SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF GIRLS AND ADDLESCENTS IN BRAZIL

UNESCO CECRIA THESAURUS



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Organizors

Translated by: **Asta-Rose Alcaide**

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PREFACE

The idea of a seminar on sexual exploitation of girls and adolescents came as a result of the preoccupation caused by the aggravation of a phenomenon of which the real proportions are not yet known, and which relates to the increase in poverty and misery, unemployment, domestic violence, family disaggregation, loss of cultural values, shortages of the school system, drug traffic and addiction, all of which represents a serious menace to Brazilian children and adolescents, especially those belonging to the underprivileged classes.

Prostitution is for many girls a means to contribute to the meager family income or a way to have access to consumers' goods which are not within their reach. Victims of the violence of adults, these girls learn how to use their bodies as a commodity to be exchanged for the hope to change the course of their lives already pre-ordained where dreams and fun have precociously given place to suffering and the struggle for survival. But the majority of the dreams of the girls end up in the net of unscrupulous exploiters or death. Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that, associated with drug traffic and consumption, prostitution is the cause of serious infectious diseases, particularly AIDS, and these youngsters and adolescents are exposed to such risks.

The purpose of the Seminar held in Brasília on March 29, 30 and 31, 1995 by CECRIA-DF, UNESCO, Espaço Cultural 508 Sul and FENAJ, with the support and participation of several international entities and embassies, was to present a picture of the real situation in Brazil of the phenomenon by means of reports from both governmental and non-governmental organizations which are active in the area, and to elaborate different proposals for specific actions in an attempt to fight sexual exploitation of children and adolescents.

When dealing with such themes like sexual tourism and organized networks of sexual exploitation on a national or international level, it became evident that some of the diplomatic representatives were ready to discuss the problem within the framework of a constructive participation with the Brazilian authorities. Finally, the Seminar pointed out

that the best way to fight drug traffic supported by private interests and with many ramifications is to abandon the position of simply considering children and adolescents as victims, but to look for solutions by facing the problem.

It is important to point out the interesting intervention of the representatives of the media who did not bargain self-criticism of the information produced by them, assuming full responsibility for the correct presentation of information, and trying to give communication a more human angle.

The Seminar in Brasília was not intended to be just a space for denunciation. Its purpose was to open a dialogue between various sectors of the civil society and Brazilian politics, leading the discussion into an international dimension. Finally, the Seminar had the merit of discussing the two aspects of the phenomenon: the one concerning the girls and adolescents victims of sexual abuse and violence, and, on the other hand, the exploiters.

UNESCO — Brasília

SUMMARY

Preface	9
Introduction	13
1st Panel	
Sexual Exploitation of Girls and Adolescents:	
Historical and Conceptual Aspects	
Heleieth Saffioti	17
Gabriela	26
Lourdes Bandeira	29
2nd Panel	
Nationwide Panel on Sexual Exploitation	
of Girls and Adolescents in Brazil	
Lúcia Luiz Pinto	35
Marlene Vaiz	41
Elizete Veiga	50
3rd Panel	
Networks of Sexual Exploitation and	
Sex-Tourism	
Márcia Dangremon	55
Jaqueline Leite	64
Dra. Débora Menezes	69
Antonio Durval Soares	73
Filomona Emilia Ramos	77

4th Panel

The Juridical Interpretation of Prostitution	
Josiane Petri Veronesi	83
Ella Wieco Volkmer de Castilho	90
5th Panel	
The Role of the State and Civil Society vis-à-vis	
Sexual Exploitation of Girls and Adolescents	
Vicente Faleiros	97
Neide Castanha	104
6th Panel	
The Media and Sexual Violence	
Gilberto Dimenstein	109
Beto Almeida	115
Workshop on Demystifying the Body	
Tuca Preguinolatti	121
Conclusion	125
Recommendations	133
The Seminar: Organizors and Participants	143

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of sexual exploitation of children and adolescents, especially of the female sex, has become a question that should be dealt with seriously and urgently.

In Brazil, such a phenomenon was denounced in 1993 by the Parliamentary Inquiry Committee (PIC) for Infant-Juvenile Prostitution. The conclusions indicated the need for a research on "The Visibility of the sexual exploitation of girls and adolescents in Brazil" culminating in March of this year in the presentation of the "Seminar on Sexual Exploitation of Girls and Adolescents in Brazil", held in Brasília from March 29 to 31, the findings of which are presented in this publication.

The goals of this Seminar were the following:

- a) To discuss and understand the phenomenon of sexual exploitation of girls and adolescents vis-à-vis the Brazilian reality.
 - b) To mobilize society to face the problem.
- c) To contribute to the formulation of alternatives on the part of the State and the Civil Society.

The Seminar was intended for professionals who are active in the area of culture, health and journalism, social scientists, legislators and persons interested in the subject.

Its organization was prepared based on thematic panels followed by discussion of the plenary, videos, photo exhibits, workshops designed to demystify the body through dance, and presentations of reports on experimental work with children and adolescents, victims of sexual exploitation.

^(*) Research made by DIEST/CBIA — Division of Studies/Brazilian Center for Infancy and Adolescence — 1994

Having in mind a more didactic approach, we decided to divide this publication according to the themes discussed during the event, such as:

- Part 1 The sexual exploitation of girls and adolescents: historical and conceptual aspects. Origin and evolution of the phenomenon of prostitution.
- Part 2 A nationwide panel on sexual exploitation of girls and adolescents in Brazil. Presentation on the reality in Brazil, in the cities and in the fields, and the consequences for the victims of sexual exploitation.
- Part 3 Networks of sexual exploitation of girls and adolescents. Identification of these networks in the cities and in the fields.
- Part 4 The legal aspects of prostitution. Relating infant-juvenile prostitution and the penalties foreseen for the practice of white slavery in Brazil and its application, as well as the proposed measures by the Bill of Rights of Children and Adolescents.
- Part 5 The role of the State and the Civil Society vis-à-vis the problem of sexual exploitation. Approaching the relationship between social politics and citizenship rights in leading the assistance to girls and adolescents, victims of sexual exploitation in Brazil as well as of the political concepts and proposal already underway.
- Part 6 The media and sexual violence. The role of the media in building up the image society has of sexual exploitation of children and adolescents.

Part 7 deals with the workshop on demystifying the body through dance.

The proposals were included in Part 8.

As a final recommendation, we point out the importance of the Seminary, the controversial issues approached and the results expected.

1st PANEL

THE SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF GIRLS AND ADOLESCENTS. HISTORICAL AND CONCEPTUAL ASPECTS

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I am going to begin with an image which, although apparently precarious, in my opinion helps to understand society. You all know what a chicken yard is like, I am sure. However, since some of you have always lived in a city, I will explain to you how a chicken yard works. Let's say that in it we have 20 hens and 1 rooster. The rooster is entitled to peck all of the hens and the hens cannot, in return, peck the rooster. Then, chicken number 1, whom the rooster pecks, pecks all of the other chicken. Number two, who is pecked by the rooster and chicken number one, can peck all the other chicken. Society is very similar to a chicken yard. It is much more complex, because in the chicken yard there is only one law, that of pecking, whereas in society there are three basic laws of pecking and several secondary laws. So let us see these three fundamental laws, and at least one of the others that is of a different nature. One of them is the class problem. The rich step on the poor, exploit the poor. The pecking law that reigns among the social classes we already know. On the racial-ethnic level, in the case of Brazilians, the whites peck the blacks. On the gender level, the women are discriminated, beaten up and murdered by men.

The three pecking orders relate in a contradictory way. The interests of the poor do not coincide with those of the rich. On the contrary, they conflict. This happens among races, ethnic groups and others. So, they have a contradictory relationship, which can only be altered based on a fundamental change in society which radically transforms these three orders. I wish to add, that these three levels of distribution — which correspond to a form of conquest of power — are not isolated. Quite to the contrary, I find that historically they form a knot, and this knot carries a high potential of original contradictions. For me, to work with the idea of a knot is quite profitable in that the nature of the knot is different in each of the contradictions when taken separately.

I believe that some of the socialist experiences — I say some because I think that others had much stronger components — like in the case of Cuba, for example, the component of not taking into considera-

tion the knot, amply corresponded or responded — and in the case of Cuba still responds — for the failure of the socialist experience. Cuba approached the question of social bias and the question of women, but did not find a solution for any of them. Why? Because it dealt with them separately. Not jointly, as a symbiosis, a form in which these three contradictions have existed along its history. Among the secondary laws of distribution / conquest of power, I wish to mention one which is not similar to the three aforementioned, but must be taken into consideration by a panel on infant-juvenile prostitution. Here we have intergenerational relations. We know that the adult has power over the child and the adolescent. But, essentially, this power is not equal to the power the rich have over the poor, men over women and whites over blacks. Because the adult rules temporarily over the child and the adolescent whereas in the other instances the exercise of power is permanent. It is temporary because the child becomes an adolescent and then an adult, the adult becomes an elderly person and the rule becomes inverted.

There is a play called "A very delicate relationship" which shows the relationship between mother and daughter, in this order. The daughter, while adolescent is dependent on her mother. But, as the mother gets older and the daughter becomes an adult, the relationship of independence is inverted. Because the elderly person may become a physical dependent, an emotional and economic dependent of the adult. This shows the temporary nature of ruling over the child and the characteristics of inversion. But it is relevant for us to know that adults exert much power over children. Today we are going to work in depth with these three associated contradictions which I just mentioned, as well as the inter-generational relationship, or, the control adults exert over children and adolescents.

There are extreme situations in the case of infant-juvenile prostitution, which I insist on dealing with separately from adult prostitution, since no one has the right to talk on behalf of adults, but the adult category must be its own spokesman. I say this since as far as prostitution is concerned, many people claim to be speaking for the prostitutes, and I believe that an adult prostitute knows very well what is best for her. She is perfectly able to determine what suits her and what does not. In many countries this is happening, including in ours, with prostitutes raising their voice and saying: "No. Enough of the religious point of view concerning prostitution. We are adults and know what is convenient for us and are willing to fight for it." We have the National Association of Prostitutes of Brazil which plays a very active role and is changing the correlationship of power in this area.

In what regards infant-juvenile prostitution, the situation is different. It is obvious that as the adult exerts power over the child, the child is dominated by the adult and there is no child prostitution without an adult being responsible for it. He is either the client of the exploitation who benefits economically from the prostitution of the child, or he finds another form of benefit, not necessarily economic, because he himself abuses the child sexually. In short, the problem of child prostitution is a problem of the adults, not the child. The children do not have the guts to decide what is better for them. They are tutored by adults until the age of 18. That is the reason why we must protect the children. I believe that the scheme of sexually exploiting children can only be disrupted by adults. We cannot expect a social movement organized by children carrying banners in the streets. Children do not have this capacity. In the case of street children, this is different. Even so, we know that the National Movement of Street Children is assisted by a large number of adults who help these youngsters to further their claims.

In what regards infant-juvenile prostitution, I believe that the adult must take the necessary steps to guarantee that the right to have rights be respected. We already went beyond the stage of claiming civil, political and social rights and are now fighting for the right to have rights. And the child is included in this fight. I do not like to work with the idea that violence is responsible for everything that hurts physical, sexual emotional and even moral integrity, because it varies according to the individual. I prefer to work with the idea of human rights, because although the latter varies from class to class, from race to race, from gender to gender, it does not vary individually. It seems that the concept of violence does not find an ontological placement, therefore, it is impossible to define violence, while the human rights are placed ontologically and it is possible to work with them, inclusively, because the classes, the race-ethnics and the genders constitute parameters that allow us to measure the variations of the concept of human rights.

The child, as much as the adult, is the titular head of human rights, and these rights must be respected. And every person has a right to a balanced development, integrated, without interruptions, without major shocks, without traumas. This is one of the reasons why I believe that we, the adults, must break the chain of the exploitation of children. Once the difference of these two types of prostitution is clear, I would like to say the following: with child prostitution there is always an adult who makes a profit. Or he gets his pleasure, because he abuses the child, or he makes money because he is using the child for prostitutional or

pornographic purposes. In short, there is always an adult making a profit where a child is sexually victimized. Now, to say that there are economic interests invested in the prostitutional situation of children is different from saying that child prostitution is always a result of deplorable economic conditions. I admit, and there is evidence that in our country as well as in others, the socio-economic differences are considerable. There are exceedingly poor families who, in despair, sell their children, especially girls, although boys are also subject to prostitution. This is the reason why I prefer to talk of 'the child' in spite of the fact that the girls outnumber the boys.

It is obvious that precarious economic situations induce parents to sell or hire their children for prostitutional purposes. But if we stayed with this rationale, we would reduce the problem too drastically. The situation is real, but it represents extreme cases like what happens in the gold mining camps. Gilberto Dimenstein, in his book about girl prostitution described such extreme cases. The girls become slaves, and only very few of them get away from it. It would be necessary to adopt a political action to help the girls, since to denounce the situation and then abandon the girls to whatever their fate is no solution. It is imperative to formulate a policy that takes care of the girls. Get them out of the gold mining camps for the sake of getting them out means that a week later they are back.

I wish to address another phenomenon that is instrumental in channeling especially the girls to prostitution, and that is the sacred institution called family. Within a family there is competition, jealousy, treason, in short, the family is the core of a series of behaviors that are not recommended for an adult to base his future behavior on. I am not referring specifically to prostitution, since I am not entitled morally to pass judgment on prostitution, above all here at this very moment when we are discussing child prostitution. I want to say that if there is someone who deserves to be reproached it is the adult who exploits a child, whereas the child merits absolutely no reproach. I would not like to see myself as a moral entrepreneur, because it would not help to resolve the problem. Why do I say that the families push especially the girls towards prostitution? Because there is so much violence within the families.

Physical violence is evident in some of the nationwide data published in form of a book called "Socio-political participation", in two volumns, of which one is called "Justice and Victimization", a supplement of PNAD of 1988, published in 1990 by IBGE. There is physical aggression listed by age of the victims, relating aggressor and vic-

tim...This makes it possible to separate inter-family violence from the one committed by known or unknown persons. And I can assure you that there is a very large amount of this violence. It is interesting to verify that with the lower age group the number of victims is smaller. But it grows as the victims — the girls in this case — reach the age of 20, 25, where it comes to almost 40%. For instance, we have roughly 38% for women between age 20 and 29. For ages 30 to 49, the percentage of physical violence committed on women reaches, I believe, 40 or 43.4%. This means that men are more violent as husbands than as fathers. It is exactly in the age group of women who are married, that the beating up is more intense.

Another aspect is the routine of violence. The research done by IBGE shows the number of times the victim is beaten up, in this case, the women. Regarding men, most of them are beaten up only once. Women suffer violence at home much more frequently than the one committed by persons who are not relatives. Men, in general, suffer one aggression whereas women three or more aggressions. It becomes chronically and a characteristic of a violent marital relationship. If, on one hand, a man is more violent as a husband than as a father concerning physical violence, in terms of sexual violence he is brutal. When researching incestuous abuse in São Paulo, I found out that among the aggressors 71.1% were biological fathers and 11.5% stepfathers. The two represent 82.6%. Contrary to what is generally believed, the number of stepfathers is much lower than that of the biological fathers. This, however, does not mean much because we do not know the exact number of families with stepfathers in Brazil. It is probably considerable, since after the sexual practices have been liberated, nowadays it is customary for couples to separate and start a new life with other partners. Most probably the stepfathers are under-represented in this story of sexual violence against stepdaughters or stepsons. Also because, according to international literature, it is the biological father who commits a greater number of sexual aggressions.

I want to present to you my experience with the subject of sexual victimization within the families, showing that this phenomenon is largely responsible for prostitution of girls because it is much more acute with girls than with boys. The percentage of boys victimized within the family, from a sexual point of view, is internationally regarded as 13%. In Brazil we found a much smaller number, 4.8%, but I believe that due to 'machismo', sexual victimization of boys is rarely denounced, because the family believes that if it becomes known the

boy will be called a sissy. They will say of him: "He is going to be a homosexual, there is no way out. "Therefore, in order not to mark the boy with a stigma, the case is not denounced, not publicized. In the case of a girl, it is more difficult to discover the truth, but it is easier to denounce. Just to give you an example, I have a statement. The first case of incestuous abuse that I discovered was that of a girl who became pregnant by her father, had her baby, and then a second baby by her husband, because in the meantime she got married. The girl was pregnant and the mother did not know it. She was not able to tell her mother what had happened. The mother took her for a medical check-up, and the doctor immediately knew what the problem was, and asked the mother to step out because he wanted to talk to the girl. She had an ultra-sonography, and told the doctor that the father of the child was her father. The doctor then called the mother and told her: "Look, I have no time to talk to you. Your daughter is pregnant. She is going to tell you who is responsible for this story I only hope that you will take the necessary steps because I want to see the father of the baby be transformed into a 'little woman' in a prison. "Do you know what this means? Who rapes, is raped by his fellow-prisoners in jail. At present, in order to avoid this, a rapist is put in solitary prison, the only way to preserve him from being raped. Now look at what the doctor said. He wanted to see that man being used as a 'little woman', not as a woman, because to be penetrated is for the woman, the man penetrates. If a boy is penetrated by a man, he becomes a 'little woman', and obviously if the others know it, he becomes branded. I figure that the percentage of sexual victimization of boys by family members is much larger than we were able to verify, exactly because of the reasons I have just mentioned.

Frequently, alcohol is regarded as the cause of beating and sexual violence within the family. I want to totally separate alcohol as a cause. It can detonate violence, an immediate consequence, because when drunk, a person does things he would not do when sober. What happens is that the person will act according to whatever he feels inside. If I, for instance, drink one drop of alcohol, I just fall asleep. Since men count on the complaisance of the society and even the family — because if the father lives maritally with his daughter it is embarrassing and must be hidden. Neither the neighbors nor the rest of the family and the friends must know about it. A conspiracy of silence surrounds the whole affair. The daughter continues to be sexually victimized by the father, the uncle, the grandfather, the brother-in-law, in short, by "x" parents who live or do not live in the house.

Let us examine briefly why this procedure is primarily responsible for child prostitution. On one hand, the girl can run away in order to escape violence. She ends up in the streets where she gets involved in the other aspect of the story. She tries to survive. How? The way she was taught at home, by using her body, the only way to attract attention, "love", she learns that her body is something like a merchandise which she can negotiate. She is going to do what she did at home, only instead of gratuitously, she is going to charge for it. Anyway, in the streets she will not find many others means of survival. Or she begins to steal, commit small thefts, or she prostitutes herself. Because if she were to find a job as a maid, she most probably would be subject to the same sexual violence by the head of the family or the son. So, she prefers to do for money what she has been doing for free. The fact is that the child learns how to use the body in order to get other things.

In the conspiracy of silence of a family there is a kind of a deal between the child and the adult. I found small differences, because this happens with all kinds of families — rich, middle class, poor, miserable, beggars. Inter-family sexual violence is not a privilege of the poor. Last night I was talking to some friends and told them: "For me it is much easier to understand sexual violence or incestuous sexual abuse when people live in a slum where not even a sheet separates the bodies, than when it happens with members of a family who all have their separate bedroom. But it happens and often. Except that the visibility of the phenomenon is much less there than of the same occurring with the under-privileged layers of society."

One difference I found out with sexual incestuous abuse is the following: with the poorer classes, the father throws the daughter on a cot, threatens her with a knife or a revolver, whatever arm within his reach, and tells her: "If you open your mouth, I kill you, your mother and all of your brothers." The girl lives under a permanent real threat. It is much worse with the rich. No threat with a knife or a revolver but a process of seduction which, in my opinion, is much more harmful for the emotional health of the child than a serious threat. Because the father begins to seduce the child by caressing her — and I say the father, because most of the time he is the villain, but it can also be the grandfather, uncle, cousin, brother, etc. — and it is difficult for the child to understand the difference between fondness, tenderness and sexual caresses. Because physical pleasure is sexual pleasure in a broad way. We are mentioning sexuality as defined by Freud. But sexuality in a child is not generalized as in the adult. It is the adult that is making a general

use of the sexuality by caressing the child, and the child is not aware of it. And when it understands, it is too late.

Here I wish to include a brief look at Brazilian politics. We are now living in an era of neo-liberalism based on the same sins of the liberalism, because, after all, there is not much difference between the two. The premises on which liberalism and neo-liberalism are based are totally false by presenting employer and employee, rich or poor, as having the same share of power. According to this ideology, the employee agrees with earning a minimum wage when in reality he has no capacity to agree, since he depends entirely on the employer and the job. The same thing happens with adult women. We do not have the same power men have. When a woman is threatened by a man in the street or within the family environment with a revolver pointed at her, she does not consent to be raped, she yields because she wants to preserve what she most cherishes, her life. But she did not consent to be raped.

By the same token, a child cannot consent, because it does not have the capacity of understanding the difference. So, what happens is an increasing emotional involvement on the part of the child, which includes pleasure. We must set aside the preconception that the girl is physically suffering from beginning to end and does not feel pleasure. This is not true. There are testimonies published evidencing that girls living maritally with their fathers greatly enjoy the sexual relation. They knew it was a forbidden relationship. What happened with this child or girl who was seduced by an adult? At a certain moment, she begins to understand that she is heading towards a forbidden activity, a taboo, but then she is already so involved that she does not anymore think of herself as a victim but as a partner. That is when guilt steps in.

In a book by an American author there is a testimony of a situation where the stepfather, and not the biological father, abused a girl when she was a small child, and then lived with her maritally. She felt great pleasure in their relationship which she knew was forbidden. Every time she enjoyed the sexual relation her guilt grew. She decided to masturbate herself before having sexual intercourse with her stepfather, hoping that it would prevent her from enjoying it. But it did not work and even made everything worse. In my researches I came to the conclusion that the process of seducing is much more traumatic than a brutal threat, accompanied by the use of arms or beating.

Inter-family sexual victimization must be considered most relevant in the process of a child or an adolescent towards prostitution. I do not believe that prostitution is a regular, prompt, punctilious phenomenon — we face it, we take action and resolve it. No. It has roots in the

institutions of which perhaps the fundamental element is the "sacred family". And every time we criticize the family — and few families give us reason not to — there comes religion or the "fingers-off" mentality. "Do not meddle with a hornets' nest, it may cause you problems." But as long as we fail to restructure the family, the problem will continue to exist. Men destroy their own fruit. I say men, because a woman is rarely a sexual aggressor. Not that she cannot have pleasure with a relationship involving a child, there are many ways of enjoying it. But, internationally, the estimate of sexual aggression by women is between 1% and 3%, while at least 97% of aggressors are men.

It is necessary to restructure the family, the relationship between genders and, in the long run, a new relationship with the State. We, the civil society, need to interfere in such a way that we gain the right to formulate and implement, or at least exert supervision over the implementation of public political rules that prevent sexual violence against the child. There is also sexual violence against children committed by foreigners, but it is so infrequent when compared to what happens within families that I do not consider it. In the first place, it is not so serious, causes less traumas, and in the second place, it occurs less frequently.

My proposal for a discussion is the following: I do not intend to approach a series of questions like child traffic, export of children for pornographic and prostitutional purposes and drugs. It is obvious that when a child runs away from home to escape physical and sexual violence, it gets involved with drugs, it is willing to do anything, including to prostitute itself. I invite you to discuss the fundamental question of the family, the relationship between genders and between the civil society and the State.

Gabriela

President of the National Association of Prostitutes

I am going to talk to you about prostitution presenting some concepts about the general ideas which are current regarding the theme of international prostitution.

Internationally, there are three major general notions concerning prostitution. The first and oldest one is the concept of regulating prostitution as a necessary evil. This one will always exist, since it is based on initiating young boys in sexual activities, preserving the future spouses from this initial experience. If it is a necessary evil, what does society do? It controls, supervises and limits prostitution through medical surveillance and police repression. The requirements for the exercise of prostitution are a registration card and a medical check-up. In Brazil, this control is already exerted concerning sexually transmitted illnesses. In the imagination of society, a prostitute is only the bearer of sexually transmitted illnesses, not a woman. She is only recognized in the area where she works as a professional if she has a document attesting her health with the approval of the police delegate of the district. This concept is based on the sanitary medicine principles of the beginning of the century, and prevailed in Brazil until the 60's. There are still some countries which regulate prostitution, such as the Netherlands, in Europe, the State of Nevada in the US, and Paraguay, Equator, Uruguay, in Latin-America.

The second concept is of an abolitionary nature. A prostitute is a slave, and as a slave she must be saved. For abolitionists, prostitution is a phenomenon that has to do with consumerism, with our capitalist occidental society and with 'machismo'. This concept was developed in France through the International Abolitionist Federation and was adopted by other countries. Officially, Brazil is in favor of abolition, having signed in 1952 the Abolition Agreement. This concept continues to be the predominant reference followed by the majority of societies, and mainly, by social movements and political leftist parties. For instance, the feminist movement was until some time ago abolitionary. The Pastoral for Women at the Margin of Society is abolitionary.

The third concept is the principle of self-determination which considers the prostitute, inasmuch as she is a citizen, the subject of rights. This is a new concept which came from France in the 60's, and was originated by some French prostitutes led by an American prostitute, Margot Saint James. They invaded a church, wearing masks, and announced: "Everybody talks about us. We want to talk about ourselves." It started a movement that has an international headquarters, called the International Committee for the Rights of the Prostitute. This Committee, in spite of difficulties, stigmas and preconceptions is gradually becoming a movement of professionals of the sex, and its members are prostitutes and friends of the cause.

The National Association of Prostitutes and the National Network of Professionals of the Sex have adopted the third concept as banner for their fight. The two organizations are both national and international, and they are the subject of their own cause. "Our dream, for instance, is something that is normal for anyone else — to sit around a table like this one, with intellectuals or non-intellectuals but not involved in prostitution, to discuss with them in my capacity as prostitute. This is the dream of mine and of many of my colleagues, and we are trying to achieve it in spite of all the obstacles."

In addition, these organizations engaged in defense of the cause understand that prostitution is not just a lack of option. Everybody in his sane mind has to make an option, whether the chances are small or plenty. To impede this right is most unfair. To say that prostitution is caused by poverty, socio-economic differences is a glaring understatement

Prostitution is much more complex. It has to do with the question of how society faces sexuality, the taboos related to sex, like the occidental Christian notion that sex is equal to love, sex without love is equal to animality, faithfulness in marriage and monogamy. "It is difficult to impose the rule that everybody must be a monogamist, because it results in promiscuity. But we are not, by nature, monogamists. That is why the rule suffers violations." Based on these considerations, the above named organizations recommend prostitution as an activity just like any other.

Concerning the child, we had in 1995 the Third National Meeting and a round table to discuss infant-juvenile prostitution. People talk a lot about child prostitution. Here we talk a lot about it, but child labor is not mentioned. During our last meeting, we decided to fight against child labor, especially prostitution. Some people accused us of trying to diminish the importance of the problem. It is obvious that sexual activi-

ties involve a number of other problems. But any child labor is terrible. As terrible as a girl engaged in prostitution is a child working as a slave in the sugar factories in Pernambuco

"I attested during the PIC on Child Prostitution in Rio de Janeiro, and talked about all of this. The president of the PIC, when I finished, looked at me and said: "I liked what you said, but aren't you too radical about the question of child labor? Don't you believe that a child must learn a trade?" I replied: "Do you have children?" She said: "Yes, I do." I asked her:" Do your children work? She replied: "No, they study". So I said: "There is nothing more to say, right?" This means that the middle class child has to be protected, the poor child has to learn a trade, to start working as soon as possible, at the age of 10 or 11. I do not consider this normal. I have two sons and they never had to work before they came to an age fit for them to work. I struggled very hard for it not to happen. This is a very serious question we are discussing: child labor, and, of course, child prostitution, the worst form of exploiting a child. We have a group that is working on this subject, trying to find a way of impeding that all this happens, by means of public policies and the family. But child prostitution must be considered in a much more ample context, since it only happens in a sick society.

Another question is the people and the organizations which deal with child prostitution. These groups which exist on a nationwide level work with girl prostitutes, but they have turned into a ghetto, and as such, are vicious. They talk much, but only superficially, and have very few actions to their credit. They say: "These children are my property. I am going to work with them and you stay out of it." It is another aspect of making money with these children. Yesterday we were talking about this: the child is already exploited by the family, in the streets by pimps, and now by these groups that deal with children."

One of my proposals is to begin to think what we want to achieve, whether we believe in what we are doing, if we are really horrified with the situation of the children in the streets, with sex-tourism. It seems to me that this is not a political proposal, more a proposal coming from a psychiatrist. But I believe that we should begin to think along these lines and also, how we too exploit children. That is all I wanted to say. Thank you.

Lourdes Bandeira

Sociologist — Ph. D. in Sociology Professor of Sociology at the UnB

In order to think of prostitution in Brazil as a social phenomenon, we must consider the process of the social evolution of this category. We deal with a social problem which surfaces at different moments in the history of Brazil where it was present since the arrival of King D. João VIth and even before. Historically, it can be traced back to ancient Greece, where it had peculiar characteristics. But what is relevant nowadays, and fundamental in my opinion, is for us, the social scientists, professors, militants and intellectuals, whatever our rank or title, to be the firsts to think of prostitution. To think, to systematize, to reflect does not necessarily mean that we are redeemers, and that has to be clear. Another fundamental idea is that this social class which has a history, and is here so well represented by Gabriela, has its own considerations. More than anyone else, those who have direct experience with hunger can best describe it, as I always pointed out to my students. One can imagine, create fantasies, tell jokes, but he who has experience is in a much better position to think more accurately than other categories.

This meeting represents an ideal of what we imagine should be mediation. I believe that together we can think better, although it does not mean that we find solutions. The most important contribution of these discussions is the dialogue with persons who, a priori, occupy opposite positions. To be true, we find ourselves within the same space. I would like to raise two groups of points of interest: one, which I call 'secondary', not because the group is less important in terms of the social structure of prostitution, especially infant-juvenile, but as a more didactic way of approaching the question. This would refer to what Heleieth and, in a way, Gabriela have already focused, the question of poverty as a socially excluding factor. Those who do not have food or a place to live or where to study, children with no childhood, those who have to work. Those who have nothing. This cannot be considered irrelevant, but obviously it is not a determining, unique, exclusive factor, but still it is fundamental.

Another factor is the nature the school system in Brazil which has the excluding factor built in, making access, permanence and maintenance impossible. Our school system is pure fiction, and, therefore, contributes directly or indirectly to the question of child and adolescent prostitution.

A third aspect is violence, whether physical, symbolic, emotional or psychological, it cannot be separated from the set or situations to which the girls and adolescents are exposed. This violence, so adequately described by Heleieth, within the family as well as in the streets, in work places, these three elements which she quoted would be instrumental in channeling children and adolescents towards prostitution. I would like to add that there are other elements which have already been mentioned but which I would like to analyze again, since I consider them essential. The first is the role of sexuality in Brazilian and occidental culture. Sexuality plays a specific and very peculiar role in the cultural formation and ought to be discussed. It is responsible, to a major extent, for child prostitution. The idea of sexuality is directly linked to the idea of domination. Sexual ethics are based on the exercise of power and coercion, and this makes it a generational problem, since it involves the relationship between one generation and the other. Sexuality is implicit in the family structure, in the relationship of the members of the family and the formation of an adult. When we think in terms of an adult, in principle we always refer to the androcentric model, the male.

I obviously agree with everything that has been said concerning gender and race. I am not going to discuss these elements which are implicit. But the question of sexuality is linked to sexual ethics, the process of generational predomination and the notion of lack of rights — human rights as mentioned by Heleieth and I include citizenship rights, that is, there is no notion of citizen rights for children and adolescents. Of course, now we have a Bill or Rights for children, a police station designed to protect children and several other institutions. We have the most democratic Constitution of the occidental world, however, this does not mean that it provides a minimum of support in terms of social reality. So, when considering this reality, we have to keep in mind the historic purpose of the structure of a family. What is the family order that is being questioned? I am going to read to you what Jorge Zimmel said in 1892, in his "Philosophy of Love", about the family and the nature of marriage, and the cause of prostitution which lies in the structure of the monogamous family, the reference for our social order: "One point, there is no place for illusion. As long as marriage exists, prostitution will exist. It is only with totally free love, where the opposition by the legitimacy of a monogamous marriage to the unlawfulness of a nonmonogamous marriage which does not need any specific persons to satisfy the sexual male needs disappears, that prostitution will not be anymore in demand. In order not to be incurred in thoughtlessly at the risk of loss on both sides, the monogamous marriage with the obligation of faithfulness, at least moral, should take place at an age when the sexual instinct has manifested itself for already a number of years." Or rather, the sexual ethics which predominate in our society and which determine this monogamous family structure, faithful and deeply hypocritical, recognize also the existence of the extra-conjugal figure, the other woman, the prostitute, the mistress, the concubine, all part of the social imagery of the Brazilian family, contributing to and being part of the picture of child prostitution and general prostitution in Brazil.

I wish to believe that the great progress, made with this effort to understand prostitution, is what I call self-determined rights and Gabriela is calling self-determination, the notion that the prostituted child as well as the adult must be looked at without the idea of victimization. Why would a person not have the right to make his choice and decide to become a prostitute? Like the socially more privileged classes do and are looked at by society in a much more condescending way, much less severe, much less preoccupied, much less thought of as victims. In this sense, I believe that if there is progress in terms of citizenship, absence of exclusion, it is represented by the self-determination for the choice of a profession, the wish or desire of someone who wants to become a medical doctor, a teacher or a prostitute, even considering that the latter is still considered marginal in our society.

Of course, this reasoning does not include girls of 5, 10 or 15 years of age. Heleieth expressed it very clearly when she said that the process of seducing exists in certain social segments and makes adolescents yield to it — but here we would have to think like Foucault: "It is in sex that we have to search for the most secret and profound truth of the individual. It is sex that makes it possible to discover what determines his life. And, during centuries, we believed that it was necessary to hide sex because it was shameful, but now we know that it is sex that hides the most secret parts of the individual. The structure of his fantasies, the roots of his I form the relationship with the real. Intrinsically, sex is truth."



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2nd PANEL

NATIONAL PANEL ON SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF GIRLS AND ADOLESCENTS IN BRAZIL

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We are going to present a report on how the research on "Visibility of the Sexual Exploitation of Girls and Adolescents in Brazil" started.

The research was intended to respond to a very precise demand of the PIC. When a committee is implemented and visits the various states to listen to testimonies, it is faced with an absurd round of numbers concerning the exploitation of girls. I work with sexual exploitation of children and adolescents. Because, as already mentioned here, prostitution is an option of the adult world like any other, and it is impossible for children to conceive the dimension, the meaning, at a medium or long range, to be inserted into this type of concept.

I request Heleieth's permission to use the tripod she used and adapt it to what I have to say. When we received a request from the PIC we asked Fiocruz — at that time we were having a seminar — to pass on to us all notes taken. We read and carded about 1,600 pages of testimonies for our project. Since we, as a political entity, were not allowed to do merely academic research but had to find solutions, points of references and initiate actions at a federal level, we organized ourselves as follows: first, we started from the premise that it is a phenomenon which is not possible to quantify. And to quantify sexual exploitation has two problems: or it is underestimated, like in some states which do not wish to show sexual exploitation of children and adolescents in their newspapers or public political programs, or overestimated, which can also create an impasse.

It is not the case of 500 thousand or 50 children involved with prostitution. Quoting Marlene Vaiz, one prostituted child should be enough to mobilize both society and State to prevent such a situation.

There is a network of sexual exploitation in Brazil. This network using the girls as merchandise, denounced in the testimonies of the 1993 PIC on infant-juvenile prostitution. The words I am going to use are not

close us out and leave us in the streets, we will continue to work on our research.

I am presenting to you a partial report, because of the immense amount of information we have put together. To give you an idea: I worked with 11 states of the Federation from February through March where there are 4,600 newspapers and several centers which provide assistance, and from where other projects will be forthcoming, because we want to analyze the ideology which orients the entity, its source of funding, why it is not successful or why it is successful. We are going to put our finger on what is happening with public politics and non-governmental organizations in terms of action in connection with the girls.

Some nationwide conclusions were made based on the sampling of 11 states and they are significant, because they involve all of the region. I am going to read and then analyze in depth the themes, especially the networks of exploitation, the question of the user, the question of convenience, cultural complaisance not only male but also female with the sexual abuse of children, and how this turns against the children and serves as information for the assistance provided, much more based on good will, than on leaving behind preconceptions in order to understand the basic feature of these violations of their rights the Brazilian population has to endure systematically.

Difference does not mean disparity. What is different from me is not necessarily unequal. In Brazil, during the last decades all policies are ruled by disparity. It is not by chance that the national income is concentrated in only 10% of the population. This is not aleatory, since the neoliberal politics of the present days, raised to the utmost heights, stress this situation. It also reflects in the question we are dealing with and we will see why. In spite of the analysis of the data having just been initiated, we can make some statements for reflection and posterior study in depth. Infant-juvenile exploitation is present in all units of the Federation, although in different ways, relating with local organizations and the economy, it can be found in the 27 federate units. The most visible age group is that of between 12 and 16 years. However, their presence is specifically confirmed in the South, the Southeast, in Espirito Santo, the North, Acre and Pernambuco. Girls aged 4,5,6 and 7 are sexually abused in various ways which have to do with their physical development and what they can do.

Omission, connivance, and complaisance is constant on the part of the local security offices regarding the sexual exploitation of children, and this includes the Judiciary and the Public Ministry. Sexual abuse is practised by men from all social classes. This fact finds strong cultural support having in mind discrimination and domination of the gender, impunity and socio-economic conditions which make this portion of the population vulnerable and even more an easy prey to be dominated and abused. The rear guard of the assistance entities is not in proportion with the magnitude of the phenomenon. It is unprepared, does not know what it is doing, has vacant slots, and this goes for governmental and non-governmental organizations.

Quite to the contrary of what has been stated, sexual exploitation, although representing an income for the crime network which covers from the truck driver who transports and "softens" the girls en route to the owner of the nightclub or the pimp, does not change the low standard of living of the girls and adolescents. They are permanently in debt, because they are given dresses, cosmetics, medicaments and preservatives, this when the place is reasonably organized. The share is 40% for the house, or for whom exploits the girl, 15% for maintenance, and the remaining would be for the girl, if she were not heavily indebted with the people who sold her the dresses and cosmetics, and who in turn usually belong to the family or are the wives of the owners of the house, or are part of the staff of the locale where sexual exploitation is practiced.

I believe that there are few girls who earn three or four thousand dollars, and we are not dealing with their kind. I wish to leave clear two aspects: I am dealing with inter-family relationship, brilliantly covered by Heleieth, not the middle or higher classes.

I am talking about the vast Brazilian population that is earning up to five minimum wages and the 60% who earn one or none. I am not interested, in this case, in presenting a picture of the social class, because this would misrepresent the fundamental question of the proposal of intervention and the function of the public politics whether state, municipal or federal, as decreed by the Constitution.

The crime network, which includes from the taxi driver to the bar owner, from tourist packages sold abroad to shopping centers and agencies for fashion models, has in many instances the complaisance, connivance and participation of the ruling powers — from the legislative power in the case of the Federal District to the fiscal powers, the Court for Minors, all of those who should be engaged in what the Bill of Rights of Children and Adolescents ordains. Contrary to what has been said — and I mean it in a general way, since I am talking about a large group and not pointing out specific situations — families cannot be ac-

cused latu senso of selling, employing, or acting as agents for their daughters for the purpose of prostitution, because we would incur in three risks: First, by attributing the moral question to the economic question, i.e., absence of values and of behavior, certainly not a privilege of the low income class. Second, by exempting the state, because it is easy for public powers to say: "No, we have done everything within our power, but the families turn the girls over, it is terrible". A third risk is: what does it imply? It makes a more ample intervention impossible, because once you consider the family guilty you already treat it as deserving punishment, and you will not be able to see it in the context in which the family is inserted. Both research and the PIC have proven that we have a network of agencies for employment of children, in private homes and in snack bars. Broadcasting network programs which are listened to in the camps of the homeless, where people are literally dying, offering jobs as baby sitters or in restaurants, promising to send the girls to school. The program is broadcasted on a Monday. On Wednesday a well dressed lady, accompanied by a well dressed gentleman, who claim themselves responsible for the program, visit the camp. They take the girls with them, give a mailing address to the parents who will never see their child again.

So it is the father who turns over the child? Let us be careful with this statement, which taken as the absolute truth and even worse, is used as parameter for intervention. Another thing that happens with the families and is also dreadful is kidnapping. "There is this case which happened in Rio de Janeiro. At the end of last year, a low income mother stopped at the supermarket near the Praça da Bandeira. When she turned round, her little girl had disappeared. 11 others, disappeared in the same way. The little girl, age 9, was found through a telephone call in the interior of Bahia. There is no network? How can a child of 9 years of age disappear from her mother's side at the Praça da Bandeira in Rio de Janeiro and be found in the interior of Bahia, in a house which exploits children?"

This statement of sexual exploitation has to be taken into consideration when the time for intervention comes, especially looking at who is in charge of assisting the children. Sexual exploitation of girls and adolescents is always associated with other crimes, like physical violence. In the gold mines in Acre, ten girls became pregnant. One of them had her belly cut open with a knife, with the help of others girls who then ran away, and the fetus was used to play soccer with in front of the remaining girls. Espirito Santo, 1993, **A Gazeta** reported that a girl aged

4 was having her genitals manipulated by clients of a bar. I am not trying to present to you a circus of horrors, because all of those who are present know what we are talking about. I just wish to point out that this is beyond of what we normally wish to see.

The question of sexuality has this bias which impedes a more correct reading. Because if you assume that all Brazilian men in the country abuse children, and this abuse is treated as such, there would be a great general discomfort. News from the South (Southwest, only in Espirito Santo), mainly Santa Catarina and Porto Alegre, which report rape, always refer to the biological father. In Amapá, Roraima and Rondonia the rapist is always a stranger. We are women, we have grown-up boys, we have partners, or had them — how do we face this? How can you look at your partner, your father, your son, knowing that children are being abused sexually, whether for lucrative or sexual exploitation purposes? I am talking about sexual exploitation of children and adolescents with a lucrative purpose for a third party and sexual exploitation by users. About cultural support based on the historical sexual abuse of children, on the domination by genders, ethnics and minor age, and, in addition, on the complaisance of the civil society.

The reason for this contradiction lies in the absence, omission or complaisance of the responsible agents for public policies, among others.

The final conclusion we have reached at a national level is that sexual exploitation of girls and adolescents more than a precise problem is the image of a number of violations caused by this absence of knowledge and in the long run, of interest in guaranteeing a dignified and healthy childhood.

Marlene Vaiz

Researcher from Salvador/BA

We made a research in Bahia through the Center for the Defense of Children and Adolescents, whose executive coordinator will be attending this meeting. In Aracajú, we did the research through the state government office. Both researches had UNICEF support.

The first question we are asked is: "How did you start your research?" We had done a previous research for the Center for the Defense of the Extermination of Boys, the impunity enjoyed by homicides of children and adolescents. We verified that 99% of the children and adolescents murdered were males, which made us raise the hypothesis that the girls were not only employed for domestic labor but probably were being "preserved" to be explored sexually. This was the idea of the center for defense which works with impunity and had asked us to research on prostitution. Another question we are asked is: "How many girls are involved?" I take the opportunity to tell you that our research in Aracajú and Salvador showed two kinds of scenarios for the practice of prostitution. In Aracajú, the girls are confined in brothels, which makes it easy to count them. On one Thursday night, we counted 289 girls, and on a Saturday night, 308. This does not mean that there are 308 girls engaged in prostitution in Aracajú.

In Salvador, prostitution is significantly linked to tourism, which represents a highly diversified network scattering the girls all over town, making it practically impossible to count them. Imagine yourself in Salvador, the third largest capital in Brazil according to IBGE, asking the girls in the streets: "Are you a prostitute?". That is one reason why this research demystifies the numbers, and, I repeat, this is not so important because it would suffice to find one girl practicing prostitution in the streets to justify that we all get together to integrate her into society. In our research we approached three kinds of concepts: the emotional concept, where we asked people That they thought of the theme, and they always said the same: "These poor girls, the cause of all of this is poverty. But if we call them to do our washing, clean the bathrooms, take care of the children — children

taking care of children like we see in all our homes — they do not come because they are addicts of that kind of life."

Our research concludes that they are not addicts of "that kind of "life". They want to get away from prostitution, have dreams, and, as one of them said," this is no life. I feel like sticking a knife into my body". When interviewing the parents of these girls — incidentally, we were thrown out, menaced, shot at in some areas — the father of one of the girls shouted: "Look here, my daughter is not a whore. Who is a whore was born one, and has hot blood. Who exchanges her body for a plate of food is not a whore." And the girls, what do they think? They always say: "Do what? We have to give our flesh to the men we do not even know, otherwise we starve to death."

Approaching the subject from a moral point of view, we quickly adopted sociologist Gilberto Freyre's concept when treating prostitution as a divergent behavior. That is, for a society to exist, it establishes rules, and for individuals to belong to this society, they have to follow these rules defined by the system. Only, the system does not contemplate all with the same opportunity when applying the rules. As if this were not enough, it excludes those who were not contemplated. In this research I dealt with the excluded ones, the girls practicing prostitution.

So, we think: "How should we build up a concept for research?" Because we were supposed to deal with child prostitution. Old Gilberto considers the phenomenon, in a general way, as one of divergent behavior. There is a tendency on the side of the excluded — not a determining one — to chose a behavior which will make them get away from the rules. It is a horizontal movement. It diverges from the rules. It does not adopt a behavior which transgresses the rules. Who transgresses the rules are the exploiters, a crime condemned by law. In the case of a prostitute, she diverges from the rules horizontally. But there is a frail argument, used by Gabriela and which I also used in my research, that adult woman are entitled to another option. The argument is frail, first because as was already said before, the adult can do with her body whatever she wants. Furthermore, I talked with many women, adult prostitutes, and the majority told me that they started at the age of 8 or 10.

Even if we were to consider the conservative notion that women have a choice, we would still believe that a child or an adolescent is not ready, not mature to make her choice. She is pushed aside. She does not diverge from the rule, the rule diverges from her. That is why we insist on the terminology: **not girl prostitutes, but girls prostituted.** This is how we set up our concept for the two researches. Fortunately, the press in Bahia and in

Sergipe too understood this concept, and you can see that never again the press wrote "a girl prostitute." At least one gain.

We interviewed 74 girls in Salvador and 76 in Aracajú. In Salvador, we stayed up for nights and nights, I and the interviewers, but to no avail. We had to pay informants and then were able to establish a contact with the 74 girls, and that is very difficult inside of a network of girls scattered all over town.

Everybody knows, at least in our area, that only by means of a profile of a certain segment or category of the society we can understand its sociocultural situation. And once we understand it, we can suggest a policy for action.

By interviewing girls from age 12 to 17 in Salvador and 8 to 17 in Aracajú, we found — incredible as it may sound — in the bars of Salvador little girls aged 5 to 8 selling peanuts at night, with adults caressing their sexual parts not even completely formed. And, what is worse, the people in the bar were not outraged and did not react. It is a perverse and permissive society that silently accepts such a situation. I could not understand how they did not feel outraged when thinking: "It could be my daughter". We found out that the color of the skin is very important in Bahia and I would like to suggest for this document that IBGE revise the question of the variable of the color — which, incidentally, is not treated like a race, but as a color. There is black and 'pardo' (mulatto), but the latter is neither a race nor a color. It is a social skin color invented by society to stimulate the whitening of the race. In our research we verified that when speaking of black and mulatto women, the number of black ones was much larger than that reported by IBGE. Because in Bahia, the mulattos are the majority, in the second place come the whites and in the third, blacks. IBGE gets its data from the informants. In our case, we asked the interviewers to find out and we may be wrong, but at least our mistakes are certainly smaller, less emotional.

The girls were mostly black and poor. Of course, there are prostituted girls in other social classes. Let us look at the process of migration by stages of continuous poverty. Schooling: in Salvador, we found a greater number of literate girls, but in Aracajú, where I had more experience, I used a different technique. At the end of the interviews — the brothels there made this easier — I asked the girls to write a farewell message, and there we were able to identify those who were illiterate. And we had a greater number of illiterates. The unbelievable is that among the illiterates many had never entered a school, but quite a number had been in schools for 5 or 6 years

and never learned how to write and read. I ask: what school is this where a girl spends 5 or 6 years and does not learn how to read and write?

As far as religion is concerned, it is interesting to know that in Bahia they are all Catholics, yet all of them attend the 'candomblé' rites and do not go to church. I raise the possibility that probably the Church, in spite of being the institution which has come closest to the question of prostitution, for various reasons, including historical reasons which I do not wish to discuss here in order not to create a conflict, tried to redeem their past by saving the girls for the Kingdom of Heaven. Even with the most progressive Church, in the interior of the country where I talked with the girls and was able to see what the nuns were doing, I noticed how hard and laboriously they worked always with the idea of saving the girls from the flames of hell. Most likely this idea frightens the girls, and they attend the 'candomblé' because they are only asked to follow a ritual and their behavior is not questioned. I suggest that also be included in this document that in certain areas the girls chose religion, because they do not have any other place where they can socialize. They are afraid of darkness, they believe in God, in the mother and they die of fear of darkness and the police.

A place where to live: We verified, and this is incredible, that most girls aged 12 rent a room in a pension. This is not allowed in the Bill of Rights. How come the State allows pensions and hotels to rent these rooms to the girls? This should also go into the document. As for health and sexuality, we found out that in Bahia some girls had never heard about AIDS. It is not even worthwhile to mention the 14 illnesses catalogued by the Ministry of Health as sexually transmissible, since none of them seems to know anything about it. In Aracajú it is different. There is a medical doctor who was recently on TV, Dr. Almir Santana who visits the brothels, although in some of them he does not get in. He complimented me for having been able to get into some of the "heavy stuff" places. I told him that this was possible because we were doing research on the sexuality of adolescents. In Aracajú, because it is a small town, you have to act fast. We were accompanied by police women which was convenient, but they were desperate and asked the interviewers: "What is going to happen to you tomorrow? This is such a small town. My reputation is ruined when people know that I was in a brothel." It turned out to be a very good training and at the end of it the police women thought differently.

As for sexuality, in both places, but more so in Aracajú, where I had more experience, I noticed the following: The girls were not allowed to kiss. Only if in love. For those who saw the film "Four women and a destiny" know the story of a prostitute who was not allowed to kiss. I analyzed the

and said a lot of terrible things to me. I tried to soothe them and stepped in. The place where the girls met the clients was quite sophisticated and tidy, but the place where I was taken to talk to the girls was completely different. It was all the way down, in a dark room. The girls who the night before looked so beautiful were totally changed. Their hair undone, sitting on the floor, dressed in a short nightgown, they were hardly recognizable. They had been so nice to us, telling us confidentially about their lives and written us friendly messages. They were eating out of a big bowl. A dog came in and tried to get some food, but was kicked out by the girls. It was an extremely primitive picture. When I began to talk about several items, the girls got up. Some rebelled and said they would take the gynecological test. The pimps finally agreed and told them the way they speak in Aracajú: "You got to be back in 15 minutes". Can you imagine having a gynecological examination in 15 minutes? Some girls entered the bus crying and saying: "On my return, I will have to pay for it ".One of the girls cried all the time. The others looked like children going to a party or a circus, completely changed, enjoying the fresh air coming in through the window, as they say in the Northeast. They watched everything eagerly and being illiterate, asked the one who knew how to read to tell them what outdoors said. There came an outdoor about a motel, and the girl read "Motel whatever the name" and the others cried out: "This is not for our kind." Which shows that they were perfectly aware of the difference of classes

Two of the girls showed signs of a recent childbirth. On the way back, one of them said: "Wait for me, I'll be back in a minute". She stepped in, picked up her purse and said: "I am quitting." We provided her return ticket to Recife, called and made an agreement with the Court of Minors there so that they would take care of her. I am worried about the fate of this girl, because she obviously had no place where to live in Recife. I asked her: "Do you really want to quit? Do not leave because of us." I insisted, but I understood that a simple gynecological examination had given back self-esteem to the girl and the desire to quit prostitution. I really believe that, if for nothing else, for this to happen the research was worthwhile.

The use of drugs is a consequence. We used Max Weber's technique of analyzing the context of the various reports. One of them had the following statement: "The best thing in the world is to smell glue, because it makes us forget hunger and missing our mother." Alcohol is also connected with prostitution. In Salvador, where the girls are not confined to brothels, they have other activities. When comparing her income, it was obvious that the girl was practicing prostitution. During the high season she was being paid

in dollars by foreign tourists. And that is another problem to be discussed. I agree with Gabriela when she talks about child labor, because in this country the ideology of labor is discussed as if the virtue of a child lies in working. In my researches in Paraiba on street children and their work, when asking them what they most wanted, none of them mentioned a bicycle, a ball or a doll. The boys asked for work to be able to shop at the supermarket, to take money back home. To work, work, work.

As far as durable goods are concerned, I would like to comment on something which should also be included in the document. "The girls usually have a little doll or a teddy bear. When they like us, they show us their room. Some girls, when sent away from the brothel, leave behind the doll or the teddy bear. The next occupant takes over and the bear becomes part of her life. They all buy a little radio. So, we suggest that the radio be used for socializing. When we talk about socializing, we think about the girls not having the right to have rights — the right to go to school, to be healthy. The right no one is offering them, a job as a domestic servant. We believe that the radio would be a useful vehicle. Incidentally, UNICEF is developing in Bahia and Sergipe a project for the training of broadcasting professionals. I have been invited to give lectures. The project is called "Radio by Children" and has produced excellent programs, including recently on child prostitution.

Concerning the role of women in society, we would like to say that the concept of the girls does not differ much from the traditional one, but some of them are even a bit more advanced. There is a great need to be polite, well-behaved, the polish that is the privilege of the powerful, but with the girls it is the polish of subservience. On this subject, there are many other things I was able to observe. We did not do a social research, but we analyzed a sociological problems and not the question of poverty. We looked at what was connected with prostitution: violence, the relationship of the girls with governmental and non-governmental entities. Of the latter, for instance, they knew well the Axé Project in Bahia. The Center for Defense in Bahia is nowadays the best prepared place for denunciations, because it is supported by research. And due to the work it is doing, it is apt to coordinate a campaign.

Let us look at the networks: the docks, the truck drivers, the taxi drivers, the de luxe apartments — I barely escaped being shot down in one of the de luxe apartments — the tourism agencies, the tents on the beaches, the snack bars, the restaurants and hotels, inclusively the most expensive ones, the airport, the brothels, the Pelourinho Square, the new bars on the Pelourinho, the invasions, the massage shops, the shopping centers, the gasoline

stations. In Aracajú, I believe there is still time to take some preventive measures, considering that the new coastline project and the new port installations will change the profile of tourism in that city.

We discovered the following about prostitution on the docks: the Federal Police does not allow the girls to go on board. But there are small boats, with the intermediary next to the boatman, which take the girls and when they come close to the ships, cables are thrown down and the girls climb them up, dressed in their little short skirts. They have to go back at a given time, because of the police. However, if the sailors offer to double the price in dollars, they stay. Up to here, the police does its job. Except that, if the policemen decide to go on board, instead of questioning the commander of the ship, they beat up the girls. That is why the owners of the boats ask for advance payment.

One aspect we wish to comment on is the de luxe hotels in Salvador. I remained close to one until daybreak and saw the girls coming out, beaten, drugged, and having to bear with the remarks of the taxi drivers in the vicinity of the bus terminal "How was the night?". All sorts of jokes to humiliate them. The girls told me that for them to be allowed into the hotel, the gringo pays twice the rental cost of a safe where he keeps his valuables. This is the price for a girl in the de luxe hotels in Salvador.

Another aspect is the tourism agencies, of course, not all of them. The employee told us that a book with photos of the girls in various positions, both dressed and undressed, is sent to the intermediary abroad, a Brazilian lawyer who deals with the gringo who signs a contract, pays in advance and chooses a girl. When the tourist arrives, the girl is already waiting for him. In the second part of the contract is a clause which allows him to renew the contract with the same girl or chose another one. The third part covers the famous marriage abroad, and the agency practically sells the air ticket and the girl.

We cannot imagine that child prostitution can be fully understood from these two examples if the living conditions of the low rent population is not taken into consideration. The story of these girls is the story of the social class to which they belong. I request that the law be applied to the exploiters but also, that an effort be made to give the girls a chance to socialize. Thanks to this research and to the campaign developed by CEDECA, a well known place called Chalé Drinks, whose clients were, according to the girls, deputies, judges, important people representing the power in Bahia, was closed and fined. Probably, since these people are very powerful, a month from now the place will open again. That is why I believe that it does no good to put the exploiter in jail, but it is much more useful to socialize.

Not only for the girls but also for the exploiters. But for the girls to have a chance to socialize, it is necessary to create collective events. I do not get tired of repeating the same thing. A program of collective events by governmental or non-governmental entities is the only way to cut the ties which made child prostitution the valve to relieve social tensions, a necessary evil, an indestructible myth. I hope that the information I gave you will not remain buried in reports or magazines, but will become part of the everyday life of all of you, and that this Seminary, when completed, will turn into political actions. In order to stimulate my enthusiasm, I would not like to see more instances of commercializing boys and girls, and particularly prostitution of girls. I am very pleased to see that this Seminar is so eclectic, diversified in its discussions and hope that all of you will denounce all forms of infant-juvenile prostitution, because who keeps silent, consents.

Elizete Veiga

Movement for the Promotion of Women of Belém-PA

I am here representing the Movement of the Promotion of Women, an organization which is active in the metropolitan area in Belém (PA). At present we are engaged in getting together the women living in the state of Pará. In order not to repeat what has been said, I am going to report on specific aspects which we have discussed when preparing the World Conference on Women. I refer specifically to the meeting we had in Pará in December of 94 which dealt with sexual and domestic violence, prostitution and traffic of girls. As a result of this Seminar, we drafted this paper that I have here with me. It is a report which presents the position of all movements, not only those referring to women, prostitutes, children but also to other ONGs which work with similar projects and participated in the discussion. One of the topics discussed was child prostitution, the theme of a round table.

We verified that the rate of occurrence of infant-juvenile prostitution in Maranhão and Pará was linked to the areas of gold mining and of the major ore mining projects. We believe that all presents know that Pará has mining projects like the important ones of Carajá and Albrás-Alunorte. The destination of these girls are the mining camps, of which the main ones are in Itaituba, S. Felix do Xingu and in the Jari region.

Within this framework, last year a research was undertaken by the Mayor's office staff in Belém with the purpose of counting the number of children and adolescents in the streets. The result was very interesting. The total of children was 3,521 in the metropolitan area of Belém. Of these 3,521, 405 are females and 3,116 are males. There is a reflection to be made on these figures to enable us to understand the larger participation of the male sex in the streets as related to prostitution. This fact can be analyzed as follows: it is more difficult to quantify the girls, because many of them are not in the streets but live in brothels.

Some children live in the streets and go back home, there are children who work and maintain their families with their earnings, the mother, the younger brothers. There are families of which the father, mother and child live full-time in the streets, and there are children who have completely lost their links with their families. Within this picture, 256 children are totally abandoned by their families, the state and society. And 3,265 mentioned in previous information spend days, weeks in the streets but still keep a link with their families. These are the figures.

To avoid repetition, I am going to present the case of Altamira, a question of emasculation. I would like to see some space given to this subject, because it has come out of that meeting, and the Brazilian society has to know about it and react, if not it will be filed. Why? The children are being emasculated by a medical doctor in Altamira, a region in the area of gold mining camps, far away from the capital, in Transamazônica. It is an isolated place and at this time of the year the only communication is by air, because all the roads are blocked. The report on what happened there was sent to Belém. On December 10, the court decided whether or not the case was to proceed through legal channels, because the lawyers of the persons involved claimed that there were omissions, lack of proofs, that the doctors and the persons became involved against their will. Then, we raised hell in Belém. Everybody stayed up all night, and we were able to have the process return to Altamira to be presented at court.

We involved everybody but, we know that there are interests of third parties in this case of sexual organs traffic. Inclusively, at an international level. We know that a Mafia is behind it. So, in our meeting we decided the following: a motion supporting the families, the movements, including the Tutor Council of Altamira, which is in favor of expanding the discussion the women and the authorities are engaged in, and of our idea to make it known nationally and internationally to prevent that it remains unpunished. Our fear is that the process is filed, and impunity prevailing, it will be exempt from punishment. This is my contribution, and I hope I did not just repeat what my colleagues said before. Many thanks.



Pedro de Moraes

3rd PANEL

NETWORKS OF SEXUAL EXPLOITATION AND SEX-TOURISM

Márcia Dangremon

Collective Women Life-PE

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Collective Women Life-PE

I believe that in the first place we have to explain to the Plenary that we agreed on the importance of before discussing the networks of exploitation, we should approach the subject of sex-tourism. According to this decision, I am going to talk about what is happening on this side of the Atlantic Ocean. And Jaqueline Leite is going to tell us about the paradise, on the other side of the Atlantic, waiting for women who manage to get married, stay there for three months, and so on. In August of 92, an Argentine woman called Marta Aparício, who lived for many years in Germany, and participated in the seminar which we held in Olinda on *Latin-American Feminist Network against Domestic and Sexual Violence*. She was doing a research financed by the German government on sex-tourism. When arriving in Pernambuco, she suggested that once there was no specific research on sex-tourism we, who worked with domestic and sexual violence, should go to Boa Viagem to try to do the research there.

We accepted the challenge and spent almost one year doing nothing else but going to the beach from 11 a.m. on when the girls arrive, talking to them until more or less 3 or 4 p.m., then visiting the places where they lived, exchanging experiences like a friend talking to another. At night, we went to the bars, all this to find out about the reality of sex-tourism. And after we thought we were coming to a conclusion, the girls themselves suggested that there should be a house, a place where they could live, which would give them something more in exchange, like, for instance, teach German, or provide them with food, since in spite of all these stories about being paid in dollars, we know that the daily reality of these girls is quite different.

We rented a house, but after three months we were ousted out when it was discovered what our purpose was. The neighbors said, "it is absurd to have a house full of whores in an elegant borough in Setubal." The pressure was such, with police at the door and others without uniform watching us, with cars full of arms, that before anything more serious were to happen — in the Northeast people are much more afraid of those who carry arms but are not in uniform, the private armies — we decided to leave the house and later on rented an apartment, of which I will tell you the story.

First I would like to clarify what we call sex-tourism in which the girls are engaged in and which has a specific area, called Boa Viagem. For those who know Recife, it is a quadrilateral that goes from the Recife Palace Hotel to the Boa Viagem square, where the Germans and the girls meet, and were, incidentally, the Vice-President of Brazil has a house. A high class borough, where live the owners of sugar factories, large rural estates, and in the small, old apartments, the girls. They pay an absurdly high rent, and this is what differs these girls, whose age varies from 15 to about 25, from the others. At 25, a girl is already old. After 20, she is considering changing her life, because when reaching 19, 20 or 21 years she will not anymore have a chance to marry, so they say.

The goal of these girls is not prostitution. It is obviously to catch a German gringo, to marry him and to live in Germany. This is the trademark of these girls. Last summer they must have been 2,000 or 2,500 from December to February until the end of Carnival and part of March. This number decreases considerably in the Northeast during what we call winter — the period when it rains. It goes down to 500. Those who actually live in Boa Viagem have already a routine. During the summer, they hunt for a husband. When I emphasize this search for a husband, it is to try to understand the behavior of these girls in the different situations they experience.

I disagree with Chico Vigilante — it is a pity that he is not here with us — when he said while presenting the report of the PIC: "The exploitation of the girls is the same everywhere, whether in Amazônia or in Porto Alegre." I say that nothing is the same. And if one wishes to interfere, to provoke changes, one has to discover the differences, because they teach us, in fact, about what we are engaged in and what we want to change, and if such change is feasible.

These girls aged 15 to 19 or 20, some of them are 25, are hunting for men. This is one of the differences between the Brazilian Northeast and Bangkok and Manila. These two cities became centers of sextourism (apparently Bangkok in the first place, although disputing it with Recife, some say that Recife is already the principal center). There, the prostituted women and girls served the American soldiers. When they left, it was necessary to reorganize the market for new clients. As

always, and apparently there too, the major proportion of European tourists en route to Thailand or the Philippines were Germans, in the first place, then Austrians, Swiss and Italians.

In the Northeast, we never had military bases, but the tourists are coming and each time in greater numbers. This summer they were not as many as expected because of the dollar being worth less than the real, and this affected what the Europeans call the middle class, those who make more or less three thousand marks, which is not a very high salary. They are truck drivers, special skills workers, mechanic. Now, there are also medical doctors, engineers, another type of university level male population. We have to understand this from the point of view of our culture and that of theirs. We do not have that many engineers, they are part of an elite. Whereas in Europe, higher education is much more accessible, so it not so unusual to become a doctor or an engineer.

Some come for a weekend of seven to ten days, eager to enjoy the 'hot' women, since this is what the ads abroad say — to live an exotic experience, well looked after and hosted by the Northeastern people, treated as authorities, and living in a five star hotel. If there is a Cinderella story, there is always a Prince Charming who, when returning to Germany, turns into a frog. When he comes to Brazil, he is a king, surrounded by women like he had never dreamed it to be possible, women disputing marriage — therefore, using all their charms to conquer a husband. This shows the difference between Bangkok and Recife.

Nowadays, we have an economic model which — until proof to the contrary — increased more and more the list of the excluded from our society. If the economic situation in Brazil has not improved, it is obvious that in the Northeast the situation is even more serious. According to researches, 44% of the Northeastern population lives below the poverty line. In Greater Recife, we have 43% unemployed, living on various forms of making some money — odds and ends, selling coconuts or peanuts. Within this large group of people excluded from consumerism, one finds the girls who practice sex-tourism.

These girls are poor and come from everywhere. In the beginning, they were from Recife and Greater Recife. But nowadays many come from the interior, from the backlands, from Alagoas, Sergipe, Paraiba, convinced that they were going to marry a rich German and live in fabulous places, not having to work anymore, and become what they always wanted to be: a housewife. Let us invert the roles; the slave living in 'senzalas' dream of becoming a 'ia-ia' (lady of the house). She does

not think in terms of working in Germany, nor believes that this will ever happen. She believes that she will have a domestic employee, that everybody in Germany is very, very rich. Because, obviously, the idea she has of money and people is that those who come to visit Brazil are much richer than anyone she knows.

What does the German man mean to her, at least during the 10 days of his visit? He means social status, when he arrives and takes her hand and walks around the beaches of Boa Viagem with her, something that is denied to her. The man is not ashamed that she is black, not a virgin, and, hand in hand, takes her to the best restaurants, the best hotels, to shopping centers where he buys her jeans and tee-shirts of the marks she knows from television, the same that has been telling her all her life that to be happy is to own things. This is the message we get all day long on television. To possess a car, jeans, cigars, tee-shirts, an apartment. And she wants to enter the market of consumerism by means of the German, even if he is only going to be in Brazil for 10 days. She gets something else, she becomes visible. She is not anymore just a little black girls from Boa Viagem, like the white population has labeled her. She is a person and belongs to a group. In the first place, because she was desired, chosen among many others, by the German man. And, the German treats her very well.

Therefore, one of the causes is the economic situation, which excludes this group from the consumers' world. There is also the question of security. Other problems have already been approached in this meeting: among them the head of the family question. We did not find one girl who told us: "For a while I lived in the streets after my mother abandoned me and my father threw me out" or "I ran away from home." No, they never were street girls. They come directly from wherever their home is to Boa Viagem, with the help of a friend or a kind lady who shelters them, and then suggests: "You are so pretty, why don't you find yourself a 'program' to make some money? " In short, the girl hit the right place. During the summer, the number of girls increases because many Germans arrive. When it is over, they go back to where they came from. It is very interesting, but they keep their ties with their families in spite of the fact that most of those with whom we talked (and I don't say all of them, because I don't know if that is the case) had suffered sexual violence from their father, stepfather or a close-by neighbor. Something that identifies a family nucleus, like: "I was 10 or 11 years old when my father gave me to another family and I started to work as a domestic servant. Then, the son of the boss took me to bed,

and I was so scared because he told me he would kill me if I said anything, so I ran away." However, in spite of this, they keep in touch with their families. It is normal for them to say: "I am here because I will be able to earn money. I want to buy a house for my mother, give money to my family, help my brothers to study." There is always a reason for them to return home even when they say: "I am going to Germany to get married, and to live there for a while. I am going to be rich, and then I'll come back and help my family."

Even if she has to stay in Boa Viagem, how does she keep the ties with her family? Because she is able to send money home, the family knows she is working but does not know what she is doing. It is a normal procedure for her to visit the family, if she lives close by. If they live in a suburb, she spends a Saturday with her family and leaves them 50 reais, and that is a great deal. If she lives in Pesqueiras or even further away, she goes home every fortnight or once a month and brings them gifts. She is always welcome. I talked with a girl, Marianinha, from Juazeiro, in the state of Ceará, who ran away because the boss had abused her and her father threatened to kill her if he were to discover that she was not anymore a virgin. She went to work as a domestic servant in Boa Viagem and started her own 'programs'. She made a lot of money, in dollars. She was illiterate and she turned her earnings over to the kind lady who took care of her. Until one day she discovered that the "green money" was dollars which at that time were worth a lot. She made an average of 70 or 80 dollars with each partner, but she thought that money was of no use for her. The woman she gave it to gave her enough to buy cigars, nail polish, lipsticks, but she had no idea how much she was making and how much she got from the woman. When finally she became aware of what was going on, she tried to get her money back but the woman presented her with a bill for breakfasts, lunches, dinners, etc. That is when she ran away and came to the Collective House, and we negotiated with the woman to get her belongings back.

Marianinha went on: "My father always hated me, he did not even want to see me." She knew this, because she left a letter when running away from Juazeiro, saying that she was not anymore a virgin and, therefore, was disappearing in order not to let them be ashamed of her. She went to Germany with her present husband called Joachim, a medical doctor, and after six months she came back. The first thing she did was to go to Juazeiro to show the family her air ticket as a proof that she

had been living in Germany. This gave her such a social status, that her father did not even ask her how she got the money when living in Brazil. She must have had a very good job for the German to have met her, fall in love and marry her. This took care of the family trauma, and this is what happens with most of them.

I have with me a clipping of a research done in Greater Recife, showing that 52% of the population we investigated said that virginity is a very important asset for marriage. A woman who is not anymore a virgin finds it hard to marry in Recife, therefore, to marry a man who does not care whether she a is virgin or not means to her: "The German is ok. He does not mind this foolish business about being a virgin. He even respects us." Hence her dream to get married, the dream of all of us, to get married at some point, because my mother brought me up with the idea that I was to marry a hard working, honest man. She never told me: "Look for someone you really like." But told me many times:" My daughter, take care. Marriage is like a lottery. Sometimes it comes out even, other times not, but everybody has to bear with it until the end." This is the education my generation was given. In our society people say that a woman who does not get married must have some problem. Because it is the nature of a woman — so they say — to marry and be supported, protected, educated by a gentleman, a person who fulfills his duty by giving us his name."

Therefore, these girls want a patriarchal marriage — they do not want to work in Germany, it doesn't even cross their minds. They submit themselves to a three month probation to see if they are suited for marriage. This is a normal procedure with the girls from Boa Viagem as well as with the marriage agencies where the other clients are university students, bank employees, and private sector employees. When I decided to limit my work to the Collective House, I did not mean to limit it to saying that in Greater Recife it is considered a reward for any woman to marry a German. I am going to tell you about a discussion I felt like sharing a short wile ago. A student of welfare services, black, pleasant, who had never done sex-tourism, by chance met a German in a street. She was the monitor in which the faculty was investing, because she was smart and competent. The teachers thought that she would become an excellent professional and perhaps follow an academic career. When she was about to finish her studies, she met the German and announced that she was going to live with him for three months. She called a meeting with the other monitors of the school and the teachers to discuss her traveling to Germany. Only the teachers

voted against it, her colleagues said: "Just imagine if she is so crazy as to miss this great opportunity to live in Europe." We are still living in a colonial environment. To go to the States gives status, because you leave the country. But to go to Europe..."I had this experience with my friends. I had been in the States to attend meetings, but when last year I accepted an invitation to attend meetings on sex-tourism in England, Germany and the Netherlands, everybody said: "Good Lord, how great. You went to Europe." Up in Pernambuco we still say " flour from the kingdom", not just plain flour, because we believe that if it comes from a kingdom in Europe is much better, it gives status.

Another aspect has not yet been discussed here: beyond the patriarchal family and virginity, there is another point which I consider essential, and which I have tried to discuss with the sponsor and he does not seem to understand. All of these girls have a low degree of self-esteem, because they are not anymore virgins, or their hair is Afro, or they are black, or they don't look like Xuxa, since our esthetical model for girls has always been blue eyes, tall, blond hair. Remember the Cinderella story? Our Prince Charming was never a strong black man, no, always blond, tall, with blue eyes. Based on these premises, the princes are coming and find a terrain prepared to make the girls accept any justification to go to Europe.

The first thing that has to be clear is that the money for the traffic of girls is not in Brazil. It is with the headquarters. For instance, the most famous marriage agency according to a clipping I have, announced its good relationship with the German Consulate and would like to have a Dutch Consulate in Recife for the same reason. We checked the information by sitting at the door of the Consulate for a whole day, counting the people who looked it up. 60 young black girls came to the Consulate to get visas, which obviously they got. The marriage agencies have an easy way of getting these visas, they increase the age limit of the girls a little bit. Last month Brena, who is 16 years old, came to Recife by truck, and was sexually abused by a policeman. She now has a document attesting that she is 21. The girls have no problem getting these documents.

That is why I believe that we have to discuss here — just like Gabriela talked about the question of working — the question of age. In the Northeast, a woman is considered honest if she gets married at the age of 13,14,15 or 16. Those living in the country marry while still very young. The daughters of the fieldworkers at 15 have the body and the

mind of those of 18. At 15, the family decides that they have to work. Much has been said here about the necessity to present specific projects. We have an experience of over three years which has been successful. We distributed a questionnaire in the schools, and were able to identify the most serious cases of domestic violence. We worked with the teenagers so that when sexual violence occurred, they would come to us instead of running out into the streets and prostitution. Today we provide assistance to 200 girls, it is a preventive work, because the minute the girl goes to Boa Viagem and completes her first 'program', earning 100 reais for being 'fresh flesh' on the market, we cannot anymore compete. Because now it becomes an economic necessity on which the fondness of the family is based, because the girl is helping it, and in order to compete, one would have to find a reasonably well paid job. And this is not easy, considering the fact that they are practically all illiterates and have very limited possibilities of studying. It changes when they get to the age of 25, when they have lost hope that they will get married. And today, the Collective House is fulfilling the role of discussing alternatives with the girls.

Some go back to classes, saying: "This life is not for me, I am tired of it. I will not get married, I am too old and want to change my life." At this point we step in. But others say:" Now it is not anymore a question of being nice to the gringo. If the gringo wants me, he has to pay, because now, after having been called a whore all my life, I am going to be one."

I have some proposals for the use of the work we accomplished and also some serious denunciations, with proof of complicity especially of governments. For instance, last October the previous government had a stand at the International Book Fair in Frankfurt. It was inaugurated by the Brazilian Ambassador with a presentation of seven practically naked mulatto girls, dancing in the cold temperature of a European autumn. And during the duration of the Book Fair, the highlight was the Carnival in Rio de Janeiro, showing the breasts and the buttocks of these black women, with the message: "There are many more."

Secondly, I brought with me a magazine I got hold of about a week ago. One of our girls — we have nine right now in the House, doing research by means of a questionnaire — had this magazine which is called Tourist Itinerary Guide. It is a public utility item. It bears information on the new Recife, the Office of Tourism there and also, where you can find beautiful receptionists. "We accept home calls. There are also erotic shows, etc." As well as masseuses, supposed to be homo-

sexuals but it does not mean that they do not employ girls. "Free girls" to accompany men, women and couples. "Termas Center, a male paradise, very close to where you are. The place is ideal for a good mental hygiene". And so on.

This government is remiss, and I endorse everything Marlene and Lucia said. Today Brazilian women are sold abroad. They advertise themselves. But the federal and state governments collaborate — what kind of tourists do they want? They bring in tourists who are looking for sex, the Northeast has become the great brothel for Europe. This is what they want: a golden coast, from where the girls are taken. But there is a problem, because these girls live closed in and their age is not known. I have clippings of a German newspaper telling about Rita Lee's birthday show, and a girl, aged 17, who won the prize of Miss 2000 and 200 reais to participate in the show, undressed, covered partly by a cape. The press covered her sex with a black strip. The reporter asked her: "Weren't you nervous when the cape opened and showed you completely naked?" She replied: "No, I was moved and got nervous because I was standing next to Rita Lee."

Jaqueline Leite

Fräulein Information Zentrum — FIZ

I lived for nine years outside of Brazil, and worked for four years in Switzerland, at an information center for women from the so called Third World. I acquired a lot of experience in this center. And, personally, I went through many difficulties with my family and my daughter while in Switzerland. My role here is to demystify the fabulous things people expect to happen in Europe. I thought that in Europe all women were feminists and that there was no 'machismo'. That is what I thought in 1985, but when I got there, the reality was quite different, and I was shocked.

I am going to talk about the information which is provided on Brazil. The Fräulein Information Zentrum — FIZ is engaged in three kinds of activities. One of them concerns direct assistance to women. The other one is political, in the Parliament, trying to change the laws. I am going to talk about the specific law that discriminates women and is racist. We have another way of working, trying to sensitize the Swiss society.

I am talking specifically about Switzerland, because I gained my, experience there. But it is more or less the same everywhere in Europe, with some slight legal differences. Switzerland has a special law which does not allow us to work there. We, from the Third World, Asia, Africa and Latin America can only work there if we are artists. In that category you have musicians, circus artists and cabaret dancers. Therefore, our only chance is to work as cabaret dancers. This makes it easier and makes the Swiss government connive with traffic of women and prostitution of Latin American women. We are not talking about the prostitutes who go abroad to work. They are many and all are well off. We talk about the majority of the women who were deceived by employment offers which did not correspond to what they had expected. Girls and women who come to our FIZ for help with their problems, either divorce, beating up, illegal permanence or psychiatric clinics.

The way Brazil is being sold abroad is terrible. I will show you a poster I received a short while ago. It reads "You go to heaven..." and all that stuff about Brazil, and below, in small letters, "This pilot's name is Pedro

"and the name of two girls who are attending a university. On one side a raffle is announced, and you have to check off the city where the girls come from and send the poster back in order to be eligible for winning an air ticket to Brazil. This is one way of doing it, a poster in a bar where you go to eat Brazilian food, and maybe win a trip and even a girl.

Another form of publicity adopted last year by the Swiss mail are the leaflets. The picture reads: "The mail delivers a vacation catalog at your home". The photograph shows a mailman carrying an exotic woman, with slit eyes, dressed like a Hawaiian, very tropical. The association of ideas tells you that on your vacation you are entitled to a similar woman like the one the mailman is carrying. I wish to discuss this relationship between the 'First' and 'Third' Worlds. I always use quotes because these denominations are entirely European. There is a relationship like the one between the colonizer and the colonist which persists until today. By demystifying this story of an exotic beauty announced by the leaflet, it must be said that the majority of them are black, whether coming from Brazil, Thailand or the Dominican Republic, another country which exports them.

There is right now a fight between Latin American women, who have lost space, and the women from Asia versus those from Eastern Europe, like Russians, Bulgarians and Polish who have taken over. Most of the girls, as Marcia said, are looking for a husband. Many times they travel illegally, stay with friends, as illegal tourists, or with their boyfriends. The boyfriend comes to Brazil and later on sends the girl an air ticket. She travels for a three month probation to see if she is accepted or not. It has happened that women go to the airport with their luggage and wait for the customer who ordered them through a catalog. By looking up the number chosen, if the girl does not correspond to the picture, she is rejected with only the air ticket to Switzerland but no return, which was promised to be bought later on. It was quite a commotion when we had such a woman, who was being returned, in our plane.

She was scared of going back home because her father and the family were happily counting on not having to work anymore, since she would make a lot of money by marrying a Swiss man. What do people think of when speaking about Switzerland? They think of banks, money, of course. She was worried about going back to Brazil without being married, without a document and without the possibility of the family to survive on what she was going to make. How did we know that usually these girls are underage? Because we asked one of them and she asked us which age we wanted, the one on the passport or the real one? So there you can imagine that they

are 16 or 17. Most of the time the customs officer does not pay attention to it. For instance, like the Swiss man who married an African who had a Swiss passport. The officer looked at her passport, and she and another five Africans went through without any problem because for him they all looked alike.

The police knows all about this. There are two kinds of police. One takes care of the cabarets in Zurich which maintain brothels in the Dominican Republic with girls from age 8 to 15. We found out about this from a woman. Many policemen are part of this network. When a woman gets permission to work in Switzerland as an artist, she can work for eight months during the year. For the remaining four months, the agents take her to Italy, Germany or Austria were there are closed brothels. When they get permission to work as a dancer, they practically live like in a jail. They have to dance 10 to 15 times a night, do strip-tease, and drink about two liters of champagne.

They are forced to drink champagne, because they have to keep the clients paying for it and keep them in the cabaret as long as possible. They cannot drink beer. After three days on probation, if a girl is not approved she can be fired at any moment without any compensation. She has to drink as much champagne as possible, because, if she does not, she is considered a worthless employee and will not have her contract as a dancer renewed for another month. The interest of the client is to get her drunk so that he can do with her as he pleases. A foreign woman cannot engage in prostitution in Switzerland which makes that she is threatened all the time with the police, to be deported. Of course, she is in debt. When leaving Brazil, she already was owing the air ticket which she is supposed to pay with her work. This in case the dancer leaves the country with an agent, when she has to repay him for the air ticket.

Another aspect is that the agent or impresario keeps her passport. So the girls cannot leave the country. Every month they work in a different cabaret in Switzerland. They do not stay for more than eight months in the same place in order not to become friendly with colleagues and organize themselves. In this same cabaret you have a Brazilian, a Russian, a Dominican, each one from a different place so that they do not understand each other. Among them, there is plenty of rivalry. They told me afterwards: "Once I am here, and my family does not know about it, I am going to work and become rich. And when I go back I am going to buy my mother a house". Most of the time the father is not even mentioned. The important figure is the mother. 90% of the girls have a child or children whom they leave at home with their mother, sister or sister-in-law. The whole family

lives on the dollars she sends them, and so with all these 'impresarios' around her she is completely dependent.

There are those who have been promised marriage. The bridegroom promises all sorts of things, a house, etc. But when she gets there, it is a different story. Most of the time she has to live in a small room, with a thin mattress, if any, no heating, and there it gets really cold. Many times the girls are taken by drug-addicts over there, so that once they arrive, they have to work in order to keep them on drugs. You know how decadent the European society is in this respect. Switzerland, especially, has severe drug problems. Many girls are used as "airplanes", meaning those who transport drugs to Europe. There is even a prison in Bern where a whole aisle is for Latin-American girls who transported drugs and then remain in jail for a long time.

In the more sophisticated places the "in" thing is to always have younger girls, changing them every month in order to supply the customers with fresh flesh. Women aged 20 are already considered old, worn out by too much drinking and dancing every night. In principle, they are supposed to dance until 2 a.m., but in reality they stay until 6 a.m. and if they don't, they are considered poor employees and thrown out.

I wish to concentrate more on the authorities. In the first place, the police beats them up like the Brazilian police or even worse, only they do it in a subtler way. The European is subtle, even concerning his machismo. He works to mentally destroy you, by using all sorts of psychological perversity

I am going to tell you about a woman who had an accident. The owner of a cabaret beat her up, because she did not want to prostitute herself. She said she had a contract as a dancer and not as a prostitute. He pushed her down the staircase, and she broke her leg. She wanted to go to the hospital, but he did not take her. Finally an ambulance came to transport her, but she was not allowed to put her leg on the stretcher. She insisted, and the nurse and the driver stopped the car, beat her again and left her in the street covered by snow, at 2 a.m. She could not move, so she begged a taxi driver to take her to a hospital. But the hospital did not accept her because she was not coming in an ambulance. They said that first she had to go to a police station and register her claim, and then go to the hospital. When she got to the police station, the driver and the nurse of the ambulance had already been there and put in a claim against her, stating that she had beaten them-the woman with a broken leg- and that is why they left her in the street. You know what? Nothing happened. We filed a protest,

but it did not work, because there were no witnesses, and it was the word of the other two against hers.

I also want to quote the question of pornographic videos for which they use children. Last year, a Swiss was put in prison because he was making such videos, where at the end the child was literally killed. After they died, the children were thrown into sulfuric acid in order to disappear and leave no trace. And the videomaker, a Swiss citizen, considered a normal person by the Swiss society. The conclusion is that the six children used in these videos were foreign children brought to Switzerland with that purpose. Because, obviously, a Swiss child would not disappear without his parents finding out.

Another question is the traffic with children, supposedly for adoption. Only, it is not known what happens to them. There is much more to it, but I cannot talk about it. I want to ask you to concentrate a bit more not only on the First World's abuse of women, but especially of children. In the old days they took away the gold. Nowadays, they take away the girls. We have to look into the relationship of the First and the Third Worlds in this particular aspect and reflect on the extent we are becoming connivers by accepting this imperialism or colonialism which until today is not over. We must find strategies to combat all of this, but above all make them understand that we will not be eternally bodies to be used. Thanks.

Dr. Débora Menezes

Police Station for Assistance for Women in the Federal District

I am a deputy chief of the Police Station for Women. In Brasilia, the reality is different from what has been said so far. We have approximately 70% of the girls and boys who suffer violence within their families, where the father, the stepfather or the uncle is the violator. Normally the age of this group is very low, today I had a girl aged 4 who was raped by her uncle who passed on to her syphilis and other venereal illnesses. The girl is in our office and in need of medical attention, and we are taking care of her.

This, in Brasília, is quite common. 70% of sexual violence happens at home and with the age group of from 2 to 8 years. Why this age group? Because the girl is not in position to react. She is easily induced, she does not know what is going to happen and usually the same father who should protect her is the author of the violence. The father or the stepfather. For me, prostitution in Brasília begins at home. Everybody knows how sexual violence leaves terrible marks — rejection, low selfesteem -and the girl, aged 10 or 12, mad at her father, sometimes pregnant like so many by her own father. Our Penal Code states that if pregnancy is a result of rape, an abortion is permitted. Only, it takes so long that when permission is gained, the girls is already 8 months pregnant. Who is going to do the abortion? Impossible. So she leaves home bearing the child of her father or her stepfather, she has no place where to go to, no relatives, no open house for girls, nothing. She ends up in the streets where she has no way of making a living. No place where to sleep, nothing to eat. To survive, she has to prostitute herself.

She goes with one and another, in bars and speakeasies, the cheapest ones. Girls from a some what better-off layer of society end up in the streets because they want a car or buy new dresses, and look for their customers in more sophisticated bars in As Norte, Asa Sul, or Gilberto Salomão. Prostitution in Brasília is not limited to the lower class but can also be found with the middle class girls who have a certain degree of education. Only, in different locales. While those who have nothing, stay in bars in the O sector and the squares, the others visit

sophisticated bars, but the purpose is the same. Some sell themselves for a plate of food, the others for classy clothing.

I remember some cases, like one which is sad and funny at the same time. A father raped his four daughters, aged 7, 8 9 and 10. Then he tried the same with the youngest daughter, but she did not yield and went to the University of Brasília's model lawyers' office. I don't know if it still exists. I was called by a professor from the University and put the father in jail, a 60 years old man, full of wrinkles, with a big hat. He looked so serious to me that I could hardly believe it. When I asked him if he was not ashamed to rape his four daughters and now tried to do the same to the youngest, he looked at me and replied: "Well, I am not ashamed nor are you. Do you really believe that I would raise these young hens for others to eat them? Do you believe that I would work hard to sustain these girls for other men to eat them? No way. First I take care of them and then, afterwards, if they want to help their mother and younger brothers, it is up to them. But not now." There are many men who have this mentality: they sustain the girls, so they have a right of being the first. Afterwards, the girls can walk the streets, because there are several younger brothers who need to be fed, and the father does not earn enough for all of them. There is terrible silent complicity on the part of the mothers who know what their daughters have to suffer and say nothing. Today I have a woman over at my police station with her little blond 4 year old daughter who did not want to denounce the brother, because he helps to fill the bellies. This is terrible for the woman to do, she must find the courage to denounce what is wrong, cut the umbilical cord and go out and find a job. Not as a police woman, a journalist, a teacher, but to iron clothes, clean the streets, which is as dignified as a teacher's job, or as a washerwoman. But not endure passively and silently all this violence and see her daughter suffer too.

I have seen many eight year old girls who have been sexually abused, they are innocent, they do not even know how to express themselves, come to the police station brought by teachers, because their mothers know, but say nothing. And the girl does not know whom to talk to. For years she has had to endure violence, and finally she tells the director of the school. And thanks to these directors, they are taken to the police station for women where the teachers courageously help them denounce their anguish. In spite of threats, the teachers denounce any violence they know of 0

Another thing to be discussed in this Seminar is prostitution announced in the newspapers. Everybody knows about it. Why is nothing

being done? I don't what but why not join forces? The other day we fined a brothel in Asa Norte, which we learned of through the newspapers. They asked for young, blond girls looking like 20 years old, with blue eyes. There are "x" similar cases in Asa Sul, Asa Norte and the satellite cities. And all of them have ads in the newspapers. I think that these various movements or groups ought to visit the newspapers and ask them to, through some law or general consensus, engage in an educational campaign instead of promoting prostitution. The only way is education and awareness, otherwise even the women themselves will not want to do away with prostitution. Just look at the mothers who accept seeing their daughters being thrown out in the streets and prostituting themselves. Yesterday, when I arrived here, I talked to a woman whose name I do not know, but who mentioned the importance of the broadcasts. For me it is essential, because the police does not get into the homes. To begin with, they are not allowed to, and also, because they do not want to. Much of the information gets lost because people do not know how to read. But the radio does, and there could be an effective awareness of the problems by being broadcasted, and the girls would have information to enable them not to accept the situation and to rebel against it. But they have no way of knowing, they do not know what to do, no means is provided for them. I consider this extremely important.

Another important element is impunity. The women know that all these criminals enjoy impunity and that is why they are afraid of denouncing them. The proof of what I am saying is that when I took over the Police Station, there were 800 incidents in one year, and the following year they numbered 6,000. Because now, at least as long as I am in charge, each denunciation is rigorously checked and if the criminal is found guilty, he ends up in jail. Last year we caught more than 80 violators — I can show the sentences — and they were condemned to up to 27 years. The promoters of infancy and youth call us every day on cases like the 4 year old girl, who is there with her mother, sick with gonorrhea and all kinds of illnesses and her mother did not want to denounce the crime. We have justice in our favor, helping us, otherwise there would be nothing I could do. We have to finish with this impunity. Nowadays the women believe in us and look us up to denounce the crimes.

There is also the case of sexual harassment. The bosses of the working women expect them to engage in sexual activities, kisses and caresses. We do not have in Brazil a law that prohibits this. In Brasília

we have "x" cases, and when the women do not accept, they are fired or transferred to the worst job in the firm or company. The famous impunity, since there is no law that declares this a crime.

When I said that Brasília is different, I was referring to the fact that we have no porno-tourism here. The opposite happens: men fly to São Paulo and Goiânia, according to the information I have, and you know why? Because they have high ranking jobs and fear the press. I attended a lecture in Rio de Janeiro where I saw, in the hotel in Zona Sul, girls aged 8 or 10 going up and down and I asked the doorman: "Here it happens just like that, freely?" He replied: "Yes, the girls go up and come down according to appointments, with age, color or procedure at the client's wish." We do not have this in Brasília, or if we have one or two cases, statistics do not register them. Then what do we have to fight? The terrible violence at home which reaches 70% and makes the girls end up in the streets. This is Brasília's reality.

Antonio Durval Soares

Councilman from Fortaleza/CE

I am going to start with the blessings of Father Adolfo, who is our great collaborator up there in Ceará. Father Adolfo is a gynecologist, and Sister Elizabeth is a pediatrician, both wonderful people who help us grow and reflect about the fight for the children of Ceará. During the last session of the Forum, Father Adolfo raised several questions which practically turned our work upside down, in what regards the agreement. And, since until now there have been quite a number of denunciations in this Seminar which are important and admirable, I wish to follow another path. Pornotourism has been sufficiently analyzed by you.

The first blessing of Father Adolfo is in the name of the girls. His work has an impressive empathy. He puts himself in the place of the prostituted girl and says: "Blessed be the sailors, because they bring us our daily bread. Blessed be the tourists, because they pay in dollars. Blessed be the intermediaries, because they send us clients."

My friends, everything that you and we have been criticizing, this wise priest calls a blessing. It seems a contradiction, but he very accurately looks at the situation from the point of view of the prostituted girl. Because her job, her money, her trade, her way of surviving and the help she provides her family come from the sea or by plane. This is disorienting, because in the beginning we set up a Parliamentary Inquiry Committee to find out about infant-juvenile prostitution in Fortaleza, with the specific purpose of dismantling the network of intermediaries.

The result was this red document, the denunciation. We were criticized by the university, because the report of the Committee was too pamphleteer. We accepted the criticism, but went on producing pamphlets. To give you an idea, the originals of the PIC amounted to a pile two palms high hand were forwarded to the Public Ministry. I ask you: who wants to read such a pile of paper? So, we asked two journalists, friends of ours, to condense the material into a leaflet, with a plain language making it easy to be read. We are already in our 4th edition of this little document, 20,000 copies. It has been read by university students, second-school students, teachers,

professors. We massified the report of the PIC not only by means of this document, but also produced a video tape, which has had 500 copies distributed.

So, you can imagine the impact of the PIC, which before was known only to an elite but now the document and the information is accessible to the large public. And the community became aware of the problem and is exerting pressure on the official entities. It became an essential document. Then came the Seminar and we went on denouncing, and in the end Bené said something very important: "Let us finish the PIC with a denunciation". This is very important because as he explained, it is necessary to have a committee of human rights in the Chamber of Deputies to support the PIC, otherwise it dies out and will not come to any result. Denunciation in itself is not enough, the situation will continue the same way.

In 1993, at a Seminar which provided us with directions for the policy concerning the problem. First explaining what the Mayor's Office, the State and the non-governmental organizations were doing. We condensed the material and selected 4 topics: education, health, job opportunities, and justice and security. But this was not enough. We ended up with a green document full of hope, and now we have changed it into a blue document which is already putting into practice the four topics by transforming them into feasible projects.

I have with me a draft of the blue document. I left some copies for distribution, but it will be printed. I believe that within two or three months the blue document will be ready and the pamphlet as well. We want to produce theory along with practice. Because it is no use to produce documents which the community devours, feels happy with, but does not transform into specific actions. That is why we have adopted a different way of doing it.

What happened is that we were able to organize a committee called Interinstitutional Committee to take care of the question of Justice and Security. We were able to have around the same table the Secretariat of Security, the Military Police, the Federal Police, DRT, the tourism sector, and the lawyers' association, OAS. We also had the Public Ministry, the Court of Children and Youth, the Police Station for Women, especially the one in charge of Children and youth, the Secretariat of Justice, the Press Association of Ceará, the Center for the Defense of Children and Adolescents, a city government office, the Welfare Foundation for Minors and the State and Municipal Councils. We put together an Interinstitutional Committee which is to be divided into two committees: one to take care of legal actions, and

give legal advisory services to the Committee, and the other one to take care of security along the beaches.

When we were meeting with this committee and proposed a network of assistance, we selected four non-governmental entities to serve as a pilot project in assisting the girls with health, education, job procurement and income. However, the security people had already started a major operation along the beaches to stop child prostitution at both levels, the intermediaries and the girls. The Public Ministry was already channeling the case to the Judiciary for punishment of the motels, hotels which were hosting tourists, the beach tents owners, a complete repression operation at all levels. And the Interinstitutional Committee also working at full speed, everybody together, which was a significant progress, because we were able to make work together the police and the Public Ministry by means of the four entities in charge of it.

At that point, the clergyman got up and said: "But, wait, if you finish with the sex-tourism, the intermediaries and prohibit prostitution, what is going to happen to the girls? Will the four entities in charge of the operation be able to absorb them all?" The question started a terrible and polemic debate in the Forum and will be the theme of a Seminar up in Fortaleza: how to meet the demands by the Security and the Legal actions in terms of assistance to the girls? To be able to give those excluded by the first action a second option. Because it does not help to finish with prostitution and implement hunger. We want to do away with both. So, friends, what the Seminar is doing is fundamental, we have to devote ourselves to find a solution which is efficient and responds to the demands by the Security and Justice offices. Otherwise, it is better to put a break on the first and not ask too much of the second, because we are not prepared for it.

This is the challenge which is being faced in Fortaleza and from its premises we want to set up a pact in defense of the child and the adolescent in a situation of risk. We have already visited the mayor, the governor, we are going to see the entrepreneurs, the merchants, the Church, all sectors of society in order to make the pact even more efficient by means of technical advice. It is a small effort, but it is one way of responding. Personally, I cannot bear anymore with just denouncing violence in my capacity as councilman of the PT in the Chamber of Deputies. My face on television showed anger, anguish, revolt. All of a sudden, I was asked to reflect hope for the sake of the people. They have to feel motivated, stimulated, by not only presenting negative situations but something positive. I believe that this pact is going to be a great challenge for the communities in Fortaleza and

the whole state of Ceará. It will be one way of saying: "Ok, all of this exists, but there is a way out. And we want you to tell us, we want you to join the pact." I hope that the third document will reach 50,000 copies. We want the document announcing our proposal to exceed in number two or three times the document where we made our denunciations so that we can put the potential of the people into action. It moves me deeply to see that the young people read it, especially the university and secondary students. And they are beginning to start moving. Many schools are already starting lists with signatures to be presented to the governor, others organize student rallies, not only to call the governor a thief, but to tell him: "We want support for the pact. We want rallies to ask for support, not to make noise and criticize." Of course, we accept criticism, and we think pressure is important. But we accept all of this if it is accompanied by an alternative proposal, so that we do not end up in the vacuum of only denunciating, which would leave the people desperate and not knowing which way to follow.

This is the message we want to leave with you. I am a man in the midst of six or seven women who coordinate the pact and I think it is great, in spite of all the 'machismo' tradition of the interior of Bahia, to have all these women teach us and help us in our work with the prostituted girls. I was saying to Jaqueline:" We have such a close relationship like brothers and friends that many times we meet on the farm to spend an afternoon together. We work, not with an angry face but looking happy, joyful, doing what we like. All of a sudden we feel an almost sexual pleasure in helping the prostituted girls. My best wishes to all of you.

Filomena Emilia Ramos

Coordinator of Casa Rosa Mulher

The Casa Rosa Mulher is located in Rio Branco, in the state of Acre. Rio Branco has a population of approximately 200,000. the major part of the population consists of civil servants, private sector employees or independent people. 90.7% have an income of up to two minimum wages. Acre does not have mining camps — Lucia talked about that this morning, but the girls from Acre go to the mining camps in Rondônia.

At the beginning of 93, traffic and prostitution of girls from Acre to Rondônia were denounced. The story that is so well known, of the girls being misled by promises of becoming models, leading a good life, on the mining camps as well as in Rondônia. All of them are sold as if they were a commodity, at high prices, especially the virgins. When they fall ill, with malaria or other illnesses, they are abandoned. If they try to run away, many times they are killed. Some of the denunciations are extremely serious.

From there on, with an increasing number of denunciations and the community clamoring for action, two PICs were created: one at the Municipal Chamber of Deputies to deal with prostitution of children and adolescents, in Rio Branco, and the other in the Legislative Assembly. The PIC of the Chamber of Deputies interviewed 120 girls, checked the economic situation, the level of schooling, the initiation into sexual life, the level of knowledge about sexually transmissible illnesses. 90% did not use preservatives. They had no idea about the risks and cares to be taken with sexually transmissible illnesses. The PIC worked out a profile of intermediaries, bar owners, suburbia hotels, of the children in the streets, the drug traffickers (the state of Acre is located on the permanent drug traffic route between Bolivia and Brazil) and estimated that for a population of 200,000 there are 3,000 to 5,000 children and adolescents in the district engaged in prostitution or in a situation of immediate risk to be prostituted.

The Assembly Committee traveled to Rondônia, visited the mining camps, interviewed judges, delegates, talked with the girls — there are many girls from Acre — and came to the conclusion that there is a consolidated network of intermediaries, bar owners and drug traffickers. Inclusively, in Guarajá Mirim there is a well known drug traffic and stolen cars route.

There is no official source of information in Acre on prostitution. In 92, the Federal University of Acre published a study on the children in Acre, and estimated also 3,000 prostituted girls, between ages 10 to 16 and drug traffic. After these denunciations, what happened from 93 to this date? A House for Adolescents, a state-run shelter was established and functions according to the traditional patterns. The authorities, judges, send there the girls who have criminal background, who have been brought from the mining camps or ran away from home.

But the initiative is questionable because of its nature. At the district level, the Casa Rosa Mulher of which I am coordinator was implemented. This house is a place where women get total assistance, since apart from prostitution there is also domestic violence in Rio Branco. The state of Acre is one of the firsts on the list of high indexes of domestic violence together with two other states, one of them Santa Catarina and of the other I forgot the name.

The Casa was a conquest of the movement for women which already for some time had been trying to create a place for assistance for women. It is not only a shelter, but a team of psychologists, a lawyer, a social welfare assistant, an art-educator work with them. Preservatives are distributed and workshops on sexuality and body knowledge are held. Also, there are courses for the formation professionals in various areas.

I believe that it was a major victory, these two places. The majority of the women (and we do not ask who they are, when they arrive) are obviously prostitutes. We work in a prostitution area, a traditional area which is already showing signs of decadence. We are only one year old. Most of the women are heads of family, take care of the house, sustain many times a father, mother and relatives. Four aspects draw atention when dealing with these girls and women: one is the lack of information on the basic rights of any person, of the knowledge of their own bodies, of illnesses. Some are literate, but most of them can hardly read and write. The self-esteem is very low. We work hard with recuperating self-esteem, also trying to discover potentialities and the capacity of accepting changes. The poor woman, apart from prostitution, has only the

choice of working as a cleaning-woman or a washerwoman. They have to bear with all the prejudices of which only those who work close with them are aware. The majority has a history of domestic violence. And they have dreams and hopes like any of us. Apart from the Casa, the Municipal Council of the Child and the Adolescent was reactivated and a Forum for the Child and the Adolescent was created. We also looked up the Public Ministry before coming here, in order to find out the results of the denunciations at the PICs. Nothing had happened. No one was able to inform us, nothing came out of it, because the Assembly had made a series of denunciations involving high society members, including judges. We tried the Police Station for Women, the Police Station for Protection of Children, and they too had no information to share with us.



Pedro de Moraes ©

4th PANEL

THE LEGAL INTERPRETATION OF PROSTITUTION

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For us, the PIC on Child Prostitution was an important landmark, as you all know. Because the PIC presented in detail what was being denounced in the media and in literature by means of the relevant book by Gilberto Dimenstein on the girls of the night, concerning prostitution which is spreading out among children and adolescents in Brazil.

The final reports of this PIC conclude that before becoming a shocking social scandal, it is in truth a crime, since it is not easy for our consciences to even believe that there are children of only 6 years of age being used for remunerated sexual practices or boys aged 5 acting with girls aged 12 in pornographic films. At an age, when it would be normal for these children to play with dolls and toys, they are already being brutalized by their parents, relatives or exploiters.

Now, let us present a brief introduction of how our juridical system treats the question of child exploitation. Our Citizen Constitution of 1988 prescribed, in article 227, that it is the duty of the family, of society and of the State to assure the child and the adolescent, with absolute priority, the right to live, to be healthy, to be fed, all the rights you know of. Apart from this, they are to be protected from all forms of negligence, discrimination, exploitation, violence, cruelty and oppression. And, still, paragraph 4 of article 227 of the Federal Constitution states the following: "The Law will severely punish abuse, violence and sexual exploitation of children and adolescents". In view of this constitutional recommendation, we are eligible to ask if the present penal legislation corresponds to the constitutional precept.

Before analyzing how the subject is dealt with by the Brazilian Penal Code, we have to advise that the Code contains archaisms and distortions, above all when revealing an undisguiseable preference for the better-off social classes. Just to give us an idea, the crime of physical injury is cited in our Penal Code under article, 129, and I want to compare it with that of theft through violence or threat. The first, article 129,

which would be physical injury and article 157, theft. While the first is punished with three months to one year in jail for physical injury, for theft through violence or threat with detention the penalty is 4 to 10 years and a fine. This reveals that the patrimony, according to the ideology of the Penal Code of 1940, has more value than a life, and that it is pervaded by an extreme patrimonialism. Thus, the necessity of a revision of the penal norms is undeniable, with the adoption or more modern principles, regarding the description of actions considered anti-juridical, in terms of quantification as well as nature of the punishment to be applied to specific cases.

In what regards sexual exploitation, the Penal Code treats this subject practically as crimes against moral customs. The first type of penal crime related to child prostitution is, in our opinion, rape considered by the code as crime against sexual liberty. The crime of rape is cited in article 213 of the Penal Code and reads: To constrain a woman to carnal conjunction by means of violence or serious threat. Punishment: Detention from 6 to 10 years. In the first place, a brief criticism: This disposition is an example of archaism of our Penal Code, since we understand that in this case it should not mention , in the case of rape, a woman but a person.

When studying article 213 of the Penal Code it is important to know from the beginning, that the Bill of Rights of the Child and the Adolescent, through Law 8,069, article 263, had amended the original wording of the Penal Code with the following paragraph: "If the offended is a minor with less than 14 years of age: Detention of 4 to 10 years." However, Law 8,072, article 6, the law which classifies and deals 'with hideous' crimes recommends the punishment of the caput of article 213, or rape, and article 214, which treats with committing violent moral outrage, detention 6 to 10 years. This resulted in a lot of confusion in the beginning, but in fact it is the fault of a legislators for hideous crimes who did not express the defiance of this sole paragraph of article 213, as well as article 214, reformulated by the Bill of Rights of the Child and the Adolescent, Drs. Munir Cury and Paulo Afonso Garrido e Paula, who clarified that article 263 of the Bill of Rights, where it mentions increase in punishment for rape and violent moral outrage, as described in articles 213 and 214 of the Penal Code is revoked by article 9 of Law 8,072, since this law is posterior to the Law of Hideous Crimes, and regulated this subject, including foreseeing an aggravation of these penalties from 6 to 10 years. Furthermore, if we were not to accept the revocation of article 263 of this Bill of Rights, we would have the follow-

ing and absurd hypotheses: first, the rape of an adult victim deals with hideous crime penalty of at least 6 years imprisonment, and not allowing indulgence, grace, provisional liberty and having to be the penalty executed entirely in a closed regime, with conditional release after completing two thirds, and a minimum prescription of the executory claim of 12 years. And, for the child, the rape of a 13 year old victim would not be a hideous crime, punished with 4 years imprisonment, permitting the implementation of indulgence, grace, provisional liberty, progressive execution of the penalty and conditional release after completing half or one third, and a minimum prescription of the executory claim of 8 years, and this would be truly absurd. Therefore, it is logical that article 263 be understood as revoked, having in view the appearance of a newer law, the law of hideous crimes, 8,072. Following the Penal Code treats the crime of moral outrage, article 214. To constrain someone through violence or serious threat to practice or permit to be used for the practice of a libidinous act divers from carnal conjunction, the penalty is the same, 6 to 10 years.

Another crime intrinsically related to sexual exploitation is corruption of minors, article 218 of the Penal Code: "To corrupt or facilitate corruption of a person over 14 and under 18, practicing with the person a libidinous act, or inducing the person to practice or to witness. Penalty: imprisonment for 4 years." From this legal disposition it is clear that the juridical object of this article, like all crimes of moral outrage, deals in reality with sexual crimes against persons over 14 and under 18. However, there is no crime, and here is the first criticism concerning the article which deals with corruption of minors, in this case over 14 and under 18 who are forced to witness a libidinous act, having in mind that the legal limit of this law, which is from 14 to 18. So, if the girl is 13 and witnesses a libidinous act this is not considered a crime. Nor, according to article 214, is it an attempt against moral customs because the legal prescription does not prescribe this presence at a libidinous act. Therefore, it is an atypical case, not a crime.

Another criticism refers to the understanding which jurisprudence assigns to excluding the crime when the minor is already corrupted, in which case there is no point in talking about corruption. But it must be remembered that the question of corruption is subject to staggering. In view of these considerations, it is mandatory that the legal system deal not only with penalty for those who corrupt minors, but also for those who are remiss in the face of the law. And it omits this aspect. Or who impedes the minor to free himself from a degrading environment. There

are, furthermore, two other aspects forgotten in our penal system: who maintains the minor under corruption or impedes that he free himself of such, is forgotten. And, corruption of a minor of less than 14 years who witnesses a libidinous act should also be integrated in this hypothesis, therefore, there should be an aggravation of the penalty because violence against a 14 year old is presumed — according to article 224, A of the Penal Code.

As for violent abduction or done by fraud, article 219 prescribes: "To abduct an honest woman by means of violence, serious threat or fraud, for libidinous purposes: imprisonment for 2 to 4 years. The first flaw of this disposition lies in the "honest woman". We advise that penal legislation should deal with the abduction of a person, not an honest woman, a very subjective concept. We alert to the fact that this norm does not refer to a minor between 14 and 18, with no relevance to the age of the victim, which is a serious mistake. This disposition of the Penal Codex forgot the persons between 14 and 18, because under 14, violence is presumed.

There is a special chapter dealing with white slavery and traffic with women. It points out some kinds of crimes extremely relevant in this case, like: mediation to serve another person's lasciviousness, favoring prostitution, houses of prostitution, pandering and traffic of women. The first crime, mediation serving another person's lasciviousness, article 227. What does it mean? To induce 'someone' — neither a man nor a woman — to satisfy another person's lasciviousness. Penalty: Imprisonment of to 3 years. It is a white slavery crime. It is different from the other crimes against moral outrage because the agent who manipulates is engaged in satisfying not his own but someone else's lasciviousness. Those who doctrinate say that by punishing such moral conduct, the objective is to prevent the development of prostitution, the interest of the community and moral corruption. The first paragraph is important, because it considers the crime qualified if practiced against a victim of over 14 and under 18. In dealing with a victim of under 14, it presumes violence and, therefore, according to article 232, combined with article 224 of the Penal Code it implies an aggravation of penalty. And according to the second paragraph of article 227 on white slavery, if the crime is executed together with violence, serious threat or fraud, the crime is equally qualified.

The second crime would be favoring prostitution, article 229. To induce or attract someone to prostitution: Penalty is imprisonment from 2 to 5 years. First paragraph: if a minor between 14 and 18, imprison-

ment of 3 to 8 years. If the crime is combined with violence, imprisonment of 4 to 10 years. And if the crime is executed for lucrative purpose, a fine is added.

Third crime: House of prostitution, article 229: To maintain, at one's own expenses or those of a third party, a house of prostitution or place destined for meeting for libidinous purposes, whether with lucrative purposes or not or direct mediation of the owner or the manager: Imprisonment of 2 to 5 years and fine. Some define a house of prostitution as a place where prostitutes carry out carnal commerce. However, the text says clearly: "...with or without lucrative purposes, and if there is one, a fine is to be applied," Paragraph 3 of article 228, this disposition is practically inefficient having in mind the orientation of our courts. Because motels and hotels of short permanency, if licensed, are not affected, even if they are places where libidinous acts are practiced, but it is alleged that they are no directed towards prostitution. Do you understand this? The same goes for drive-ins, massage shops, the ads we see all the time in the papers. Therefore, in the cruelty of the system by licensing these places the lawfulness of these activities is presumed. It is shameful.

And here comes the problem of sex-tourism, the difficulty of fitting it into a penal frame, unless for corruption of minors. It must be pointed out that article 229 does not deal with the problem of the victims of under 18 or over 14. Here also, when dealing with prostitution, the Penal Code is silent on the subject. Another crime is pandering, article 230: To profit from the prostitution of others, directly participating in the profit or being sustained by it, in whole or in part, by whom commits it. Penalty: imprisonment of 1 to 4 years. First paragraph: if between 14 and 18, the penalty is 3 to 6 years. If there is violence, or serious threat, imprisonment of 2 to 8 years and a fine.

And, finally, traffic with women, article 231: To promote or facilitate the entry in the national territory of women who engage in prostitution or the departure of women who are going to practice prostitution abroad. Penalty from 3 to 8 years. If the woman is between 14 and 18, imprisonment of 4 to 10 years. If violence, serious threat or fraud occur, the penalty is 5 to 12 years and the fine corresponding to the violence. And, if there is a profit, also a fine.

As you can see, the Penal Code, in questions related to prostitution, places the latter generically in the world of the adults. And, giving emphasis to female prostitution and not relevance to male prostitution, and much less to child prostitution. It is true that for those of less than 14, in all situations, violence is presumed according to article 224, with aggravation of the penalty. However, the victims over 14 and under 18 are totally ignored by the Penal Code. Therefore, we have to consider our Penal Code a punitive system that does not punish and does not even counter-motivate the practice of child prostitution.

Another important aspect of these considerations on child prostitution is that if the person who is being manipulated is a child or an adolescent, the Penal Code refers to it in its peculiar way as crimes against moral customs, and tries to penalize those who offend sexual morals, family principles, etc. according to a law of 1940, right? It is understood that our moral customs have been subject to major alterations, the society is freed from sexual repression of the past, and this argument justifies the omission on the part of society and State in this case. However, we believe that when dealing with children and adolescents, in reality such moral conduct would not be against public morals, they are conducts that offend the physical and psychic integrity of the subjects, since it is not conceivable that girls and boys age 7 or 8 who are being sexually exploited, many times by force, become a simple moral question. It is more than that: a situation of horrors, of barbarism. The International Convention of the Rights of Children of 1990, which Brazil signed, determines in article 19 that the state-members will adopt legislative, social, educational and administrative measures to protect the children in all ways against all forms of violence and exploitation, including sexual. In Brazil, as you know, the Convention was approved by the National Congress by Legislative Decree N. 28 of September 14, 1990 and on December 21 of that same year it was promulgated by Decree N. 99,710. Therefore, the negligence of our country versus child prostitution is a lack of respect for the Federal Constitution, a neglect of the Convention, the rights proclaimed in the Bill or Rights of the Children, in short a complete negation of the fundamental rights of the human being. Above all, having in mind that this negation of citizenship reaches those who deserve special and integral protection, because they are still developing. And what is worse, the whole political system is consenting in such abuse.

On the other hand, when trying to establish a legal reading of child prostitution, and, therefore, to analyze the mechanisms the penal system offers in order to avoid the degrading infant-juvenile sexual exploitation, we are also questioning the mere existence of norms which would provide a more severe emphasis, imposing much more drastic penalties, which in itself would already be sufficient. It seems obvious

that they do not, since as Garcia Pablos says, the efficiency in preventing crime does not depend on a greater formal control of the laws by the society, but on a better integration or synchronization of this formal control, the juridical system and society. What does this mean? That true prevention is such a serious problem as is child prostitution and it demands a joint action of State and society, using methods and programs capable of neutralizing the problem in its origin. Obviously, the solution is not found on a short term, but this should not be taken as an argument for lack of action. It is also necessary to consider that the civil society must demand from the State a more effective control of hotels, motels and similar. Inclusively, it seems opportune to establish measures which imply in significant fines and even the ban of establishments where sexual abuse of children and adolescents is discovered, detrimental to the penal responsibilities. Certainly, fearing high fines and the ban of their activities, more than legal penalties, there would be a decrease of this exploitation. It is an illusion to think in terms of preventing the problem by merely applying the dispositions of the Penal Code. In the first place, because any penal intervention implies in a high cost for the society, and in the second place, not always the rigor of the laws is equal to their effectiveness. And these two factors, the social cost and the ineffectiveness of the laws end up by generating impunity. And in this respect we have the young Marquis of Beccaria, who wrote on the crimes of Athens in 1764, two centuries ago, when he was only 27. He said that the perspective of a moderate, but inevitable, punishment will always cause a much stronger impression than the vague fear of a terrible capital punishment, torture, which always implies in some kind of impunity.

Ella Wieco Volkmer de Castilho

Sub-Attorney General of the Republic

I am going to reinforce some of the points Josiane raised, but I am also going to introduce some new ones. In the first place, I find the title proposed for this debate (The Juridical Interpretation of Prostitution) very interesting, because it immediately evidences the specification and the limitation of the juridical approach to the phenomenon of prostitution. It is also interesting, because it insinuates a lack of connection between the vision of the law of the problem and the reality of the same, which is a fact we are going to analyze following.

The juridical interpretation which we are going to deal with refers to the one that is common in Brazil, and which is conceptually based on the Penal Code of 1940. The Penal Code does not conceptualize prostitution nor does it penalize it. In the articles 227 and 231, which are grouped together under one chapter called "Of white slavery and traffic with women", we find the types of penalties already mentioned here, but I wish to remember them: mediation to serve the lasciviousness of somebody else, house of prostitution, pandering and traffic with women. In all of them the active subject of the crime is the person who promotes the prostitution of somebody. Punishable is the pander, the pimp, the procuress. As for the passive subject, the title of the chapter, and, particularly, the type of penalty of article 231, of traffic of women, suggests that it deals with a woman. In the historical-social context within which the Penal Code of 1940 was edited, prostitution was looked upon as a phenomenon fitting the condition of woman. However, since the wording of the types of penalty refer to the passive subBject using the word somebody, it was possible to adapt the law to the present-day times, when male prostitution is becoming relevant, or perhaps, only more visible. Thus in the well-known manual of Penal Right, in the analysis of articles 227 and 230, the author states that since the law refers to some, it is not possible to exclude the male, noting that in the larger centers male prostitution is an activity highly developed. In what regards traffic of persons for prostitution purposes, the Penal Code

is restrictive. It only refers to traffic of women and international traffic. Domestic traffic of women and international and domestic traffic of men for prostitution purposes are not criminalized. It is possible, but questionable to have them fall under crimes of luring laborers from one part of the national territory to the other and luring for migration purposes, when the juridical property protected is the organization of labor.

Therefore, for Brazilian Penal Law, prostitution is, in the first place, prostitution of women. In the second place, prostitution of adolescent and adult women, and not children. This fact was perceived by the Parliamentary Inquiry Committee in charge of evaluating the responsibilities for the infant-juvenile exploitation and prostitution, and which, therefore, proposed changes in the penal legislation. For the crimes in articles 227 and 228, to induce someone to satisfy the lasciviousness of someone else and induce or facilitate some one in engaging in prostitution, facilitate or impede someone to abandon it, is foreseen a special clause for the aggravation of the penalty if the victim is over 14 or under 18, or if the agent is its ascendant, descendent, husband, brother, tutor or curator, or a person who is in charge of education, treatment or care. There is no aggravation of the penalty if the victim is under 14, because for the system of the Code, in this case violence is presumed, if a divers crime is being incurred in, like rape, moral outrage, etc. In what regards the street children, the situation of vulnerability in which they live makes improbable, if not impossible, the persecution of the agents of the rape and moral outrage. On the other hand, for jurisprudence it is practically accepted that is a relative presumption.

In the meantime, what most draws the attention in this juridical interpretation is the classification of crimes under the title of "Crimes against customs", for crimes of rape, moral outrage, sexual abuse through fraud, moral outrage through fraud, seduction, corruption of minors, violent rape or through fraud, consensus rape, obscene written act, or obscene subject. All of the books tell us that the discipline of sexual activities, the custom and public morals are clearly tutored. I do not believe that prostitution is a question of custom. The Convention for the Repression of Traffic of Persons and of Exploitation of the Prostitution of somebody else considers that prostitution and the evil that goes with it, or, traffic of human beings for prostitution, are not compatible with the dignity and the value of the human being and endanger the well-being of the individual, the family and the community. Therefore, and rightly so, in the proposal by the first Sub-Committee in charge of elaborating a draft of the project for the reformation of the special part of the

Penal Code, the crimes connected with prostitution are inventoried side by side with the crimes related to slavery as in crimes against the dignity of the human being. This proposal which, I believe, was not enough discussed in the press, including the Parliamentary Inquiry Committee did not know about it, is very interesting, and I am going to read the types of penalty proposed for you to understand that there is a change in the juridical interpretation, of the perspective of the law in relation to prostitution.

The crime of white slavery is being conceptualized as "to organize, direct or control somebody else's prostitution, or to recruit persons to channel them towards prostitution." There is an increase in the penalty foreseen if the recruitment of persons was deceitful or the person of less than 12 years of age. Traffic of persons: To promote or facilitate, with the purpose of obtaining economic benefits, the entry on national territory of whom is going to engage in prostitution or the departure, to exert it abroad. In this case, the penalty is increased. There is also an increase in case of violence or serious threat. Pandering: To make a profit, through violence or serious threat of somebody else's prostitution, participating directly in the profits or making oneself be sustained, totally or partly, by whom engages in it. To induce or facilitate prostitution: To induce or attract someone to prostitution, facilitating or impeding someone to abandon it. Increase in penalty: if the agent impedes through violence or serious threat that someone abandon prostitution. Violent mediation to satisfy lasciviousness, inducing a minor of 12 years of age or some one subject to his authority, or incapable, for whatever reason, of consenting in the satisfaction of the lasciviousness of somebody else. And, finally, mediation with abuse of the state of the victim: to induce some one to satisfy the lasciviousness of somebody else, abusing his state of being abandoned or extreme economic necessity. There is an increase in the penalty, if the crime is practiced with a lucrative purpose.

In this new perspective, the jurisprudence I brought here for you loses its meaning, once you will be able to verify that it disqualifies the victims of sexual abuse in view of their sexual experience. Who has been once a victim of sexual abuse as far as posterior crimes to be judged are concerned, becomes the culprit. To conclude, it is possible to state that the Brazilian Law needs to re-examine prostitution as it is today, in order to find more adequate laws for avoiding or repressing it. In the meantime, we know that these changes are very slow. So, although there are not yet legal changes, it seems possible to make prevention and repression more effective through the juridical instruments we dis-

pose of, if those who apply the laws proceed to contextualize the individual cases of prostitution within a macro-social frame. I believe that the penal repression of infant-juvenile prostitution should be part of a strategy of facing globally the problem. This demands a joint action of the administration of crimes, the police, the public and judiciary ministries, and other administrative spheres of the public powers in order to define whom to repress, when, where and to what extent.



Regina Santos Brasília — DF

5th PANEL

THE ROLE OF THE STATE AND OF CIVIL SOCIETY CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF GIRLS AND ADOLESCENTS

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I wish to tell you how happy I am with this meeting which is making possible a thorough discussion of a question not much debated in our society. The theme which the Organizors gave for today's session is rather complex, because the role of society and of the State involves several social characters. And we cannot talk in the abstract, we have to talk in a very concrete way of the role of each character. But, even so, I am going to develop some major proposals which were presented as a policy for infants, children and adolescents in Brazil and, based on these proposals, present alternatives possible in the present set of circumstances.

The diagnosis of the situation has already been presented during vesterday's and today's sessions. Several expositors have showed us the cause of the problem of sexual exploitation. However, one is constantly surprised, when opening the newspapers, by the seriousness of the situation. Here, in the Correio Braziliense of Sunday, in the page on Ceilândia, it reads: " Drug traffickers create a free territory for drugs". Unfortunately, the image of Ceilândia, although it is a town where part of the excluded lives, is a town which cannot be identified solely as a drug-town, of the "Feira do Rolo" because this will put a stigma not only on the population but on the whole town. In the report is included a testimony of a girl, S.A.C., aged 17, who, according to the reporter, decided to break the monotony of a place with no options for leisure, the place where she lives, as well as her own life. For this reason, she put on military boots, a black jacket with a high collar, made up her hair and went out, alone into a night peopled with "drug addicts", to shake the town. She said: "Ok, today I am ready for anything to come, I am ready for "merla". And she also said: "Life here is terrible. You end up by falling into the hands of those who transport drugs and those who live in slums. Everyone in my school complains about this."

We see in this testimony the absence of a social welfare policy. And, if we analyze the Brazilian historical context and the political and familiar context and its relationship to the child, we can say that the child practically does not exist in this political social context. It is the object of in a more ample political frame. I am going to list the major political schools of thought which consider the child as an object. In the first place, the policy of maintenance of order, repression. The child was looked at as a menace. At the beginning of the Republic there were several testimonies, and at present we also have some, which show that the preoccupation was not the child when setting up courts and institutions for reforms, but the maintenance of order. This is why I say that the child, as a subject of a policy, does not exist.

We can see, for instance, the preoccupation with protecting the order, in the testimony of Franco Vaz, at the beginning of the Republic, when he said that the question of the infancy was at present still in an embryonic state: "We witness every day a parade of legions of coffins." But, what he is proposing at the same time are steps to combat the three major illnesses of that time: tuberculosis, syphilis and smallpox, as well as the repression of delinquents, when saying that the most efficient remedy against child licentiousness is jail, a medication immediately effective, capable of preparing the organism of a child for its two most powerful reconstituent, the reform schools and the preservation institutions.

This testimony is part of a research on the history of the policy for infancy which I made. I am not going into details because of lack of time, but the preoccupation with social order which came at the beginning of the Republic continued with Getulio Vargas who implemented the SAM. The SAM, Service for Assistance for Minors dates from the 40's. The police put the children in jail not only because they were caught in the act, but based on sheer suspicion. So, it was dangerous to be considered under suspicion. A poorly dressed child, walking in the streets at odd hours, was considered suspicious, just because of its appearance. The child was withdrawn from the street not to protect it, but to protect the social order.

The second proposal of policy for the child is protection, or better, protection for the industry. This meant protecting the capital. In this sense, the policy regarding the child was to channel it to a precocious and subordinate job. I have here with me a testimony of entrepreneurs,

from 1930, who said that the Code for Minors of 1927, if applied without rigor, throws into the lap of the society a new legion of candidates for vagrancy, vice and crime. The minor evil would be the multiplication of panders and prostitutes. This was the opinion of the entrepreneurs at that time. We need to keep children busy in order to avoid vagrancy, prostitution, vice and crime. Because who does not work, is a vagabond. For the poor children this represents being inserted into society by means of working. And, in the history of social politics in Brazil during the Republic, I was able to verify the presence of this policy at all times, even during the so called New Republic, of Tancredo-Sarney, when there was a program called "Good Boy" typical of inserting the child into society by means of making it work.

And the discourse of the majority of the Brazilian elites is that of work, and it is even in the Constitution of 37, saying: "Pre-vocational and professional education, destined to lesser privileged classes"- and it does not speak of citizenship. The Constitution of 37 created a double citizenship: the citizenship for the rich and the citizenship for the poor. The rights of the poor in terms of education: the first duty of the State is to provide professional education. It is its duty to execute it by founding institutes for professional education and funding those which are initiated by the states. This means, according to the Constitution of 37, the authoritarian Constitution of Getulio Vargas — that this citizenship of the poor is that of labor, the obligation to work. For the others it meant the right to study, but for the poor it was the obligation to work. And the latter is, let's put it this way, the tendency of various political factions. The child does not exist as subject. It exists as labor force. It exists while it works. So the second political proposal strengthens the thesis of my exposition, i.e., the child does not exist as subject entitled to rights in social politics.

The third policy proposal is the preservation of the race, the preservation of hygiene and the preservation of public health. The policies of health for the child were not directed towards protecting the child, but the race. This was very clearly expressed when the DNCR, National Department of the Child was founded at the beginning of the 40's. The director of DNCR, Clóvis Costa, said that the reproductive organs do not belong to their bearer but to the species. It is a testimony which shows that the so called policy to protect health was to impede that illnesses were carried over to other social classes, or to avoid degrading the race. The child was part of social politics not as a subject, but as an object to be controlled, because it was subject to propagating illnesses.

At the beginning of the Republic, a child with syphilis was considered a little monster. How did the child get syphilis? Because it is unruly, and engaged in sexual practices with adults. This was a very common image of the child. It was either a monster, or a robber, rowdy, dangerous, or a little angel. When the child is well behaved, it is an angel, when it rebels, it is a demon. This is how the Jesuits — I did not want to start talking about the Colonies — saw the children raised by them in the houses of the servants, either as little devils or little angels. And this is still in the mind of the society when dealing with the child. Neither for the health policies nor for the National Department of the Child, the child was a subject. When combating tuberculosis or syphilis, vaccination was meant to avoid degeneration of the race.

It was not to protect the child that certain measures were taken. When defending certain actions, certain strategies involving children, even the policy of welfare assistance, many times the idea is implicit that the government must take care of children because the nation was at stake. Therefore, the subject was not the child but the whole nation, Brazil, the Brazilian people, the welfare of the nation. The child is the future of a nation. Much is said in this respect. The present President of the Republic uses this language quite often: "If we do not do this, it will be detrimental to Brazil." There is a lot of confusion about the idea of national unity and a nationalistic view, disguising a separation of the society in classes, groups, rich and poor. And, furthermore, on the part of a sociologist, it is strange to see how he uses frequently this discourse that Brazil 'needs to', Brazil is at stake.' This policy is linked to the idea, form the time of the dictatorship, of national security.

This, now, is the sixth form of including the child in politics. To avoid menaces to national security. The policy of FUNABEM has the mark of national security. And what does national security mean? It meant to avoid the threats that the citizen might bring to the established order. These threats could be of a psychological, political or moral nature, therefore, any policy involving the child was directed towards national security. The Chamber of Deputies, in 1976, when it set up the PIC, called it the Parliamentary Inquiry Committee for the investigation of the problem of the child and the minor. Which means that the PIC itself made a difference between a child and a minor. The minor was the one who threatened. And the PIC came to the following conclusion: "If preventive and recuperative measures regarding delinquent minors are not taken, life will become intolerable for all of us." The policy for the child was to make the life of the elites tolerable, take the children away

from the so called crime world, the streets, to clean the streets. Or, to make life more tolerable for the elites.

These were the major political measures of which the child was the subject. But at present, it is even worse. I will talk about the Bill of Rights, briefly. The dominating culture is even worse in what regards the idea of the child. And I am going to use Christopher Lash's thesis of his book "The minimum I. Narcissism. The narcissistic I", and more recently, "The Rebellion of the Elites." Because until a short while ago, the elites showed a certain preoccupation with the children, a certain pain in their consciences which made them take some action. But, according to Christopher Lash, nowadays the elites stay away from social problems. They, whom he calls symbolic analysts, are those who have a house in Miami, bars on the doors, dogs, private schools, guards. They are not anymore involved in public politics. The elites, nowadays, are totally unaware of the problem. They do not care about the child. Before, the child although included in a global policy, was still present. But for the elites, in our days, they are not even bothered anymore with the child. Delfim Neto, when he was minister under President Figueiredo, said that he was preoccupied with the market, and those who are outside of the market have to get even with God, and this shows the indifference of the elites. Christopher Lash showed that in reality, there is an indifference on the part of the elites. If you want to look closer into it, the Folha de São Paulo, in the section Mais of January 8, 95, presented a report on Christopher Lash's thesis of the rebellion of the elites which is opposed to the thesis by Ortega y Gasset, of the 30's, talking about the rebellion of the masses. We see another aspect of the globalization of economy. It is not only a problem of productivity and market, but the problem of states shrinking and the elites not needing the states anymore to survive. And, therefore, they are globalized. Today, they can buy a product in Miami, to-morrow they can be in Singapore, afterwards in Hong-Kong, invest their money in one minute in Tokyo, cash it and send it from Tokyo to London. So for the elites the State does not exist anymore. The elites of the world. The symbolic analysts. There view of the State has become even more secondary. They lost conscience of the action in favor of poverty and the importance of the State. But especially we are not allowed to think in terms of a social policy for the child without the presence of the State. The State is the guaranty of the rights. And also, an active presence within the society.

Yesterday the question of whether there is a need to restructure the family or not was discussed here. There are many forms of families. We must not think in terms of an ideal family with father, mother, a boy and a girl. The child has many forms of a family, it can be the aunt, the grandfather, the brother, or friends. It is imperative that we think of a policy involving the family as it is, strengthened by the social politics of the State. And I am going to present six proposals so that we can then work with this family the way it is and with the support from the State.

The first question is a cultural and social one, it is the policy of negotiating, what the Americans call 'to bargain'. This policy presupposes the presence of the child, and not its absence. Make it the subject of rights in. To negotiate means to respect the other, listen to his opinion, carry a dialogue. It does not mean a negotiation in the pejorative sense. In Brazil, to negotiate has many meanings, but I am using the word in the sense of concession, respect, applied to the day-by-day practice. In all situations in which we worked with children, we had to have a terrain for negotiations for the child to express its desires and for us to reduce our cultural authoritativeness. We have not yet done away with slavery, neither in our heads nor in our hearts or our daily life. Contardo Caligari, the Italian psychiatrist who worked in Porto Alegre said something in an article which impressed me very much. That even in psycho-analysis he discovered that the Brazilian wants to be the owner of the imagery of his fellow man. But, we cannot be the owners of the child. The child does not have an owner, it is not the property of the family — this family which exists — nor of the State. It is a subject. And the ECA, the Bill of Rights of the Child and the Adolescent made society aware of this proposal of total protection of the child as subject of rights and negotiation.

The second proposal is what I call "to give a chance", because a boy from Ceilândia said the following: "I have no chances, that is why I turned into a barbarian." To give chances is a civilizing process, to create possibilities for leisure, culture, expression, identity. And not the policy of indifference of the elites. The third proposal is to prevent. The emphasis is on prevention. To prevent by participating. And what does to prevent mean? Unfortunately, we will have to discuss this later. Perhaps there are persons here whose experience is greater than mine. But it means to take radical actions. To prevent is to be radical. Not to wait for things to happen. Change the relationships before they happen.

The fourth proposal is to watch and punish. Yes, but not the children. To watch and punish the traffickers, the exploiters, the drug traffic. The State has to set up a system of vigilance, and the SOS Child, for instance, has to become a constant instrument for accompanying viola-

tions and neglicence with children. We need a special protection for the child, as a being that is undergoing development. And, finally, to educate. Because the school, in reality, is the place where the child has the possibility of transforming its knowledge and relationship with the world. It is the place where one learns. Jürgen Habermas, in the book "To act communicatively" insists on the process of learning. This is a human characteristic, the human being is an eternal apprentice, as Gonzaguinha says in his music. It is necessary to follow this process permanently and the school is the ideal instrument for it.

I am going to finish here, and hope to have showed you in my discussion that these movements in defense of the child, and the Bill of Rights can very well open a new agenda which will permit for the child to become the subject and to exist.

Neide Castanha

Executive Director of the Social Service Foundation-DF

The first surveyor we think of when considering the situation of a girl or an adolescent being exploited or sexually abused is the State as guarantor of rights. And when thinking in this way, you have to amplify whatever concept you have of the question of the rights. The rights you can quantify or qualify in a form of which the process can be executed or the right you think is the guaranty for citizenship in the objective relationship of State and society, and the guaranty of the citizen, the person. Or else, what rights you are establishing and considering legitimate.

I say this because it is present nowadays in our preoccupation when discussing the question of the family. That is why I said that, perhaps, I would prefer to listen to Professor Faleiros instead of talking. Today we have some questions of which there is a need for rupture. Normally, when you talk about the girl in a situation of negligence, exploitation, the first reference you find is that the helplessness of the girl comes from the lack of family support. And, when you analyze the lack of support by the family, even today, in spite of the many mechanisms we have like the ECA, there is a tendency of reverting to fhat family, father, mother, and brothers, Professor Faleiros, with everybody living in a house and the girl just wanting to run away. And here we have a serious problem: the intervention of the State, even with the best of intentions in terms of public health and education, can result in an intervention which negates the right to the have rights, inclusively, of not wanting that family to be that way, and, wanting to be a person at 14, 15 or 16 years of age who has her own family, her own life, organize her own life.

I believe that this notion of the State as guarantor of rights, chances, opportunities, acting to diminish the situation of need, misery, abandon, does not mean to negate energy, life, the possibility of reaction, and I think that this is the major challenge. I believe that, for instance, in our case in the Federal District, we have noticed that sometimes within the politics of education, health, social welfare there is a formulation of conceptions and an operational language which seems to indicate that the guaranty of the rights

of the child and the adolescent, especially after the Bill of Rights, appears as a leading thought, many times even as priority.

The lack of visibility, of objective transparency when facing these questions which are taboos and preconceived because they do not happen by chance but as a result of a cultural situation, in effect impede an efficient use of any measure which, I wish to believe, could encompass the proposals Professor Faleiros presented to us. And adding to them a consequent vigilance which is meant to protect the victim, not to punish it. The question is to establish a relationship with the female element which would really guarantee its identity. All the attempts I have witnessed which were supposed to be in support of the girl — we have agreements to assist the unmarried mother, the girl who has just given birth — is not presented clearly, it is camouflaged. What is the objective? To combat poverty, hunger, integrate the family, protect the child through adoption, care, in short, the main substantial question is not being considered. When you look at programs for the prevention of health, pre-natal, meet pregnant adolescents who live in the streets, you realize there is no specific program for this phenomenon which is much more visible in its real dimension, problematical and complex, and a challenge for the support of the rights announced as the major objective of official policy.

For us, I believe that the question of the owner of the child is fundamental. It passes through a profound reflection: what do we want to achieve with what we are doing, or else we are not in a position to know where we are going in terms of citizenship. Because, in effect, we understand that in the case of a question which belongs to the society, the State must make it feasible and create the chances and guarantee the rights. It cannot be subject to an authoritarian intervention, a guaranty of what the State understands is the guaranty of protection and welfare assistance. I believe that it is a case where the State and society have to together face the different aspects which will define the rupture, the cultural aspects, involving moral aspects, family traditions, but above all, the guaranty of identity for persons wanting to be different. For street children to exist, for prostitutes to exist, while we, who work for the State, do not conceive that the State shows its desire to or its proposition to follow a political will based on laws, decrees and programs. The State is not just what we know through its formal or objective organizations. In this case, the State consists of joint actions and interventions with different interlocutors. And I think that we, civil servants, who are working in this area, are to this question. This commitment cannot just be a show of indignation, lamenting or denouncing situations. We must invest in the capability of being executors of public policies, but with full knowledge that

the public policies we are executing promote citizenship, guarantee rights and identities. I said I would not make any proposals, nor evaluations, but I brought preoccupations based on commitments as a State person, and recognizing that it cannot be the owner of persons and of identities, but should facilitate, propose measures that involve society and State in a challenge which is the product of the whole society, and pointing out the role which makes us, the executors of the policy realize that we can only present our claims and laments the moment we are provided with an open space. We hope that we will be able to help to remove traditional technical postures which do not anymore represent what reality tells us, and be able to establish, based on our experience and our studies, new forms which may overcome challenges to the duties of the State.



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6th PANEL

THE MEDIA AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Gilberto Dimenstein Journalist of Folha de São Paulo

Beto Almeida Vice-President of the National Federation of Journalists-FENAJ

Gilberto Dimenstein

Journalist of Folha de São Paulo

I will try to be as objective as possible in trying to make my presentation a reflection on how to face the media, how to cope with the media and how to deal with the media. Usually I have to listen to endless complaints about the press, the newspapers, radio and TV. I can say the majority of the complaints are correct, because or the media does not cover the event or the area or because the press does not know well enough what we call the Fourth World, and there is included the question of the girls, women, prostituted persons and all this is true. Or the media either does not cover this at all, and that is true too. Or it distorts it, and that is also true.

The central point of discussion is, in my opinion, an obvious principle of journalism with which we unfortunately have to cope. The press reflects, almost to perfection, the priorities and preconceptions of a society. So it arms itself with preconceptions. It arms itself with priorities and it reinforced the preconceptions and priorities. I am going to quote the words constantly repeated to me when I started to work as a journalist, and I insisted in bringing to the editor stories about slums, children, in short, everything we called the Fourth World. The explanation usually given was the following: poor people do not read the newspapers. That was the image: the poor person does not read the newspaper, so do not insist on writing too much about poverty. Because what is of interest are events that interest the middle class. If you read today's newspapers, you will see that this rule persists more or less: the poor person does not read a newspaper, he does not buy a newspaper, he is not a consumer of products which the newspaper announces. As a result, newspapers like 'Folha' and o 'Estado', o 'Globo' and the 'JB' are perfectly capable of covering the details of the evolution of the Chicago Stock Exchange, or the New York Stock Exchange or the Tokyo Stock Exchange. But they do not cover infantile mortality. And you, who work in the social welfare area have something in common with the journalists, the lack of information. Very little information in the social welfare area is trustworthy, and we are all victims of this information and end up by perpetrating it, which also reflects a lack of effort and desire on the side

of the press as well as the official entities to search for more precision in the information provided.

When I mention preconceptions and priorities I am not talking about something abstract, I am talking about something that is very cruel, or else, the minute the press does not understand the importance of the problem, how consistent it is, how relevant, a vicious circle of silence is being created. Since you do not talk, nobody talks. Since nobody talks, the society is not interested. If society is not interested, why write about it if it does not sell the newspaper? This is the point.

I am going to talk about a case which seems to me to be syntomatic of all of this, the question of torture. When I was an adolescent, torture was the central point which divided the world of darkness from the world of respectable men, the world of dictatorship from the world of democracy, the world of hell from the world of paradise. Torture represented the boundaries. Or separated those who were in favor or against torture. The military regime came to an end, a civil regime was implemented and torture remained, as we all know, a daily activity in the police stations. It is not a novelty that torture is being used as a customary method, a routine, to obtain confessions from the prisoners. Just pick up the newspapers and look at them. What is behind this proceeding? Behind it lies the fact that even we, who think of ourselves as progressive, liberals, socially preoccupied, believe that there are two categories of persons. There is one category which is not trained to suffer pain. We, the middle class, were the ones not trained to feel pain, and eventually ended up in prison, under torture. It was the epitome of political hell. Those trained to feel pain are the poor people, who, in some way, were able to survive the tortures, the electric shocks. And even when trying hard to place in the news the question of torture, there is no end to it and it always comes back. There is no consistent relationship like at the time of the military regime. The essential is missing in social welfare work, and this regards you, a qualified public opinion that exerts pressure.

I discovered together with a journalist the following: the more the clientele is disqualified in terms of pressure, more deteriorated and poor is the labor force which works for this clientele. I will give an example which looks very adequate to me. If it were possible to have the Bank of Brasil stop for one, two or three days, we would have a semi-revolution in this country, because of agricultural credits and financing. But when the milk distribution program stopped, nothing happened. Because no voices were heard, no complaints were made audibly. Why is the labor force in the social welfare area the most suppressed of the labor forces in civil service? I can tell you about a recent case in São Paulo, where a primary school teacher makes 141

reais a month, in the richest state of the Federation. Why? Because, for some reason, the middle class which is influential, took their children out of the public schools, and in the public school stayed the son of the domestic servant, the laborer. So, the strength of public opinion became weak. As a result, the more the clientele is fragile and needy, the resources it has access to are equally fragile. I call this the law of social cowardice. The State, instead of compensating the frailty, reinforces it. What is the logic behind the first ladies, the wives of the governors, having the monopoly of social welfare assistance in their respective states? Because it is assumed that only women are endowed with sensitivity. And since the child is a matter of sensitivity, you place a sensitive person in charge of the ex-LBA, the Legion of Good Will and similar institutions. If I were to propose that each first lady take care of the Treasury Secretariat of her state, or of the Central Bank, people would think that I am crazy. But a first lady, unskilled, who has no higher education, who was never particularly preoccupied with sociology or social welfare is considered able to take care of an area where a mistake may cost a human life, as you so well know.

How to resolve this situation which I consider vital? One way is, unfortunately, a long term project, to change priorities of a society and this is very, very complicated. It takes years. And again I quote São Paulo, the richest Brazilian state, with a gigantic middle class: in these last three months, 300 persons were killed by the Military Police. To be absolutely correct, 250. You do not see any movement against it in São Paulo. Quite to the contrary, you notice a tacit or even explicit reinforcement in favor of this kind of extermination. The death squadrons find support with the poorer layers of the society. The radio broadcasters, who exert a great negative force with regard to stimulating this type of violence, are highly popular. Some of them are elected deputies, with a high number of votes.

There are two logical ways when trying to revert this situation. The first one is the social dynamics which, as said before, are very complicated. Society has to change its priorities from time to time. An aristocrat from the time of the Empire said once, when he was in the master house looking at the slaves cutting grass under the burning midday sun: "Look how God is wise. He made the white-skinned men stay in the shade and the dark-skinned men, who are more resistant, stay in the sun." In many ways this image persists. And we have to use it for our work as have the persons involved in the attempt to dismantle the social **apartheid** have to work. I regret to say that it is going to take some 40, 50 or 100 years. And it depends,

fundamentally, on you to change generations to come, working with schools.

The second point is dependent on a set of circumstances, and refers to changes of the relationship between the society and the press. In my opinion it is difficult but possible. And you also have to try to change, gradually, the approach of the press. I think that in Brazil there has been a great improvement, when, after much struggle, the child, the girl, the woman was beginning to be talked about in the printed media. Before, the theme child, girl, woman was relegated to the most hidden bottom of the pages, and without giving it much relevance. Nowadays, it is much more visible in spite of its frailty, and marginality has become a political theme. You see governors, mayors or even the President, although rhetorically, mention the question of those socially excluded as important. If they are really doing something in order to change the situation, if there is a political desire to do so, which is what we would like to see, that is another story. But rhetorically, there is a change.

The press has also changed, not much, but still. I remember at the beginning of 89 I started a series of reports on murders of children on which, until then, there was little information. And I was horrified when I found out that since the middle of the 70's there were indications of a generalized extermination in Brazil, of which there was not one report in the newspapers. It was as if society was peacefully living side by side with the elite of the country. And what was even funnier, (and here I see an angle to change this logic) the process is absolutely contradictory, what happened between social exclusion and democracy, in that democracy is the respect for rights and responsibilities. But in Brazil, democracy is like different layers that do not mix with each other. No one can say that at present we do not enjoy a level of democracy that is highly advanced. Inclusively, the Constitution is sophisticated. You do not find, in world history, an example of impeachment of a president like what happened in 1992. I remember that when people began to talk about impeachment, it was suspected that we were dealing with a 'coup d'état'. And if you remember the whole process, the president was overthrown without one single blow at anyone and without one shot. This in a Latin-American country with a democratic tradition which does not in the least remind us of that of the United States, England or other countries in Europe.

On one hand, you have a thundering advance in the political area, with a fabulous upcoming of NGOs, the most sophisticated form of political participation which give a new notion of what is public. But, on the other

hand, you have barbarism. The level of murders of children, the level of violence against girls, against women has increased. And the more you were closer to the bottom of the social scale, more you suffered. For me it was obvious that for this law of social cowardice the poor are the main victims, and within poverty the women, and the girls. In this order. Therefore, you are working with the most fragile side of a society where all forms of oppression are represented — family violence, lack of education, of health, police violence and the violence of a potential client of an eventual prostitute.

The way of changing the type of relationship with the press and the power is a permanent pressure. I believe that Brazil, in spite of all the advancements, has not yet learned how to lobby, or, how to lobby by means of organized groups. A Souza Cruz or a FIESP engage in a lobby that borders delinquency. It suffices to buy one, two, there deputies, finance the campaign for candidacy of a president, have dinner with the Secretary of the Federal Revenue Department, and so forth. The lobbies which should be organized by the excluded groups do not happen. Seen from one side, I think this complete disorganization of these groups is great. It is incredible how the NGOs fight each other and the lack of professionalism of many of them. It is amazing how some sectors of the press campaign against serious entities who deal with children, as I have seen more than once, and the reaction is infinitesimal. As an example, I quote, for instance, an entity called Forum of the Child and the Adolescent which did an exemplary job to have the Bill of Rights for the Child and the Adolescent approved, and if priority for the infancy were to be adopted by the Constitution as a priority, all of the sudden, the entity would fade out. And you do not see anymore anything in the news, you do not notice any political pressure. It is incredible how the funds for social welfare are misspent in Brazil were they are poorly distributed, but there is no way of stopping it. It is incredible that you have nowadays 7,000 welfare entities who do not receive any resources from the federal government, and you see nothing about it in the newspapers, or almost nothing. Each cent which is not received by a welfare entity is, probably, one child that is dying, or one that is ill, or years of work and years of recuperation of an individual, all of this being wasted. And there is no reaction.

The obvious conclusion is that you have to organize yourself. You have to exert pressure, you have to talk with journalists, visit the newspapers, support the NGOs, make the NGOs act professionally, and all the time offer alternatives for improvement of the society. And on the other hand, I

think that in spite of these difficulties there are some good news. The Brazilian rhetoric is at present much more in favor of the theme that deals with the socially excluded. There is a preoccupation on the part of some entrepreneurs that the socially excluded swallow them, because the level of violence, of kidnapping, of homicides which have increased so much. The recent intervention in Rio de Janeiro has shown up to what extent the police can become contaminated by organized crime, how a city can become besieged by violence, by what sociologists call anomie, the total lawfulness, when all rules fail.

I do not wish to take more of your time, also because I wish to see what preoccupation you have, but this is what I wish to present to you. The media is letting you down, it is doing much less than it should be doing. I think the media is an accomplice of a series of mistakes that are being committed in this area and of a series of human right that are being disrespected every day. I think that the media is an accomplice of a poor social policy, which is corrupt and aiming at a clientele. But the effort has to come from two sides: from ours, an improvement, and from yours, pressure, so that we can together present the question of marginality not as a sporadic job or sporadically raising anger like what happens today, when everybody feels outraged and you try to do something one way or the other and then it is over, but a permanent effort to integrate citizenship. Many thanks.

Beto Almeida

Vice-President of the National Federation of Journalists-FENAJ

I think that this discussion has been very productive. I will try to focus only one angle of the question, because I really believe that the role of the media in stimulating the awareness as well as generalized violence are important, but sexual violence against children and adolescents is a question that is much more ample and it will not be possible to cover it entirely. But, one of the aspects I would like to approach is, in the first place, a diagnosis of what is today contained in the media and then I will focus especially on radio and TV, and in detail, some of the TV programs. I find the contents savage, heartless, irresponsible and remiss with regard to the great human problems. The treatment of problems like the ones we are discussing corresponds directly to the way the media is organized today, and to the fact that they also correspond to the predominant social reality of the country and the classes which dominate this country and others, and who maintain an irresponsible attitude vis-à-vis a social problem of such seriousness.

I think that especially the programs for the infant-juvenile public offend frontally some of the constitutional precepts in the chapter about Social Communications. One of them, for instance, states that the function of the media is to give preference to educational, cultural, informative purposes or that it should also promote national and regional culture and stimulate the independent production. We see that this is an almost prohibited possibility in terms of media.

The third precept in the Constitution concerns the respect for ethical and moral values, in tune with what is most precious for the human being, citizenship. In short, this respect is openly offended. Not even the chapter on Social Communication of the Constitution is regulated. And, mainly, those elements which introduce the possibility of a participation on the part of society, like in the case of the Social Communication Council, has been waiting for four years to be regulated and im-

plemented. Congress has come to a standstill because obviously there is no interest in allowing an organized society to participate in the discussion of the theme 'communication' a childish question. There are no specific programs for children and we have received from FENAJ — incidentally, everything I say here is part of the reflection we practice at FENAJ — very serious denunciations from cities where programs reflect a more touristic nature, where broadcasters stimulate sex-tourism, use and boast this aspect of the city and try to publicize it more and more as an asset, a lure.

But, on television we can observe that there is a pattern for most of the programs for children which begins with those who present them. In general, the latter have a well-defined pronunciation, a sensual way of using the body, very short dresses, an erotic expression and a way of expressing double sense, malice, a form of developing jokes which entice competition in lieu of solidarious feelings and the practice of destroying the partner. All of this, and especially the jokes with double sense, as well as the way of stimulating malice, create an atmosphere for the infant public that induces to precocious sexuality for which the children are not ready and cannot discern the message with which they are being bombarded. And we have information that children spend an average of three hours a day watching television. Especially this kind of programs. The programs like Xou da Xuxa, which now is called The House of Angelica, which feature misses or ex/misses who are preoccupied with their sensual bodies and do not correspond exactly to the normal entertainment of an infant public. Therefore, they offend and develop another kind of banal atmosphere. Because it would be acceptable if they were dealing with discussing sex openly, scientifically, but they present the sex question in a banal way which generates malice, cheating and has a component of erotism in the jokes. Programs like Sérgio Malandro, the Children's Club, The House of Angelica. Intelligent exceptions are Ra-tim-bum's Castle of TV Cultura in São Paulo, Good Morning and Company, The Yellow Woodpecker Farm, the latter, are messages that considering the pace we are living today, as far as the television idiom, are already a bit superseded.

But I find it interesting to say that this incentive to malice, to double sense, to precocious sexuality, to a forced erotism, a distorted message for the infant public bears also consequences for the society as a whole. And this is even more serious. The effect is to legitimate, validate a thesis that could be: permissiveness is valid at any age or immorality at any time, so why not sex with children? An atmosphere which tends to favor the idea

that anything is valid, everything is acceptable, admissible. This is in my opinion the most ominous role of communication, in our case TV, by stimulating and omitting a problem of this magnitude, and acting in the eyes of society as if reproducing an atmosphere which announces the following: the problem of sex with children, with adolescents is not such an aberration. The distorted notion is being created that any anomaly practiced with children and adolescents is acceptable. This, in my mind, is the most ominous consequence of these kinds of programs, especially because they do not provoke what I think should be the role of the media: the indignation of the citizen asking for a national awareness for the need of a rupture with this kind of message which dominates nowadays the programs for children.

I have three proposals for action which correspond to a discussion which we engage in collectively over at FENAJ: First, the humanization of the media is completely, radically linked to the democratization of the media, and this is our most cherished banner as our president, Américo, said on the day of the opening of the seminar. The journalists will also have to deal with this theme, but we also realize that the question of communication is too serious to be dealt with by journalists only. This is why we defend, as line of action, pressure on various organizations, civil society entities to exert pressure on the National Congress, for the purpose of implementing immediately what should already have been done, and is ours, rightfully conquered in the Constitution of 88, the Social Communication Council. For the various themes involving communication, results and contexts of communication, be treated by different actors, and not only by entrepreneurs, owners of the media who today can do absolutely anything they wish and do not have to give any explanation to society, because they are not being asked to do so.

Second, the possibility of exerting pressure in favor of a reform of the criteria of concession and renovation of the concessions to radio and television, which is what Minister Sergio Motta is talking about. He said that within one week the President will sign the document with the new criteria of these concessions. They should be transparent, favor the nonmonopoly, open access to participation of entities from the civil society, in the forms well as in the process of communication, and not only those which are in a condition of doing so because of their entrepreneurial nature. To take care of communication as a patrimony of society is the core of this claim. And, before we finish, we wish to say that we think it is possible to set up a communication network, because for us the true and radical democratization of the media is associated with a global

change of the society. But part of it is to obtain the means to attain the final objective, for instance, by creating, amongst us, union movements, NGOs, churches, and this alternative network which is a project we are going to present today, here, during the meeting with several entities, and has to do with radio programs dealing with sexual violence against girls, boys and adolescents. It is a claim directed towards the political parties requesting that we be given part of their free time in TV, so that we can show videos and spots presenting the question of sexual violence in a dignified way, showing our anger, and implementing changes, which we all need. This is the objective of the defense we are committed to concerning the humanization of the media.



Regina Santos Brasília — DF

WORKSHOP

DEMYSTIFYING THE BODY

Tuca Preguinolatto

Professor of Dance and Art in Movement and Brazilian Popular Dance

Tuca Preguinolatto

Teacher of Dance and Art in Movement and Brazilian Popular Dance

The intention of this presentation is to redeem in this workshop, based on the natural and spontaneous movements of the Brazilian popular dance, the natural movements of the participants of this workshop.

Nowadays, especially in big cities, the population is getting more and more away from the original expression of Brazilian culture. This means that this distance, which is apparently innocent, indicates a dissociation and dispersion of social and humanitarian values which have been lost along the weary route to evolution of the modern society.

In the old times, the constant contact with nature was a rich source of an exchange of experiences between adults and children, of respect for the human being and the environment.

By moving around, man imitated in a way the healthy movements of nature, not only with dances and celebrations, but also in the daily work of the community, making people become more respectful and human relations healthier.

To work with the movements of the popular dances of Brazil helps to make people recuperate their spontaneous movements.

Brazil is a rich an, privileged country in terms of culture, especially due to the cultural diversity of the people who have come over since the time of the discoveries.

Based on thorough researches and my stay in the state of Maranhão, a place which preserves the manifestations of popular art and culture, I chose one of these manifestations which I consider ideal for adolescent women. It is the Dance of the Cacurió or Carimbó of the Caixeiras, as they say in Maranhão. 'Caixeiras' are the women who play the 'caixas', or tambourines, an instrument similar to a drum covered with a sheepskin on both sides and played with a pair of drum-sticks. The dance is part of the Celebrations of the Divine Spirit, where the 'caixeiras' are responsible for the celebration. They are devouts of the Divine Spirit, very serious about their religion, but without releasing the pleasant and lighthearted entertainment that takes part at the end of the celebrations. It is a dance which evokes the feminine and sensual side of women in a simple and playful way, always including movements that suggest some form of work.

It was a good choice, since the adolescents who participated in the workshop during the Seminar assimilated the context with spontaneity and joy.

Together with this activity we offered a careful and conscientious awareness of the body, from more adequate body postures to better health, even approaching the most delicate situations like pregnancy and the importance of exercises, once three of the adolescents were pregnant.

In spite of having only two days to work with the group, we think we were able to achieve a satisfactory result.

As the participants of the Seminar noticed, the intent of the workshop was simple and, therefore, complex because the corporal experience when lived with simplicity and sincerity results in irrefutable changes, apart from giving great pleasure and respect for oneself and, consequently, for others.



Pedro de Moraes © Rio — Brasil

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

The seminar of Sexual Exploitation of Girls and Adolescents in Brazil, which initially was planned as a space for the exchange of knowledge, experiences and discussions of alternatives for the problem, revealed relevant points and even obscure ones regarding the phenomenon as it exists in the Brazilian society.

We believe that we started to build up theoretical / methodological contexts more adequate for the treatment of the phenomenon with the participation of those present at the event.

The necessity to struggle in defense of the rights of children and adolescents submitted to this kind of violence — sexual exploitation — was reaffirmed by the panel on "A National Panel of Sexual Exploitation of Girls and Adolescents". It was constantly reaffirmed, with each denunciation announced.

The multidisciplinary nature of the themes and the participants, the power of speech of the Brazilian institutions and international organisms, especially UNESCO, and the wide coverage in the media were the positive aspects of the event.

All of the panels discussed brought important contributions to the struggle in defense of the child and the adolescent being sexually exploited.

As for the panel on 'Sexual Exploitation of Girls and Adolescents', due to the complexity involved in it, in spite of presenting historical and conceptual aspects, the theme did not lead towards a consensual definition along the sessions. Some aspects deserve to be treated more thoroughly, like the question of the conception of object of our preoccupation, or, what treatment use, 'prostitution' or 'sexual exploitation'. In spite of a relative consensus for the use of the latter definition, many question remained unresolved, and the Seminar itself raised a question mark: if the idea is to differentiate sexual exploitation of girls and adolescents from that referring to adults, is this not also one kind of exploitation? Another question which was pointed out during the discussion refers to the place of prostitution in the exploitation of infant-juvenile labor.

In what regards the sexual exploitation of children and adolescents it became quite clear that although the visibility is great with female children or adolescents, the experiences reported at the Seminar demonstrate that there is a great number of boys inserted in the networks which deal with sexual exploitation.

As for the 'National Panorama of Sexual Exploitation of Girls and Adolescents', what has become evident is that the phenomenon is known in every part of the country, its peculiarities being preserved. In Recife-PE and in Fortaleza-CE, sex-tourism is very evident as far as sexual exploitation networks are concerned. In the Northern part of the country, in the mining areas and the borders, there were registered another kind of exploitation associated with imprisonment, extermination and slavery.

Some strategies are being adopted to cope with the practice of infant-juvenile sexual exploitation. Among them, the priority lies with the building up of a new model for attention to and protection of the infancy in Brazil. This new model is evident in the major document, the Bill of Rights of the Child and the Adolescent which commends the child as the subject of the rights.

In this sense, the important highlight of the Seminar was to point out the applicability of the Bill of Rights, how society through its channels of intervention and the State through its basic politics of Social Welfare and Special Protection can intervene in an outspoken and integrated form, from the national point of view, as well as of that of the international point of view to cope with sexual exploitation of children and adolescents in Brazil.

Some experiences were reported at the civil society level, and in this area the NGOs stood out with a greater number of projects and actions directed towards girls and adolescents submitted to exploitation. The perspective is to develop each time more the effort to approach the activities of the NGOs with those of basic politics executed by the State.

Within these perspectives, the preoccupation of the professionals present at the Seminar turned to news forms of intervention and institutional practices in coping with the phenomenon of sexual exploitation of girls and adolescents in Brazil.

The seminar also brought up, timely and publicly, the difficulties, the lack of governmental support and the state in which some of the researches in this country are right now, noting that the few which are being undertaken are not enough publicized and, like in the case of the NGOs' activities, are many times authentic islands. And isolated, they do no contribute adequately for the sharing of knowledge concerning the problem. However, the Seminar raised several questions as follows:

How to intervene in the contradictory reality of the sexual exploitation networks and the Brazilian and international public policies?

- What strategies to adopt in order to demystify the ghettos created by the different entities that work with infancy in Brazil?
- What paths to follow for directing the financial autonomy of the NGOs, at present dependent on international resources and resources from social subsidies passed on to them by the State?
- What are the priorities for the planning of action of the universe of the NGOs for each locale, and their lines of intervention, in order to supersede the overlapping of actions by the NGOs, governmental and international organisms?

The Seminar pointed out that the results of the PIC in several states contributed to make the governmental, non-governmental and juridical spheres work together, which resulted in a decentralized diagnosis of the phenomenon of sexual exploitation of children and adolescents. As a consequence of this experience, the states of Ceará and Acre mobilized and sensitized the community and the institutions.

In what regards the result of the juridical interpretation of the PICs and on the panel with the theme, sexual exploitation is a crime, and there is an organized legislation which supports coping with this reality. The question is hidden in an institutional practice, vivid and corrupt, which dribbles the law and, to a larger extent, defends and/or hides the authors of the crime.

The close association with the disrespect for the law, the agreements which benefit those who rule, abuse and the transgression of fundamental rights of the citizen, slave labor, prostitution in the form it is practiced in this country — many times because of lack of opportunities — the question of boys and girls in the streets, the situation of the prisoners and mentally ill confined in a medieval way in asylums seem to be only the visible top of an iceberg of authoritarianism of a society and a State which reject analyzing the responsibility of their mistakes and taboos, in this specific case, the taboo of sexuality.

In testimonies made at the Seminar, the advancements of dismantling the sexual exploitation networks are very small, once there is the involvement of representatives of institutions directly connected with the combat of the criminals of this network. The law exists, but its applicability depends on an organized control, capability of mobilizing and sensitizing the civil society and the State through its mechanisms of mediation.

As for the analysis of the triad family/street/institution, several researches describe the situation of negligence in the treatment of this aspect of the problem. A girl who is exploited by the family network, many times ends up by becoming an easy prey to sexual abuse by the street network, not finding institutional support in helping her find adequate solutions to the problem, as foreseen by ECA.

An interpretation of the proposals gives us an idea of the need to look thoroughly into the question of organizing and working jointly with entities which work with these problems in order to be able to exert an effective pressure and establish a new relationship with the State so that the policies and the application of laws become instruments for the conquest of citizenship.

Associated with the macro and micro discussions of the different interpretations which explain the phenomenon of the sexual exploitation of girls and adolescents in Brazil, the Seminar discussed the role of the media and violence, bringing to light definitions which are not consensual, like the following: if the media contributes effectively with its programming and contexts to the practice of violence, sexual abuse, precocious eroticizing of the infancy, among other effects which harm the education of the infant-juvenile and the adult societies. Although it was not clearly defined that the media really provokes a substantial change in the behavior of the population, some points for reflection and thorough analysis of the question were raised, pointing out the need to re-think the practice of the media as relating to citizenship:

- The media is inclined to cover matters of interest to the economically dominating class, as opposed to the news from the so called Fourth World.
- The media is an accomplice of a series of disrespects of the law, which occur daily.
- The programs designed for the infant-juvenile public offend some of the precepts of the Chapter on Communication.

In view of this picture of reflections, we have to say that the role of the media should be subject of a reform of mentality and priorities; a change within and outside of the media based on an organized pressure of the society and its operators. (*)

The Seminar denounced, through its debates, that infancy and adolescence depend on how the adult society organizes itself in terms of material, moral, cultural and economic conditions vis-à-vis the building up of fundamental principles for the formation of a new mentality meant to redeem the subject which has been reduced to a 'thing'.

It is imperative, therefore, the implementation of building a new conception of society, where the child and the adult, independent of sex, be the subjects of the rights for all aspects of the human life.

CECRIA — Bahia

The presentation of videos, exhibits of photographies and sunnystification workshops of the body through dance presented at the end of the Seminar, with the participation of adolescents from the Casa Aberta (Open House) of the Federal District were important contributions to the parallel programs of this event.

RECOMMENDATIONS

RECOMMENDATIONS BY THE FINAL PLENARY OF THE SEMINAR ON SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF GIRLS AND ADOLESCENTS IN BRAZIL

Brasília, March 29, 30 and 31 of

1 — General Recommendations

- a) To establish a new relationship between the civil society and the State in terms of the conquest of the right to formulate and exert control over the public policies that restrain the violence practiced against children and adolescents.
- b) To define what is to be achieved with the action against sexual exploitation of children and adolescents and the areas of action: educational work, health, job, family planning.
- c) To re-think the role of the NGOs that work with children and adolescents.
- d) To work on the question of sexual exploitation not only centered on violence but emphasizing the focus of human rights.
- e) To examine thoroughly the discussion on the 'conspiracy of silence' or, the 'game' between children and adults in families from different social classes who omit sexual exploitation.

2 — Specific Recommendations

- **a)** To hold a seminar on legislation with analysis of the items of the civil and penal codes to be altered.
- b) To create a committee to work with a committee of jurists who at present are studying various aspects of the reform of the Penal Code.
- c) To contact Itamaraty for the purpose of intervening in situations where governments of other countries are targets of denunciations, as well as Tourism Offices of the states.

- d) To promote meetings of entities and the Embassies of Germany, Austria, Italy and Switzerland in order for them to exert control and restrain traveling of foreigners to Brazil with the purpose of sex-tourism.
- c) To lead campaigns and offer explanations through media on sexual exploitation and sex-tourism in Brazil and abroad. (The emphasis should be on the exploiter and not the child).
- f) To promote a campaign to make the police conscious of the question of sexual exploitation of children and adolescents.
- g) To re-examine the role of the Commissariats of Minors in view of the ECA Bill of Rights for the Child and the Adolescent, since they are involved in the exploitation of children and adolescents networks.
- h) To create houses (shelters) for girls in all states and municipalities.
- i) To encourage establishing PICs on sexual exploitation of girls and adolescents in all states and municipalities and request that the results of previous PICs be verified.
- j) To point out the necessity of action by an interdisciplinary team, working with Judges of the Juridical Offices for Infancy and Youth, to support their decisions and procedures, making available these advisory services to all the judiciary, especially at times of rapid and provisional decision, called preliminaries.
- To examine thoroughly the discussions concerning sexual exploitation not only from an international point of view but mainly from a national one.
- m) To demand that the inclusion of sexual education in the school curricula be mandatory.
- n) To work out a pilot project for prevention of DST/AIDS among adolescents.

- o) To make a survey at a national level of initiatives, major or limited, related to research on the question of exploitation of children and girls from the streets.
- p) To encourage the establishing of an educational center to further the development of self-esteem of the students with the purpose of preventing sexual exploitation of children and adolescents.
- q) To hold each semester seminars in each state, with the participation of community leaders, financing agencies, governmental and non-governmental entities, religious entities and others, and at the end organize a major annual national seminar on themes like: the female context, health, work, sexual orientation and others, of which the documents will be presented to the government.
- r) That the Police Station for Children develop a protection strategy similar to the one of the Police Station for Women in Brasília.
- s) That the responsibility of the Judge of the VIJ include protection, and that it depend not only from a special criminal court which punishes the adolescents who, according to the Federal Constitution, cannot be punished.
- t) That the international organisms support minor initiatives of entities which do not yet have the "know how", preventing their being closed.
- u) That the entities which are present at this Seminar organize themselves in order to start new meetings on themes which have come up during this Seminar, and outline ways of presenting them.
- v) That the information be centralized with one entity in order to facilitate joint initiatives, and make possible implementing the proposals formulated.

3 — Recommendations to the Judiciary Power

a) A greater care with the formation/composition of the magistrates. To have preparatory courses emphasizing on multidisciplinarity for judges who are active at Infancy and Youth Courts.

- b) A greater integration between the judiciary and society; that the sentences be of a contextual nature.
- c) A greater preoccupation with crimes which disrespect the fundamental rights of the human being, above all when dealing with sexual exploitation of children and adolescents.
- d) For the consolidation of the external control of the judiciary power, with the purpose of making it move swifter, keeping closer to the society, being more participative and being more accessible.

4 — Recommendations to FENAJ

Within the context of the Project of HUMANIZATION OF THE MEDIA a) Put pressure on the Congress to implement the Social Communication Council.

- b) Put pressure on the Government to approve the reforms of the system of concessions and renovation of concessions of broadcasting station and TV, which are to include transparent criteria which will favor plurality and not monopolism and the access of civil society institutions and not only entrepreneurs to the media.
- c) The formation of an alternative communication network which will occupy a space within the media which is controlled by progressive governments, universities and the Catholic Church.
- d) Claim a space in the free time conceded to political parties in order to show videos and 'spots' which will encourage a reaction on the part of society against infant-juvenile sexual violence.

SEMINARY OF SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF GIRLS AND ADOLESCENTS IN BRAZIL BRASÍLIA, MARCH 29, 30 AND 31, 1995

Promoting entities:

- Center of Reference for Studies and Action concerning Children and Adolescents at the CRECIA-DF
- United Nation Educational, Scientifical and Cultural Organization UNESCO.
- Secretariat of Culture and Sports of the Federal District / Cultural Foundation of the Federal District/Cultural Space 108 South

National Federation of Journalists — FENAJ

Supporting entities:

- Bank for Interamerican Development
- European Community
- Embassy of the Netherlands
- Social Service Foundation FSS-DF
- Goethe Institut ICBA
- -- Instrumental
- Leal Produções
- Project POMMAR USAID
- Secretariat for Development and Community Action SDAC
- Secretariat of Tourism SETUR-DF
- Department of Social Service SER University of Brasília
- Bank Employees Union
- International Labor Organization ILO
- United Nations Children's Fund UNICEF
- United Nations Development Fund for Women UNIFEM

Participating entities:

- Association of Friends and Educators of the Streets Casa Aberta AMER-DF
- Association Mother Hope Cristalina-GO
- Committee on Human Rights of the Federal Chamber
- Councilmen Chamber of Ceará
- Casa Rosa Mulher Acre
- Center for the Defense of Children and Adolescents CEDECA Salvador-BA
- Center for Social Development, Ceilândia, Taguatinga, Sobradinho and Gama, CAS, CAJE. Casa Aberta, CRT, CIP/GO — FSSDF
- Center for Women 8th of March João Pessoa-PB
- Center for Unified Education of Brasília CEUB-DF
- Coletivo Mulher Vida -PE
- European Community
- Committee for Schooling for Indians— MEC
- Police Station for Women of Brasília— DEAM-DF
- Department of Social Service— UnB
- Studies Division DIEST/CBIA
- Mail and Telegraph Company ECT
- Embassy of the Republic of Germany
- Embassy of Canada
- Embassy of Italy
- Embassy of the Netherlands
- National Federation of Journalists FENAJ
- Foundation for the Child of the City Fortaleza-CE
- Foundation for the Child and the Adolescent AP
- Social Service Foundation DF
- Educational Foundation DF
- Hospital Foundation DF
- Christian Fund for Children Brasília-DF
- Base Hospital HBDF/FHDF
- Regional Hospital of the Northern Wing HRAN-DF
- National Institute for Socio— Economic Studies INES-DF
- Ministry of Labor
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs ABC
- National Movement of Street Boys and Girls MNMMR
- Movement for the Promotion of Women of Belém MOPROM-PA

- Order of Lawyers of Brazil OAB
- Project Education of the Minor PROEM— FEDF
- Project "To be a girl-woman in the Context of Violence" São Luis-MA
- -- SEMAC-AP
- Secretariat of Health SES
- SOS Child-DF
- Sub-Attorney General of the Republic Office
- UNI National Union of the Indians DF
- Partners of the Americas / USAID / Project POMMAR
- University of Brasília UnB
- Special Protection Unit UPE DF / FSS DF
- United Nations Development Fund for Women UNIFEM

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tives are to contribute to the maintenance of world peace and security and reinforce the intellectual cooperation among nations through Education, Natural Sciences, Social and Human Sciences, Culture, Communication, Information and Informatics.

The specific objectives of Social and Human Sciences are: to reinforce education and research, to promote human rights and democracy, to combat all forms of discrimination, and to further actions based on problems associated with women, youth, city planning and the development of lesser advanced countries.

This book is the result of the denunciations and recommendations of the 1995 Seminar on Sexual Exploitation of Girls and Adolescents in Brazil. It deals with its various aspects: the historial and conceptual aspects of prostituition; the exploitation networks; the juridical interpretation and the need to ammend the Penal Code of 1940; the role of the State and of society; the importance of the media and sexual violence, and the damages of sex-tourism, which does not concern only Brazil, but is, above all, an international problem. After analyzing the many difficulties and obstacles, the lack of official support and accurate information, and by emphasizing the role of the media, the Seminar concluded that there is a necessity of further discussions, having in mind a change of the mentality of the society and the participation of the State by means of the implementation of new policies with the help of Non-Governmental Organizations, International Entities and the Media. As was so well defined in the Seminar: "to give the child and the adolescent, independent of age or sex, the right to have rights."