it.

Raquítica: derogatory term to say that a woman is thin, without much body.

Relax: to freely express or manifest behaviors that are out of the ordinary.

He lets himself go out of pocket: he pays regardless of the cost.

Be candle lit: hot, willing.

Tatas: dads.

Vacillating: someone who likes to go out and enjoy parties without much difficulty.

Vago: to wander the streets, free, without commitments.

Vergo de mara: many people.

Volado: to refer to someone, something or something else.

Guatemala

Jacket: excuse.

Cuchara /cucucharita: vagina.

Culo: girlfriend, woman.

Chiches: breasts.

Chingan: harm, annoy.

To give: to penetrate.

Güira: girl.

To harm: to penetrate a virgin woman.

Hollows: homosexuals.

Huevona: lazy person.

I overdid it: I had sex.

Muchacha de vestido: ladina girl, who does not wear typical costume.

Ñonga: Penis.

Pajearse: to masturbate.

Palo: sexual relationship ("Pagar un palo").

Pasarla de a huevo: to have a good time.

Patojas: young people.

Peeling: in a straightforward and straightforward manner.

Pelar: to criticize.

Pija: penis.

Pisados: pejorative expression of a person.

Pisto: money.

Potreadas: a person who has had many sexual relations.

Pusita: vagina.

Rayados: lucky. **Riata:**

penis.

To bleed: to draw money.

Trabados: sick, insane.

You stepped on your foot: you're ruined, you're going to do badly.

Vieja: wife, companion.

To fly egg: to have sexual intercourse.

Honduras

Andar a verga: to be drunk, to get drunk.

Bollo: vulva.

Cipota, cipote: girl, boy, young man or adolescent; in reality, there is no identification with respect to age.

To fuck: to have sexual intercourse, to penetrate, to ejaculate.

Cheto: a woman's buttocks, buttocks.

Chiverito: area of Tegucigalpa, known for being a refuge for alcoholics and alcoholics, women involved in prostitution and people from the underworld.

Desvirgado/a: person (man or woman) who has already had sexual relations with penetration, who has lost his or her virginity.

Hacerse chivotas: to become entangled, to create problems for oneself.

Mamo: jail, penitentiary.

Panuda: having a large vulva.

Pelaverguistas: total indifference, that nothing matters.

Pija: cock; male sexual organ. words with several meanings. For example: "Pija a pija": really, really.

Pisar: to have sexual intercourse, coitus.

Pisona, pisón: Person, man or woman addicted to sex. Who likes to have a lot of sexual relations.

Polvo: sexual intercourse, sexual act.

Pompas: buttocks, buttocks.

Resistolero: one who inhales glue. Resistol inhaler, glue used in shoemaking.

Nicaragua

To score a mark: to obtain an achievement, an important social recognition.

Balurde, balurdada: something boring, unfunny, uninteresting.

Batita chinga: short and sexy feminine dress (equivalent to "mini-skirt").

Camionetona: very luxurious modern vehicle, generally four-wheel drive.

Carne fresca: young or adolescent person seen as a sexual object.

Casuchita: a housing building located in a marginal, very impoverished neighborhood.

Cochón: homosexual; coward.

Cuero, cuerito: who has not had sexual relations.

Chavalo /chavala: boy, girl, adolescent or young person.

To be high: to be under the strong effects of alcohol or other drugs.

Moclin: someone who has sexual preferences towards minors.

Ponerse chiva: to get scared, to be cautious.

Real: money.

Dominican Republic

Alebrecada: Extroverted woman.

Cabaret: brothel.

Carajita /o: girl / boy or young man.

Leather: prostitute.

Curing: Having sex with prostitutes.

Curing on Duarte: Duarte Ave. Duarte is a commercial avenue where there are always prostitutes working for very little money.

Chuban: to insist that someone do something they don't want to do.

Dársela: To have sexual relations with a woman.

Darle pa'llá: refers to having sexual relations characterized by the strength of the man.

Defondá (desfondar, desfondada): term used to refer to penetrating a woman for the first time; the term romper or des- tapar is also used.

The little bird: penis.

To be loaded: to go a long time without having sexual intercourse.

Palomo: synonym of pariguayo, specifically referring to men who pass up opportunities.

Pariguayo: a person who is easily deceived.

Of few miles: woman who has had few sexual experiences.

This study, *Commercial Sexual Exploitation and Masculinity*, provides information on the knowledge and perception of men in Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama and the Dominican Republic about the commercial sexual exploitation of minors. It constitutes an input for the design and implementation of strategies for the prevention of this social flagel.

The ILO considers commercial sexual exploitation as a severe violation of the human rights of minors, as a form of economic exploitation comparable to slavery and forced labor, which also implies a crime on the part of those who use children and adolescents in the sex trade.



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