

Volume 3
2013

ISSN 2243-9315

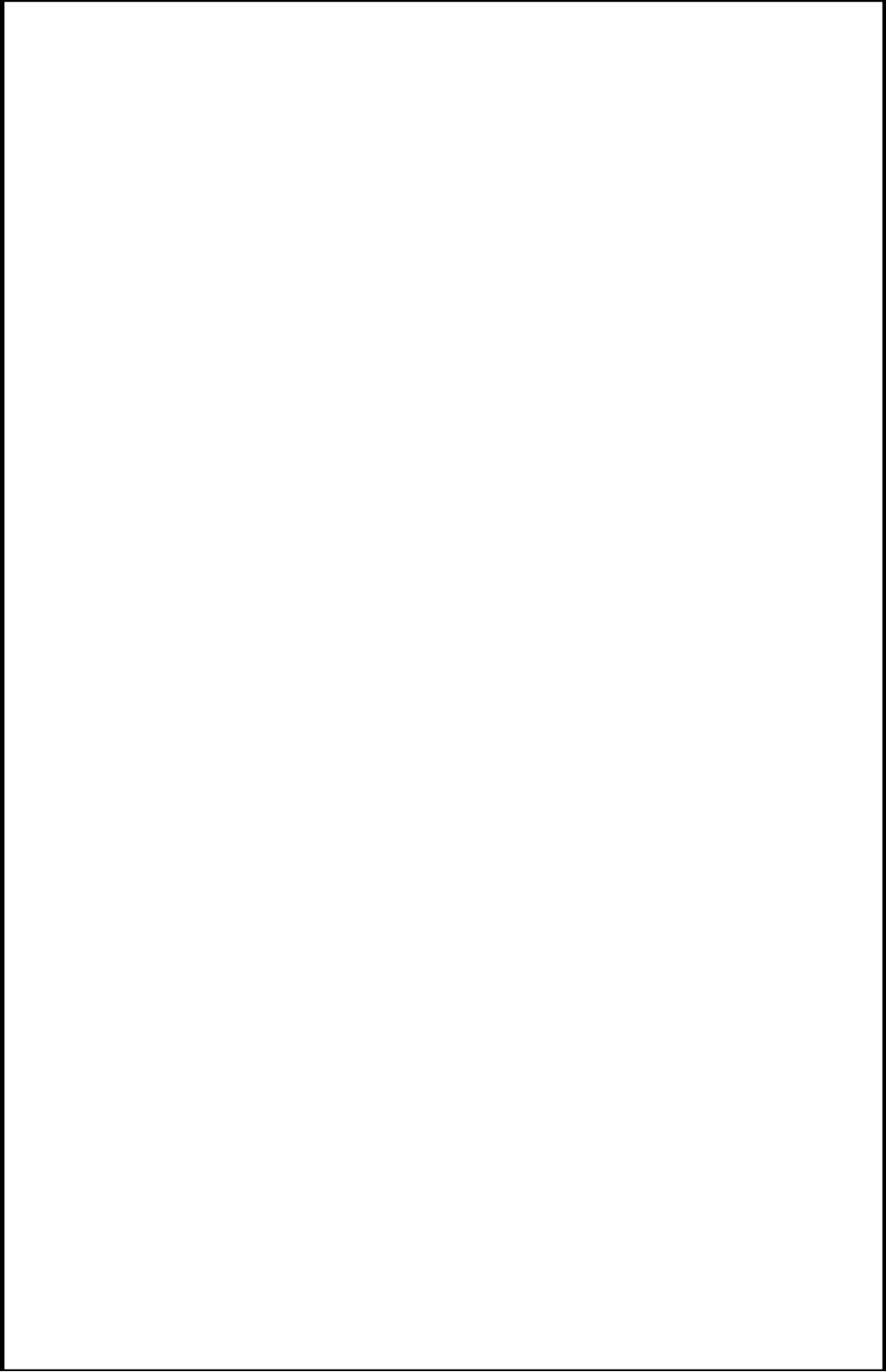
Philippine Journal of Child Sexual Abuse

an interdisciplinary publication



Published by
Center for Prevention and Treatment
of Child Sexual Abuse
and
Terre des Hommes - Netherlands

terre des hommes



PHILLIPINE JOURNAL OF
CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

AN INTERDISCIPLINARY PUBLICATION

Editorial Board



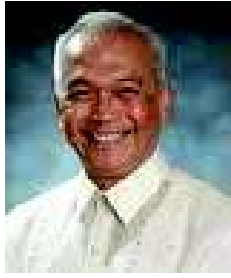
Dr. Emma Porio is Professor and Chair of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the Ateneo de Manila University (ADMU). She directed the Global Urban Research Initiative for Southeast Asia (1994-1998), chaired the Technical Panel for Sociology and Anthropology in the Commission on Higher Education (CHED) of the Philippines (1997-2007) and of the Governing Council of the Philippine Social Science Council (2004-2006) and president of the Philippine Sociological Society (1999-2002). Currently, she is a member of the Executive Committee of the Europe-

based, International Sociological Association (ISA), Board of Directors of the Global Development Network (Washington, DC), and international advisor of the panel on climate change of the American Sociological Association. From 1994-1998 she served as regional coordinator for the Global Urban Research Initiative (GURI) in Southeast Asia. Under her leadership (1996-2002), the Department of Sociology of the Ateneo de Manila University become a CHED Center of Excellence. She sits as research advisor to several NGOs or civil society organizations (CSOs) specializing in urban/local governance, housing, children, poverty, and gender such as the Huairou Commission (New York), International Housing Cooperative Board (Washington, D.C.) and the Forum of Researchers for Human Settlements (Rome). She obtained her PhD (Sociology) from the University of Hawaii and the East-West Center (USA) and has been a recipient of several international research fellowships, the most recent being the Ash Institute Fellowship for Local Governance (Harvard University). For the past 15 years, Dr. Porio has done extensive research on children, women, poverty, development, and governance. She has served as consultant to the World Bank, United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Asian Development Bank, Ford Foundation, and UN agencies like the UNICEF, UNDP, UNFPA, ILO, and WHO. She has written several books including *Partnership with the Poor*, *Pathways to Decentralization*, *Children in Drugs in the Philippines*, *Children in Drugs in Southeast Asia*, and *Urban Governance and Poverty Alleviation in Southeast Asia*.



Dr. Johnny B. Decatoria is a Clinical Psychologist, Educator, Psychotherapist, Clinical Social Worker and a Trauma Specialist. He finished his Liberal Arts degree in Psychology at the University of Negros Occidental-Recoletos in Bacolod City and completed his Master of Arts in Clinical Psychology at Far Eastern University-Manila. In 1994, he earned his Ph.D. in Clinical Social Work and Psychology at La Salle University in U.S.A. under the assistance of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP).

He has worked as Consultant for over 10 years with United Nations Agencies, particularly, UNDP/UNICEF and UNHCR. He assisted UNICEF in a number of Caribbean Government Countries as a Clinical Psychologist and Social Services Consultant in providing professional and technical assistance in developing child abuse management programs including CICAL, and training social workers, counselors, health personnel, police and prison officers, corrections officers, particularly in the management of cases such as, victims of violence and trauma in many countries like Saint Lucia, Barbados, Antigua, and Commonwealth of Dominica. At the same time, he had lent his professional expertise with the Penal Reform International based in England and with offices in France and the Caribbean. Dr Decatoria has also worked for the UNHCR in Thailand where he was responsible for implementing psycho-social and mental health services for Vietnamese and Cambodian survivors of violence who were victims of rape and boat piracy attacks. His last two international work assignments are Kosovo and West Africa where he had served as Social Services Technical Adviser and Trainer, providing technical assistance to United Nations and international agencies in developing mental health programs and services to individuals and families who were victims of war. Dr. Decatoria is a Diplomate and Board Certified Expert in Traumatic Stress, awarded by the American Academy of Experts in Traumatic Stress in New York. Eight years ago, he founded the first ever Psychotrauma Clinic in the country, the University of Santo Tomas Graduate School Psychotrauma Clinic in Manila, a community service program of the UST Graduate School, where he served as Consultant and Director. He taught at the UST Graduate School a number of Counseling and psychology courses. At the same time, he served as consultant to a number of government agencies such as, the Department of Social Welfare and Development, Bureau of Corrections,



Dr. Jose Andres Sotto returned to the Philippines in January 2003, after more than 25 years abroad, to accept a call to join the Faculty of Asian Theological Seminary (ATS) and to serve as Consultant to the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD). At ATS, he spearheaded the construction of the Counseling Center and served as Head of the Counseling Department. Dr. Sotto developed, and supervised, the Comprehensive Continuing Education for DSWD Psychologists, a three-year-

intensive training program that featured a (live-in) four-week-grounding in theory and practice, as well as two years of one-on-one mentoring in the field. As a suicidologist and community activist, Dr. Sotto founded the South Essex Adolescent Crisis Services in Ontario, Canada, in response to the rising incidence of suicide attempts among teens in the area. This intervention program was the first of its kind in Southwestern Ontario, employing advanced case management approaches. He also served as a consultant to the Children's Aid Societies of Ontario and the Detroit Youth Home, Michigan, USA, on cross-cultural issues in child abuse prevention and treatment, juvenile justice, and adoption. Dr. Sotto's direct involvement in these programs led him to broader engagement in advanced case management, suicide prevention, trauma counseling, forensic social work, and psychological debriefing of disaster victims/workers around the world. In 1991, Dr. Sotto was appointed Director of the International Facilitating Committee of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (*Earth Summit*) held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. After his term, he joined the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada as a refugee law judge, and continued his work as community-based pastoral counselor and therapist. Dr. Sotto earned his Ph.D. in Counseling and Special Education (minor in Social Work) from Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan; his Master of Education from the University of Windsor, Canada; his Bachelor of Education from Wesleyan University-Philippines; and his *Certificate in Youth Ministry* from Princeton Theological Seminary, New Jersey. Dr. Sotto was the recipient of the *Governor General Medal of Honor for Community Development* on the occasion of Canada's 125th Anniversary. He has also been named *Most Outstanding Filipino-Canadian Leader* on seven different occasions. Dr. Sotto's current field of study is on male victims of sexual abuse.



Reynaldo J. Lesaca Jr., M.D is a privately practicing psychiatrist of 35 years. He recently retired from government after 17 years of service with the National Kidney and Transplant Institute in Quezon City. He is the only transplant psychiatrist in the country with extensive experience in organ donation and transplantation. He also does consultation-liaison work in the hospital. He was founding president of the Center for the Prevention and Treatment of Child Sexual Abuse in 1995 and served as such for ten years. In 2010 he was appointed as Emeritus President of the Center by the Board of Trustees. Dr. Lesaca offered his clinical services to child and adolescent clients who are victims of child sexual abuse. His influence was essential in getting Personal Safety Lessons incorporated in the curricula of public elementary and high schools with the Department of Education. Dr. Lesaca is also a staunch medical activist.



Dr. Lois Engelbrecht has all three degrees in social work. She was born and grew up in India and worked primarily in Asian countries, especially in the Philippines. She has written a variety of materials that are aimed at direct social work and community workers in the area of prevention and treatment of child sexual abuse. Her particular expertise is project development, and has been a part of developing new programs in Malaysia, China, Vietnam, Saudi Arabia, and India. She is a founder of the Center for the Prevention and Treatment of Child Sexual Abuse in Quezon City. Her work has been translated into Hindi, Tamil, Bahasa Malay, Tagalog, Arabic, Chinese, and Vietnamese.

PHILLIPINE JOURNAL OF
CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

AN INTERDISCIPLINARY PUBLICATION

Volume 3
2013

AN EDITORIAL NOTE page 1

Hidden in Plain Site: A Baseline Study on the Sexual Exploitation of
Male Masseurs in Metro Manila
Jarrett Davis, MA and Glen Miles, PhDpage 2

Abstract

This study is third in a series that explores the little-known lives and experiences, vulnerabilities and resiliencies of sexually exploited young men in Southeast Asia. It is a part of a small, collaborative movement among interested organizations who have both recognized and acted upon the neglect of boys and men in discussions of sexual abuse and exploitation. The studies utilized both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies, merging careful fieldwork and extensive, one-on-one structured interviews to provide a better understanding of the lives of young men and boys in the sex trade industry and an information resource for service providers. The study drew male respondents from three major outlets of massage in the Metro-Manila area: massage establishments with only male masseurs (male-only establishments), massage establishments with both males and females (mixed-gender establishments), and independent (or freelance) masseurs. Nearly all, 95%, of respondents indicate providing sexual services and 70% indicate meeting clients for sex in the past week. Analysis of data revealed a strong contrast between masseurs coming from the various outlets of the massage industry, and similarly divergent levels and types of vulnerability for each respective group. While masseurs coming from mixed gender establishments had lower frequencies of meeting clients for sex, they also had highest rates of violence from their clients. Masseurs from all outlets of massage indicate low awareness (and practice) of sexual health. Respondents from Mixed Gender establishments demonstrated significant risk in this area with 40% of respondents indicating that they had never used a condom and nearly two-thirds indicating that they had never had any sexual health services.

Abstract

Terre des Hommes Netherlands, a development organization aimed to stop child exploitation, is concerned about a new form of child exploitation online: Webcam child sex tourism. Through the internet, adults offer payment to view and direct live video footage of children in another country performing sexual acts. This research aims to investigate the scope and magnitude of this phenomenon in the Philippines, and offer insight into the psychosocial consequences it has on the children involved. Our research indicates that children engaged in webcam child sex tourism are less likely to go to school, and show a significant educational delay compared to children from the same social circumstances, yet not involved in sex work. Additionally they suffer from psychosocial distress, presumably caused by their activities. They exhibit more symptoms of post-traumatic stress, low self-worth, self-destructive and sexualized behaviour. This research indicates that webcam child sex tourism is a growing phenomenon that causes significant harm to the children involved. It must be stopped before more children get hurt.

COMMENTARY

Critiquing Law Reform: Prostitutes in the Philippines under the lens of Victimology

Cristina Sevilla, LL.M. page 62

Amid calls for reform, the Philippine legislature recently enacted a law to amend the provision on the Criminal Code that criminalizes vagrants and prostitutes, by introducing the decriminalization of vagrants, but retaining the criminal status of prostitutes. In attempting to provide a holistic discourse to critically examine the status of prostitutes in the Philippines, the essay will first outline the conceptual polemic feminist debates surrounding prostitution as well as provide relevant historical background and analysis. Contemporary models, approaches and policies will be looked into and key debates on these approaches and models will be analyzed using the conceptual and historical debates to lay the foundation in critically analyzing prostitutes in the Philippines. Under the lens of critical victimology, the Philippine context will be discussed with a concluding analysis that policies must consider the conditions that give rise to prostitution, otherwise, the continued criminalization merely serves to compound victimization.

BOOK REVIEW

Online child sexual abuse:

Grooming, policing and child protection in a multi-media world
by Elena Martellozzo page 73

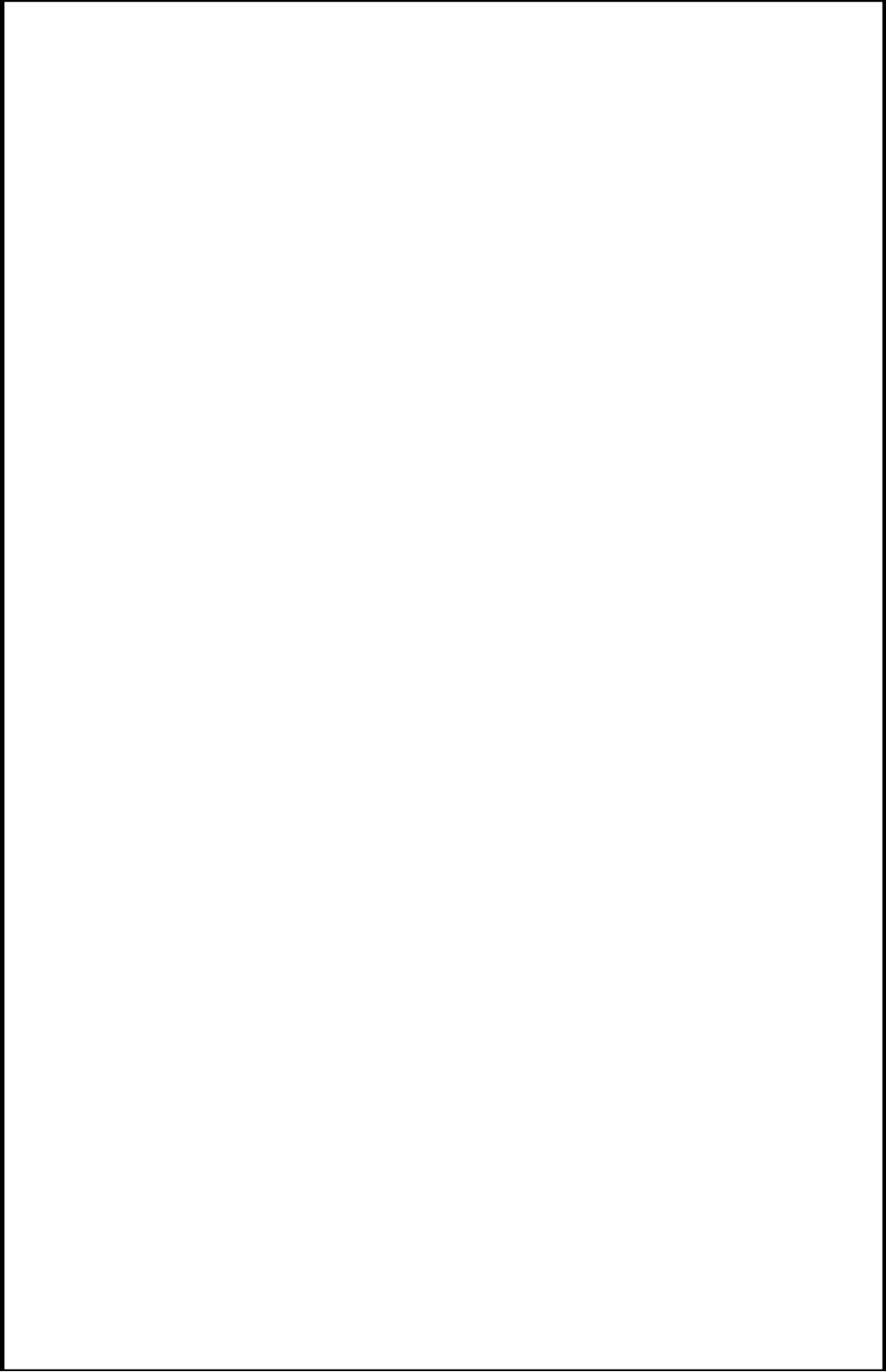
Reviewed by Lois J. Engelbrecht, PhD

Call for Papers

The research on and experience in child sexual abuse in the Philippines is increasing. In order to fill the gap in disseminating the research, the editorial team will make every effort to seek out that research for publication.

Our first several issues will thank its contributors with P4,000.

Refer to the back of this journal for the guidelines for submission. We seek academic as well as practical articles to increase our understanding of the multidisciplinary context of child sexual abuse. Researchers and practitioners in the field of social work, psychology, psychiatry, medicine, law, and education are all invited to contribute to filling in all pieces of the puzzle for effective services in the prevention and treatment of child sexual abuse.



AN EDITORIAL NOTE

The third volume of CPTCSA's Philippine Journal of Child Sexual Abuse brings another inspiration in our quest to produce local research-based and evidence-based materials for the prevention and treatment of child sexual abuse in the Philippines. The main focus of this issue surrounds the sexual exploitation of our sexuality in spite of our age and gender. Jarret Davis and Glenn Miles' articles "explores the little-known lives and experiences, vulnerabilities and resiliencies of sexually exploited young men in South East Asia" including the Philippines. Atty. Sevilla attempts to provide a holistic discourse to critically examine the status of prostitutes in the Philippines. Guusje Havenaar gives us the beginning understanding on the psychosocial consequences of webcam child sex abuse in the Philippines. Combining these 3 articles is quite interesting as it give us a wider perspective on how sexuality of children in general and men and women in particular are exploited, misused and abused. These articles hope to guide us in constantly reviewing our belief systems, norms and practices in developing and amending interventions in the form of programs and policies to address sexual exploitation of children, women and men. I would like to thank and acknowledge the contributors of this journal, volume 3, Jarrett Davis, MA and Glen Miles; Guusje Havenaar, MSc and Cristina Sevilla, LL.M. Thank you all for making the third volume of our Journal possible. Speciall thanks to Dr. Lois J. Engelbrecht, the founding editor of Philippine Journal of Child Sexually Abuse who religiously manages the publication of the journal. Finally, we at CPTCSA look forward to continually publish the Philippine Journal of Child Sexual Abuse with you, readers and partners. For this reason, we welcome contributors from different professionals. The challenge is with us to document and share our individual expertise which are honed by long years of practice in the field of child protection - our contribution to the global community in the area of child sexual abuse prevention and treatment.

Zenaida Rosales, RSW
Executive Director
Center for the Prevention and Treatment of Child Sexual Abuse
Quezon City

excepts from

**Hidden in Plain Site: A Baseline Study on the Sexual Exploitation of
Male Masseurs in Metro Manila**

Jarrett Davis, MA and Glen Miles, PhD

Abstract

This study is third in a series that explores the little-known lives and experiences, vulnerabilities and resiliencies of sexually exploited young men in Southeast Asia. It is a part of a small, collaborative movement among interested organizations who have both recognized and acted upon the neglect of boys and men in discussions of sexual abuse and exploitation. The studies utilized both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies, merging careful fieldwork and extensive, one-on-one structured interviews to provide a better understanding of the lives of young men and boys in the sex trade industry and an information resource for service providers. The study drew male respondents from three major outlets of massage in the Metro-Manila area: massage establishments with only male masseurs (male-only establishments), massage establishments with both males and females (mixed-gender establishments), and independent (or freelance) masseurs. Nearly all, 95%, of respondents indicate providing sexual services and 70% indicate meeting clients for sex in the past week. Analysis of data revealed a strong contrast between masseurs coming from the various outlets of the massage industry, and similarly divergent levels and types of vulnerability for each respective group. While masseurs coming from mixed gender establishments had lower frequencies of meeting clients for sex, they also had highest rates of violence from their clients. Masseurs from all outlets of massage indicate low awareness (and practice) of sexual health. Respondents from Mixed Gender establishments demonstrated significant risk in this area with 40% of respondents indicating that they had never used a condom and nearly two-thirds indicating that they had never had any sexual health services.

Introduction

Over the past few years, the sexual exploitation of women and girls in Southeast Asia has continued to be the subject of much research and has remained a central concern among NGOs and Anti-Trafficking in Persons organizations. Meanwhile, the sexual exploitation and violence against men and boys has been a pressing reality that has been little acknowledged, much less understood. Furthermore, of the stud-

Contact the authors for the full study at Love146
www.love146.org and www.chabdai.org

ies that have been conducted, the prime focus has primarily remained on sexual health, rather than addressing young men as whole persons with emotions and deeper vulnerabilities. In addition to this, social and cultural norms often assume that men and boys in the sex-industry are inherently strong and/or invulnerable to sexual exploitation; however, research in this area continues to show these assumptions to be false.

Major Issues

A gender-exclusive approach to the global sex-trade

Despite their global presence, males in the sex industry are often ignored (Dennis, 2008). In a review of 166 scholarly articles on the global sex industry, 84% exclusively discussed female sex workers and made no mention of males. A similar neglect is found in the media within discussions of human trafficking. The traditional narrative describes - often in explicit detail - occasions in which men enslave and sexually abuse women and girls (Jones, 2010). Prostitution tends to be exclusively understood as a male's abuse of a female. Within present research is also the terminology used to discuss males and females in prostitution. The term prostitute was preferred in 66% of the studies dealing with women and only 25% of the studies pertaining to men. On the other hand, sex worker was the term of choice for 75% of the studies dealing with men in the sex industry (Dennis, 2008). In the cited study, it is believed that the term prostitute implies coercion and degradation, whereas sex worker implies more of an active choice of participation. This seems to imply that women are forced to participate in sexual exchanges, whereas males are not. Contrasted to similar discourse on heterosexual pornography, gay male pornography is often viewed as harm-free and even a source of gay male liberation and identity formation (Kendall & Funk, 2003). Kendall argues that gay male pornography and its implications for men who have sex with men (MSM) is just as harmful as heterosexual pornography and its effects on women.

Male sexual abuse

Recent studies have indicated the need for further research into the connection between male sexual abuse and the male sex industry. A 2005 Canadian study of male sex workers reported that 70% of the male sex workers studied had a history of sexual abuse prior to entering the industry. Over 75% had been physically violated and witnessed aggression during childhood (McIntyre, 2005). While the sexual abuse of girls has been given much attention in research, studies concerning boys and male sexual abuse are limited. Holmes and Slap (1998) claim, "The sexual abuse of boys is common, underreported, under recognized, and under treated" (p.1855). A number of studies document negative effects of sexual abuse on male psychological development. Lisak (1994), in a content analysis of 26 male survivors of sexual abuse, reports that victims experienced common feelings of worthlessness, emptiness, and

inferiority which tended to worsen with time to become deeply ingrained negative identities. A 2005 literature review on the psychological consequences of male sexual abuse reported disrupted development of gender identity, self-esteem, and self-concept as common effects of male sexual abuse (Valente, 2005). Males are reported to cope with the trauma of sexual abuse through denial, self-hypnosis, dissociation, and self-mutilation.

Within the Philippines, the sexual abuse of boys is a reality that is similarly left unspoken. As in other parts of Southeast Asia, boys are often presumed and even insisted to be tough and able to protect themselves. If a young male "allows" himself to be prey to others, it is common that he will be blamed for not living up to his masculine expectations (Watkins & Bentovim, 1992; Grubman-Black, 1990). Additionally, within the conservative context of the Philippines, sex and sexuality (particularly same-sex sexuality) is seldom discussed and little understood. It is common for boys to perceive their abuse as a sign of their homosexuality. This feeling is especially heightened if the boy failed to resist his attacker or if he experienced sexual arousal from the experience (Watkins & Bentovim, 1992).

Masculinity and sexual identity in the Philippines

While same-sex orientation and homosexual practice are nothing new in the Philippines or Asia, concepts of sexuality and discussions of sexual identity are fairly recent and come largely out of western thought and scholarship (Tarr, 1996). Thus, as in many Asian societies, concepts of sexuality remain obscure (Hernandez & Imperial, 2009) and may differ greatly from common western and international definitions. While, there is no term for "sexuality" in any of the Philippine languages, local languages often describe one's sexual orientation in terms of masculinity and femininity. Within this concept, being heterosexual is often understood in terms of one's gender characteristics such as their overall masculine appearance, reproductive capacity, physical strength, and even manner of dressing. Thus, to be a real man in the Philippine context is also to be a heterosexual man. Thus, it may come as no surprise that, the most commonly used word for heterosexual in the Tagalog language is *tunay na lalake* which literally translates as "real man". The concepts are one in the same.

Hernandez and Imperial (2009) state that the concept of masculinity or being a man within the Philippines rests heavily upon one's physical characteristics and one's ability to demonstrate characteristics that are opposite that of women. A man must "not be feminine, not be a homosexual, not be effeminate, not have sexual or overly intimate relations with other men, or not be impotent with women" (p.31). Beyond being *tunay na lalake* or a real man, there is also a strong societal pressure to become *ganap na lalake* or an actualized man. This is one who has the ability to fulfill the responsibilities expected of him by society, make a family of his own, and provide for them. Failure to do this often brings reproach and disparagement from his peers (Social Development Research Center, 2000).

The demand for male sex work in the Philippines

Male sex work in the Philippines takes a variety of forms including: dance instruction, massage therapy, bar-based sex work, freelance prostitution and child sexual exploitation (Tan, 2001). While the demand for male sex work is a reality, measuring the scope of the industry is difficult in that no official size estimate statistics on male sex workers exist (WHO, 2001). Academic work on the male sex industry in the Philippines has been sparse, and comes largely from non-Filipino researchers. Tan writes that much of the research available has tended toward sensationalism, while paradoxically minimizing the anti-gay stigma/discrimination that is commonly felt in the Philippines. He notes that most available descriptions distort the real picture of male sex work, which has had serious implications in the creation of adequate interventions and public policies for the people in this industry.

The prevailing bakla ideology is said to shape the demand for male sex workers in the Philippines. Since gay men (bakla) are culturally understood to be biologically males with the inner-being of a woman, male sex workers must satisfy the demand for real or straight men who are able to make bakla feel that they are truly women within this context (Hernandez, 2002). These arrangements are said to have a long history in the Philippines. Tan (2001) describes the existence of numerous male brothels within Manila ghettos as early as the 1960's. These brothels were called *casas* the same Spanish name that was used for female brothels in existence at the same time. While these venues lasted for some time, Tan notes that most of them were replaced by massage parlors, which had become popular by the 1970's. In addition to brothel-based male sex work, Tan describes commonly occurring transactional relationships within low-income areas between young males and financially-stable bakla parloristas (one who owns a dress shop or hair salon). These parloristas were commonly known to take on young males as boyfriends. Within this arrangement the young males were expected to provide the bakla with sex and the appearance of a relationship in exchange for money or other economic benefits.

It is important to note that males in the sex industry are seldom perceived to be vulnerable within these relationships. Because males are perceived to have a strong libido which needs to be satisfied, soft sex work with bakla is often acceptable, as long as the young male does not become bakla (or effeminate) himself (Tan, 2001). In fact, because females are believed to have a virginity, which needs to be protected, bakla are often seen as a sexual outlet for a young, unmarried males' libido. Tan describes a commonly used phrase, "may mga prostitute, at may mga substitute" (there are prostitutes, and then there are substitutes). Tan notes a frequent remark from male sex workers that goes, "Trabaho lang yan" (It's just work). While this statement seems rather self-explanatory, Tan notes that it is often a rather complex admission which often comes with feelings of great resentment. The statement is often followed-up by

“wala akong mapasukan” meaning, “I could not get any other job”. He writes that the resentment which is commonly seen among male sex workers is often “interfaced with guilt including strong notions that having sex with another man is kasalanan or sin.” While this prevailing ideology may be a key concept within male-to-male sexuality and sex work, it is also important to note that the demand for male sex work is much broader than those who self-identify as bakla, but also said to come from a diversity of other groups including married men, women, and foreign tourists.

Sexual health concerns in the Philippines

The Philippines shares many of the same risk factors as its surrounding SE Asian neighbors, including widespread high-risk sexual behaviors, high transmission rates of sexually-transmitted infections, low knowledge of HIV/AIDS and low-condom use (HRW, 2004). Because the Philippines is a largely Catholic nation, birth control is considered unacceptable for many and the use of condoms for HIV prevention and family planning is limited. Catholic clergy and other influential conservative groups make sexual health a difficult subject to be discussed in classrooms as teachers often face opposition from both parents and religious communities (UNESCO, 2006). In 2006, only 1.6% of Filipinos were reported to use condoms as a means of contraception. While global statistics of males with HIV/AIDS have dropped slightly over the past decade and holds presently at slightly less than 50% (UNAIDS, 2010), the Philippines has seen a dramatic increase among males. In 1990, only 40% of total reported HIV cases were said to be males; by the year 2011, 93% of the total cases reported for that year were males. Compounding these increased risks, sexual health statistics indicate that Filipino males are not only more likely to pay for sex than their female counterparts they are also much more likely to engage in sex work themselves (IHBSS, 2009). Key populations at higher risk of HIV exposure include sex workers and their clients, men who have sex with men, and injected drug users (UNESCO, 2006). Various studies indicate significantly high sexual health concerns among Filipino males in the sex industry compared with their female counterparts. A 2012 UNESCO report cites that only 30% of male sex workers in the Philippines reported using a condom with their most recent client, versus 65% among female sex workers.

Methodology

In order to provide a holistic baseline of information of the young men in this industry, structured interviews were conducted with 50 male masseurs from numerous massage services in various vicinities in Metro-Manila known to be key to the industry including, Timog Ave (QC), Malate (Manila), Diliman (QC), and Recto (Manila) areas. Vulnerabilities of these young men were assessed, particularly focusing on a number of areas including: financial security, sexual health and history, experienc-

es of violence, spiritual development and spirituality, and future plans.

This study also provides a qualitative assessment of the broader male-to-male sex industry in Metro-Manila, including escort services and both direct and indirect male sex work. This information serves to provide a useful background and context for the quantitative data gathered from respondents in this study.

Research instrument

The survey for this study was adapted for the Philippine cultural context from a similar survey developed by Jasmir Thakur of the Samabhavana Society in Mumbai, India and Glenn Miles of Love146. The survey was a combination of multiple choice and open-ended questions covering areas including: demographics; relationships; personal and family finances; issues of prejudice, stigma and discrimination; migration; sexual identity and personal sexual history; sexual health; substance abuse; sexual violence and abuse; income generation; dignity and future planning. This study also administered an assessment of spiritual well being with each of the respondents in this study, using The Spiritual Well-Being Scale, developed by R.F. Paloutzian and C.W. Ellison (1982). This is a Likert-type scale that measures the subjective quality of a person's life via two sub-scales. The first of these scales is the Religious Well-Being Scale (RWB) which aims to examine the religious quality of the respondent's lives and their relationships with God, and the second subscale is the Existential Well Being scale (EWB) examining the respondent's relationship with himself, his community, and his surroundings. The combined results from the respondent's spiritual well being. One of the key values in implementing this scale was that the scale is fundamentally asset-based and invites the respondent and the researcher to go beyond their awareness of vulnerabilities and negative aspects of the respondent's experiences and view the positive, uncovering potential resiliencies (Green, 2006).

Survey interviews

A total of 51 survey interviews were completed, primarily conducted by two local Filipinos and one expatriate. On two occasions, additional interviewers were utilized to be able to conduct interviews with larger numbers of respondents simultaneously. All interviewers were provided with careful research and ethical training using UNIAP ethical guidelines to ensure that respondents were provided with respect and that culturally appropriate language was used before, during, and after the interview process.

In order to maintain the privacy of the young men interviewed, all interview sessions were conducted as private dialogues between researcher and respondent. As a precaution, all interviews were held in public venues (i.e. restaurants, coffee shops) within close range of other members of the research team to ensure safety and accountability.

All survey interviews were conducted in Tagalog without the as-

sistance of a translator. Interviewers sought to establish rapport with respondents prior to the survey, providing each respondent with information concerning: the research and its purpose; assurance of anonymity and confidentiality; information regarding the personal and sensitive nature of the interview questions; and their right to choose not to answer any question, stop the survey, and/or withdraw from the study at any time. Two potential respondents declined participation in the study. No respondents chose to stop the survey or withdraw from the study; however, 8 respondents chose not to respond to at least one or more question.

Massage establishments and respondent recruitment

Respondents were drawn from four districts in Metro-Manila known for massage services including two key entertainment districts and one business district. Several days of field observation were conducted in each of the districts prior to beginning interviews. Field researchers employed purposeful and snowball sampling methods (Scheyvens & Storey, 2003; Nichols, 1991) to identify male respondents working in the following types of massage establishments: massage establishments featuring only male masseurs; massage establishments that included male and female masseurs advertising to the general public; independent or freelance male masseurs.

The locations of initial massage establishments were identified through various LGBT-oriented blogs and websites, along with in-person enquiries at massage establishments in the four areas where the research was conducted.

Data preparation and analysis

Descriptive analyses of the survey results were undertaken using SPSS 21.0 (SPSS Inc). Thematic analysis was used to explore the responses to open-ended questions included in the survey, with key features of this data coded and sorted in a systematic manner to reflect patterns in the data and inform themes and sub-themes relevant to the questions used in the survey (Boyatzis, 1998).

Ethical consideration

Ethical guidelines were adhered to throughout the research process (Ennew, et al., 2009; UNIAP, 2008). The respondents were informed about the purpose of the survey before their consent to participate was sought. The respondents were informed prior to engaging in the survey that they could choose not to answer any question and could choose to stop the survey at any time. Interviewers visited the locations in pairs to ensure safety and accountability. Care was taken to ensure that others did not overhear the interviews. All surveys were kept confidential. Respondents were informed that their individual responses would not be given to their employers. No visitors were allowed during the interview process and no images were taken during the process.

Demographics

While the data collection team attempted to gather a sampling of respondents that was representative of the male massage industry in Metro-Manila, field researchers were limited to interviewing only those respondents who were readily visible, self-identified as masseurs, and willing and/or allowed to be interviewed. Therefore, it should be noted that the voices in this study are only representative of this group, and this group alone. Anecdotal conversations with various groups and organizations that work within various high-risk communities in Metro-Manila revealed the existence of groups of young boys who are known to provide massage and other sexual services to adults. While field researchers made attempts to follow these leads, key informants were unable to provide contact with these groups within the time frame available.

Ages of respondents

The respondent's ages ranged from 18 to 37 years old, with a median age of 24 years. Over two-thirds (69%) falls within the United Nations definition of youth (15-24 years). The respondents reported starting work as masseurs ranging 13 years, the youngest at 16 and the oldest at 29. 68% started working as a masseur between the ages of 18 and 21.

Education

Three respondents cited that they had not yet completed their primary education. The majority of respondents (52%) had completed at least some high school and 39% had completed at least some postsecondary education. Only one cited formal massage training and nearly all had learned the profession informally from family, workmates or upon employment at a given massage establishment.

Migration

Nearly 80% had migrated to Metro-Manila, predominantly coming from provincial areas. 89% stated the purpose of their migration was for work or to earn money. More than three-fourths stated that they migrated to Manila within the past 10 years, slightly more than half stated that they had migrated within the past five years and nearly one-third stated migrating within the past two years.

Social and family relationships

Who they live with. Over half cited that they lived with immediate family members. For most, immediate family referred to a wife/live-in partner and/or kids. 17.6% of respondents cited that they lived with workmates. The predominant number of respondents living with workmates came from male-only massage establishments, where masseurs would often live at the massage establishment itself. This was commonly due to the fact that

many respondents from male establishments still lived in (or had families in) distant provincial areas, making a daily commute very difficult.

Family's knowledge of profession. One-third of respondents cited that their families were unaware of their profession as masseurs. Among the 54% presently living with immediate family members, 33% kept this work a secret as well. 70% gave reasons pertaining to shame, and 30% mentioned fears of family repercussions such as, family members getting angry or saying bad things about them. A large majority of families (67%) were aware that the young men were working as masseurs. 27.5% of respondents cited that their families were also instrumental in bringing the respondent into the massage industry in the first place.

Entrance into the industry

Method of entry. Nearly 75% entered the industry through someone they knew. 34% cited that a friend brought them into the industry, and 40% were recruited by a family member. 27.5% of respondents in Metro-Manila were recruited into the industry through a family member. Recruitment in these situations often came through a brother or sister who already worked in the industry. In a few cases, siblings were found to work alongside one another in the same establishment; and one young man was employed by his sister who served as the manager in one mixed gender establishment. About 6% transitioned into massage from direct sex work and nearly 9% came into the industry through recruiters in the province.

Purpose for entry. Nearly half of the respondents (45.5%) indicated that they came into the industry because they perceived it to be an easy source of income, while 33% indicated that they chose the field because they had no other options. 9% indicated that an immediate need for work brought them to the industry and another 9% indicated that they chose massage because it gave them a sense of autonomy.

Personal sexual history

First sexual experience. The ages of first sexual experiences had a range of 17 years with a mean age of 14.5 years. Nearly 15% of the masseurs interviewed were 12 years old or younger when they had their first sexual experience, the youngest of these were 3 and 6 years old.

First sexual partner. Slightly more than 75.5% stated that their first sexual encounter was with a female and 24.5% stated that this was with a male. For those whose first sexual partners were female, the majority of respondents (58%) stated that this person was a friend (or girlfriend), slightly more than one-fourth stated that this person was a neighbor, and 15% or 10 people stated that this female was a stranger. The majority of the respondents whose first sexual partner was male (32% or 4 people) stated this person was a neighbor. Two or 16% cited he was a friend, two cited that he was a stranger; two cited that he was a client, and two cited that their first sexual experience was with a male teacher.

Forced/Coerced sex. Nearly all of the 49 respondents answering this question (92%) stated that their first sexual experience was consensual. Only four stated that their first sexual experience was forced or coerced. Of the four, three cited that this experience of coercion happened in the province, two stated that they were coerced by females and two cited that it was by males and all four stated that this experience happened between the ages of 13-17. It may be important to note that there was some significant ambiguity noted in the respondent's understandings of force/coercion versus consent in sex. For instance, two respondents reported having their first sexual experiences at the ages of 3 and 6 years old, and both understood these experiences to be consensual experiences.

Sexual identity. 80% of the respondents identified as heterosexual or men who prefer having sex with women, 18% identified as bi-sexual or men enjoying sex with both genders, and 2% identified as homosexual or men preferring sex with other men.

Sexual experiences with clients

The number of clients that respondents reported seeing for massage services ranged from 1 to 15 clients per day, with an average of 3 to 4 clients per day. Eight respondents declined to answer questions regarding sexual services.

Frequency. Of the 42 respondents who chose to answer, nearly all (95%) indicated providing sexual services to their clients. More than two-thirds (70%) indicated they had sex with clients within the past week. On average, respondents indicated meeting with 3 to 4 clients for sex in the past week, the maximum being 20 clients met for sex and the minimum having met with no clients for sex. Regarding the genders of the clients, respondents indicated that their clients for whom they provided sexual services were predominantly male; however, numerous respondents indicated that females would, on occasion, require sexual services as well.

Types of sexual experiences. For each gender, respondents were asked to estimate out of every 10 clients for whom they provide a massage, how many would also require various specific sexual services which were specified during interviews. With the highest frequency, respondents admitted that they had been required to receive oral sex (fallacio) from slightly more than half of their male clients (55%) and 13% of their female clients. Respondents cited that slightly more than one-fourth of their male respondents (27%) required them to perform oral sex (fallacio) and 11% of female customers required masseurs to provide oral sex (cunnilingus). Respondents admitted they had been required to provide masturbation (hand jobs) for slightly less than half (49%) of their male clients and only 6% of their female clients. Respondents indicated that they were required to penetrate 23% of their male clients and 18% of their female clients. Masseurs cited that they were penetrated by 5% of their male clients and 3% of their female clients (anal penetration by sexual devices or other objects). Respondents

were asked about experiences of having group sex in which one masseur would be asked to have sex with multiple clients at the same time. More than one-third cited instances of experiencing this in the past three months. Of the 41 people responding to this question, nine people (22%) indicated that this had happened one to three times in the past three months, two people (4.6%) indicated this had happened four to six times and three people (7.3%) had done this 10 or more times in the past three months.

Experiences of violence

Forced/coerced sex. More than one-third of masseurs in this study, 38%, indicated instances in which they had been forced or coerced to have sex against their wishes. 44% stated that this has happened sometimes (1-5 times), 33% of this group or 6 people indicated being forced to have sex occasionally (6-10 times) and two state that this has happened very often (11-15 times). About one-third stated that they are aware of other males in the massage industry who have been forced to have sex against their wishes. Instances of forced sex can take a variety of forms, including, physical force and/or violence, or coercion in which masseurs are bribed, verbally abused or otherwise pressured into providing sexual services. Most masseurs do not desire sexual encounters with clients, however, they do so because they need the money. In one of the more violent instances of forced sex, one freelance masseur described an instance in which he was held at gunpoint and forced to provide oral sex - in which case he was also not paid. Others described verbal violence upon declining to have sex with a client. Other discussions revealed instances in which clients will threaten to make up complaints to the management about the masseurs performance when they decline to provide sexual services.

Other forms of violence. 12% of those interviewed indicated facing violence from the police. Nearly all of these respondents were working as freelance masseurs. Most shared instances about being chased away from the streets during their work. One younger freelance respondent described one experience of arrest and incarceration because of the sexual services that he provides along with his work as a masseur. 22% of respondents described instances of violence from other masseurs and, to a much lesser extent, from the management under which they worked. Reports of violence from other masseurs in the industry were highest among freelance masseurs and lesser among those working in male-only and mixed-gender establishments. There is a significant amount of competition among freelance masseurs for getting a client. Whereas masseurs working in massage establishments are often chosen by the client, freelance masseurs often rely on marketing themselves to clients on the street.

Sexual health

Sexual health education. More than two-thirds of the respondents, 68.6%, stated that they have had sexual health education for

their work as a masseur. Male only establishments had the highest rate of sexual health education with 74% of masseurs receiving some form of sexual health education for their work as masseurs. Next, two-thirds, 66%, of masseurs in mixed gender massage establishments cited receiving some form of sexual health education. Lastly, freelance masseurs indicated the lowest rate of sexual health education, with 61% reporting some form of sexual health education for their work as a masseur. Only slightly more than half of respondents in this study answered that sex was a means of transmitting HIV/AIDS person-to-person. 12.8% answered that HIV/AIDS was transmitted through blood, 12.8% answered that HIV/AIDS was transmitted through saliva, two stated that it was transmitted through wounds, and another two stated that it was transmitted solely through anal sex. 8% stated that they did not know the means through which HIV/AIDS was transmitted person-to-person.

Sexual health services. Interviewers asked a series of questions pertaining to the respondents access to sexual health services, such as condoms and health screenings for HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections. 57.1% stated they had received such services and 42.9% stated they had not. Once again, masseurs coming from male only establishments had the highest rates of having sexual health services, nearly 70% stated that they had received such services. 58% of freelance or independent masseurs cited they had received sexual health services for their work. And lastly, mixed gender establishments had the lowest rates of sexual health services, only 35% of the respondents who came from these establishments stated that they had received such services. When asked if they had ever before used a condom, 80% cited that they had and 20% stated that they hadn't. Of those who never before used a condom, 70% of this group also cited providing sexual services to their clients, many on a regular basis. 30% of this never used a condom, stated having anal sex with 20-50% of their male clients. 60% of those who had never used a condom came from mixed gender establishments, 30% from male only establishments, and 10% were freelance masseurs.

Substance abuse and sex. Nearly one-third, 31%, of respondents admitted to using alcohol during sex with clients. 10 people, 21.3%, indicated that they do this sometimes, four people, 8.5%, indicated doing this occasionally and one stated that he always used alcohol during sex with his clients. Only four people, 8.7% of respondents indicated drug use during sexual intercourse with their clients. Two stated that they do this sometimes, one stated doing this occasionally, and one stated that he always used drugs during sexual intercourse with his clients. Nearly 11% indicated using Viagra and several others indicated using other various herbal compounds which are available over-the-counter.

Spirituality

Religious affiliation. All respondents indicated that they had some

kind of faith. Within the sampling (n=51) 42 identified as Roman Catholic, five as coming from various Protestant denominations, three identified as members of Iglesia ni Kristo, and one identified as a Muslim.

Personal and corporate worship. Of the 51 interviews, 26 cited having communication with God on a daily basis. One indicated attending a place of worship daily, 18 stated attendance on a weekly basis, 17 cited attendance on a monthly basis, 11 cited occasional attendance and two indicated that they had no attendance at all. Of those who attended corporate worship, (N=48) 41 indicated that they in some way feel "refreshed, lightened, restored, forgiven" like their problems were solved when they attended church. Four indicated being unaffected. Two respondents indicated a difficulty in attending church due to shame issues. Notably, both of these respondents were among the highest earners of the entire group. The highest earner of the two also displayed the highest and most consistent issues with shame and stigmatization, particularly due to the fact that neither his family nor his housemates knew about his career as a masseur. He cited that his reason for this secrecy is a fear of shame and stigmatization. This particular respondent also indicated the highest frequency of providing sexual services for his clients.

Spiritual well-being. The respondents' overall spiritual well-being was based on the Spiritual Well-being Scale (SWBS) which is a combination of the Religious Well-being Scale (RWBS) and the Existential Well-being Scale (EWBS). Overall, respondents scored relatively high in terms of their perceived spiritual, existential, and religious well-being. Of the three scales, respondents scored highest in terms of their religious well-being, over half (57%) of respondents received a high score (between 50-60 points) and 69% of respondents (34 people) scored moderate (21-49 points). In terms of their perceived spiritual well-being, 31% of respondents (15 people) scored high (50-60 total points). The lowest scores were received on the Existential Well-being Scale, 27% of respondents (or 13 people) received a high score, and 73% (or 36 people) received a moderate score. None of the respondents scored low on any of the scales.

Affiliation. 78% strongly agreed that God loves and cares for them. 53% indicated that they have a personally meaningful relationship with God, and 34% moderately agreed with this assertion. 67% strongly agreed that God is concerned about their problems. 71% stated that their personal relationship with God combats their sense of loneliness and is their primary sense of fulfillment, finding their relationship with God to anchor their sense of well-being.

Alienation. 56% found some measure of satisfaction in their private prayer life, and 40% strongly agreed. 64% believed that their sense of self is not compromised by their profession. They had an adequate sense of who they are, where they came from, and where they are going. 80% affirmed their awareness that God is interested in their situation, and 81% claimed to find strength in and support from God. In tandem with

these figures, 65% indicated satisfaction with their relationship with God.

Dissatisfaction with life. 24% had some measure of unsettlement about their future. 34% did not enjoy life, and 23% felt that life, in some measure, is full of conflict and unhappiness. Despite this, 47% believed there is some real purpose in their lives, whereas 28% found life to be relatively meaningless.

Recommendations

This study reiterates the common perception that massage establishments often serve as a venue and networking hub for sex work in the Metro Manila area. As such, initiatives for interventions and prevention in the sex industry need to target massage establishments. There should be an acknowledgment that sex work can and often does take place among employees, whether inside or outside of the establishment, and there is a need for provision of appropriate information for both the personal safety and sexual health of employees. This seems to be particularly true for masseurs working in mixed gender massage establishments, where sexual services are not assumed to take place.

There is a need for both government and non-government organizations to take on and train youth/young adults coming from challenging social backgrounds, and to lobby socially responsible businesses to provide such youth with viable alternatives to sex work. In addition to this, it may be helpful to more actively advertise (and perhaps subsidize) existing vocational training programs (such as TESDA) and Alternative Learning programs (such as the Alternative Learning System, or ALS). A broader promotion of these existing programs could potentially help migrating provincial workers who may not be aware of what educational opportunities might exist for them. In addition to this, free or low-cost vocational and life skills training programs provided by NGOs or local churches would be greatly beneficial for young men working in this industry. Respondents indicated having a diverse range of vocational interests. While it would be ideal for NGOs to provide specific training for alternative careers, it is also important to allow these young men a level of choice in their own future work.

There is a strong need for the Philippine Government to be more realistic about the sexual practices of their citizens. Condoms, proper sexual health education, as well as information about available health clinics and sexual health services are needed for masseurs and sex workers, this is particularly true for males working within mixed gender massage establishments, where sex work is assumed not to happen. Information regarding HIV and other STI testing and treatment needs to be made available for all at-risk groups, not only for those in gay-oriented establishments. Most of the respondents who had been provided with sexual health education and services in this study were from male-only establishments; however, freelance masseurs and those working in mixed-gender establishments indicated the lowest access to education and services, along with

the highest level of misconceptions about the transmission of HIV/AIDS.

In addition to this, anecdotal information during data gathering seemed to indicate that many of the sexual health initiatives in Metro-Manila have been provided to the LGBT community. While continued advocacy to these groups is important, it should be noted that almost no respondents in this study (except for one) identified as homosexual. Thus, it is possible that a majority of these initiatives overlook the males in this industry in that they do not identify as members of the LGBT community.

It may be significant that two respondents in this study indicated that their first sexual experiences were with schoolteachers. While more information is needed on the prevalence of such instances anecdotal conversations seem to indicate an ability for young male students in some settings to buy grades with sexual favors. It is important that teachers receive education in child protection training in classrooms and that the strictest measures are applied to teachers who are found to be sexual abusers of children under their care. Robust child protection policies need to be implemented across all institutions under the Philippine Department of Education.

It is important that religious groups are able to serve the most vulnerable of their communities as Jesus did. Because faith institutions are present in every community, it is hoped that the findings of this research may serve as a rallying-cry for the development of a holistic framework for compassionate engagement with MSM groups. Churches should ensure that they are caring for sex workers in a compassionate, non-judgmental way as Jesus did and would want us to do. In addition to this, religious groups should ensure that they have created comprehensive Child Protection Policies (18 and under) and a vulnerable persons policy (for those over 18) for those working and ministering under their responsibility and that every measure is taken to protect those who are vulnerable within their midst.

There is a need for the creation of strong educational resources for awareness and prevention of sexual abuse/exploitation. There is need for better advocacy and vigilance for children within their communities. It is important for parents and other adults to understand that boys are equally at risk of abuse as well as girls and that they are in need of protection. Additionally, there is a strong need for the development of safe and non-condemning places for children and young adults to discuss sex and sexuality. Youth clubs and Churches should introduce education about sex, appropriate loving relationships, sexual abuse, and the dangers of pornography.

As the Department of Justice continues in its work with the PNP and DSWD to develop more comprehensive and progressive legislation on prostitution, efforts should be directed at criminalizing the purchase of sex, alongside of the decriminalization of selling sex. It is important that these groups work together to ensure that the most vulnerable people in Philippine society are protected by the law, while the buyers and those exploiting others are prosecuted. In addition to this, it is important that all police officers and local government units receive adequate

training and education, correcting any homophobic behavior and treating all prostitutes with dignity and respect--both men and women alike.

It is important to understand that males in the sex industry are real people with real needs whose vulnerabilities are not limited to HIV/AIDS and sexual health. As such, our understanding of human vulnerability must move beyond simplistic gender dichotomies that frame males as resilient agents and females as vulnerable victims. Initiatives should be taken to create supportive communities in which secrecy is no longer necessary for the preservation of dignity.

Recommendations for future research

While we believe this present baseline of data to be useful, we believe that it is ultimately insufficient. We see this initial study as a tool that merely describes the tip of an iceberg. Much more research in this area is needed to better understand the scope and breadth of male sexual exploitation in the Philippines. Further qualitative research would be useful to better understand the individual narratives and development of men in this industry. Research has found that many young men in the sex industry have had histories of childhood sexual abuse (McIntyre, 2005), yet very little is presently known about the childhoods and formative experiences of these young men. Beyond the small sampling of cases presented in this study, we understand that there are far more young males being used in the sex and pornographic industries that remain hidden. Much research is yet to be done.

Further investigation and research partnerships with the Philippine Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) would be useful to gain a better understanding of males in the sex industry, including their vulnerabilities, resiliency, and modes of entering into such work. While none of the respondents interviewed for this study stated to be under the age of 18 at the time of interview, several anecdotal conversations with field partners and informants indicated the existence of networks of young children (males and females) that were available for massage/sexual services within Metro Manila.

Migration data indicates that several respondents entered the industry through field recruiters working in provincial areas, bringing young males to work as masseurs in Metro-Manila. More research is needed to understand the nature of these recruiters and what implications they might have on human trafficking issues. Additionally, research is needed to determine the extent that young males are trafficked outside of the country for sexual purposes and more research, particularly qualitative research, may also be needed to better understand the issues of supply and demand in this lucrative industry in the Philippines.

As previously mentioned, a number of cases in this study raise significant questions as to the experiences and sexual development of male children in the Philippines. Of particular interest were two respondents who indicate having their first sexual experiences at very young ages (3 and 6

years old) and another two of respondents who indicate having their first sexual experiences as children, with their schoolteachers. Research into the family backgrounds and childhood development of young males in the Philippines, including a national survey of school children to determine the prevalence of violence towards children (male and female) including sexual violence would be vital in developing an understanding of these groups. Data such as this could provide a strong foundation for future research on the exploitation of males and allow service providers to have a better and wider grasp of the incidences of male sexual abuse in the country. In addition to this, ethnographic research on the sexual experiences and sexual/social development of young males in the Philippines could be greatly useful.

Beyond sexual abuse, further ethnographic research on males in the Philippine sex industry would be helpful to better understand the various other outlets of male sex work and the sources of its demand in the Philippines. During data collection and other field research for this study, it became apparent that much of the male sex industry has moved into online directories and smart phone apps. Further research is needed to better understand the lives and vulnerabilities of the young males being advertised through these media.

Conclusion

This research seeks to provide a basis for understanding the vulnerability of young males working in sexually-exploitive careers in Metro-Manila to make them more visible and to start addressing their needs. While girls have long been viewed as victims, boys are victimized as well. For example, in the Philippines there are numerous studies on women and girls compared to a handful that even mention men or boys. Even when studies talk about the sexual exploitation of children they often really mean girls. In the current donor climate, it is more difficult to get funding for boys' projects and research looking at the needs of males. It is vital that churches, NGOs and government groups adopt a holistic and balanced understanding of human vulnerability. Rather than approaching issues of human trafficking and sexual exploitation from a gender-based perspective, it may be more helpful to approach such subjects as a human issue, encompassing males, females and even the variety of identities in between. It is important that we understand males and females as human beings with hopes and desires and vulnerabilities and needs that require a thorough understanding in order to serve them appropriately, meeting their actual needs, rather than just their perceived needs. Without the development of such a balanced understanding, significant groups of vulnerable persons are at risk to remain as they are: hidden in plain sight.

Resources

Boyatzis, Richard E. (1998). *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis & code development*. London: SAGE Publ.

- Davis, E.B. & Hill, P.C. (2012). Promoting the career well-being of religiously/spiritually oriented employees by supporting their emotional resilience and spiritual fitness. In Hill & Dik (Eds.) *Psychology of religion and workplace spirituality* (pp. 89-112). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.
- Dennis, Jeffery P. (2008). Women are victims, men make choices: The invisibility of men and boys in the global sex trade, *Gender Issues* 25: 11-25.
- Dube, S.R., Anda, R.F., Whitfield, C. L., Brown, D. W., Felitti, V. J., Dong, M., & Giles, W.H. (2005). Long-term consequences of childhood sexual abuse by gender of victim. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 28(5), 430-438.
- Dworkin, A. (1992), from a symposium entitled *Prostitution: From academia to activism*, sponsored by the *Michigan Journal of Gender and Law* at the University of Michigan Law School, October 31, 1992.
- Ennew, J., Abebe, T., Bangyai, R., Karapituck, P., Kjørholt, A. T., Noosup, T., Waterson, R. (2009). *The right to be properly researched: How to do rights-based, scientific research with children*. Bangkok: Black on White Publications.
- Farley, M., Freed, W., Kien Serey Phal, & Golding, J. (2011). *A thorn in the heart: Cambodian men who buy sex*. www.prostitutionresearch.com.
- Frederick, J. (2010). *Sexual abuse and exploitation of boys in South Asia: A review of research findings, legislation, policy and programme responses*. Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre.
- Garcia, N. (1996). *Philippine gay culture: The last thirty years*. Quezon City, Philippines: University of the Philippines Press.
- Graham, Ruth. (2006). Male rape and the careful construction of the male victim. *Social and Legal Studies*, 15(2), 187–208.
- Grubman-Black, S. (1990). *Broken boys/mending men: Recovery from childhood sexual abuse*. United Kingdom: Ivy Books.
- Hernandez, L. (2002). *Sexualities, Identities and Bodies: The Framing of Pagkataro Among Establishment-Based Male Sex Workers in the Philippines*. Master's thesis, Universiteit van Amsterdam, The Netherlands.
- Hernandez, L. I. & Imperial, R. H. (2009). *Men-who-have-sex-with-other-males (msm) in the Philippines – identities, sexualities and social mobilities: A formative assessment of HIV and AIDS vulnerabilities*. *Acta Medica Philippina*, 43(3), 26-36.
- Hilton, A., Kong, S., Nong, S., Oung, S., Sok, C., Seoung, S., Teng, P., Long, V., & Meng, D. (2008). *I thought it could never happen to boys*. Phnom Penh: Hagar & World Vision.
- Holmes, W.C. & Slap, G.B. (1998). Sexual abuse of boys: Definition, prevalence, correlates, sequelae, and management. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 280(21), 1855-1862.

- Human Rights Watch, Philippines. (2004). *Unprotected: Sex, Condoms and the Human Right to Health*, 5 May 2004, C1606, available at: <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/412ef1a74.html> [accessed 26 November 2012]
- Jones, S.V. (2010). The invisible man: The conscious neglect of men and boys in the war on human trafficking. *Utah Law Review*, (4)1144.
- Kendall, C.N. & Funk, R.E. (2003). Gay male pornography's 'actors': When fantasy isn't. In M. Farley (Ed.), *Prostitution, Trafficking, and Traumatic Stress*. (pp. 95). Binghamton: The Haworth Maltreatment & Trauma Press.
- Kiesling, C., Sorell, G.T., Montgomery, M.J., & Colwell, R. K. (2006). Identity and Spirituality: A Psychosocial Exploration of the Sense of Spiritual Self. *Developmental Psychology*.
- Kimball, E. M. (2008). *Developing Spirituality in Adolescents: Research-informed Practice and Practice-Inspired Research*. Presented at the Third North American Conference on Spirituality and Social Work.
- Lisak, D. (1994). The psychological impact of sexual abuse: Content analysis of interviews with male survivors. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 7(4), 525-548.
- Manalansan, M. (2003). *Global divas: Filipino gay men in the diaspora*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books.
- McIntyre, S. (2005). *Under the radar: The sexual exploitation of young men*. Calgary, Alberta, Canada: www.hindsightgroup.com.
- McNeill, John J. (1988). *Taking a chance on God: Liberating theology for gays, lesbians, and their lovers, families, and friends*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Miles, G. M. & Blanch, H. (2011). *What about boys?: An initial exploration of sexually exploited boys in Cambodia*. Phnom Penh, Cambodia: Love146.
- Miles, G. M. & Davis, J.D. (2012). *The lingha boys of Siem Reap: A baseline study of sexually exploited males in Siem Reap, Cambodia*. Phnom Penh, Cambodia: Love146.
- Miles, G.M. & Thakur, J. (2013). *A comparative study of 79 masseur and 79 escort young men in Mumbai, India*. Mumbai: Love146 & Samabhavana Society.
- Nichols, P. (1991) *Social survey methods: A field guide for development workers*. Oxford, UK: Oxfam Publications.
- Overton, J. & van Diermen, P. (2003). Using quantitative techniques In Scheyvens, R. & Storey, D. (Eds) (2003). *Development Fieldwork: A practical guide*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Paloutzian, R. F. & Ellison, C.W. (1982). In Peplau & D. Perlman (Eds.). *Loneliness: A sourcebook of current theory, research, and therapy*. 224-237. New York: Wiley-Interscience.
- Paris, J.W. (2011). *The end of sexual identity: Why sex is too important to define who we are*. Downers Grove, IL: IVP.

- Scheyvens, R. & Storey, D. (2003). *Development fieldwork: A practical guide*. London: SAGE.
- Sovannara, K. & Ward, C. (2004). U.S. Agency for International Development, POLICY. *Men who have sex with men in Cambodia: HIV/AIDS Vulnerability, Stigma, and Discrimination*.
- WHO. (2001). *STI/HIV: Sex Work in Asia*. World Health Organization, Regional Office for the Western Pacific.
- Tan, M.L. (2001). Walking the tightrope: Sexual risk and men who sell sex in the Philippines. In P. Aggleton (Ed.), *Men Who Sell Sex: International Perspectives on Male Prostitution and HIV/AIDS*. London: UCL Press.
- Tarr, Chou Meng (1996). *People in Cambodia don't talk about sex, they simply do it: A study of the social and contextual factors affecting risk-related sexual behaviour among young Cambodians*. Phnom Penh: UNAIDS.
- UNESCO. (2012). *A situational response analysis of the education sector's response to HIV, drugs and sexual health in the Philippines*. New York: UNESCO Regional Science Bureau for Asia and the Pacific.
- UNICEF. (2012). Cambodia statistics. Retrieved from http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/cambodia_statistics.html
- UNYAP. (2008). *Guide to ethics and human rights in counter-trafficking: Ethical standards for counter-trafficking research and programming*. Bangkok, Thailand: Project, 2008.
- Valente, S. M. (2005). Sexual abuse of boys. *Journal of Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Nursing*, 18(1), 10-16.
- Watkins, B. & Bentovim, A. (1992). The sexual abuse of male children and adolescents: A review of current research. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 33, 197-248.

for a full copy of the report, contact the authors:

Jarrett Davis, M.A., Independent Researcher. Ohio, USA / Metro Manila, Philippines. US Mobile Phone: 1(740) 304-5040. Email: jarrett@love146.org.

Glenn Miles, Ph.D., Asia Community Building Facilitator, Love146, P.O. Box 2654, Phnom Penh 3, Kingdom of Cambodia. Mobile Phone: +855(0)89515415. Email: glenn@love146.org.

Fullscreen on View: An Exploratory Study on the Background and Psychosocial Consequences of Webcam Child Sex Tourism in the Philippines:

Guusje Havenaar, MSc and Terre des Hommes Netherlands

Abstract

Terre des Hommes Netherlands, a development organization aimed to stop child exploitation, is concerned about a new form of child exploitation online: Webcam child sex tourism. Through the internet, adults offer payment to view and direct live video footage of children in another country performing sexual acts. This research aims to investigate the scope and magnitude of this phenomenon in the Philippines, and offer insight into the psychosocial consequences it has on the children involved. Our research indicates that children engaged in webcam child sex tourism are less likely to go to school, and show a significant educational delay compared to children from the same social circumstances, yet not involved in sex work. Additionally they suffer from psychosocial distress, presumably caused by their activities. They exhibit more symptoms of post-traumatic stress, low self-worth, self-destructive and sexualized behaviour. This research indicates that webcam child sex tourism is a growing phenomenon that causes significant harm to the children involved. It must be stopped before more children get hurt.

Introduction

In recent years Terre des Hommes Netherlands observed the steady rise of a new form of child sexual exploitation. One that is enabled and fuelled by rapid technological advances, increasing global connectivity, persisting poverty rates, and growing disparity in the global distribution of resources. Terre des Hommes Netherlands received alarming signals from collaborating project partners from the Philippines that new commercial child exploitation trades are evolving and spreading parallel to rising global Internet access rates and developments in communications technology.

In child prostitution 'hotspots', like Cebu City in the Philippines, various forms of commercial child exploitation shifted from offline to online, making child abuse material more accessible and more anonymously consumable for a larger number of offenders around the world. Terre des Hommes Netherlands' project partners reported a shift in child prostitution from the streets, bars, restaurants and other public places to hidden

Guusje Havenaar is a researcher with Terre des Hommes Netherlands and can be contacted at G.havenaar@tdh.nl

venues where children are engaged in sexual interactions with foreigners through webcams. Those children are not only exposed to and engaged in activities that are illegal, they also fall under the radars of organizations involved in helping these children. Furthermore, parents become harder to reach because of the in-house nature of the activities.

Webcam child sex tourism, as Terre des Hommes Netherlands calls this phenomenon, is proliferating in the Philippines and spreading quickly. Through the internet, adults offer payment or other rewards to view and direct live streaming video footage of children in the Philippines performing sexual acts in front of a webcam. Similar to child sex tourism, adults seek contact with vulnerable children in other countries for sexual purposes and in doing so dodge the law in their own countries. All it takes is a computer, Internet connection and a web camera or mobile phone. The fact that webcam child sex tourism operations are organized and configured in many different locations makes them harder to discover and much more difficult for gathering evidence against perpetrators.

Webcam child sex tourism remained undiscovered until 2011 when the Philippines successfully prosecuted its first case against two Swedish nationals and three Filipinos (BBC, 2011). Children involved in webcam child sex tourism generally perform webcam sex shows from their home computers, from Internet cafes, or from what are known as "cyber-sex dens": buildings in which women and children are kept, often against their will, in windowless dungeon-like settings. In the Philippines, police raids against such dens are increasingly common. 40% of the victims of webcam child sex tourism have family members who either are involved in webcam sex operations themselves, or who are aware of the child's involvement in webcam sex. In areas like Cordova and Taguig, both located in Cebu province, webcam sex operations have become widespread and family members are aware that there is a lot of money to be earned from it. A description of the nature and extent of the phenomenon has to date never been completed.

Within local communities in the Philippines, webcam child sex tourism is perceived as an easy and relatively harmless way to make money. The effects on children are often waved aside and played down by parents, because they believe that the lack of physical contact between the child and the viewer makes it less harmful for the child.

Webcam child sex tourism is evidently growing, closely related to child prostitution, child trafficking and child abuse. What is not clear however, are the psychological and social consequences of this new phenomenon. To date, no research has been done on the psychosocial consequences of webcam sex for children. The aim of this research is therefore to gain more knowledge on the psychosocial consequences of webcam child sex tourism for children and to give insight into the antecedent factors that play a role.

Research methodology and theoretical framework

The research for this report was carried out in two parts: an investigation into the nature and extent of webcam child sex tourism in the Philippines and a research into the psychosocial effects of this phenomenon on the victims. The outcomes of the both strands of research are combined in this report in order to give a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon and the consequences it has for children in the Philippines. Because the methodologies of the two researches differ, they will be discussed separately.

Research on nature and extent of webcam child sex tourism.

Preliminary data were gathered on incidences and cases of webcam child sex tourism from news reports and other online sources. Based on aggregate information from these sources, five geographical areas were selected as research focus areas: Angeles City and Taguig City in Luzon; Cebu City; the municipalities of Cordova and Dalaguete in the Visayas.

From these five areas, individual cases of victims of webcam child sex tourism were explored and documented. A total of 44 cases were investigated for this study, which include 15 cases in Angeles City, 13 cases in Cordova, 7 cases in Taguig City, 6 cases in Cebu City and the remaining 3 cases in Dalaguete.

In-depth interviews with victims, their families and community members were conducted. A total of 65 respondents served as key informants for this study, who include the victims themselves, their parents or relatives, law enforcement authorities such as police officers and barangay tanods, local government officials from the barangay level and city or municipal social welfare and development officers, social workers, church leaders, NGO workers and other community members from the five focus areas who are familiar to the cases or are responsible for protecting children.

The conduct of in-depth personal interviews for purposes of this study yielded valuable information on the characterization of the nature and extent of webcam child sex tourism operations in the five focus areas. This study reveals how the phenomenon of webcam child sex tourism occurs in greater detail; the modus operandi and strategies of the operators; and the role that victims play in each scenario. The results show the characteristics of victims, the extent to which their families are involved or affected, and the dynamics by which they interact with the webcam child sex tourism operators and offenders.

It is worth noting that webcam child sex tourism operations are inherently diverse in their structure and mechanics, which are at times influenced by the economic and social circumstances of the locality where they occur.

Research on psychosocial consequences of webcam child sex tourism.

48 children in the province of Cebu were interviewed about their

lives, experiences, feelings and thoughts concerning their activities, and about the psychosocial difficulties they encounter. To put their answers into perspective in terms of living conditions and social backgrounds the main group of interest, children who have worked in webcam child sex tourism was compared with a control group of children who were from the same neighbourhoods, but who were not involved in sexually exploitative situations. This way, the possibility that the exhibited symptoms were caused by their living conditions or cultural backgrounds was eliminated.

The initial research aim was also to compare results of children involved in webcam child sex tourism with the results of children who work in prostitution. This comparison would then generate a sense of understanding as to how webcam child sex tourism and its psychosocial consequences relate to child prostitution.

In order to clarify the psychosocial consequences of webcam child sex tourism only, key informants were interviewed about children who had solely been involved in home-based webcam child sex tourism, not in prostitution. These children were living in a community to which the researcher had no access, therefore victims of this group could not be directly interviewed. The key informants were all professionals working with children who had been rescued from home-based webcam child sex tourism operations. The professions of the interviewed key informants were: assistant regional police officer (NBI), psychologist (NBI, Pink Centre), attorney (CLB, IJM), and social worker (CLB, IJM, DSWD, DSWS). The interviews with key informants provided sufficient information to compare the group of victims of webcam child sex tourism only to children who were additionally involved in prostitution. This yields results as to which aspects of webcam child sex tourism contribute specifically to the psychosocial symptoms they display.

Respondents.

Twenty of the interviewed children are from Cebu City, 23 are from Mandaue and four are from Lapu-Lapu. Only children between the ages of 12 and 18 were interviewed. An equal amount of male and female children were interviewed, it is known that in Cebu both sexes are equally represented in child prostitution. Although numbers on the distribution of sexes within webcam child sex tourism are not yet present, the assumption in this research is that this is also equal.

In order to draw accurate conclusions, children were interviewed from three different groups.

1. Webcam group: this group consisted of 16 children who were at the time involved in webcam child sex tourism, 8 girls and 8 boys.

2. Prostituted group: this group consisted of 16 children who were at the time involved in prostitution, 8 girls and 8 boys.

3. Control group: this group consisted of children who were from the same neighbourhoods as the children from the webcam and prosti-

tuted group, but who were not involved in any form of sexual exploitation. This group also consisted of 8 girls and 8 boys.

The interviews

A combination of a semi-structured interview and a structured questionnaire was used to obtain information about the experiences of children concerning webcam child sex tourism, as well as information about their living conditions and different aspects of the psychosocial functioning. The interview was constructed in cooperation with Center for the Prevention and Treatment of Child Sexual Abuse, and reviewed by FORGE, Bidlisiw Foundation and Dr. G. Glarino of the San Carlos University in Cebu, Department of Psychology.

Nature of the interviews. The interviews started with the essential building of a solid and confidential relationship between the interviewer and the child. Due to the delicate nature of topics about to follow, the child had to feel safe enough to tell his/her story. When the interviewer had the feeling the child was comfortably at ease, they continued the rest of the interview.

The first part of the interview covered the following topics: antecedent factors (demographic characteristics, information about school, family, friends and leisure activities, experience of other types of maltreatment or abuse); abuse related factors (how the child got involved in webcam child sex tourism, his or her experiences in the matter, type of customers, payment and thoughts and feelings of the child about his activities); post-disclosure factors (whether people around the child know about his activities, and their expected reactions).

The second part of the interview consisted of a structured questionnaire, exploring the different psychosocial consequences expected to emerge. The 61-items questionnaire covered nine scales, using a 4 point Likert scale: 1) Feelings of isolation; 2) Depression; 3) Posttraumatic stress; 4) Locus of control; 5) Self-esteem and self-worth; 6) Sexualized behaviour; 7) Aggression/hostility; 8) Anxiety; 9) Self-destructive behaviour.

Private and quiet space. Prior to the interview the child was picked up at home by the interviewer or a peer educator and brought to the centre of Terre des Hommes Netherlands' partner organizations FORGE or Bidlisiw. The interview was held in a private and quiet room, and took about one to two hours.

The interviewers. The four interviewers that worked on this project were all psychologists. They all had experience in working with sexually exploited children, and were trained to be sensitive to the lingual and para-lingual behaviour of the child. The interviewers were all native Visayan speakers and since they had been working with this target group for some time, they also had knowledge of the street dialect and terms, used by these children.

The children were interviewed by an employee of the organization they had received support from prior to the research. This way the interviewer was no stranger to the child, hence an open and safe environment was created and the child felt at ease.

Ethical guidelines. The interview was recorded and after being transcribed and translated, the audio file was deleted. In accordance with the General Ethical Guidelines for Health Research (2006), the parents and the interviewed children signed an informed consent before participating in the research. An ethical commission, consisting of the Treatment Response Team of CPTCSA, reviewed and approved the research design.

Reliability.

The reliability of the nine scales was tested, using the Cronbach's α . Six of the nine scales proved to be reliable scales: 2. Depression ($\alpha=.673$); 3. Posttraumatic stress ($\alpha=.656$); 5. Self-esteem & Self-worth ($\alpha=.795$); 6. Sexualized behaviour ($\alpha=.768$); 7. Aggression/hostility ($\alpha=.757$); 9. Self-destructive behaviour ($\alpha=.871$). These reliable scales were interpreted per scale. Three scales showed to be unreliable scales: 1. Feelings of isolation; 4. Locus of control; 8. Anxiety. The items of these scales were therefore interpreted separately.

Theoretical framework of psychosocial consequences

Little is known about the impact of webcam child sex tourism on children. Research on sexual abuse, child prostitution and child pornography has therefore been taken as a theoretical starting point for this study.

Consequences of child sexual abuse. A review by Browne and Finkelhor (1986) shows that initial effects of child sexual abuse, apart from the physical injuries, range from reactions of fear, anxiety, depression, anger and hostility, and inappropriate sexual behaviour. A review by Beichtman et al. (1991) describes the different short-term consequences of sexual abuse on school-aged and adolescent children. School-aged children were likely to have academic and behavioural problems in school, exhibited symptoms of depression and internalizing difficulties. Sexually abused adolescents revealed evidence for the presence of depression, low self-esteem, internalizing behaviour and suicidal thoughts and feelings. Furthermore, "acting out" behaviour, such as running away, skipping school and substance abuse, was often found present. School-aged children clearly displayed inappropriate sexual behaviour (e.g., excessive masturbation, sexual preoccupation, and sexual aggression). Adolescents will sexually act out by displaying promiscuous behaviour and by engaging more than average in homosexual contacts (Beichtman et al., 1991).

When looking at the long-term effects of child abuse, studies show that adults who have been victimized as children are more likely to manifest depression, suicidal ideation, self-destructive behaviour, anxiety,

feelings of isolation and stigma, poor self-esteem, a tendency towards revictimization, substance abuse, difficulty in trusting others, dissociation, posttraumatic stress responses and obsessions and compulsions (Beichtman et al., 1992; Neumann, Houskamp, Pollock & Briere, 1996; Putnam, 2003). There are also indications of sexual maladjustment in adolescent or adult life, in such areas as promiscuity, sexual dysphoria, sexual dysfunctioning and impaired sexual self-esteem. Researchers have also reported avoidance of or abstention from sexual activity. Frequency and duration of abuse, abuse involving penetration, force or violence, and a close relationship to the perpetrator appear to be the most harmful in terms of long-lasting effects on the child (Beichtman et al., 1991).

It must be noted that children who have suffered sexual abuse often come from disturbed families, with a high divorce rate, substance abuse of one the parents and psychiatric disturbance (Beichtman et al., 1991). The effects this has on a child might make him or her more vulnerable to abuse and also makes the child less able to cope with the effects of abuse. This makes it difficult to separate the effects of child sexual abuse from the effects of growing up in a dysfunctional family.

Consequences of child pornography. The National Centre for Missing and Exploited Children (2005; quoted by Rogers, 2008) has documented the effects of child pornography on its victims. Because children are sexually abused in the process of creating pornographic images, they can incur physical injuries such as genital bruising, cuts, lacerations and sexually transmitted diseases. The children may suffer psychological injuries including depression, anger, withdrawal, low self-esteem and feelings of worthlessness. These feelings may be expressed in flashbacks, nightmares and other indicia of post-traumatic stress syndrome. They often engage in self-destructive behaviour including substance abuse, prostitution and suicide.

When pornographic images are viewed by others, the children depicted are victimized once again. The mere knowledge that images exist and circulate causes shame, humiliation and powerlessness. This victimization will continue forever since the pictures can resurface at any time and this circulation has grown exponentially because of the Internet (Klain, 2001).

According to a report by Worthley and Smallbone (2006) the vast majority of children who appear in child pornography have not been abducted or physically forced to participate. In most cases they knew the producer - it might even be a parent - and they were manipulated into taking part by more subtle means. Referring to when the abuse was taking place, victims described the physical pain (e.g., around the genitals), accompanying somatic symptoms (such as headaches, loss of appetite, and sleeplessness), and feelings of psychological distress (emotional isolation, anxiety, and fear). However, most of them also felt a pressure to cooperate with the offender and to keep the offense a secret, often be-

cause of a mixture of loyalty and fear towards the offender and a sense of shame about their own behaviour. In later years, the victims reported that initial feelings of shame and anxiety did not fade but intensified to feelings of deep despair, worthlessness, and hopelessness. Many of them had a distorted view of sexuality, in particular establishing and maintaining a healthy emotional and sexual relationship appeared to be difficult.

Consequences of child prostitution. Child prostitution is a worst forms of child labour, as described in ILO Convention 182. It is a gross violation of children's rights and dignity, and it places them at high risk of infectious diseases (sexually transmitted diseases), malnutrition, pregnancy and physical injuries as a result of violence and rape. Aside from these physical risks, prostituted children are prone to mental illnesses, substance abuse and other psychological difficulties. Based on a review by Willis & Levy (2002) child prostitution often results in serious long-term psychological harm, including anxiety, depression, and behavioural disorders. For example, in a study regarding twelve forced sex workers in Cambodia, all the women and girls felt helpless, damaged, degraded, betrayed, and ashamed. Many of the young women reported depression, hopelessness, inability to sleep, nightmares, poor appetite, and a sense of resignation. Prostituted children are also at high risk of suicide and post-traumatic stress disorder. Such mental health problems are serious challenges to effective treatment and reintegration.

Traumagenic dynamics. Finkelhor and Brown (1985) have proposed a framework for a more systematic understanding of the dynamics that play a role in the effects of child sexual abuse. Four traumagenic dynamics are identified as the core of the psychological injury inflicted by abuse: traumatic sexualization, betrayal, stigmatization, and powerlessness. Through these dynamics, children who underwent sexual abuse can exhibit emotional and behavioural problems. This framework is also shown to be valid in comparing the impact of abuse in the Philippines (Rabanillo, 2011).

Webcam child sex tourism: A new phenomenon in context

The research on the psychosocial effects of webcam child sex tourism is based on the findings gathered from Philippine respondents from mainly Cebu City and the municipality of Cordova, both located in the province of Cebu. Cebu City is notorious for its sex tourism, child prostitution and other forms of commercial sexual exploitation of children; the rural municipality of Cordova recently became one of the major hotspots for the webcam child sex tourism trade in the Philippines. In order to place the findings on the psychosocial effects of webcam child sex tourism in a context, this section will start with background information on the increasing internet access in Asia and the Philippines in particular, norms and values in Philippine society, before moving to a depiction of the nature and extent of webcam child sex tourism.

Increase in Internet access in Asia and the Philippines.

In Asia, the increasing use of information and communication technologies, with particular reference to the Internet, has transformed many aspects of political, business, social, and cultural life. By 2013, Asia had the highest number of Internet users in the world, nearly 1.3 billion users. This is nearly as much as the total number of Internet users in all other global regions combined (Information Technology Union, 2013).

Similar to other countries in the world, internet usage rates in the Philippines have increased dramatically in the past decade. In 2005, only 5.4% of the Philippine population accessed the Internet. By 2010 that percentage had gone up to 29%, according to data provided by the United Nations (UNdata). A news article in the Asian Correspondent in 2011 estimated that 33.6 million people in the Philippines use the Internet of which at least 21 million use Facebook (Cruz, 2011). However, along with the development of new technologies and the growth of the Internet and Internet usage comes the opportunity for proliferation of online child sexual exploitation which, in turn, presents significant challenges to detection, enforcement and prosecution of such offences.

Filipino norms and values.

In Filipino society, sex with children and the selling of children have always been unacceptable. Although prostitution is illegal and conceived as dirty and immoral, it is tolerated. The attitude towards prostituted women is slowly changing: they are gradually seen as victims of circumstance. Children of prostitutes are exposed to sex at a very young age. In their pre-teens they enter prostitution and when they grow old, they become mama-sans (an older woman running a brothel). Numerous women of consecutive generations went through this cycle. Although local officials have tolerated prostitution for many years, public awareness on the high risk of HIV/AIDS among sex workers has exerted pressure on the local government to address the problems in the sex industry, resulting in rescue operations of victims of (forced) prostitution, the arrest of pimps and the closing down of the Kamagayan red light district in Cebu City.

Philippine values at times appear ambivalent, that is, they can be applied to the good and the bad. In a social system of extreme insecurity and poverty, the positive qualities of Philippine values can become negative and ugly (Vitaliano and Gorospe, 1994). In order to understand the background of sexual exploitation of children in the Philippines, it is relevant to discuss some of these Philippine values and norms, as described by Garcia (2012).

Family above all. One of the values perceived highly by Filipinos is family-centeredness. Family is ranked high above honesty and justice. Among the poor, family-centeredness means sacrificing the wellbeing of one relative for the sake of the family's survival. Older children are expected to make necessary sacrifices. One sacrifice could mean dropping

out of school in order to get paid work and helping the siblings pursue their educations. It could also mean marrying young and starting a family of one's own until the younger siblings are settled. A woman does not necessarily marry for love, but for money if this means she can help her younger siblings this way. Another sacrifice could mean going into prostitution, and allowing oneself to be exploited by (foreign) adults.

Family centeredness can cause difficulties in legal action against parents who pimp their children into prostitution, sex tourism or webcam child sex tourism. Child victims do not want to file legal cases if this means they could lose their parents and families.

Virility. Machismo, or the strong sense of masculine pride and dominance, has been blamed for the mistress (querida) system and the tolerance of prostitution. Many Filipino men demonstrate their virility through sex. The most common perpetrators mentioned by child victims of sexual exploitation are taxi drivers. They frequently use drugs to stay awake, and their sex drive is heightened as a side effect. They rationalize to themselves that the children are actually adults, because they are sexually very experienced.

Saving face. Shame or dishonour (hiya or mapahiya) is a value that regulates the behaviour of the Filipinos. This value is all about public image and saving face. It may be the reason why authorities and community leaders try to deny and downplay the existence of child exploitation. The failure to protect their children is a source of great shame and dishonour.

Hospitality. It is Filipino tradition to warmly welcome visitors, especially foreigners. The tourism industry tends to welcome all kinds of tourists, even suspected paedophiles and organized crime syndicate members. In the recent past, it was unthinkable to arrest a foreign visitor. In rural areas, this still appears to be the case.

Faith and religion. The Filipinos put a deep trust in God and the Roman Catholic Church. In a place regularly devastated by typhoons, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions and other natural disasters, people turn to the Supreme God (Bathala) for something bigger than the unconquerable nature. Consequently, the blind trust in God has also brought about the negative bahala na (literally, in God's hands) attitude, which engenders resignation to fate, inaction and a false sense of security in the face of hardships. The Catholic Church is very influential in Cebu. It has many followers, including politicians, who are against contraception and sexual health services for women.

Sexual exploitation of children in Cebu

In Cebu City, around 7,617 children and youngsters, aged 5 to 25, are being sexually exploited. 56.8% of them are under the age of 18 (NSO & ILO, 2009). Most children are involved in prostitution without interference of a middleman or pimp. These self-employed sex workers contract

their customers strolling around at night, near the harbour, construction sites, by the side of the road, in popular hangouts and in videoke venues. Once they have exchanged phone numbers with their customers they meet up using text messages.

Their customers are mostly local men: taxi drivers, construction workers and men working on ships. They exploit these children on a short-time basis (around 15 to 30 minutes per service) for a shockingly low pay of Php20 to Php500 Philippine Peso. The sex usually takes place inside the taxi, or in a dark corner on a piece of carton or plastic. These men engage in sexual activity with the children because they are cheaper, more readily available, and “fresher”. (Garcia, 2012).

Besides local men, children in Cebu City are also sexually exploited by foreigners. These children, often pimped by their parents, accompany foreigners in hotels, resorts and restaurants. They are mostly ‘hired’ for a longer period of time and aside from sex, accompany the foreigner with shopping, eating out and overnight. Foreigners often ‘groom’ these children and their families with large amounts of money. Most children will talk about the foreigner as their “boyfriend” (Garcia, 2012).

Webcam child sex tourism

Webcam child sex tourism is a relatively new phenomenon in the Philippines, which took off as the popularity of the Internet and mobile phones increased. Terre des Hommes Netherlands defines webcam child sex tourism as follows: when adults offer payment or other rewards to view and direct live streaming video footage of children in another country performing sexual acts. This phenomenon is a combination of the concepts of child pornography and child prostitution. The distinction between webcam child sex tourism and those two forms of child sexual exploitation is that webcam child sex tourism always involves predators who live outside the countries where the child victims live. This distinction brings the phenomenon closer to child sex tourism, as it is a form of child prostitution in which adults travel abroad – albeit through the Internet - to engage in sexual activities with vulnerable children, avoiding laws in their own country.

Webcam child sex tourism is often classified as a ‘hands-off’ crime, which indicates that no physical contact takes place between the victim and the perpetrator, i.e. the viewer of the webcam sex performance. This classification is misleading, because in the case of webcam child sex tourism, live abuse in front of the webcam often does take place. In addition to this, it is important to realize that in many cases a third party is involved, like a parent or a middle man.

Relatively little is known about the nature and scope of the problem. Terre des Hommes Netherlands however estimates that tens of thousands of children are working in webcam child sex tourism in the Philippines. This estimation is based on the finding of the Peoples Recovery Empowerment Development Assistance Foundation (PREDA) that

approximately 25% of the children rescued by PREDA from situations of exploitation had been victimized at least once through webcam child sex tourism (Terre des Hommes Netherlands, 2013).

Profile of the victims

Child victims are usually aged 7 to 17 years old, mostly from extremely poor families, often without a permanent source of livelihood, who are at risk. Income sources for these households are irregular or seasonal, such as fishing or farming, or informal employment such as doing carpentry or laundry jobs.

Children that get involved in the webcam child sex tourism trade often come from broken homes. There is a general lack of parental supervision, combined with poor parenting skills. Beatings and physical abuse as a way of reprimanding minor mistakes are common. Children are left on their own or under the care of older siblings, either because parents have to work all day, parents suffer from vices, or because there are just too many children to look after. Because of this, children often tend to seek guidance from their peers. Joining a gang, in exchange for safety, happens a lot. It is under the influence of peers that children usually become acquainted with alcohol, drugs, petty crimes and prostitution, including webcam child sex tourism.

The main reasons for working in the webcam child sex tourism trade are related to the need to earn money. Many of the interviewed children said that they felt there were not any other options left for them. The children usually give part of the money to their families, where it is used for groceries.

Another reason the children give is that they secretly hope a foreigner will fall in love with them and rescue them and their families from poverty. "I tell myself I have to take this opportunity, because there's an American who's interested to chat with me. I must be lucky ... Sometimes I searched the internet hoping I would be able to marry a foreigner", says Lovely (17).

The regular customers of the webcam shows are western men, who are regarded by Filipinos as very wealthy and thus superior. Having a foreigner as a friend or a boyfriend gives Filipino girls and women financial security and status within the community. In some cases the foreigner really becomes the 'boyfriend' of the child. This means they will have regular chat and webcam sex sessions. In those cases the foreigner will provide the family with money, for example pay for the child's tuition fees or pay for a new roof over the house.

Sometimes the foreign perpetrator will come to the Philippines to visit the child. This was the case with one third of the children interviewed in this research. In these cases, the foreigner usually takes the child, sometimes accompanied by the parents or friends, out for dinner or shopping. Afterwards, the child goes with the foreigner to his hotel or

apartment. Parents are usually not opposed to their child having a foreign 'boyfriend'.

Two young gay boys described meeting their foreign chat-partners: "The foreigner I've been chatting with for a long time, he is from Switzerland. He is like my boyfriend. I've met him, he came here. We went to a hotel. He gave me chocolates, clothes, we bought things. I was excited, I really enjoyed it. Of course he could not just come here without benefitting from me", says Ligid (16). "He came to Cebu and we met in a mall. He bought me stuff, like a cell phone. He was my "sugar daddy". He brought me to a hotel. I was a bit embarrassed or shy, because he's a big man and I'm too small for him", says Potot (15).

In some cases, the children were scared to meet their chat partners by themselves, so they took a friend or family member with them. Rosita (14): "I went with a friend to meet her chat mate. He was an American. We went to the hotel. He let us eat at Jollibee and paid us Php1000 each". One foreigner visited the house of another interviewed child and met his parents. After seeing the house, he gave them US\$400 to fix it up. The family is very supportive of this foreign friend, and keeps asking when he is coming back to visit them.

Show-show and apmar

Children who are involved in webcam child sex tourism use different names to describe their actions. 'Show me your boobs' or in short 'Show me' is one of the most frequently used terms for webcam sex performances, referring to the instruction these children usually get from their viewers. Also the playful 'show-show' or 'chat-chat' is used. In the Visayan dialect, repeating a word twice, like 'show-show', indicates that you are not taking the matter too seriously, or that it is a game. In this case, repeating the word could be a way to diminish the severity or intensity of the matter, like an understatement. The phenomenon of understating these kind of activities is also seen in the silly names children give other forms of child sexual exploitation in the Philippines. The girls who use a piece of carton as a mattress on which they ply their trade, for example, are called 'carton-girls' and going out on the streets to look for customers is called 'apmar', which is reverse-spelled for rampa, referring to the activity of walking the ramp like a model.

Different ways to get involved

Children are often cajoled into webcam sex by someone they already know - a family member, close friend, neighbour or another member of the community who is operating or working in webcam sex tourism. Nearly half the victims have family members who themselves are involved in webcam sex operations, or who are aware of the child's involvement in webcam sex.

In areas like the Municipality of Cordova webcam child sex tour-

ism operations have become rampant because family members are aware that it involves a lot of money. The role of parents often is to initiate the contact with the foreign perpetrators on the Internet or to claim payments from money transfer services like Western Union, because children do not have the proper documentation requirements. For some families, children's involvement in webcam sex is their household's major income source. They perceive webcam child sex tourism as an easy and relatively harmless way to make money. They do not recognize the implications of these activities to the emotional wellbeing of victims. Many parents believe that webcam sex consists of mere images or videos, and that the fact that there is no risk of physical or sexual contact with their children, shields children from negative outcomes.

Some of the interviewed children in this research narrated that they were invited to try webcam sex by an adult man from the neighbourhood. In these cases the man was the one who had contact with the customer and did the chatting. Lovely, a 17-year old girl, explains: "I was invited to join a show. A man brought me to a private place. He said we will chat with Americans and we will do a show. We had to go nude, we removed our clothes, removed our shorts, removed everything. The man chatted with the American and told me what to do. Whatever the American dictated, I did. When I saw the American on the camera, I was shocked. I didn't know it would be like that. The man told me that I had to finish and that he would hit me if I didn't." 14-year old Rosita says: "First, we were asked to stand and to turn around. He looked. After that, we were asked to go naked. He told us to hold that thing. It was a plastic thing. I don't know what it's called. It was like a plastic organ of a male! I just held it. That's it. After that, I was given drugs and drinks."

There are also children that enter the trade on their own initiative without their parents knowing it, because peers do it. They use the money to buy food, internet access, clothes, make-up, cell phones or cell phone load, alcohol or drugs. Usually one of them has learned how to get in touch with the foreigners and teaches the others which websites to visit. 15-year old Potot says: "I was in grade 3 at that time, ten years old. I just wanted to surf the net, but my friend told me to open 'Date in Asia'. I didn't know how to speak English, so he was the one who typed." Mostly these children are already involved in other types of prostitution and give webcam sex performances supplementary to street prostitution. For example: if these children are not able to find clients in the streets they go to an internet café to look for clients, or the other way around.

Other times, children are lured into the trade by a complete stranger offering them employment or a way to earn easy money. The stranger initiates contact with a victim through the Internet, using social networking sites like Facebook or Yahoo! messenger, or through text messages or calls to victims' mobile phones. The children are promised expensive gifts, good food, shopping allowance and even payment for educational

expenses. Because the recruiters are complete strangers, they provide instructions to victims on where they are supposed to meet or how they are supposed to travel to another area. Victims are sent money by the recruiters to spend on transportation. Even when victims abhor the type of work they are made to do, they find that they have no choice due to their economic necessity. Those victims who try to refuse are either forced to work in webcam child sex tourism or locked up.

The show.

The shows can be performed from a home computer, from an Internet cafe or from so called webcam child sex tourism “dens”. Usually, the contact between a child and a customer is made in a chat room, or through a middleman. The customer can tell the child what to do through (voice-) chat, and the ‘show’ starts when the viewer transfers the money. Young victims who don’t speak English use Google Translate when chatting with foreign clients. The content of the show varies, depending on the viewer’s demand and the willingness to pay. Each show usually lasts between 15 and 30 minutes.

The shows range from showing one’s upper body or genitals and dancing naked in front of the camera to masturbating, inserting sex-toys or eggplants. The shows are performed by one child or more children interacting together. If more than one child is involved in the show, they can be asked to perform on each other, using their hands, mouth or toys. Sometimes shows involve adults sexually abusing children in front of the

CASE STUDY: Melody and Bart

In August 2013, three girls were recruited to work as helpers in a small restaurant by a Filipina named Melody B. and her Dutch partner named Bart E. Apart from working in the restaurant, the girls were told they would also be overseeing an Internet shop owned by the couple, receiving a salary of P1,500 per month (\$35 USD). The couple transported the girls to barangay Cansilayan, Murcia, Negros Occidental, to a rented house with an Internet shop. They received a Residence Certificate, which concealed their real ages, birthdates and addresses. The girls were ordered to wear sexy dresses and make-up and chat with foreigners online. It was Melody who logged into the chat room using a different name, with a login account number and password. The girls would first communicate with foreigners during live chats by waving their hands, smiling and giving air kisses. Later, the girls would remove their clothes and underwear and dance in front of the camera. The girls were forced to have chat sessions every day from 10 o’clock in the evening until 8 o’clock the following morning. On August 7, 2013, the webcam child sex tourism den was discovered and raided by the police. Local officers said it was the first time they raided a sex den in the province of Negros Occidental. Melody and Bart were detained at the Murcia Police Station following the arrest.

camera. Even cases involving bestiality are known. Whatever fetish the viewer seems to have, the operators and children will cater for. Mostly, the viewers are interested in children between the age of 10 and 18. However, extreme cases like shows involving a 3-month old baby do occur. Overall, it seems that the younger a child is, the more a foreigner will pay. However, this doesn't mean that this industry is limited to children. Usually the female operators will also do these shows, if they can find customers.

Payment to the victims.

The amount of money that Philippine children earn with webcam sex shows varies, depending on the length of the show, the number and ages of children involved and the sexual acts performed in the show. Most victims report to receive between Php500 and Php2000 per show, but some victims reported they didn't receive any payment at all, either because the foreigner failed to keep his promise to transfer money, or because they did a show in the hope that the foreigner would become his or her boyfriend. When the child is recruited to do a show by a middleman, he or she usually only receives around Php200. The money is transferred through Western Union or Cebuana Lhuillier.

The operators.

In case there is an operator involved in the webcam child sex tourism operation, they are mostly the ones recruiting and finding children for the webcam sex shows. They are also the ones who communicate with foreign clients online and operate the computer or webcam used. At times, they instruct victims on how to act in front of the camera, choreograph sexual poses, and provide costumes to the victims as a way to entice more clients, or even motivate victims prior to the webcam child sex tourism activity by showing them pornographic material. They likewise attend to the logistical requirements of running the operation, including, but not limited to, finding a venue for webcam child sex tourism activities such as a house or space to rent, or setting up payment methods and handing out payments to victims.

The operators of these shows provide a computer, laptop or tablet with a webcam. The computer is often bought with money borrowed from a loan shark, who knows that the lenders will be able to pay back the high interest with the money they earn from the webcam shows. Sometimes the money is given by a foreign customer, enabling him to have a show more regularly. Even though police officers are aware of these webcam shows, they are faced with operators who grow more and more cautious. They use laptops or tablets, instead of personal computers, so when the police arrive they can easily hide them. Since the police seldom have an official warrant, they are not allowed to search the house thoroughly.

Three models of webcam child sex tourism operational structures

Individual operations. Individual operations occur in private residences or Internet cafes. In these operations, children go online to chat rooms, social networking sites, and dating sites in search of foreigners willing to pay for webcam sex shows. Most interviewed children in this research who voluntarily perform webcam sex shows without the direct involvement of a third party are commonly also involved in street prostitution; they generally turn to webcam child sex tourism to supplement their income and to seek "boyfriends" who will come visit them and perhaps carry on long-term relationships with them.

Usually these children find out about webcam child sex tourism by themselves, through peers or through adults. In the neighbourhoods these children live in, there are a lot of 'peso-computers'. The computer turns on for 5 minutes once a peso coin is inserted in the slot. These 'peso-peso' Internet cafés are open all night and usually do not have an owner guarding the place. At night, when people are sleeping, the children can perform webcam sex shows freely there, sometimes shielded from the street by a

CASE STUDY: Jun-Jun and his American boyfriend

Jun-Jun is 15 years old. He lives with both his parents and his two younger siblings in a small house in the slums of Cebu City. His parents fight all day. They fight about money and about the gambling problems of his mother. When his father comes home from working at the pier, there is no food on the table because Jun-Jun's mother has spent all the money on gambling. Jun-Jun's father is an alcoholic and when he is drunk he becomes violent toward his wife and children. Sometimes Jun-Jun wishes he still lived with his gay uncle, like he did when he was 5 years old and his parents temporarily broke up. His uncle would dress him up as a girl and put make-up on him. Since then, Jun-Jun has enjoyed dressing like a girl. People call him a "ladyboy."

When Jun-Jun was 9 years old, he walked around with a girl from his neighbourhood. She was a "taxi-girl," meaning that she earned money by having sex with taxi drivers. The girl took Jun-Jun with her to have sex for the first time with a taxi driver who paid 500 pesos (about \$11.50 USD). After that day, Jun-Jun and his friends started having sex for money more often.

About a year later, Jun-Jun and his friends started performing webcam sex shows for money. They would go to an Internet cafe at night. One kid would hold up a blanket so that nobody could see them, and the other kids would perform sexual acts in front of the webcam. Jun-Jun met Bob, a 48-year-old American, and they started chatting regularly. Bob became his boyfriend and would send money. One day, Bob suggested that he come to Cebu to visit Jun-Jun. Jun-Jun was very excited, but also scared. He had told Bob that he was a girl. Every time Bob asked him to show his private parts on camera, he tricked him by putting his penis between his legs. He was scared to tell Bob the truth, afraid that Bob would not want to be his boyfriend anymore and would stop sending him money.

blanket. In other cases, children go to Internet cafés that have a private room. Although this was recently made illegal, they are still present.

Most children that are individually involved in webcam sex operations, without the interference of an adult operator, find it hard to collect the money for their 'services'. Sometimes they don't receive payment because they don't check for a cash lodgement into the Western Union account beforehand. The young age of the children, their lack of experience with Western Union payments and sometimes poor English language skills are

CASE STUDY: Maria

Maria performs all night to pay the debts of her mother 13-year-old Maria lives with her parents in a slum area of Ibabao, located in the Cordova District. Her father was a fisherman, but fell ill years ago, and can no longer work. Her parents struggled to make ends meet. Her mother had an informal job selling goods in a local market, but she did not make enough money to support the family. The alcoholism and gambling of Maria's father made their financial situation even worse. Sometimes Maria's parents do not have enough money to buy food. The neighbours used to be poor as well, just like Maria's family. But now their house is made of concrete instead of corrugated metal and recently they added a second story to their home. Nobody in the neighbourhood talks about it, but everybody knows that they are making money with webcam sex shows.

Some years ago Maria's mother also started chatting with foreigners on dating sites, hoping to earn some extra cash. But they didn't want to chat with her, they wanted to see her young daughter. Maria, only 11 at the time, was put in front of the camera. They asked her to undress and they told her, "Show me your boobs," "Show me your butt," and "Spread your legs." The first time, Maria did not want to do those things and she started crying, but her mother told her, "It's not so bad, they can't touch you anyway. They are on the other side of the world, so it's all right."

After that first night, she was asked to perform webcam sex shows more often. Maria got used to it and she did whatever the "customers" asked her to do. It became a normal thing for her, but it was kept as a family secret. After some time, Maria's 14-year-old cousin and her boyfriend also joined Maria in shows. The customers asked them to have sexual intercourse in front of the webcam while Maria watched them. They earned a lot of money doing that. Whenever Maria wanted to stop, her mother reminded her that they have debts to pay. "You don't want us to go hungry, do you?" she would say.

Every time Maria and her cousin perform a webcam sex show, Maria's mother receives between \$20 and \$50. They earn so much money, that Maria's mother has been able to stop working. But sometimes Maria is asked to perform three shows in a night. During the day she tries to go to school, but more and more she is skipping classes because she is too tired after staying up late into the night performing webcam sex shows.

all obstacles to them receiving money from their customers. If the payment does succeed however, it is generally higher than what the children are used to earning with prostitution.

Family-run operations. Family-run operations most often involve parents or other family members coercing their children to perform webcam sex shows for predators in exchange for money. Sometimes adults have their children recruit other children to do the same. These operations are often located in homes, depending on the availability of home computers.

This form of webcam child sex tourism operations is mostly seen in very crowded and poor areas of the Philippines where the inhabitants are usually informal settlers or squatters and where means of income are scarce. The Municipality of Cordova is an example of an area where family-run webcam sex operations are common. Prostitution is less common in these communities, because not many tourists visit these areas, not many taxi drivers work here during the night time and there is no harbour nearby, so there are no men coming in from the docks. This could explain why family-run webcam child sex tourism operations have become a cottage industry in these areas.

Neighbouring children, who are from very poor families, can be easily enticed with money and gadgets to join the show. Their parents will pretend they don't know that their children are involved in these shows, but in reality they are often aware of the activities of their child. They will

CASE STUDY: A family affair

For three years, the children did as they were told. In the privacy of their home in the Municipality of Cordova they stripped and posed naked in front of a webcam. They also performed lewd acts, as directed by their parents. The parents were arrested by the National Bureau of Investigation in Central Visayas on June 2011, while six of their children were rescued, including a 4-year old girl.

"I apologize to my children. My husband and I regret doing this to them. We did this because we're poor," said the 33-year-old mother in an interview at the NBI office. The woman said she and her husband turned to webcam child sex tourism, receiving dollar payments, after they stopped working in a factory in Mandaue City. "This is our only source of income," said the father, who said they took up the same enterprise many of their neighbours were also doing.

Except for the eldest child, the other children were all naked when agents found them on the ground floor of their two-story house. The youngest was getting ready with her siblings to "perform" live in front of a webcam. Her mother was supervising them. The three boys and three girls were aged 15, 13, 11, 9, 7, and 4. When NBI agents entered the house, they found the children inside a room. The father was transacting online with a client. The mother was supervising her naked children.

usually not admit it but they urgently need the money the child brings in. Parents are shocked at first, but look the other way and appease their conscience by thinking it is not harmful for their child and not as bad as prostitution.

Payments for family-run webcam child sex tourism operations are on average higher than the payments individually performing children receive. The operator receives between Php2,500 and Php5,000 per show, depending on the content of the show and what the viewer is willing to pay. For Philippine standards this is an enormous amount of money, given that informal settlers have an average monthly income of Php6,125. The child performing the show usually only gets Php50 to Php300. The rest of the money will go to the operator, who are as earlier said often the parents.

Webcam child sex tourism "dens". Webcam child sex tourism

CASE STUDY: Working behind the webcam instead of the counter
A woman named Maybel, presumably the owner of a webcam sex den, sent random text messages to young girls offering a job in a computer shop. Whenever a girl showed interest in the offer, Maybel called her and gave instructions for commuting to Angeles City. Maybel would then also send the victim money for transportation expenses. Some victims came all the way from Visayas to Angeles City. Only when victims reached the destination in Angeles City, they realized that the job was not in a computer shop but in webcam sex den. However, they could not refuse the job anymore as Maybel would then ask them to return the money they payed on bus fares, something they could not repay.

Maybel would create accounts for each of the victims, with which they could log into websites like www.stream.com and www.asian247.com. She taught them to use these websites and how to manage private chats where customers are charged a fixed rate per minute. Each victim was given a \$100 USD quota per week, which meant that they needed to have many clients for a longer period of time on private chat. On average, the children worked 12 hours per shift. There were also couple accounts, in which two or several girls performed together.

The girls had to go online, chat with customers and attract customers to start a paid, private chat session with them. The girls were given costumes to wear and were taught how to pose in front of the camera to tease clients. The victims would do whatever their customers asked them to do, like taking off their clothes, showing their private parts and using sex toys. While performing, the victims were monitored by someone working for Maybel using a team viewer program.

In July 2013, Maybel and her companions were arrested during a police raid of the house- turned-cybersex-den in Malabanas. Six women, including three minors, were rescued during the incident. The suspects were brought to the office of the Department of Justice in Clark Field, Angeles City, and faced charges of qualified trafficking the child.

dens are locations in which several children are either hired or trafficked and kept against their will to perform webcam sex shows. These dens are sometimes run by criminal organizations of varying sizes and degrees of sophistication. In some cases, dens are run by foreign (non-Filipino) nationals. There is a range of varieties of webcam child sex tourism dens, from home-based operations that exploit groups of children from the same neighbourhood, to organized criminal groups that run large-scale underground online brothel operations. Front companies, such as Internet cafes or information technology companies, often conceal these dens.

Psychosocial effects

Webcam child sex tourism is a new phenomenon, bringing forth a relatively new group of victims, of whom there was limited data available. What would be the emotional consequences of this new form of sexual exploitation on the children; would children suffer differently when being exploited by their parents instead of by a pimp or mamasan? And if so, to what extent? These were questions posed during the research period. In this research, two sets of children are defined: those individually active in webcam child sex tourism, and those involved in family-run operations.

Demographic characteristics

Age. Children from the control group proved to be significantly younger than children from the webcam and prostituted group. Children from the control group were 14 years on average, as opposed to children from the webcam child sex tourism group and the prostituted group, who were 16 years on average. The reason for this however was pure coincidence and it had nothing to do with difficulty finding children of an older age, who had not been involved in any form of sex work.

School. The mean highest attained grade did not differ between the groups. On average, the highest attained grade was 7 (first year of high school). However, this could have been influenced by the higher mean age in the webcam group and the prostituted group, compared to the control group. When the model was controlled for age, it became clear that there is indeed a group difference in highest grade attained. A significant negative correlation is found, indicating that the children from the webcam and prostituted group were older when they attained a certain grade than the children from the control group.

When we look at the number of years the children deviate from the grade that is regular for their age (years behind), it becomes clear that the children from the webcam group and the prostituted group are significantly more years behind on their education than children from their neighbourhoods who are not involved in sex work.

The percentage of children who had currently enrolled, differed among the groups. The children from the webcam group and the prostituted group were less likely to go to school than the children from the

control group (of the webcam group and prostituted group, respectively 62.5% and 43.75% went to school, compared to 93.75% of the control group). Only one child of the control group did not go to school. She had already graduated from high school and decided to wait before she started college.

Some of the children that did not enrol in formal education participated in Alternative Learning Sessions (ALS), especially designed for out-of-school youth. Within the group of non-school going children, 66.66% of the webcam group and 44.43% of the prostituted group were enrolled in ALS. All children interviewed were children who were in anyway in contact with either Bidlisw Foundation or FORGE. These organizations stimulate children in returning to education, either to formal schooling or ALS. Therefore, the percentage of school-attending children in this sample might be higher than the average of children involved in sexual exploitation. The data shows that many children interviewed were far behind in their studies. It is expected that this will be the case with all children in these neighbourhoods. On average, only 14.6% are on the regular track (31.3% in the control group, while within the prostituted and webcam group only 6.3% are on track). Children often stop prematurely, or are absent so many times they cannot pass their final tests. If a child is too far behind, he/she often feels too ashamed to be in a classroom full of younger children and so often drops out of school.

The most cited reasons for quitting school or cutting classes for children involved in webcam child sex tourism and prostitution are: bad influence of friends/strolling around at night ("I quit school because of my friends, they influenced me"; "I am tempted to go out with my friends, I would come home late at night, I find it hard to wake up early in the morning, that's why I stopped school); and money problems ("My father can't send us all to school, because there are ten of us"; "I stopped going to school because my stomach ached, we had nothing to eat. I have to look for money, so I cannot attend school").

It seems clear that there is a direct connection between working in prostitution and webcam child sex tourism and failing to go to school. These children mostly ply their trade at night, as a result of which they go to bed late. The next day they are too tired to get up, so they skip school. Sadly this also puts them in a disadvantage for later life: without proper education they will have difficulty obtaining a decent job. Other reported reasons for quitting school for children involved in webcam child sex tourism and prostitution were: illnesses (of child or in the family) and one pregnancy. The children from the control group only reported money problems and illnesses as reasons for (temporarily) discontinuing their education.

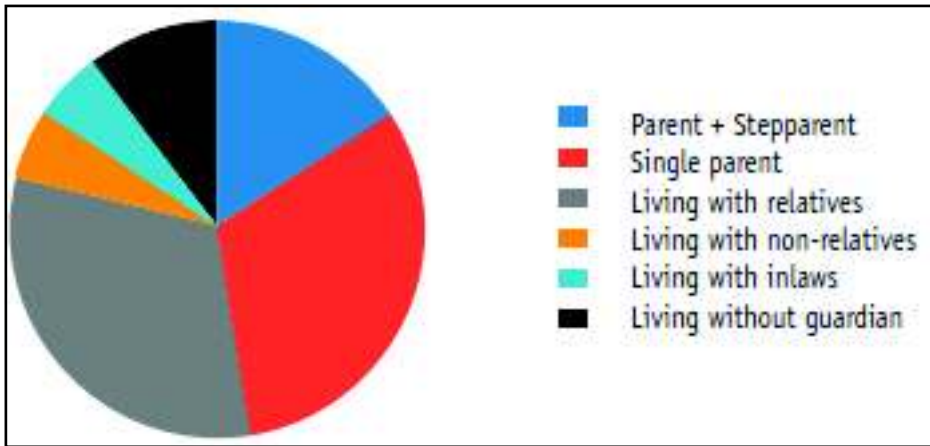
Family composition. The number of siblings did not differ between the groups, and neither did the birth order of the children. Based on the Filipino value of family-centeredness, it was theorized that children from the prostituted and webcam group were more likely to come from bigger

families and more likely to be the first-born. Based on this value, the needs of the families come first, even before the child's own needs. Therefore, children who are first-born are sometimes expected to make sacrifices in life in order to help the family. It was rationalized that larger families would have more need for extra money, because of the larger demand for food and higher education costs. This would probably mean that one child, presumably the eldest, had to contribute to the family income. Family size and birth order were therefore expected to be related to whether a child was involved in sex work. In this sample however, these expectations were not confirmed. This theory is not necessarily incorrect. The used methods were possibly not precise enough to detect a spurious correlation like that. To detect this possible relationship, contribution variables like family income, number of family members contributing to the income and number of family members depending on the income could be studied. This was not possible however during the current research due to time constraint and a different research focus.

Looking at the family composition shows that 53.1% of the children involved in prostitution and/ or webcam child sex tourism come from broken homes, compared to 12.5% of the children from the control group. Of those children from broken homes, 31.6% are living with a single parent, 31.6% are living with relatives, 15.8 % are living with a parent and a stepparent, 10.5% are living without guardians, 5.3% are living with non-relatives and 5.3% are living with in-laws.

As 18-year old Paco narrates about his family situation: "When I was still very young, my mother left my father and three siblings in Manila and moved to Cebu with me. If you ask me about my father, I haven't seen him since I was a child. After some time, my mother moved in with another man and there was no room for me. She left me with my grandmother when I was eight years old. We do see each other because she is still in

Figure 1. Living condition of children from broken homes



Cebu City. She got addicted to drugs and lives as a beggar. Of course it hurts because I am her child. But me and my grandmother, we are getting by on our own.”

The difference in family situations between the children involved in sex work and the children not involved, is really striking. It seems that coming from a broken family puts a child at risk of turning to prostitution or webcam child sex tourism. This is also emphasized by Beichtman et al. (1991). In his review on the consequences of child abuse he notes that children who have suffered abuse are more likely to come from problematic families. A reason for this could be that children who do not grow up with two loving parents might be more fragile. Especially when the child is left by his parents, he could suffer from lower self-esteem and self-worth, which might contribute to the wrong choices in life. Additionally, a child learns about relationships from his parents. When parents have a troubled relationship, this sets a bad example for the child. When the child’s mother goes from husband to husband and has children with several different men, this might give a message to her daughter about her worth as a woman.

Another possible reason for the connection between sex work and broken homes could be a financial reason. Growing up in a steady home, with two parents contributing to the family income, gives financial security. Especially when a child lives with a single parent, or is a live-in in another nuclear family, for example relatives, the child could soon be expected to contribute to the family income.

Occupation of the parents. No significant differences were found in the occupation of the parents, between the three groups: 33% of the fathers and 18.8% of the mothers were formally employed. 10.4% of the fathers and 31.3% of the mothers were informally employed. 12.5% of the fathers had a temporary job. 18.8% of the fathers were unemployed,

Table. 1. Occupation of parents

	Occupation Mother N=48	Occupation Father N=48
Formal	9	16
Informal	15	5
Temporary	-	6
Unemployed	14	9
Unknown	10	12

versus 29.2% of the mothers.

Formal jobs for the mother are: working as a maid, working in a store and producing goods (necklaces, clothes). For the father, formal jobs were porter at the pier or another harbour job, carpenter, mechanic, security guard, maintenance worker, store employee, plantation watch, production or factory worker, supervisor or overseas worker. Temporary jobs for the men are: diver (shipwrecks), painter, and construction worker. For both mothers and fathers, selling (hawking) goods was the most common informal job (food, newspapers, DVD's, in the market, at the pier). For women, other informal jobs were: doing laundry and working as a masseuse.

Problems in the family. From the interviews it becomes clear that the children's families suffer from severe problems. Aside from the fact that many children come from broken homes, which has a definite effect on family life, there are several other difficulties that were recurrent topics in the interviews. Money problems, resulting in not having enough to eat and not being able to pay for school supplies and electricity, are among the most common of family problems in all three groups. This is most clearly visible in the webcam child sex tourism group, where money problems are reported by almost all the children as one of the most prominent struggles. In the prostituted group and in the control group, about half of the children report this as one of the most prominent problems in the family. 13-year old Tatay, from the control group says: "Sometimes we have nothing to eat. We have to go to school in the morning without breakfast." Rosita, a 14-year old girl from the webcam group, says: "When we don't have rice, we don't have anything to cook at home. Sometimes there's not even milk for the baby."

Nearly one in two children, from all three groups, reports problems with vices in the family. The most common vice reported by these children is alcoholism, usually of the father. Other common vices are gambling and the use of shabu ('the poor man's cocaine'), vulca (solvent) and marijuana. Addictions are not only confined to the fathers, the mothers, brothers, other family members and even the respondents themselves are reportedly caught up in alcohol and drug abuse and gambling.

The 15-year old Potot says: "My parents always fight even if it's still early in the morning, about the gambling issues of my mother for instance. My father's a drunk. When he's drunk, he tends to look for a fight." The 18-year old Anne says: "My father was fired from work because he's a drunk. I told him to stop drinking." The 17-year old Caliso says: "My father has vices. When he drinks, he spends all his money on booze, and he is not concerned that there is no money to buy rice. Then we are all hungry, the younger ones cry, looking for food... When my papa drinks, my mama also drinks. She doesn't want to lose. We're the only ones left at home and we just go to the neighbour to ask for something to eat. It's OK if I can't eat, as long as my little siblings can eat because they're still little. I just find a way so they can eat. I go to my other aunts to borrow rice or money so

that I have something to give them.”

As these quotes illustrate, the different problems in the households of these families are often intertwined. Parents spend the little money they have on alcohol or gambling, leaving nothing left for food for their children or to pay for their education. In addition to this, these children often report getting beaten up by their drunken fathers or by their brothers who are high on shabu. The lack of parental supervision and the bad examples they set for their children can lead these children down the wrong path. Looking for some safety and security, these children tend to turn to their peers on the streets. Often they get involved in gangs and come into contact with drugs, alcohol and sex work.

The interviews demonstrate no clear difference between the three groups concerning substance abuse within the family. From this could be concluded that vices and addictions in the family might not directly increase the risk of a child turning to sex work. The severity of the addiction and the devastating effect it has on the family was not measured in this research, however. Possibly, family members of children involved in sex work had more severe addictions, spent more money on it, leading to more money problems in the family. Further research should give more clarity on this matter.

Physical and emotional abuse. The interviews further uncovered that it is quite common for parents (in all three groups) to use extremely harsh methods to discipline their children, even to the point of physical abuse. Approximately half of the children reported severe corporal and emotional punishments that seemed excessive even for Philippine standards. They experienced being choked, bound, forced to eat hot chillies and severe beatings (bamboo, a broomstick, a hanger, a cooking pot). These beatings would sometimes be so bad that the children displayed severe bruises, lash marks or bleedings. Eduardo, a 12-year old boy from the control group: “When my father punished me, I had to kneel on a one-peso coin that had been heated. I still have the mark on my knee.” 15-year old Potot tells the interviewer: “I was nearly beaten to death. My father is pretty scary when he beats somebody. It’s like you will sooner meet death.”

Emotional abuse is not uncommon either. These children report being ridiculed, put down, denigrated and laughed at by their parents or family members. “As a punishment my grandmother let us remove all our clothes and dance outside. She called other kids to watch”, said the 12-year old Alonto from the control group. Also neglect is reported by these children, for example the 17-year old Hyacinth: “My mother would just sit in a nearby store having bread and cola all by herself and we would have nothing to eat for lunch except salt and sugar.” In some of these cases, the parents’ abusive behaviour is related to drinking or drugs. When under influence, their temper is shorter and they show poor self-control. Not only are the parents the ones physically hurting the respondents. Older siblings

sometime take the role of a parent, which includes punishing the younger children. Also some cases of physical abuse by the partner were reported. In one incidence the girl was kicked in the stomach after her partner found out she was pregnant. As a result to this, the girl had a miscarriage.

Experiences with webcam child sex tourism

Eight girls and eight boys were interviewed about their experiences with webcam sex. These children were all individually involved in the webcam operations, without the interference of a third person.

How the children view their activities. During the interview the children displayed some sort of pride and enjoyment regarding their contact with foreigners. Having a western friend or boyfriend is often highly regarded, which could make them feel proud. But when they are asked to share their feelings about the webcam sex shows they have been doing, they showed feelings of shame about what they have been doing, and call themselves dirty. "I'm really dirty. It is a burden that I am carrying", says Danilo (18). "I'm fine on the outside, but inside I'm dirty", says Paco (18). "When I look back at my life, it feels bitter because of what I did before. I realize I shouldn't be doing it", says Potot (15). The respondents felt ashamed and embarrassed, during the show and afterwards. "I was ashamed, I didn't understand why I repeated that act", says 18-year old Dalisay.

These negative feelings may come from the consequences their actions might have. For example, their shame is mostly a reflection of what their surrounding thinks of their actions (or might think when they find out). They are ashamed they blemished their reputations and the reputation of their families. The fact that their feelings of shame for the large part stem from the dishonour and shame they might bring upon their families, is understandable, given the importance of the Philippine value of shame. Many of the children also felt scared about their activities. One of their fears was that their parents might find out. Another reason for fear was the fact that engaging in webcam sex is illegal and therefore they were afraid of being caught and arrested. They also expressed their fear of being exposed on the Internet. They are afraid their pictures will be shared with others without their knowledge or approval.

In general, it seems doing a webcam sex show becomes easier after the first time. "The first time I did it, I felt that it's no good. But when I did it again, I got used to it. It didn't feel like that anymore", says James (18). This means the children have become desensitized to negative feelings. The children seemed to implement a few cognitive strategies in order to downplay the negative feelings about their activities. They rationalize their feelings, saying: "Rather this, than that they do something to you sexually. I try to think that it's just for a while and that he's not here, not around and he's not touching my body", says Rosita (14).

Another way these children try to minimize their negative feelings,

is to focus on the money they get in return. Lovely (17): "What I am after, is the money. My aim is to earn. I told myself that it's good, it's easy money ... I know it's bad, but sometimes I have no money to buy milk for my child." They also demonstrate an understanding for their behaviour, based on the situation they are in: "It's not good, but it depends. Sometimes people are in difficult situations", says Ligid (16).

There was one respondent who had a different, more positive, view on his activities compared to other respondents. Baybay, a 17-year old boy explicitly says he likes doing webcam sex shows and prostitution. Although his main reason to be involved in sex work is money, he also seems to enjoy what he does. "I liked it! I had fun! I like to chat and I hope I can have a foreigner. It is fun because sometimes I get money." Most probably this boy is highly sexualized as a result of the sex work he has been doing. This theory is confirmed when looking at his scores on the 'traumatic sexualisation' scale of the PSC questionnaire, on which his scores are in the top 25%.

Reaction of surrounding of the child. In most cases, the parents are not aware of their child's activities, or at least the children think that their parents do not know. They think their parents would be very angry with them when they find out. As a result, they feel terribly ashamed. "It will be so shameful. It will surely hurt, I will be ashamed. I'd rather commit suicide. I'd rather take my life than be put to shame", says 18-year old James. On the other hand, some children say that there is a lot of gossip in their community and that often the neighbours know about their activities. Therefore it is plausible that some parents know about their activities but choose to ignore it. This is also the hypothesis of Mrs Uy, psychologist at the organisation Bidlisiw. She thinks a lot of parents must know, even though they claim not to. They must wonder where their child got the money. "My parents treat me the same since they know I do chatting. They didn't say anything about it. They are busy with their own activities but I'm the one who gives them money. They are also happy because I have money", says Potot (15).

Psychosocial consequences. Shown in Table 3 are the mean scores per item of the six reliable scales of the Psychosocial Symptoms Questionnaire and their significant differences. No significant differences were found between the webcam sex group and the prostituted group. This is no surprise, because it became clear during the research period that the children who individually engage in webcam sex were often also involved in prostitution and some of the participants from the prostituted group also had some involvement with webcam sex.

However, the results show clear significant differences between the webcam sex group and the control group, and between the prostituted group and the control group.

Havenaar & TdH-NL
 Table 2. Mean scores per item

1 = Never experienced; 2 = Seldom experienced; 3 = Sometimes; 4 = Often experienced

	Webcam N=16 M	Prostituted N=16 M	Control N=16 M
Depression	2.13	2.23*	1.88
PTSD	2.53*	2.40	2.10
Self-esteem	2.51*	2.38*	1.74
Sexualized behaviour	2.35*	2.63*	1.61
Aggression	2.15	2.56*	1.79
Self-Destructive	2.21*	2.29*	1.23
Total Psychosocial	2.40*	2.45*	1.91

* = Significantly higher score than control group

The webcam sex group versus the control group

The webcam group was found to have significantly higher scores than the control group on four of the scales: post-traumatic stress, self-esteem and self-worth, sexualized behaviour as well as self-destructive behaviour. Furthermore, their sum score of the entire Psychosocial Symptoms Questionnaire was significantly higher than the sum score of the control group. The higher score of the webcam sex group on the Post-Traumatic Stress scale indicates that these children more often showed symptoms of post-traumatic stress than the control group children who are not involved in sex work such as: being nervous and jumpy; on one hand not wanting to be reminded of unpleasant things that have happened or conversely, dwelling too much on negative experiences in the past.

The higher score of the webcam sex group on the Self-esteem and Self Worth scale, indicates that they have lower self-esteem and lower self-worth than the control group children. They more often feel worthless, contaminated and like they do not deserve to live. Additionally, they more often reported feeling ashamed and guilty about the things they have done.

The higher score of the webcam sex group on the Sexualized Behaviour scale indicates that these children more often show symptoms of sexualized behaviour than children from the same neighbourhoods who were not involved in any type of sex work. They more often reported that they use their sexuality in order to get something they want. Furthermore, they reported flirting more than their peers, dressing in what they perceived to be "sexy" clothes and daydreaming about sex.

The higher score of the webcam sex group on the Self-destructive

Behaviour scale indicates that children from this group are more often inclined to exhibit behaviour that is unhealthy and harmful than their peers. They more often report using alcohol or drugs to relax and escape from their problems, even to the extent of neglecting school, work, family or friends. Additionally, they more often indicate being part of a gang or having run away from home.

A strong significant difference was also found between the webcam sex group and the control group on the Total Psychosocial Symptoms scale. The overall score of the children involved in webcam sex was higher than the overall score of children living under the same circumstances yet not involved in sex work. This indicates that these children clearly exhibit some form of psychological distress, presumably caused by the work they have been doing.

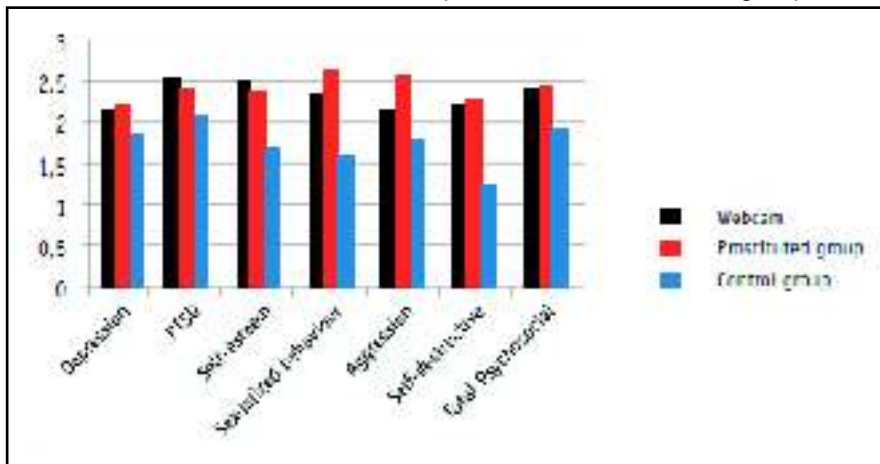
A non-significant trend was found for the Depression scale and the Aggression scale. This indicated that the webcam sex group slightly more often reported symptoms of depression and aggression, but these differences were not big enough in order to be significant. These findings however seem to be worth the mention, despite their lack of statistical power (the small sample size, inherent to explorative research, makes it difficult to detect group differences if present at all). Further research must be done to provide more clarity whether children involved in webcam sex shows display more signs of depression and aggressive and hostile behaviour than children not involved in sex work.

The prostituted group versus the control group

The prostituted group scored significantly higher than the control group on five scales: Depression, Self-esteem and Self-worth, Sexualized behaviour, Aggression and Self-destructive behaviour. Also, their sum score of the entire Psychosocial Symptoms Questionnaire was significantly higher than the control group.

These results are in accordance with the webcam sex group on the scales Self-esteem and Self-worth, Sexualized behaviour and Self-destructive behaviour and on the Total Psychosocial Symptoms scale. In contrast to the webcam sex group, a clear significant difference was found between the prostituted group and the control group on the scales Depression and Aggression. The children involved in prostitution clearly reported more symptoms of depression than the children not involved in sex work. They especially reported the feeling that life is not worth living. They also reported the urge to run away, and a reduced ability to enjoy food. The higher rating on the Aggression scale indicates that the children from the prostituted group tend to have a more aggressive and hostile attitude than their non-sexually exploited peers. More often than the control group, they report to have a quick temper, that they try hard to win an argument and that they will not back out from a fight.

Table 3: Mean scores, compared between the three groups



In contrast to the webcam sex group, no significant difference was found between the prostituted group and the control group on the post traumatic stress scale. Surprisingly, this indicates that these children no more often show symptoms of posttraumatic stress than their neighbouring children who are not involved in sex work. More often than their peers however, they report pondering about the bad things that have happened.

The separate items

The items of the three unreliable scales, Feelings of Isolation, Locus of Control and Anxiety, were interpreted separately. None of the questions in the scales proved to be a discriminant between the three different groups (see Table 5, 6 and 7 of Appendix 1 for mean answer and standard deviation per item). The children who were involved in webcam sex tourism and/or prostitution as well as the children from the control group did not significantly differ in how often they experienced these symptoms perceived these questions.

Psychosocial consequences of family-run webcam operations

To find out more about the psychological and social consequences on the children who have been involved in family-run webcam operations and not in any other form of prostitution, key informants were interviewed. These key informants were professionals working with children rescued from home-based webcam sex operations.

A big difference with the children involved individually in webcam child sex shows, often additionally to prostitution, is that these family-run webcam sex operations in general seem to be more organized and professional. An explanation for this could be that this cottage industry is commonly run by adults instead of the minors themselves.

The influence of parents. Children working in family-run webcam

operations are usually under the influence of their parents. As in the Philippines family ties in general are especially tight, children are very susceptible to the influence of their parents. Seeing their parents involved in sex work will distort their views on their own lives. Their trust in their parents cancels out any misgivings they might have. In these cases, the parents promise their children that it is not shameful and harmful to do sexual webcam shows as the children are not touched. It is a secret they keep within the family.

Parents will also give their children the feeling that it is their duty to earn money. Parents will remind their children that they are doing it to pay the bills, like school tuition and school supplies. In particular girls feel responsible at such a young age. The parents are the ones guilty of victimizing their children, yet the children do not feel that they have been victimized. It is only after they have been rescued by the police and debriefed about what has happened to them that these children start to feel ashamed. They start to feel disgusted about themselves and ashamed of what they have done. They feel dirty and afraid because they now have learned that the pictures on the Internet may never go away.

In the shelters where the girls are accommodated (there are only long-term shelters available for girls, rescued boys are released and sent back home after a period of two weeks) after a police raid on a family-run webcam sex operation, the girls have to cope with several difficulties. Due to feelings of shame after their (family) secret has come out, these girls start to develop a low self-esteem. They become shy and aloof and they do not want to talk with people, especially not about what has happened to them. They will withdraw from their surroundings and feel isolated.

The children suffer extreme confusion due to the conflicting ideas they have about their parents. On the one hand the parents are the ones they depend on. They are their confidants and meant to keep them safe. On the other hand, they have now learned their parents were guilty of victimizing and manipulating them and that they betrayed them by misrepresenting moral standards. These two concepts are conflicting and hard to grasp for a child.

In order to play down this conflict, the children take all the blame. Mrs Droulliard, a former social worker at CLB, recognizes this tendency in the children she has treated: "They think: it was me who took off my clothes and it was my own will, so I deserve all the blame. They will not blame the parents, nor the foreigners." Another way to reduce this conflict is by emphasizing the reason why their parents made these choices; that their mothers only wanted to help the family through a difficult situation.

In the shelters, Mrs Droulliard has seen a lot of girls with symptoms of depression. They display a strong separation anxiety, craving for the affection of their parents or anyone else. On the other hand, they push others away by acting out, behaving very 'wild', misbehaving and starting fights. According to Mrs Droulliard, separation anxiety is especially ap-

parent with these children, because they often come from dysfunctional families: "It is not uncommon that there has been battering within these families. There is often no open communication and the parents just leave the children alone without any affection". This may lead to an insecure ambivalent attachment style, resulting in distress and/or anger upon separation from the caregiver.

Another factor that severely adds to the distress of the child is when the parents are arrested for their involvement in the operation. In these cases, the testimony of the child plays a crucial role in the conviction of the parent. Understandably, this places children in a difficult situation, torn between the loyalty towards their parents and their understanding of what is right and wrong. The child will feel like it is his fault that his parents are in jail. This will make the child feel tremendously guilty. In addition to this, their whole life is disrupted because their parents are now in jail. When asked, these children would often choose the way it was, including the abuse, since then at least the family would still be together.

Sexualized behaviour. Based on the information from key informants, children involved in family-run webcam sex operations tend to exhibit sexualized behaviour. The sexual behaviour the child had been displaying on camera was reinforced by the encouragements of the parents and by the money they received for it. This results in a distorted view of their own sexuality and sexuality in general. These children are likely to adopt the idea that sexuality and money are intertwined. They lack the belief that their body is theirs alone and that sexuality is something sacred and intimate. Especially when webcam sex shows took place within the family, this distortion is likely to appear. "The boundaries of the family are completely broken. The mother was masturbating her own child, and the brother was acting out sexual acts with his sisters", explained Gonato, psychologist at the Pink Centre for women and children of the Vicente Sotto Memorial Medical Center.

Young children especially run this risk, since these ideas were instilled in them before they were able to form a different opinion on it. Gonato describes a case of a 3-year old girl, who has been abused in webcam sex shows by her own mother: "She would act out what she has done on webcam, unable to understand that it is not OK". Gonato fears that children who became involved early in life in webcam sex shows will be susceptible to abuse later on. They will be unable to recognize when somebody crosses their boundaries, because they have not learned those boundaries to begin with. Other behaviours many victims of webcam sex operations display are the use of vulgar words, moral decay, seductive behaviour, desensitization to sex, referring to sex all the time, sexual perversion, sexual addiction and problematic masturbation (even in a dorm room with other girls present), according to Mrs Droulliard, Mrs Herevatio and Mrs Gonato. Mrs Herevatio (2013), psychologist at the NBI, expressed her fear that sexualisation will become instilled in the entire community.

"If these webcam sex operations continue, entire communities will have distorted values of sexuality, thinking that sex is connected to money and not to intimacy or procreation. If these girls become mothers they will also pass it on to their own children."

The key informants knew less about the effect of webcam sex on boys, since boys involved in family-run webcam sex operations are less visible as there is no specific shelter housing boy-victims of webcam child sex tourism. According to Mrs Gonato, sexualized behaviour can be expected from boys just the same. She knew of one case where the boy had multiple girlfriends, displayed aggressive behaviour and was unable to accept authority. In another case, the boy was very shy, aloof and withdrawn. This is possibly subject to the personality of the boys, their age and their role in the webcam sex operation.

According to key informants, cases in which the operator is the parent of the child tend to be more difficult and inflict more harm on children than when the operator is the child's neighbour. When the neighbour is the operator the child is likely to have less feelings of guilt, betrayal, confusion, and will exhibit weaker sexualized behaviour and the life of the child will be less disrupted after release from the shelter.

Methodological shortcomings

During the course of the research it became clear that all children included in the webcam sex group for this research, were also, or had also been, involved in prostitution. Furthermore, some of the children from the prostituted group had some experience with webcam sex. It was not possible therefore to make a comparison between these two groups, since they overlap. The psychosocial symptoms exhibited by the children from these two groups were expected to be more or less the same. As expected, there were no differences found between the children involved in webcam sex and prostitution and the children that were only involved in prostitution.

The fact that these children were also prostituting themselves, made it hard to distinguish which part of the symptoms was caused by webcam sex and which part was caused by prostitution. On the other hand, in the case of these children, it is clearly a phenomenon that does not stand on its own, but goes hand in hand with prostitution. The results found in this research are therefore very informative for people working with this specific group of children. On the other hand, these results might be less useful for people who want to know more about the psychological effects when a child is involved in webcam sex without being involved in prostitution.

During the course of the research it was decided to supplement the data obtained by interviews with the children with information on the effect of home-based webcam sex in order to fill the gap of information on the damaging effects of merely webcam sex. It proved impossible howev-

er to interview children who had been involved in this form of webcam sex, and therefore information was retrieved from key informants who were knowledgeable on this topic.

Another methodological shortcoming was the inability to accurately test the translated version of the questionnaire. For the composition of the questionnaire, existing and well-tested scales were used, but these scales were only validated in English. This research was based on the assumption (according to literature research and the confirmation of psychologists who were Philippine nationals) that the psychological concepts and symptoms studied were in a comparable way present in the Philippine psyche. Most scales were found to be reliable and showed very clear group differences. However, the scales 'Feelings of isolation', 'Locus of control' and 'Anxiety', proved to be unreliable. This could be due to cultural differences, but also due to translation or the construction of the scale (both 'Feelings of Isolation' and 'Locus of control' were comprised of two different questionnaires).

Lastly, due to the elaborate nature of the interviews, and the limited time and resources available for this research, only 48 respondents were interviewed. The result was a limited statistical power to detect existing group differences. The fact that clearly displayed group differences were found, even under these circumstances, indicates that their presence is quite strong. In addition, a non-significant trend was found for the scales 'Depression' and 'Aggression' which most likely would have been significant had there been more data available. When working with these children it is important to realize that these symptoms might also be present.

Conclusion

This research report describes the context and consequences of a new phenomenon in the sexual exploitation of children: webcam child sex tourism. The report consists of two components: one part of the research was carried out by partner organizations in the Philippines and it presents the scale and magnitude of the phenomenon. The other part of the research has been completed by a Terre des Hommes Netherlands psychologist and offers an insight into the psychosocial consequences of webcam child sex tourism.

Webcam child sex tourism occurs when adults offer payment or other rewards to view and direct live streaming video footage of children in another country performing sexual acts. It is a combination of child pornography and child prostitution. Webcam child sex tourism is illegal and often classified as a 'hands-off' crime: no physical contact takes place between the victim and the perpetrator, i.e. the viewer of the webcam sex performance. This classification is misleading however because live abuse in front of the webcam often does take place. In many cases a third party is also involved in the sex acts, like a parent or sibling, and the set-up of the operation itself often involves a "middle man". The term furthermore

suggests that the lack of physical contact between perpetrator and victim should make it less harmful.

On the contrary, this preliminary report shows that webcam child sex tourism has severe and long-term effects on the victims. Children and parents become involved in webcam child sex tourism because it is their only way to survive. The trade will buy them milk and rice for their family members, and perhaps building materials for the shacks they inhabit.

In recent years, webcam child sex tourism was able to flourish due to the rapid growth of the Internet and the use of mobile communication devices. Sex work shifted from the streets into the homes, which made it easy for exploiters to perform illegal activities largely unnoticed by the community or the police. Webcam child sex tourism takes place in three forms: the first is when it is individually performed and arranged by the child, often taking place in Internet cafés. It is not the child's own wish to do so, however. Mostly, children feel obligated to their families and engage in webcam shows in order to solve the family's dire needs. The second form is when it is family-run: the children are mostly manipulated and directed by their parents or neighbours into webcam performances in their own homes. The third form, the most professionally organized of the three, is run by pimps and professional exploiters and involves hustling children from the streets and teaching them sexual tricks to use during their performances.

Some of these children are engaged in webcam child sex tourism in addition to prostitution. They are involved in sexual exploitation both on-line and offline. Other children are involved in family-run operations only, performing sex shows from their own homes. Each form of child sex tourism has its own traumagenic effects on the children involved, however. In this explorative research, the children who had been sexually exploited were compared with a focus group of children not involved in sex work, in order to create a clear and complete picture of the psychosocial consequences of their trade.

Our research indicates that children engaged in webcam child sex tourism are less likely to go to school, and show a significant educational delay compared to children from the same social circumstances, yet not involved in sex work. The child sex workers are on average more than four years behind on their studies, which is three times more than the other children. Furthermore, children involved in prostitution and/or webcam sex are over four times more likely to come from broken homes than children not involved in sex work. It seems that coming from a broken family puts a child at a bigger risk of turning to prostitution or webcam sex. Coming from a broken family can make a child more vulnerable to the influence of others and it may provide the children with insufficient role models regarding healthy interpersonal and intimate relationships. Financial problems are most prominent in families from children involved in webcam sex, along with substance abuse and other addictions like gambling. Apart from emo-

tional abuse and neglect, children from broken homes experience harsh disciplinary measures by their parents. They report having being choked, bound, forced to eat hot chilies and receiving beatings to the point where they suffered severe bruises, lash marks or bleedings. Looking for some safety and security, these children turn to their peers on the streets. Often they get involved with gangs and come into contact with drugs, alcohol and sex work. Teen pregnancies prevail, and young parents are likely to follow the same path as their parents, creating a cycle that is hard to break.

Most children interviewed were introduced to webcam sex under the influence of friends, were invited by an adult, or they started on their own initiative. The children look for a friend in their foreign perpetrator in order for him to save them and their family from poverty. The family is usually very supportive of this foreign friend, asking him to come visit. They seem to ignore the fact that the foreigner is sexually interested in their child and they only focus on the money they receive.

Even though these children seem to get some pride from having a foreign friend, their underlying feelings about their involvement in webcam sex shows are clearly negative. These children express feelings of being dirty, ashamed and embarrassed. The shame they feel is strongly linked to the shame they bring upon their families and by the way (they think) they are perceived by their surroundings. Additionally, they are afraid of being caught and arrested and worried that their pictures will be visible on the internet forever. All children have become desensitized to these negative feelings however, utilizing cognitive strategies to lessen the effect of them. They rationalize their feelings away and focus on the money.

Children involved in webcam sex clearly suffer from psychosocial distress, presumably caused by their activities. In comparison with children living under equal circumstances yet not involved in sex work, they exhibit many more symptoms of post-traumatic stress: being nervous and jumpy, suffering from low self-esteem and low self-worth resulting in feelings of worthlessness, contamination and not deserving to live. They often feel ashamed and guilty about the things they had done. They show symptoms of sexualized behaviour, using their sexuality to get something they want, flirting more than their peers, dressing in sexy clothes and day-dreaming about sex. They exhibit self-destructive behaviour, like using alcohol or drugs to relax and escape from their problems. They develop a distorted view of their own sexuality and sexuality in general. They adopt the idea that sexuality and money are intertwined. They are not convinced that their body is theirs alone and that sexuality is something sacred and intimate. Children involved at a young age are susceptible to abuse later in life.

In cases where it is the parents who are forcing their own children to perform lewd acts on camera, the children experience even more

distress. Filipino families are very tight and family-centeredness is an important value in Filipino society, thus making children even more susceptible to the influence of their parents. The role their parents play is morally misguiding, creating conflicting ideas of right and wrong in the child's mind. The children involved are usually not aware that they have been victimized. It is not until they have been rescued by the police and debriefed about what has happened to them that these children start to feel ashamed. They are deeply confused by their parent's actions: they should have been the ones to keep them safe. Instead they exploited them. They feel betrayed, their trust has been violated in their own home. In order to solve their loyalty conflict, the children will eliminate the discrepancy by taking the blame for what has happened or by focusing on the fact that their parents only wanted to help the family through a difficult situation. To make matters worse, victims of webcam child sex tourism are stigmatized and outcast by society, who view the children as immoral, bad and a disgrace to their families. The children then clearly incorporate these perceptions into their own self-image.

Final note and recommendations

Further research on this topic is recommended to identify with more precision the damaging effects of webcam child sex tourism exclusively on children. This preliminary research endeavours to lay the groundwork for this, but a causal effect between involvement in webcam child sex tourism and these symptoms can only be established through longitudinal research.

Moreover, research is advised on the additional damage caused when one of the parents is the operator, as opposed to a neighbour or an unknown person. This preliminary research endeavours to lay the groundwork for this, but due to methodological difficulties no causal conclusions could be made. Additionally we suggest that more research is done on the family and community level, in order to be able to identify what factors contribute to the proliferation of this phenomenon. If we have a better understanding what social, economical and psychological aspects influence the emerge of this industry, NGO's and governmental agencies will be better able to intervene.

Furthermore, this research was aimed specifically at the phenomenon of webcam child sex tourism within the context of the Philippines. Presumably, NGOs working in other (development) countries could benefit tremendously from research on the ability to generalise these findings to children in other cultures. The effects of WCST on the child victims is clearly very harmful and it should be seen in the same light as other forms of child sexual exploitations, such as child prostitution and child trafficking. The findings in this study could be used for awareness raising and advocacy purposes.

Hopefully this report contributes to the knowledge and under-

standing of this new form of child sexual exploitation and raises awareness for the urgent need to recognise the plight of these children and to provide them with emotional and physical support and education. The NGOs in Cebu that currently work with children involved in sexually exploitative situations like webcam sex are doing exactly this, working with all their strength, heart and soul, helping these children towards a better future for themselves and their families.

Resources

- BBC (2011). Two Swedes jailed for life over Philippine cybersex den. Retrieved on 14 July 2013 from: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-pacific-13356721>.
- Beichtman, J. H., Zucker, K. J., Hood, J. E., DaCosta, G. A., & Akman, D. (1991). A review of the Short-term effects of child sexual abuse. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 15, 537-556.
- Beichtman, J. H., Zucker, K. J., Hood, J. E., DaCosta, G. A., Akman, D & Cassavania, E. (1992). A review of the long-term effects of child sexual abuse. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 16 (1), 101–118.
- Brislin, R.W., (1970). Back-translation for Cross-Cultural research. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*.
- Browne, A., & Finkelhor, D. (1986). Impact of Child Sexual Abuse: A Review of the Research. *Psychological Bulletin*, 99, 66–77.
- Cruz, T. (2011). Nielsen: SG, MY, PH have highest internet penetration in region. Retrieved on 15 May 2013 from: <http://asiancorrespondent.com/59750/nielsen-sg-my-ph-have-highest-internet-penetration-in-region/>.
- Garcia, F. E. B., (2012) *Impact Evaluation: Stop Child Exploitation Programme in the Philippines, Cebu*. Terre des Hommes Netherlands.
- Information Technology Union (2013). *Key ICT indicators for developed and developing countries and the world* (totals and penetration rates). United Nations.
- Klain, E. J. (2001). *Child Pornography: The Criminal-Justice-System-Response*. The National Center for Missing and Exploited Children.
- National Statistics Coordinating Board (NCSB), Retrieved on 14 July 2013 from: <http://www.nscb.gov.ph>.
- Neumann, D. A., Houskamp, B. M., Pollock, V. E., & Briere, J. (1996) The Long-Term Sequelae of Childhood Sexual Abuse in Women: A Meta-Analytic Review. *Child Maltreatment*, 1, 6-16.
- NSO and ILO (2009) *Pilot Survey on Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children* (CSEC) Final Report.
- Philippine National Health Research System (PNHRS) (2006) General Ethical Guidelines for Health Research. Retrieved on 14 July 2013 from: https://webapps.sph.harvard.edu/live/gremap/files/ph_natl_ethical_gdlns.pdf.
- Putnam, F.W. (2003). Ten-Year Research Update Review: Child Sexual Abuse. *Journal of American Academic Child Adolescent Psychiatry*, 42(3) 269–278.
- Rabanillo, R. (2011). Traumagenic framework with Filipino clients. *Philippine Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, (1)19-31.
- Rogers, A. (2008) Child Pornography's Forgotten Victims. *Pace Law Faculty Publications*. Paper 541.

Philippine Journal of Child Sexual Abuse

- Save the Children Sweden (2005). *Discipline and punishment of children: a rights-based review of laws, attitudes and practices in East Asia and the Pacific*. Stockholm: Save the Children.
- Terre des Hommes Netherlands (2013). *Webcam Child Sex Tourism Research & Investigation Toolkit*. The Hague: Terre des Hommes The Netherlands.
- UNdata. Retrieved on 20 October 2013 from: <http://data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx?countryName=Philippines>.
- Vitaliano R. Gorospe, S.J., "Understanding the Filipino Value System" in *Values in Philippine Culture and Education: Philippine Philosophical Studies I: Cultural Heritage and Contemporary Change, Series III. Asia, Volume 7*, edited by Manuel B. Dy, Jr. Washington D.C.: The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 1994.
- Willis, B. M., & Levy, B., S. (2002). Child prostitution: global health burden, research needs, and interventions. *Public Health*.
- Worthley, R., & Smallbone, S. (2006). Child Pornography on the Internet. *Problem-Oriented Guides for Police Problem-Specific Guides Series Guide, 41*.

Key informants for research on psychosocial consequences

- J. E. Akilet & F. Auxtero (Social workers at the DSWD, Cebu), Personal Communication, 4 July, 2013
- J. Doloiras (Assistant regional director at the NBI, Cebu) Personal Communication, 24 June, 2013
- R. Droulliard (Social worker, formerly at CLB, Cebu), Personal Communication, 22 June, 2013
- R. Gonato (Psychologist at the Pink Centre for women and children of the Vicente Sotto Memorial Medical Center, Cebu), Personal Communication, 6 July, 2013
- N. Herevatio (Psychologist at the NBI, Cebu) Personal Communication, 24 June, 2013
- J. D. Saniel-Amit (Attorney/ Executive director at CLB) Personal Communication, 15 May, 2013
- J. A. Suarez (Attorney/ Litigation Coordinator at CLB, Cebu), Personal Communication, 1 July, 2013
- S. Suico, & C. Pelene (Attorney and Social worker at IJM, Cebu), Personal Communication, 26 June, 2013
- A. F. Suico, D. F. Paro & C. Banez (Social workers at the DSWS, Cebu), Personal Communication, 25 June, 2013
- P. Uy (Psychologist/ Program development head at Bidlisiw Foundation, Cebu) Personal Communication, May/June, 2013

COMMENTARY

Critiquing Law Reform: Prostitutes in the Philippines under the lens of Victimology

Cristina Sevilla, LL.M. cssevilla@yahoo.com

Introduction

Amid calls for reform, the Philippine legislature recently enacted a law to amend the provision on the Criminal Code that criminalizes vagrants and prostitutes, by introducing the decriminalization of vagrants, but retaining the criminal status of prostitutes. Under the reformed legislation “women who, for money or profit, habitually indulge in sexual intercourse or lascivious conduct, are deemed to be prostitutes” (Act Decriminalizing Vagrancy, amending for this purpose Article 202 of Act no. 3815, as amended, otherwise known as the Revised Penal Code, Republic Act No. 10158 of the Philippines 5 April 2012).

In attempting to provide a holistic discourse to critically examine the status of prostitutes in the Philippines, the essay will first outline the conceptual polemic feminist debates surrounding prostitution as well as provide relevant historical background and analysis. Contemporary models, approaches and policies will be looked into and key debates on these approaches and models will be analyzed using the conceptual and historical debates to lay the foundation in critically analyzing prostitutes in the Philippines. Under the lens of critical victimology, the Philippine context will be discussed with a concluding analysis that policies must consider the conditions that give rise to prostitution, otherwise, the continued criminalization merely serves to compound victimization.

Conceptualizing “the oldest profession”

‘Prostitution is the oldest profession. This is the most common statement we hear even in the most common everyday conversation when the issue of prostitution comes to mind. Although couched in seemingly straightforward and simplistic terms, it can be taken to mean a variety of thoughts by either signifying the commentator’s resigned revulsion, emphatic acceptance of a social fact, or even an excuse to avoid discussing a rather undesirable reality. Clearly, there is complexity in prostitution. The complexity starts with its definition. There is no straightforward answer, and in the course of this essay, a pattern of varied and competing perspectives and policies will prove to be the theme that defines prostitution.

Prehistoric practices observed in studies on primates show that female primates would offer sexual services to male primates in return for protection, food and survival. This practice is called presentation. If we are

to view prostitution within this context and without stigma being attached to it, then prostitution is indeed the oldest profession in that it predates men and women (Bullough, 1987).

However, human history tells a different story, one that is not without stigma and, with all its underlying complexities. From the Christian scripture, we see the gnostic portrayal of Mary Magdalene as a sexually promiscuous woman and/or prostitute. The evil seductress that will bring down man and cause his ultimate destruction. It was after Mary Magdalene repented and abandoned her "evil and morally corrupt trade" that she found herself elevated to sainthood. Thus, we saw Christians throughout the ages being inspired to care for the prostitute as well as those who, because of their weak social position, succumbed to prostitution. This portrayal of Mary Magdalene as the sinful woman of the city streets has been argued by some as an effective weapon of the Christian Church against the female sex, that leaves women with two alternatives, either become like a man or be a woman that is submissive to men, the perpetual inferior to male (De Boer, 2010).

Interestingly, in late 15th century China, the Ming dynasty was a period where there was urban prosperity and intense economic development, flesh trade flourished. The fine line between courtesans and wives was blurred, and young women, wives and courtesans interacted through the arts. Courtesans were well skilled, highly schooled, and cultivated that they occupied a unique position and fluidity in society that occasionally would become the envy of the wives. In this period of economic prosperity courtesans achieved a degree of power, influence and grace that conferred them legitimacy. Mulling over the role of courtesans in the society, Feng Menglong (1574-1646), an eloquent author of the late Ming discourse on courtesans, observed that an ideal courtesan is "a symbol of the unrecognized (male) talent who was denied entry into the Ming politics and forced to make a living in the cultural market" (Zurndorfer, 2011). Whereas, in the lower strata, streetwalkers or prostitutes can graduate to become second wives and achieve respectability within their community, as well as economic growth. However, it has been said that this moral blurring contributed to the increasing formalization of trafficking, as contracts were entered into to trade and sell wives, daughters and children who are then considered worthy of praise and who can then better their situation given the new environment. Further, it was also during this period where there was increasing growth in the economic divide between the rich and the poor. All these leading some Chinese intellectuals to surmise that the fall of the Ming dynasty was brought about not exclusively by the Manchu militaristic capacity, but rather on account of the loose and fragmented moral fibre then prevailing within their society, which triggered Chinese identity crisis, and eventually resulted to the vulgarization and fall from grace of courtesans in Chinese society (Zurndorfer, 2011).

Moving forward to the late 18th century, and we see the rise of

the feminist movement, where the status of prostitutes is debated primarily under the 'equality between men and women' banner. However, these debates, rather than serving as a platform for a unified concept on the emancipation of women in prostitution, instead opened a floodgate of conflicting perspectives that continues to reverberate across cultures and geographies to this day. Further, the complexity in the conceptualization of prostitution is compounded by global policing regimes with varied responses on the regulation of prostitution. The debate has now become fierce and controversial, with diverse and complex agenda such as gender equality, the regulation of sexuality, personal self-determination, state protectionism, public nuisance and socioeconomic disparity coming into play (Munro, et.al, 2008).

Within the feminist movement, there are two prominent schools of thought that impact policy and legal responses worldwide. This essay will discuss these schools of thought by way of comparative analysis. First, the theory of choice argues that women's sexuality has historically been stigmatized and reviled, that gender equality is a reality only when the right to sexual self-determination of women is affirmed. Women's agency under this theory is achievable by removing the stigma associated with sexuality. It is grounded on the liberal ideology that freedom of individual choice is the essence of democracy and non-state intrusion in the exercise of this freedom will redound to the benefit of society as a whole. This philosophical school of thought argues that benefit to society is generally assumed by rational individual choice that is crucial to achieving personhood, thus distinguishing men from animals. Further, in analyzing the agency of women, Dickenson quoting Mackinnon (1997) observed that "women sexuality is socially a thing to be stolen, sold, bought, bartered or exchanged by others, yet women never owned or possess it, and men never treat it in law or in life, with the solicitude with which they treat property, that to be property would actually be an improvement" (Dickenson, 1997, p.210).

However, the other school of thought argues that the theory of choice is grounded on the presumption that individual rational choice can be made without consideration of where that choice originates (Jeffreys, 1997) and it further argues that the social acceptance of subordinating women's sexuality lies deep in the subconscious of a society defined by patriarchy. This sociological school of thought predicates that women in prostitution are victims of a patriarchal society and that gender inequality is a manifestation of deeply rooted patriarchal attitude towards women. Ergo, choice cannot be considered rational where consciousness is a by-product of patriarchal capitalism that permeates all aspects of society, that is, socially, politically and economically (Kempadoo & Doezema, 1998).

Regulating prostitution

Regulation of prostitution has been the classic response to make sense of prostitution. Within the conflicting conceptual discourse is the

underlying consensus that legal and policy approaches must be rolled out to address prostitution and its emblematic issues with wide-ranging underpinnings such as health, human rights, morality, social order, gender orders, migration, capitalism, national security, globalization as well as labor and employment. The underlying consensus to regulate however does not necessarily translate to an agreed policy response. At most, it merely illustrates how the divergent conceptual debates necessitate the implication to regulate. For example, feminists in strongly arguing against the view that prostitutes are victims call for the recognition and acceptance of the right to sexual self-determination. Feminists who are arguing for this right are demanding legal rights, not punishment and non-judgmental approaches intended to reduce harm. The point raises the argument that society's ambivalent and hypocritical attitude and behavior towards sex, male desire and female sexual anatomy leads to the obfuscation and trampling of sexual self-determination, consequently, stigma and discrimination. Then again, there are counter-arguments that this idea of sexual self-determination is a western concept that erodes cultural relativism and is not representative of prostitutes in some culture, particularly in the east. Also, contemporary data show that prostitutes with no history of poverty, violence, rape, incest, drug abuse, and filial and familial dysfunctions, pushing for the recognition of this right, represent only a very small portion, compared to the overwhelming percentage of prostitutes who suffered from varied forms of violence, vulnerability and discrimination prior to their entry to prostitution (Leigh, 2012).

Considering the complexity of conceptualizing prostitution, necessarily and naturally, legal and policy responses vary depending on the conceptual theory where policies in a particular jurisdiction are anchored. For purposes of clarity, this essay will veer away from using terminologies (for example, abolitionist, protectionist, prohibitionist, prostituted or sex worker) associated with policy approaches coined primarily in association to feminist regimes or movements as recent conditions have seen the permutations of these approaches.

In the 19th century, most jurisdictions regulated prostitution by criminalizing prostitutes through anti-vagrancy acts, and subjected them to routinely enforced mandatory medical checks primarily because of concerns on the health of military troops and to curtail the spread of contagious diseases. In the early to mid-20th century, with the increase in mobility and migration, the focus shifted to trafficking where the approach was to criminalize third parties, such as those profiting from prostitution. With the proliferation and domination of organized criminal groups, most current policy practices however are focused on regulating brothels where prostitution 'takes place' which do not consider and actually downplay the gender dynamics that give rise to prostitution (Coy, et al, 2008). This essay will no longer dwell so much on the details of policy and implementation approaches on prostitution in particular jurisdictions but will suffice to state

that within a wide range of jurisdictions there appears at a given time divergent trends and discrepancies at the policy and implementation levels.

Within these divergent policy and implementation approaches, there is a strong call from all corners of the feminist movement as well as advocates for the removal of anachronistic legal framework to pave way for the decriminalization of prostitutes. Historical and contemporary ideas on prostitution point to the fact that criminalization of prostitutes does not reduce harm, rather it merely exacerbates as prostitutes are forced to go underground. However, legal reform will not suffice as it is crucial to address the systemic factors that cause vulnerability to engage in prostitution, such as poverty, gender inequity, racism, classism, child sexual abuse, lack of educational and employment opportunities for women and girls globally, as criminalizing or sanctioning the industry alone will not address the problem. In some jurisdictions legalization of prostitution has brought an increase in child sexual exploitation as well as trafficking. In Amsterdam, which has long been considered as a model on legalization has recently started to recognize the increasing rates of trafficking (Leigh, 2012).

New Zealand decriminalized prostitutes and regulated the industry through civil codes, business regulations and the range of fair labor protections. In Sweden, prostitutes are decriminalized and clients are criminalized. Nevertheless, across-the-board decriminalization and legalization will not solve the complexity of flesh trade. Legalization of the industry, though an ideal business model is a fatalistic approach, and does not ensure protection to women. The Nordic model of shifting the focus of criminal justice resources on traffickers and buyers is proving to be a better model, coupled with providing authentic options and support services to women. Sweden, within a period of five years, dramatically reduced the number of its women in prostitution and the number of johns has been reduced to 80% in the capital city of Stockholm (Women's Justice, Center, 2012). In 2011, Sweden amended its laws to enable survivors to claim damages against johns for violating their equality and dignity, and to provide support to crime victims' social welfare assistance. Further, a "study of 854 prostitutes in nine countries, indoors and outdoors, found that 89 percent wanted to escape prostitution but felt they could not, and that two-thirds met clinical criteria for post-traumatic stress equal to that of treatment-seeking Vietnam veterans and victims of torture or rape." (Farley et al., 2003) see also: <http://www.prostitutionresearch.com/pdf/Prostitutionin9Countries.pdf>

Making sense of the "victim"

The dialectic discourse on prostitution renders prostitutes as victims. The over-arching attempt to make sense of prostitution undermines the complexities brought about by historically diverse and converging conditions that yield a defining impact on prostitution. Nevertheless, concep-

tualizing prostitution from a fatalistic perspective such that we go back to prehistoric sample seen in primate practices can be argued as bordering naivety on the capacity of human beings to rise above primeval tendencies in the exercise of free will.

In analyzing the historical, philosophical and social context of prostitution, the underlying implication is that prostitutes are tragic victims. In responding to what is seen as a phenomenon of complex origin, divergent concepts, regimes, policies and approaches have been rigorously debated, explored, enforced, implemented, legislated, revised, repealed, revisited, refined, re-structured, represented and re-modeled. What comes to mind is the Hippocratic philosophy (Marketos, 1996) of doing good by first doing no harm, and of doing what will inflict less harm, by looking at the antecedents, knowing the present and foretelling the future. In making sense of prostitution, rather than the aim of conceptualizing prostitutes from a subject or object/ agent or victim paradigm, focus and consideration of the range of contexts that give rise to prostitution must be the paramount objective, that is, the historical, cultural and social settings.

Prostitution and the Philippine society

As with pre-colonial Australia where there appears to be no variant of prostitution in aboriginal society (Kelly, 2008), there also appears no record of prostitution in pre-colonial Philippines. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the Southeast Asian region is said to have probably represented one extreme of human experience on gender equality. Although from a contemporary western perspective, it could not be said that women were equal to men, since there were different functions and roles for men and women, the reproductive role of women "gave them magical and ritual powers which was difficult for men to match" (Reid, 1988). In spite of the gradual strengthening of the influence of religious sects over the last four centuries, the common pattern of relatively high female autonomy and economic importance continue to endure. It is said that relations between the sexes are one of the areas in which a distinctive Southeast Asian pattern exists (Reid, 1988).

Colonisation in conjunction with racism largely factored in the emergence of prostitution in the Philippines. According to Kempadoo and Doezema (1998), in the last centuries, the exotic lands and peoples of third world cultures afforded Europeans with "paradigms of the erotic" whereby women were defined as highly attractive, intriguing and fascinating, "yet related to the natural primitiveness and lower order of the other cultural groups". Being removed from the repressive mores of western Europe, women in third world cultures became "sites where sex was neither penalized, not pathologized nor exclusively procreative... Enslaved, indentured and colonized, womanhood thus came to represent uninhibited and unrestricted sexual intercourse, a situation that in many ways, is today reflected in the global sex industry." The woman from third world culture is seen as an exotic object suitable for temporary or non-marital sexual

intercourse – the ideal outside woman - and rarely seen as a candidate for long term commitment, equal partner or future mother - the subordinated "other". The other dimension of racism is the contraction of a hierarchy of patriarchal and economic development, which stands in opposition to that of the western woman, who is believed to have or at least has the potential to have control over her income, body and sexuality - the emancipated, modern, independent post-modern woman unlike the women from third world countries – hence, there is a mission to rescue those who are incapable of self-determination.

Gendering is characteristically patriarchal and is more associated with colonialism. The strong influence of the Spanish Civil and Criminal Codes had been viewed as laying the basis for legal discrimination against women in Philippine society (Dunn, 1994). The first recorded prostitution was within the year following the arrival of the Spaniards. The colonization by Spain, accompanied by exploitative practices plundered the land and subjugated its people. The resulting poverty of the Filipinos gave birth to prostitution.

There were attempts to curtail it in relation to the growing concern on the spread of venereal disease, as well as due to some religious efforts that were concerned about immorality. However, the move to close down the brothels and even 'classify' prostitutes in accordance with the customers they service failed. Efforts to close down brothels only led to the opening and proliferation of lodging houses that served as meeting places for prostitutes and their customers. Further, the clamp down on brothels rendered the red light district meaningless, as prostitution spread outside of what were previously considered red light districts. It also appeared that when prostitution was in full swing, there was also an increase record of female migration to Manila, local or across-border, which made it a hotbed for prostitution primarily catering American servicemen. Even during the Spanish colonial period, prostitutes were treated like scum by the community, led by the church, and were persecuted. Jail service, deportation (this was much feared because it meant the possibility of never seeing loved ones again) to lonely and isolated Spanish outposts, lashes and other forms of corporal punishments, including forced labour, and stiff fines were imposed on them, they also became vulnerable victims of corrupt local officials.

Prostitution was legalized during the last decades of Spanish Occupation, when the colonial government issued a decree on 31 July, 1897. However, the law imposed high fees that defeated its purpose of licensing and controlling prostitution. The religious groups were the forces behind the condemnation of women in prostitution. Unsurprisingly, reports were made on Spanish clergy being involved in prostitution or illicit relationships, as well. The lackadaisical approach of colonial government on prostitution did nothing on prostitution but to exacerbate the plight of the women. When the Americans came, steps were taken to prevent the

spread of venereal disease, but prostitution was considered by American authorities as a military necessity (Dery, 2001). The demand for prostitution flourished when the US military bases were established in Angeles City and Olongapo City. In 1979, at Subic Bay area alone, there were 9000 licensed registered hostesses, and 8000 unregistered that provided service daily to a market of 8000 sailors on leave, with an annual spending power of US\$29,000,000 (Dunn, 1994).

After the Marcos dictatorship ended, the National Development Plan for Women (1989-1992) during the Aquino administration defined prostitution as a problem, where prostitutes are victims, and not criminals. The Plan sought to repeal all articles in the Revised Penal Code that is a direct translation of the Spanish Penal Code, Child and Welfare Code and local ordinances which classified prostitutes as criminals, and sought to provide protection to women in prostitution. As early as this time, there were already calls for the popularization and implementation of the UN Convention for Suppression of Trafficking in Persons and the UN Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (Dunn, 1994). It was in 1992, during the Ramos Administration that a law was passed which decriminalized and afforded greater protection to children in prostitution (Republic Act 7610, otherwise known as "An act Providing for strong deterrence and special protection against child abuse, exploitation and discrimination, and for other purposes."). Nevertheless, despite the passage of a law against human trafficking in 2003, the plight of women in prostitution remained in limbo.

Conclusion

The Philippines is one of the five countries in the world with the largest Catholic population. Christian religion is deeply embedded in its culture, and the Catholic Church, though under the Philippine Constitution is not involved in affairs of the state, is nevertheless influential in policy formulation and remains to be one of the strongest driving force in determining the outcome of policy discourses.

Going back to the Christian scripture as discussed above, it is then not surprising that in Philippine society there is a general tendency towards putting the blame on prostitutes and seemingly removing from the equation those that access their services. The men who are commonly the clients are viewed as the victims of prostitutes because by their nature, men are generally perceived as characteristically vulnerable to the temptations of the seductress, and the sin of the flesh. The Christian influence contributes greatly on how we create images of victims. The word victim is a derivative of the Latin word for sacrificial animal (Van Dijk, 2009), hence, we mirror our image of victims to that of Christ who had to suffer and accept suffering to save humanity. Our symbolic image of the victim certainly does not accept an image of a woman who lives in sin and refuses to repent. It does not accept an image of a victim that is assertive.

When confronted by atypical behavior of victims, such as one that appears defiant, invincible and unbreakable – the tendency of a community is to go into hyper-mode, refuse victimhood, and even create a backlash, by redirecting aggression to that viewed as deviance. The symbolic image of a victim is one who willingly suffers, one who is comfortable in his/her suffering. The word victim has become so much a part of everyday language and understanding that rather than challenging it whenever possible, we have come to simply accept it at face value (Garkawe, 2004).

The United States Department Trafficking in Persons Report classifies the Philippines as a source country and, to a much lesser extent, a destination and transit country for men, women, and children who are subjected to sex trafficking and forced labor. From the time of the colonial period when prostitution was first documented, prostitutes in the Philippines have been largely defined and driven by poverty (Dery, 2001). But with the symbolic image of a victim, it becomes difficult to understand why a woman who was initially forced into prostitution because of economic or other psycho-social concerns, would insist on going back to prostitution or remain in prostitution despite support services being given or in spite of the violence and hardship that she has encountered. It becomes even more incomprehensible when this same woman matures into age, becomes physically unattractive, and graduates to become a pimp, or a brothel owner. This is the harsh reality of the cycle of prostitution. Without genuine appropriate support system, and viable alternatives, endless number of young girls and women will be caught and trapped in the cycle of prostitution. Again, there are numerous factors that pull women into this vicious cycle, but stigma that results to lack or inappropriate support services as well as discriminatory policies and punitive laws certainly occupy the top level of causal sphere.

Women in prostitution form part of a marginalized community in the Philippines. Criminalization further marginalizes this already marginalized group as criminalization makes them more vulnerable to police harassment as well as ethically reprehensible and corrupt practices. Corrupt government officials and brothel owners primarily benefited from the prostitution industry and it would not be surprising that locally elected officials have financial stakes in the business operation of brothels within their area of jurisdiction (Brazal, 2005).

Considering the Christian values that runs deep in the culture and tradition of Philippine society, women do not aspire to become prostitutes – they get pulled or pushed into the vicious ring of prostitution, primarily because of an environment steep with gender bias and discrimination that makes prostitution seem like the only feasible path to economic and social freedom. At the risk of being discursive, it is crucial to point that in a number of empirical researches, some observations were made to the effect that, in most developing countries such as the Philippines, where the reality of prostitution as the best or only feasible work alternative for

many women, there becomes a vagueness or blurring in distinguishing between women's economic decision and institutional and or individual male abuse. Another difficulty is those willing victims who would be those that were into prostitution by choice, but were pulled into it because of poverty (Vidyamali, 2012).

Hence, the necessity to focus and consider the conditions that promote prostitution cannot be over-emphasized. First, gender discrimination as when large number of local women are treated by government and private enterprises as second class citizens, second, foreign government basing troops on local soil sees prostitution as a necessary evil, third, when tourism is imagined by local and foreign economic planners as a fast road to development (Vidyamali, 2012). Without considering and addressing these crucial conditions that promote and contribute to young girls and women being pulled into prostitution, law and policy reforms can only have the consequence of effectively punishing women and young girls, rather than protecting them.

"Historical state/civil society relations, distributive patterns of gender, attitudes towards sexuality and consumption, and diversity in the forms, scale and operations of commercial sex transactions, all contribute towards the creation of a unique natural cultural context within which regulatory responses to prostitution will produce divergent, and often unpredictable, practical outcomes" (Munro & Della Giusta, 2008). It is then rather simplistic to adopt a conceptual discourse in addressing the plight of prostitutes, as divergent historical conditions and contemporary patterns have pointed out the complexity in attempting to do so. However, it cannot be ignored that, underlying the fierce debates and the practical complexities involved, is the persisting presence and implication of discrimination.

Resources

- Brazal, A.M. (2005). Decriminalizing Prostitution in the Philippines: A Christian Response to the Tragic?, *A Journal of Interdisciplinary Theological Research*, 2(2) pages.
- Bullough, V. L. (1987). *Women and prostitution: A social history*. Buffalo, N.Y.: Prometheus Books.
- Coy, M., Davenport, R. & Kelly, L. (2008). *Shifting Sands: A Comparison of Prostitution Regimes Across Nine Countries* <http://myweb.dal.ca/mgoodyea/Documents/UK/crimereduction052a.pdf>.
- De Boer, E. (2010). The Gospel of Mary, *Vigiliae Christianae*, 64(2) pages 201-207.
- Dery, L.C. (2001). *A history of the inarticulate: Local history, prostitution, and other views from the bottom*. Quezon City, Philippines: New Day Publishers.

- Dickenson, D. (1997). *Property, women and politics: Subjects or objects?* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Dunn, C. (1994). *The politics of prostitution in Thailand and the Philippines: Policies and practice*. Clayton, Vic.: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University.
- Garkawe, S. (2004). Revisiting the Scope of Victimology - How Broad a Discipline Should It Be? *International Review of Victimology* 11, 275-294.
- Jeffreys, S. (1997). *The idea of prostitution*. North Melbourne: Spinifex.
- Kempadoo, K. & Doezema, J. (1998). *Global sex workers: Rights, resistance, and redefinition*. New York: Routledge.
- Leigh, C. (2012). www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2012/04/19/is-legalized-prostitution-safer/labor-laws-not-criminal-laws-are-the-solution-to-prostitution.
- Marketos, S.G. et al. (1996). The Hippocratic Oath, *The Lancet* 347(8994)101
- Moselina, L. (1979). Olongapo's Rest and Recreation Industry: A Sociological Analysis of Institutionalized Prostitution, with Implications for a Grassroots-oriented Sociology, *Philippine Sociological Review* 27, 181-193.
- Munro, V. & della Giusta, M. (2008). *Demanding sex: Critical reflections on the regulation of prostitution*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate.
- Reid, A. (1988). Female Roles in Pre-colonial Southeast Asia, *Modern Asian Studies*, 22(3) 629.
- Van Dijk, J. (2009). Free the Victim: A Critique of the Western Conception of Victimhood, *International Review of Victimology*, 16(1).
- Vidyamali, S. (2012) *Female Sex Trafficking in Asia: The Resilience of Patriarchy in a Changing World*. NY: Routledge.
- Zurndorfer, H.T. (2011). Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Confucian Moral Universe of Late Ming China (1550-1644), *International Review of Social History*, 56(S19) 197-214.

BOOK REVIEW

Martellozzo, Elena (2012). Online child sexual abuse: Grooming, policing and child protection in a multi-media world. NY: Routledge Press, 172 pages

I chose this book to review to accompany the Havenaar research on webcam abuse in this issue. The recent news of the police undercover global sting operation "sweetie" was amazing. I can't help notice, however, that while several hundred children were rescued, this number is a mere drop in the ocean. The challenges police and social workers face is daunting. I am always left with the feeling that the perpetrators are 10 steps ahead of our leaders in this issue. Martellozzo brings this concern to the forefront. She also stresses that "the sexual abuse of children online is not a technological problem but a people's problems. Those who endanger children are people and not computers (p.89)". However, while certainly not a new type of offender, these people use a new type of offending.

Martellozzo begins her book with a review of the research of child sexual abuse in order to understanding the issue in the context of cyberspace. She examines the terrain by reviewing basic concepts from Freud and Erikson, the definition of childhood, defines sexual offending as a legal term and the many grey areas in the field. For example, the definition of child sexual abuse is based in the values of individuals and societies, therefore at times appear vague and conflicting. Yet the key elements of betrayal, power, lack of consent and the violation of another's rights remain.

The author continues by presenting basic research to understand child sexual abuse; the biological perspective that link sexual behaviors to hormonal and nervous system dysfunctions; psychological theories that include Finkelhor's preconditions that bring together four major elements that need to occur for a child to be sexually abused; cognitive behavior theories that combine individual factors with the external environment; sociological theories such as the feminist perspective that explains child sexual abuse from a structural and cultural perspective and Connell's explanation from the perspective of a hegemonic masculinity. Martellozzo states that while there is no need for new theories on sexual offending, there is a need for new theories to address the specific environment of the internet, specifically the element of anonymity.

The author gives us data about internet use by children and adolescents as a grooming market for offenders. While the internet gives our youth increased freedom to communicate and discover the world, it also increases danger from unwanted contact. The risk to youth is their lack of understanding that what they place on the internet stays there and may even hurt their future reputations. The capabilities of our children and youth with the internet coupled with their online risky behaviors “may increase the potential for sexual exploitation of children by adults (p.65).” The legal framework has natural difficulties and conflicts with the issue of child sexual abuse and the internet only compounds these concerns. The internet has allowed new opportunities for sexual predators and expanded their reach.

Martellozzo gives most of her book to police challenges in a field, the internet, that is constantly and quickly changing and expanding. She cites many examples of empirical evidence of police work and reviews practitioner's views about present policing of online child sexual abuse in the West. Police are faced with the vast continuum of child sexual abuse, from a few pornographic pictures to grooming behaviors to clear indicators of offences. She stated four major elements that need to be addressed: 1. “internet constitutes a complex virtual reality with its own roles and language (p.150” that police need to learn; 2. offender anonymity; 3. hyper-cautious and clever offenders; and 4. pressures placed on police that often undermines the need for basic qualitative elements of patience, time, training and constant updated resources.

Child sexual abuse is a multidisciplinary problem with the need for each profession involved to have a basic understanding and respect for the role all other professions in the task. While this book focuses on police, I also recommend it for social workers, doctors, and others working in the field of prevention and treatment of child sexual abuse.

Lois J. Engelbrecht, PhD
Center for the Prevention and Treatment of Child Sexual Abuse
Quezon City

Philippine Journal of Child Sexual Abuse
GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSION

The Philippines Journal of Child Sexual Abuse provides a multidisciplinary forum on all aspects of child sexual abuse. The Journal will have the two distinct parts of the dialogue on critical pluralism of child sexual abuse in the Philippines: research-based academic manuscripts and evidence-based practical manuscripts. The purpose of the journal is to enhance our understanding of child sexual abuse in the Philippines.

Types of contributions:

1. **Original, theoretical and empirical contributions:** type written in English, double-spaced, margins of at least one inch on all sides; number manuscript pages consecutively throughout the paper; clear of all errors; maximum 8,000 words (excluding references) in 12 Arial font; professional format of your university (such as APA6, <http://www2.yk.psu.edu/learncenter/apa-july-09.pdf>); accompanied by a statement that it has not been published or sent with hopes to be published elsewhere; permission has been obtained to reproduce copyrighted materials from other sources. All accepted manuscripts and parts within (such as artwork) become the property of the publisher. Submit a cover page with the manuscript, indicating only the article title, and summarized in an abstract of not more than 100 words; avoid abbreviations, diagrams, and reference to the text in the abstract.

2. **Articles on clinical or community practice:** such as case studies, process and program descriptions, outcome studies, original clinical practice ideas for debate and argument; typewritten in English or Tagalog, double-spaced, margins of at least one inch on all sides, numbered manuscript pages consecutively throughout the paper; clear of all errors; maximum 4,000 words (excluding references) in 12 Arial font. The article must have a clear purpose, be evidence-based and practical, state the framework, and conclusion for learning; accompanied by a statement that it has not been published or sent with hopes to be published elsewhere; permission has been obtained to reproduce copyrighted materials from other sources. All accepted manuscripts and parts within (such as artwork) become the property of the publisher. Submit a cover page with the manuscript, indicating only the article title, and summarized in an abstract of not more than 100 words; avoid abbreviations, diagrams, and reference to the text in the abstract.

3. **Brief communication:** shorter articles, commentaries.

4. **Invited reviews:** the editors will commission reviews on specific topics, including book reviews.

5. **Letters to the editor:** letters and responses pertaining to articles published in the Philippines Journal of Child Sexual Abuse or on issues relevant to the field and to the point, should be prepared in the same style as other manuscripts.

6. **Announcements/Notices:** events of national or international multidisciplinary interests are subject to editorial approval and must be submitted at least 6 months before they are to appear.

Review process - All articles will go through a peer-review process by the editors or reviewers chosen by the editorial board using the following criteria:

1. significance of the contribution
2. appropriateness of the literature review
3. clarity of research problem/framework, methodological rigor, quality of analysis and adherence to APA format (academic manuscripts)
4. quality of the possible discussion and interpretation of the results
5. quality of the overall writing

Authors will be given feedback and manuscripts with potential to publish will be returned for reworking or retyping to conform to requirements.

The author will receive a copy of the journal that includes the article.

ISSN 2243-9315

