Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children – in the Philippines

*Commerical Sexual Exploitation of Children as a social problem*

A qualitative study based on seven respondents’ construction of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children as a social problem

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Abstract

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The aim of this study was to examine how commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) was constructed as a social problem in the Philippines. More specifically its aim was to find out how seven respondents from four different organisations in the Philippines constructed CSEC as a social problem and how they looked upon different solutions of the issue. The study was based on qualitative semi-structured interviews made in Manila the capital city of the Philippines and a city four hours from Manila called Olongapo. The earlier research as well as the result and analysis were sorted by using the themes: character, causes, solutions and actors which are parts of an analysis scheme constructed by Jönsson (2010). The empirical material was explained by using analysis based on three different kinds of perspective of approaching a social problem as well as earlier research. The result shows that CSEC is constructed as a social problem in the country and there can be different explanations of the issue. It is for example explained as a human rights issue in the Philippines and the problem also exists on a global level. CSEC is described to be normalised in the country because of the need of an income. The problem is also explained to be a cause of the existing traditional values and the lack of implementation of the laws that should protect the children. The conclusion of the study is that depending on how CSEC is constructed as a social problem, its risk factors and who are the perpetrators will affect which solutions that are seen as suitable.

Keywords: children, CSEC, the Philippines, prostitution, abuse
Acknowledgement

In the spring of 2014 we spent approximately two months in the Philippines to do a MFS-study. In the Philippines we made our study based on interviews with respondents from different organisations. Our time in the Philippines was very interesting and it is a memory that we will cherish forever. The people as well as the surroundings gave us a bigger understanding and more knowledge about a life in a developing country. We would not be able to experience all of this if it was not for the scholarship we received from SIDA. So for that we are very grateful. We also are also grateful and thankful for our families that have supported us during our travel and writing. Our supervisor Marie Eriksson also deserves a big thank you for supporting and helping us with our thesis. We want to thank the respondents who made it possible to conduct this study and that they welcomed us with open arms. Last but not least we want to thank all of the people in the Philippines that made a big impression on us and made our journey memorable.
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1. Introduction

Today commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) exists in almost every country. Although it is a global problem it is particularly prevalent in developing countries (UNICEF, 2013). Due to that CSEC is a criminal activity it is difficult to identify the number of children involved (Karlén, 2009). But an estimated number is 1.8 million children that are exploited in child prostitution or pornography worldwide (ECPAT, 2014b). Commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) is a generic term which consists of different kinds of abuse of a child such as pornography, prostitution, sex tourism or trafficking of children in the purpose of sexual abuse. The definition of CSEC was assumed at the World Congress in Stockholm in 1996. It states that CSEC violates the right of the child and that the sexual exploitation is performed by an adult by exchange of money, or other compensation (ECPAT, 2013).

CSEC is a generic term where each part is just as important as the others, this because all forms of sexually exploitation are violating the rights of the children. This study will focus on the term CSEC because findings from earlier research show that different kinds of sexual exploitation are connected and are interrelated (Blackburn, Taylor & Davis, 2010).

From earlier research we found that CSEC is an ongoing and still growing problem even though it is against the law. Earlier research tells us about the need for more studies to find solutions to combat the violations of children’s rights (Willis & Levy, 2002; Blackburn, Taylor & Davis, 2010). We wanted to do our study in one of the countries in the Southeast Asia because of the high number of children being commercial sexually exploited and because we found CSEC to be a big social problem.

CSEC is a social problem that appears to expand in Southeast Asian countries. The sex industry generates billions of dollars each year which lead to the remaining of the industry (Blackburn, Taylor & Davis, 2010). Some of the countries in Southeast Asia are magnets for sex tourists from Europe and other Asian countries. The sex tourism is one of the biggest causes of the growing number of children being prostituted in Asia (Christian Aid, 1995 cited in Munir & Yasin, 1997). Other social problems connected with CSEC are the scarcity of choice and opportunity as a result of poverty, and poor education (Willis & Levy, 2002; Montgomery, 2008).

Every year about two to three million tourists visits the Philippines, the most comes from South of Korea, USA, Japan, Hong Kong and Taiwan (Landguiden, 2011b). Only in the Philippines an estimated number of 60-100 000 children are involved in CSEC (UNICEF, 2014). In 2003 a new law which criminalises the costumers of prostitution was ratified
The sentences are often in a low scale and there are not many customers that are prosecuted. When there is high access to children in combination with more cultural relaxed attitudes to sex a significantly increased number of child sex abusers occur (Ireland, 1993).

According to United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) all children should be protected against sexual exploitation and they should not perform any work that is likely to be harmful to the health, the physical or social development (Convention on the Rights of the Child, article 19). Other laws in the Philippines are for example Act No. 7610, Special protection Against Child Abuse, Exploitation and Discrimination. This act is to be used to protect children from all forms of abuse, neglect, exploitation, discrimination, cruelty or other forms that prejudicial their development (Republic Act No. 7610). The Philippine has ratified the UNCRC, there are also other laws to protect the children but despite of this earlier research found that CSEC is a social problem in Southeast Asian countries like the Philippines (Blackburn, Taylor and Davis, 2010).

When we started to study CSEC we took for granted that a lot of research already had been done. Instead we found a big lack of research, especially in the Philippines. In Thailand and Cambodia a bit more research has been done which make it interesting and in need to do studies in the Philippines. According to Brown (2010) the social construction of CSEC as a social problem has varied through the years with different constructions depending on the social, political and economic context. This context for example includes ideologies of family and childhood and economic issues as well as class issues. The research we found is either a bit old, or do not discuss the construction of CSEC as a social problem or research made on other countries than the Philippines. The gap on new and relevant research about construction of CSEC as a social problem needs to be filled. Montgomery (2008) says that to find ways to prevent CSEC the problem needs to be defined. To be able to do that, we argue that research about the construction of CSEC as a social problem needs to be done. Earlier research shows that there are different causes for CSEC, such as economic problems, government oppression, sexual abuse etc. The cause’s results in the complexity of different solutions as the needs for changes in social values, end of the corruption and education to the society, families and children about the problem (Ireland, 1993; Willis & Levy, 2002; Montgomery, 2008; Guth, 2009; Blackburn, Taylor & Davis, 2010). With this knowledge we want to examine if the respondents we interview have different ways to construct the problem of CSEC.

CSEC is a global problem and involves almost every country in the world therefore it is truly possible that also social workers in Sweden will get in contact with children involved or
used to be involved in sexual exploitation. A study by Priebe and Svedin (2012) confirms that it occurs that children in Sweden are involved in selling sex. According to an article in Svenska Dagbladet (2007) 2% of the children and youths in Sweden are selling sex on the internet or in other ways, according to sources from social agencies and the police.

In this study the definition of children refer to a person below 18 years old which is defined in the UNCRC, Article 1 (Convention on the Rights of the Child, article 1).

When constructions of social problems involve different aspects the problems can be sorted into different themes to interpret the construction. Some of the themes that can be used are character, causes, solutions and actors (Jönsson, 2010).
2. Aim and research questions

The aim of the study is to investigate how seven respondents from four organisations in the Philippines construct commercial sexual exploitation of children as a social problem.

- How do the respondents describe the causes connected to get involved in CSEC?
- What do the respondents consider as solutions of CSEC?
- Who are the actors of CSEC described by the respondents?
- How can the respondents’ construction of CSEC as a social problem be interpreted?
3. Presentation of the Philippines

This chapter will present a brief overview of the country, containing the political and economic history, and social conditions. A background of the child sex tourism and some of the laws that are connected with the CSEC will also be presented.

3.1 Geographic, population and language

The Philippine archipelago lies in the south-east Asia and consists of 7107 islands. The capital is Metro-Manila (Landguiden, 2011a). The Philippines population consists of 95 million people. The Philippines is one of the countries in south-east Asia with the highest number of population comparing to the size of the country. Almost one-third of the population are younger than 15 years. (Landguiden, 2010).

3.2 Culture and modern history

The Spanish colonialism have had an great impact on the Philippines’ culture in almost 400 years, also an American influence has impede the Philippines’ culture to develop (Landguiden, 2013a).

In July 1946 the Philippines was proclaimed as a sovereign state. The country’s independence implied the consequences that the United States of America founded military-bases in the Philippines. (Landguiden, 2013b). Until 1992 the United States of America had military bases in the Philippines (Landguiden, 2013b).

3.3 Social conditions

The Philippine society is dominated by a little well-off elite, while the biggest part of Philippines’ population lives under the poverty line. There is a big gap of the populations’ income, but the people on the countryside lives under the hardest conditions. Nowadays more people with low income are located in the cities’ townships (Landguiden, 2013c).

In the end of 2012 the president approved a law which permits the use of contraceptive. The Catholic Church is against the legalisation and the use of contraceptive. A big part of the
people that lives under the poverty line still can’t afford to buy contraceptive in spite of the new law. In the Philippines more than hundreds of thousands abortions are made every year, even though abortion is illegal (Landguiden, 2013c).

A big amount of sexual assaults is announced every year, in 2008 over 4000 rapes was reported. The numbers of rapes are probably higher than the statistics shows because not all of the assaults are registered. It occurs in some cases when women are arrested by the police that they become subjects for rapes and sexual assaults (Landguiden, 2013c).

Human trafficking is another big problem in the country. Many women are used in the sex-industry in Asia but also in Europe, the Middle East and North America. The victims are often poor Filipinos that have moved to the city from rural areas. The government tries to fight the trafficking before the victims leave the country and by press charges to the people-smugglers (Landguiden, 2013c).

Early learning for children below six years old is a major problem in the Philippines. Only three out of ten children attend pre-school or day care service. There are approximately 10 million people in the age between 12-17 years old in the Philippines. Though public education is free, roughly two million children are not in school at all. Only six out of ten that start school complete the fourth year. Three million do not attend secondary education. More boys than girls drop out from school because they need to work to help provide the family (UNICEF 2008).

3.4 Child sex tourism

Child sex tourism is a global appearance that started in the Philippines around the 1960s and 1970s in connection to the Vietnamese war. The American Navy was stationed in Olongapo, Philippine. 193 ships entered the military base each month, which represent 9000 soldiers every day (O’Grady, 1992). The American soldiers request during their leave of absence led to the instant establishment of brothels and go-go bars (ECPAT International, 2006). At the end of the Vietnamese war the sex industry was well-established in the country. The government started to promote the Philippines as a country for tourists and it became one of the countries in Asia that was called “The Asian brothel”. During the 1970s and 1980s the country was known as a sanctuary for paedophiles. People with a sexual interest in children invested in house and hotels. Paedophiles could before they arrived to the country choose which child they wanted, by looking at pictures and description of the children (O’Grady, 1992).
The possibility to spread child pornographic material and to create networks of paedophiles has radically increased since the establishment of Internet (Karlén, 2009, p. 55). Recently a global paedophile ring was revealed. The global network consisted of at least 17 persons in Great Britain and with several suspects in Sweden, Norway and Denmark. The suspects had filmed around 15 children in the Philippines in the age between 6 to 15 years old (Svenska Dagbladet, 2014).
4. Presentation of the organisations in the study

In this section there will be a short presentation on the background information of the organizations which the persons interviewed are representing.

4.1 ECPAT

ECPAT stands for "End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes". ECPAT was founded in 1990 in Thailand. A group of social workers, missionaries and others that fought for the rights of children was getting together to discuss the growing number of sex tourists in their countries. The people that were getting together came from Sri Lanka, The Philippines, Taiwan and Thailand. The phenomena were not new. The sex tourism started in Thailand and The Philippines during the Vietnam War. But in the 1990s some harrowing things had happened with paedophiles involved in Thailand. In the Philippines the death of Rosario Baluyot that was abused with very cruel methods was known. This case was debated in media and got big attention. In Sweden the writer Majgull Axelsson wrote a book about Rosario. Before the meeting in Thailand came to its end they decided to start combating the child sex tourism together in the region by making an opinion and a debate in the society. Today ECPAT is a global network with over 80 organizations involved in 70 countries (ECPAT, 2014a). In the Philippines ECPATs head office is located in Manila. They are 10 fulltime staff and sometimes there is volunteers helping them out. They have a shelter where up to 30 girls can stay. The girls have been rescued from CSEC (Interview 5).

4.2 PREDA Foundation

PREDA stands for “Peoples’ Recovery Empowerment and Development Assistance Inc” and is a Non-Governmental organization (NGO). PREDA started 39 years ago with developing global awareness and attention on the rights of women and children, trying to stop the sexual abuse and exploitation of them. PREDA’s work began when Fr. Shay Cullen, a missionary priest from Ireland went to the Philippines. He was assigned to Olongapo City in 1969. This town was the home of the US Navy and thousands of navy men lived on a huge base in Subic Bay. According to Cullen Olongapo at this time was “one big brothel”; thousands of women
and children were systematically sexually exploited. An estimated number of 16,000 women and children were trafficked and prostituted in the sex bars at the time. In 1974 Fr. Shay Cullen established the PREDATA organization to give shelter, protection and recovery to victims of abuse. In 1983, Fr. Shay and Alex Corpus Hermoso (PREDATA Co-Founder) discovered an organised child prostitution ring that was trafficking women and children and supplying them for sexual exploitation by US sailors. The town mayors gave operating permits and licenses to the sex clubs and bars. US military bases were the prime cause of this huge problem. It took many years of campaigning to change the military bases in Subic Bay to economic export zones but finally in 1992 they were closed down. Now the sex industry also closed down. Three years after the removal of the US bases, the Filipino authorities allowed the reopening of the sex bars and clubs now runned by international Mafia and gambling syndicates. Cullen means that most of the customers today are overseas sex tourists. This is the present problem now that PREDATA working with. PREDATA has a home that for the moment holds 49 girls. In the home there is a padded therapy room where the rescued children can shout, cry and release all feelings they have inside them (PREDATA, 2014a). PREDATA also works with media to develop public awareness and in that way protect children. They also tries to help families be self-reliant, promote livelihood training and employment by providing capital, interest free loans, and technical assistance to producers and markets through the Fair Trade Movement and the commercial market (PREDATA, 2014b). Another problem PREDATA is working with is juveniles. Young boys, some as young as 10 and 12 years old were jailed in subhuman conditions and sexually abused by older prisoners. Until very recently, the age of criminal liability in the Philippines was 9 years old and thousands of children was jailed every year. PREDATA works successfully to help change the Philippine law for children accused of wrong doing. The new law establishes a progressive form of restorative justice and today the age of criminal liability is set at 15 years of age (PREDATA, 2014a).

4.3 Bahay Tuluyan

Bahay Tuluyan is a Filipino NGO who is working with children in need of special protection (Bahay Tuluyan, 2014a). The organization was founded in 1987 as a reply to the increasing number of street children in the Malate area of Manila (Bahay Tuluyan, 2014b). Bahay Tuluyan are located in three different places in the Philippines and all of the programs that the organisation provides has a purpose to prevent and respond to exploitation, child abuse,
neglect and violence (Bahay Tuluyan, 2014c). Some of the programs and services that they are providing are shelter, drop-in centre, education about children’s rights and different programs with the purpose to strengthen children in need of their help. The organisation is also working with advocacy programs on local, national and international level. The main headquarters is located in Manila where they both have drop in and educational facilities, emergency shelter for children and a training centre with guesthouse (Bahay Tuluyan, 2014d). Bahay Tuluyan is working with a Child-to-child approach which is a kind of child empowerment where children are participations in their own development and the development of other children. The organization believes that children from whatever circumstances can help themselves (Bahay Tuluyan, 2014e). Bahay Tuluyan works with children from all parts of the Philippines and the children can be part of the programs within the organization if they are sexually abused, street children, exploited and abandoned for example (Bahay Tuluyan, 2014f).

4.4 PACT

PACT stands for “Philippines Against Child Trafficking” and is a part of Asia Against Child Trafficking (Asia ACTs) some other organizations who are a part of Asia ACTs are Burma Against Child Trafficking and Indonesia Against Child Trafficking (Asia ACTs, 2014). PACT is a network of people and organizations that advocates children’s rights. They are together building communities with a purpose to protect children against trafficking. The members of the network include people’s organizations, NGO and also individuals from the government. The regular staffs of PACT are four persons which are working with national coordination, administrative and financial tasks and as a training and information officer. Sometimes there are volunteers assisting the organization. PACT is working to protect children against trafficking through advocacy and prevention programs. They are arranging an annual campaign that is called the December 12th campaign. It’s a public information campaign that every year highlights themes (Interview 6).
5. Earlier research

The following chapter will present findings from earlier research that has been made in the area, sorted up from the concept of Jönsson’s (2010) analysis. All the terms that are used are parts of how social problem constructs according to Jönsson (2010). The following terms are used in the categorisation: character, causes, solutions and actors.

5.1 The character of CSEC

Brown (2010) have made the article “Mythologies and Panics: Twentieth Century Construction of Child Prostitution” which is a historical overview on how child prostitution has been constructed in society. According to the article the social construction of child prostitution has varied with different constructions depending on the social, political and economic context. This context includes ideologies of childhood and the family, economic and class issues, vulnerability of young people moving to find work etc. Brown (2010) problematizes the term child prostituted because it has been used in the historical context as a description of a bad child guilty of being prostituted. Historically the children has been much stigmatised, the society have seen them as unmorally and unnatural, they were not children but not adults either which made it difficult for them to know where they belonged. The article “Children for Sale: Child Trafficking in the Southeast Asia” is written by Rafferty (2007) and is both a literature review of earlier research about trafficking and a result of Rafferty’s own experience. Rafferty says in his article that in many cases the children are not seen as victims instead they are looked upon as shameful (Rafferty, 2007).

Alampay and Jocson (2011) have made the article “Attributions and Attitudes of Mothers and Fathers in the Philippines” which is a quantitative study about the attitudes and norms in the parenting that is represented in different families in the Philippines. In their article they states that a major central value for Filipino social behaviour is a respect for another person’s being, to be egoistic and individualistic is a serious transgression in the Philippines. In the Filipino society the children is expected to have gratitude to their parents for giving birth to them, which is to be shown by respect and honouring of family obligations. Rafferty (2007) sees the consequences of traditional attitudes towards women and children in Southeast Asian countries as the explanation of that exploitation and abuse is not so often reported and traffickers rarely prosecuted.
The study made by Blackburn, Taylor and Davis (2010) “Understanding the Complexities of Human Trafficking and Child Sexual Exploitation: The Case of Southeast Asia” which is based on interviews and observations made on NGOs, government officials, 80 women and children involved in the sex-industry in Thailand and Cambodia. In their article they states that trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation is a social problem in Southeast Asian countries and child prostitution appears to be expansive in this area. Also the increasing use of internet has become a problem. The internet is used by sex tourists to get information about best places, prices, how well the prostitutes perform and to share stories about sex trips. Ireland (1993) tells us in his article “Sexual Exploitation of Children and International Travel and Tourism” which is a literature study based on earlier research about CSEC in Sri Lanka, Thailand and the Philippines that child prostitution has got much attention in media when it has been known that paedophiles are traveling to developing countries to abuse children. Montgomery’s (2008) article, “Buying Innocence: child-sex tourist in Thailand” is based on a study made in a small slum community in Thailand which survived through the prostitution of some of its children. Montgomery analyses different categories of sex tourists. The article also shows how some children in prostitution looks at themselves. The children in the study does not see themselves as victims, this is problematized by Montgomery because it is hard not to see the children as abused. Montgomery states in the article that it is necessary that child prostitution as a problem is defined if it should be possible to find ways to prevent child prostitution. Many people separates child prostitution from adult prostitution, Western clients from local ones and sex work from other forms of labour, but in the reality the lines are more diffuse. Child-sex tourism does not occur in a vacuum and cannot be separated from more general social, economic and cultural problems (Montgomery, 2008).

Children involved into CSEC are in a high risk of getting transmitted with diseases like HIV/AIDS (Ireland, 1993; Willis & Levy, 2002; Blackburn, Taylor & Davis, 2010). Another consequence of CSEC is that the children is or will be traumatised and that the sexual abuse will lead to significant emotional damage (Montgomery, 2008). Willis and Levy (2002) found that many of the girls in the prostitution are in risk of getting pregnant because of the lack of contraceptives. The children also are in risk of getting injuries, as a result of rape or violence from both intimate partners, clients, pimps and the police. It is also common that prostituted children abuse different substances.
5.2 Causes of getting involved into CSEC

Rafferty (2007) found that girls at the age between 12-16 years old are the most common ones to be trafficked for the purpose of CSEC. But an increasing number of boys are reported in cases of paedophiles, sex tourism and pornography.

Montgomery’s (2008) study made in a rural village in Thailand showed that 35 of 65 children worked with prostitution. Their parents were well aware of this and even encouraged them. The children had tried several other jobs like begging and scavenging before they started selling themselves. They felt that they by prostitution could earn more money and in that way contribute to their duty to help the family to survive. In this way the children fulfilled their obligations as the social role expected from them and the prostitution was performed by the right intentions and then the moral opprobrium was ok. The conclusion of the study shows that poverty was not the biggest reason for the children to sell sex, but social relationships and their filial obligations to the family (Montgomery, 2008).

Some children are lured into prostitution without the family’s knowing, while others are sold with the knowledge of the family. The family sees it as an opportunity to get an income (Ireland, 1993; Blackburn, Taylor & Davis, 2010). Willis and Levy (2002) have made the article “Child prostitution: global health burden, research needs, and interventions” which is a literature study on earlier research in the area. In the study they came to the conclusion that most of the children that are prostituted are responsible for supporting their families’ economy (Willis & Levy, 2002). Traffickers often trick the children’s families with money and a promise that the children will have a decent work if they follow the recruiters (Rafferty, 2007; Blackburn, Taylor & Davis, 2010).

Guth (2009) has written the article “Human trafficking in the Philippines: the need for an effective anti-corruption program”, which is a descriptive study over the trafficking and corruption issue in the Philippines. In the article Guth states that a person being removed from their home, losing their support system of friends and family, is more vulnerable (Guth, 2009). Other reason of staying is the trafficker threatening to hurt their family if they escape (Blackburn, Taylor & Davis, 2010). The children that are involved in child prostitution do not have the required capacity to make the decisions of not being involved (Willis & Levy, 2002).

Factors that can contribute to CSEC are homelessness, abandonment and that the parents are sex workers. Children that run away from home or being kidnapped can also lead to the problem (Willis & Levy, 2002). An increasing number of children living in dysfunctional
families support themselves by prostitution (Rafferty, 2007; Brown, 2010). Which Guth (2009) describes for example as sexual abuse.

Poverty and economic problems are also underlying causes for children to end up in prostitution (Ireland, 1993; Willis & Levy, 2002; Rafferty, 2007; Guth, 2009). In the Philippines, Thailand and Sri Lanka children on the streets and in the rural areas are at high risk to be recruited by pimps and agents. In the Philippines the street children are at very high risk for being sexually exposed, which differs from the other countries in the study (Ireland, 1993). Another big risk factor is poor education (Willis & Levy, 2002; Rafferty, 2007; Blackburn, Taylor & Davis, 2010).

Corruption is a central issue in facilitating and continuing human trafficking in the Philippines and it exists on different levels. On the low-level of corruption there are law-enforcement officers involved. In many places in the Philippines no real trials are carried out. The legal process is controlled on municipality level by the barangay (village) captain or mayor and in this way the offenders do not get a fair and just trial. Corruption is possible because of the lack of incite on the people that runs on the municipality level (Guth, 2009).

In the Philippines the tourism is seen by the government as an opportunity for rapid economic development. The growth of tourism has been done by the cost of the child prostitution (Ireland, 1993). In both Cambodia and Thailand the police are a major part of the problem were brothels paying the police for protection (Blackburn, Taylor & Davis, 2010).

The lack of implementation of the laws that should protect the children is another problem that exists because of corruption. The ones that should implement the law get profit from trafficking (Rafferty, 2010). Both the Philippines, Thailand and Sri Lanka have laws against CSEC but in the reality the laws are not effective (Ireland, 1993).

In some societies sex with a virgin says to cure diseases, for example it is claimed that some Asian men believe that sex with a virgin can cure AIDS (Willis & Levy, 2002; Montgomery, 2008). Rafferty (2007) also states that sex trafficking would not exist without the demand for children. When there is high access to children in combination with more cultural relaxed attitudes to sex a significantly increased number of child sex abusers occur (Ireland, 1993).

5.3 Solutions of CSEC

Montgomery (2008) states that the problem with CSEC cannot be solved by just change of the laws. To find solutions it needs to be seen in a wider perspective that includes the scarcity of
choice and opportunity for the children as a result of being poor, marginalised and poorly educated.

Willis and Levy (2002) found that working with the solutions is about identifying contributing factors, help children that have succeed to slip from the prostitution, and also to register the magnitude of the problem. There is a big need of comprehensive quantitative studies on child prostitution both on community, national and global levels. Data from these studies could be used to develop interventions to prevent child prostitution and to deal with the cultural, familial and social factors that push children into prostitution (Willis & Levy, 2002).

The conclusion from Blackburn, Taylor and Davis (2010) study is a big need for research in this area. Another lack that needs to be improved is to educate and providing skills for children. A holistic approach and the many aspects of countries cultures must be in concern. To get to a change first of all people need to have their basic needs fulfilled, then social values need to change, people need an alternative to make a living and corruption needs to end. Global initiatives and social changes are necessary to combat child prostitution. As long as the population in these countries are uneducated they are at high risk of being exploited. The study shows that if rescued victims do not get vocal training, education, medical and psychological treatment to help them change their situation it is a big risk that they go back to the sex-industry. If systemic changes should happened a coordinated effort from government, law enforcement, medical service providers and others involved will be necessary (Blackburn, Taylor & Davis, 2010).

Other actors in CSEC are the health professionals. The way they can work to prevent child prostitution is to identify contributing factors, help children that have succeed to slip from the prostitution, and also to register the magnitude and the possible health effects of the problem. Health professionals can also assist other actors as NGOs, UN agencies and governments to establish laws, policies and programs to prevent child prostitution (Willis & Levy, 2002).

To build a safe environment for children laws must be strengthen, both the family and the communities needs education to be able to protect the children, and legal procedures is needed to be looked over so it is possible and easier to prosecute the perpetrators. Social values and norms need to be changed to have an equal society. By cooperate in all levels in the society there would be a stronger combat against CSEC (Rafferty, 2007). To be able to combat the trafficking the corruption needs to stop (Guth, 2009) and to find ways to prevent child prostitution the problem needs to be defined (Montgomery, 2008).
To get to the bottom with the problem of trafficking and sexual exploitation of children three main areas need to be worked with. The first and the most important are within the country where the exploitation takes place. Action must be taken against the cause for children to end up exploited and existing laws need to be implemented. The second level to work on is in the country where the sex tourists are coming from and the third area is on an international level (Ireland, 1993).

5.4 Actors of CSEC

Montgomery (2008) came to the conclusion in her study that the male sex buyers were well aware of the immorality in what they did to the children.

The children are mostly exploited by local men, but there are also some of them that are exploited by paedophiles and foreign tourists (Willis & Levy, 2002). In the Philippines and Thailand there is evidence indicating that it is not only tourist, even if this is the biggest group, who buys sex from children but also local men (Ireland, 1993). In Cambodia there are brothels and bars often operated by “madams” and the girls serve mostly local men. In some cases the brothels are owned by officials from the government, military or the police (Blackburn, Taylor & Davis, 2010).

According to Guth´s (2009) article the traffickers in the Philippines comes in many forms. There are recruiters, transporters, forgers, corrupted government employments and officials, organized crime groups etc. Rafferty (2007) say that other key persons, beside from the trafficker are brothel owners and corrupt officials. Willis and Levy (2002) mentions health professionals, NGOs, UN agencies and governments as other actors in CSEC.
6. Theories and theoretical constructions

In this section the theories and the theoretical constructs that will be used to analyse the empirical material to make an understanding will be presented.

6.1 Different ways of attend to a social problem

Bacchi (2006) theory have the approach 'What’s the problem?' which is a shorthand for ‘What’s the problem represented to be?’ Bacchi states that in which way you think about a problem will affect the ideas that you have about what needs to be done about it. Political issues is often written or talked about so it sounds like there could only be one way to view the problem. Bacchi are questioning the idea of that there can be real social problems because the social problems are constructed in interaction between authority persons and in the context where the problem exists. The theory is also pointing out that a social problem can be defined as a problem in one country but not necessarily in other countries. How we use our language also affects the ways we are constructing a social problem. The approach ‘What’s the problem?’ lets us expand our perspective and it can also be possible to provoke an analysis. When practising the theory there can be different questions used to wider the perspective of the problem. The questions that can be asked are concerning for example what is the character of the problem, how the subjects are represent in the representation of the problem, who can get benefit from the representation and what is not problematized in the description of the problem (Bacchi, 2006).

Another person with a theory about social problems is Jönsson (2010). He has come up with an analysis that he calls perspective analysis (our translation). This is a theoretical framework with its background in the social constructivism. Jönsson advocate his perspective analysis when it comes to do research about social problems. He has scheduled terms that can be used to analyse and to thematizes descriptions of social issues. To answer questions about construction of social problems one or more focus areas can be used. Questions about what, who, how, where, when and why can get different directions in the study. When it comes to analyse the perspective analysis is good to use but it can also be used as a theory and as a method. The analysis scheme made by Jönsson can be used to do the interview questions, when it comes to code the empiric material and in the result of the study. Some of the themes Jönsson has used in the perspective analysis are as follow: character, causes, consistency and
magnitude, history and evaluation, solutions and actors. He describes the character as questions about what kind of issue it is, description of the problem etc. The causes he means answers questions about what causes the problem and if there are several causes, he also mentions blame and guilt in the same explanation. The theme solution is about what kind of solution there is and who should be responsible for making them happen. With actors he means who is pointed out as the offenders and if there are victims, audience, rescuer, and whom that are described as the main actors of the problem. All the themes can be used, or for a smaller thesis fewer ones can be picked out. Jönsson means that a social problem should be attended with a holistic approach. This approach will lead to a comprehensive picture of the problems character, cause, actors and who is responsible to work with the solutions. When analysing the result of a study and trying to interpret the perspective of the problem different questions can be used which are about what is allowed to mention in the representation of the problem and what are excluded, are there any part that get advantage and disadvantage from the presentation which can include actors pointed out as guilty to the problems expansion and that there are some parts that are considered as expert when talking about the problem. When looking at the character and causes of the problem by using this theory the solutions can be seen as an answer of the description of the problem. This means that the character and cause of the problem implicates possible solutions and different ways of working with the problem to combat it (Jönsson, 2010).

6.2 The construction of social problem

Blumers (1971) thesis says that of all of the miss-conditions in the society only a few of them is defined as a social problem. The social problem starts with a collective definition and cannot consist independently.

In the Philippines there is most common that different organisations work with CSEC. That is why we think it would be interesting to interview respondents from some of the organizations and analyse how they define CSEC as a social problem.

According to Blumer (1971) if a social problem should exist it must live up to five criteria: identification of the social problem, public acceptance, mobilising the problem and assign the problem with character, action plans from the once working with the problem and implementation of this that is based of knowledge. Whether a social problem is constructed as a social problem or not depends on the different factors and actors, for example different
solutions and on the way politicians approach the problem and if they think the problem is worth spending money on or not. It also depends on if the problem is taken up in the media, in school, in laws etc. (Blumer 1971:301-305).

The definition of social problems is often about the relation between what is seen as normal and acceptable and what is considered as problematic and not-wanted. It can be existent values and living conditions that struggles against the norms of the society and the majority of the people. Norms and values can differ between different societies and cultures (Meeuwisse & Swärd, 2010). This makes it interesting and necessary to go to a country to make an understanding of the social problem with sexual exploitation of children in that country’s context and also to see how the construction of CSEC accrue. According to Montgomery (2008) the problem of CSEC needs to be defined to be able to combat it and to find preventions. Meeuwisse and Swärd (2010) describe a social problem as an issue that involves a significant number of people and that its solutions and causes are dedicated to the society and not to the individual.
7. Methodology

The following chapter will present preparation and data collection, the method used, limitation and selection, the process and procedure. Also validity and reliability as well as ethical reflections that have been made before and during the study will be presented.

7.1 Preparation and data collection

Before we started our study we read books and watched documentary movies about child prostitution and trafficking that took place in Southeast Asia to get an understanding of the problems with commercial sexual exploitation. We also started to read earlier research that had been done in the area. We searched on One Search with different combinations of words that referred to children and sexual exploitation in the Philippines. Because of the lack of research made in the Philippines we expanded our search criterias till nearby countries as Thailand and Cambodia. We used the Land Guide for information about the country and read a book that ECPAT has written about commercial sexual exploitation of children.

7.2 Qualitative method

To get answers to our research questions and to get to an understanding of the issue, commercial sexual exploitation of children, we have been using a qualitative approach. Svensson and Arhne (2013) define the use of qualitative methods as a way to get to an understanding of a social issue and to get an insight in individuals thinking and feelings.

Interviews are one way to collect knowledge about social problems. By using qualitative interviews as a method when interviewing individuals that is integrated in a social environment, like an organization, the researcher can get to an understanding of the conditions in that environment. To get the most out of an interview as possible the researcher need to take in consideration that the answers in the interview is depending on the social context it is made in. The weak side with interviews is that the answers are limited, if possible they needs to be complemented with other methods (Eriksson-Zetterquist & Ahrne, 2013). We have used semi-constructed interviews and in this way we have been able to explain the questions during the interview if the person we were interviewing did not understand. One negative thing with using semi-constructed interviews could be that the respondent
unders stands the questions differently and therefore the answers can differ between the respondents. Another thing that can cause problem is when the questions is open there is room for different ways of looking on the answers, this can also lead to something positive because the researcher have more opportunities for reflection of the answers. During the interviews the language was not a big problem because most of the people in the Philippines speak English. Because of our findings in earlier research we were aware of the differences between the context in Sweden and the Philippines. We knew that the countries differ in many ways, both when it comes to the social work, the culture and the society within the countries. When we first decided to write our thesis about CSEC in the Philippines we were a little bit concerned about in which way we could get to an understanding about the Philippines and the construction of CSEC as a social problem. After some consideration we came to the conclusion that the best way to get to this understanding was to go to the Philippines and to do our research in the context where the social problem exists. The differences between the countries were also a main reason why we wanted to go to the Philippines and do our study, and in this way we were able to get to know the country and its culture.

7.3 Limitation and selection

We have chosen to do seven interviews with four organizations in the Philippines. We did one interview with ECPAT and two interviews each with Bahay Tuluyan, PREDA and PACT. We did also get a written respond on our questions asked in the interview from one person working in PREDA who we could not interview in person. All of the informants had education on university level and some of them also had own experience from CSEC. Their position in the organization was for example director, manager and social worker on grassroots level. The number of interviews was decided by the limitation of time for the research. Our plan was also to do observations or focus-groups interviews, which we would do considered by the circumstances and the opportunities that were given to us while we were in the Philippines. The organizations we met had not so much time to set off for us that is why no focus-groups interviews were done. We had the opportunity to spend time with the organizations and see what work they were doing. We did also meet a lot of prostituted in the organizations’ shelters, in the bars and in the clubs. We are well aware that the knowledge we made from these meetings has enrich us and made us see things and be aware of things that would not have been possible to know and understand otherwise.
Eriksson-Zetterquist and Ahrne (2013) says that the selection of who to interview is decided in consideration of the research questions. To find repellents that could answer our questions we searched the internet for organizations in the Philippines in some way working with children in the prostitution or being in risk for being exploited. We e-mailed to the organizations we found and explained our aim and asked if they would consider to do interviews with us. Three organisations who responded positively were chosen for interviews. During the interviews we asked of their knowledge of other organizations working with the issue. From this we found the organization PACT which we contacted and did interviews with. From the beginning we thought we would do the field-work in different cities and on different islands in the country but because we did not get answers our study took place in two cities where CSEC existed, metro-Manila and a town four hours from Manila called Olongapo. At the time we sent out our email the typhoon Yolanda just had hit the country, which may have caused the few answers on our requests.

The selection of where the fieldwork would be done is described by Svensson and Arhne (2013) as a choice of which social environments suitable to answer the research questions of the study. Because we wanted answers about in which way respondents from different organisations in the Philippines were defining CSEC as a social problem we decided to go to the Philippines to get the answers. At the same time we were given the opportunity to getting to know the Filipino culture and in this way get to an understanding of the problem in a Filipino context. The interviews took place in the respondents workplace which we thought would be the most natural environment for them. In some cases there were background noises that were disturbing the interviews but in the same time we got the opportunity to meet the respondents in the context of their work.

7.4 Process

We have as long as possible tried to write together. Because we live in two different cities we could not always meet and we did for example split up the summaries of the earlier research between us. We did find terms that were relevant for our purpose of the study that we used when section the research. We did go to the Philippines together for eight weeks where we also did the interviews together and the interviews were transcribed direct after they were made. We analysed all of the empirical material together. We used Jönsson's (2010) schedule when we did the interview questions and when analysing the result. We used different themes
to make codes for earlier research, findings and result. The themes used are character, causes, solutions and actors. To explain the findings from the study theories about social issues has been applied.

7.5 Procedure

During our second interview it was a lot of noise and distraction around us. There were a phone calling and children in the room. This was the way the person interviewed wanted to meet us so we thought it was important to meet her on her conditions. The noise made it hard to hear what was recorded but in the same time the natural environment made the interview less strained. Unfortunately we were not able to use this interview in our empiric material due to the poor quality. But from this we learned that the environment where the interview takes place have an important role. During the interview with PACT another member in the organization showed up and participated in the middle of the interview and also started to answer questions. Sometimes when listening of the recordings it was hard to hear who were answering the questions but in the same time it enriched the interview and saved us time, instead of doing separate interviews. We did not get the impression that the respondents affected each other during the interview and that there should have been other answers if the interview would have been done separate. Another thing that happened when we were in one organization was that we met some of the girls rescued from CSEC, we were not prepared to meet the girls and the meeting affected us emotionally. We think this made us look at the problem and the victims of CSEC in a different way and that the experiences from this meeting did affect our writing. From these situations we learned that you have to be aware of that your plans sometimes can change and that it is out of your control.

7.6 Validity and reliability

The validity in a study decides of whether the researcher has examined the things intended (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). The validity in this thesis is backed up with analyses of the empirical material by using theorises and earlier research made in the area. By sorting the earlier research and the empirical material after themes it is easy to see if the result answers the research questions and the aim of the thesis.
Reliability in a study shows if the study is to be trusted or not. The reliability in a study is determined whether another researcher can come to the same findings and conclusions using the same method. The researchers understanding of the answers in the interview could lead to a different understanding than the person interviewed meant (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). We collected the empirical material together and then we discussed the answers with the purpose to come to an understanding of the material. The questions in the interview were open for discussion during the interviews. We read a lot about the subject before starting the interview which did lead to a preunderstanding of the problem. We have tried to be as objective as possible. The reliability in our study is good but a weakness could be that the study is not so extensive which may result in different findings if a more comprehensive study is made.

7.7 Ethical reflections

In a study it is important to make ethical considerations. There are at least four considerations of most importance. The first one is to inform the informants about the purpose with the study underlining that participation are non-compulsory. The second one is the opportunity for the informant to state his approval to the interview. The third consideration is anonymity for the informant in the thesis and that he is informed about this. The last one is that the empirical material only should be used in the purpose of research (Daneback & Månsson, 2008). With considerations of the ethical advice we started each interview by informing the respondents about whom we are and our purpose with the study. Then we informed that the persons that we interviewed were going to be anonymous. We also asked if it was ok to record the interviews and explained why we did this.

A researcher has to consider the benefits from the research compared to the consequences (Thornquist, 2012). With this in mind we found it better to interview persons representing organizations instead of interviewing children involved or used to be involved in sexual exploitation. During our time in the Philippines we met and spend time with adults and children involved in CSEC. We decided not to use this as material for our thesis because we considered it not to be ethical. Because using this we thought it could be to take advantage of the peoples’ vulnerability and there could also be a risk that our own interpretation would affect the outcome of the empirical material. We also took the decision not to write more specific things about the respondents, for example about their position in the organizations. We did not find relevant for our study, also in mind risking the anonymity of the respondents.
During some of the interviews we got the question if it would be possible for the organizations to have access of our results of the study. After the thesis is finished we plan to send it to the organizations so they have the possibility to read it and be able to use it in their work.
8. Result and analysis

In the following chapter we will present findings from the interviews that have been made in the study and by the chosen theories analyse the empirical material. In the interviews different types of abuse of children are mentioned, such as prostitution, trafficking, cybersex, sex tourism and pornography which are all part of the generic term CSEC.

8.1 Character of CSEC

All of the persons interviewed states that CSEC is a social problem. There is not a unified explanation of the issue in the interviews but from the result it comes clear that the character of CSEC is described with similar terms by the respondents. Earlier research also says that CSEC is a social problem (Montgomery, 2008; Blackburn, Taylor & Davis, 2010). According to Blumer (1971) for a social problem to exit first of all it must be identified. One of the persons interviewed describes CSEC as a human rights issue, violating the rights of the children. Two persons state that it is also an issue on the global level and not just in the Philippines. According to one of the interviews media sometimes puts more emphasis on the cases that involves children rather than the cases that involves adults in commercial sexual exploitation. The descriptions of the problems character are needed for an issue to become a social problem (Blumer, 1971).

The majority of persons interviewed means that CSEC is normalised within the society and the families. Because it is an alternative way to get an income people are accepting it as a possible way to work. Montgomery (2008) confirms this normalisation of CSEC as an alternative way of getting money. The normalisation can be used to define CSEC as a social problem. Meeuwisse and Swärd (2010) says that the definition of social problems is often about the relation between what is seen as normal and acceptable and of what is considered as problematic and not wanted. In most of the interviews it is said that there are values in the Filipino society which means that the children shall work so they can help to support their families even if it results in children ending up in CSEC. Ampalay and Jocson (2011) states that there are values in the Filipino society that says that children are expected to show gratitude to their parents and to be dedicated the family obligations. Willis and Levy (2002) as well as Montgomery (2008) says that children need to fulfil their family duties by earning money and then CSEC is becoming a possible source of income. According to one of the persons interviewed these values can lead to children not finishing their education because
they can earn money in an easier way, like prostitution. Another person interviewed mentions that the normalisation of the problem can result in that it passes over to other members of the family or to the next generation. Because CSEC is normalised by the society it is also visible out on the street, but not as visibly as grown-up prostitution according to one of the persons. Blumer’s (1971) theory says that public acceptance is a step in the process for an issue to become a social problem. One person describes a common way of how children are getting involved into CSEC:


Also Ireland (1993) means that street children are in very high risk of being sexually exposed. Two persons interviewed states that the persons operating the trade of CSEC are taking advantage of the vulnerability of the victims. They mean that the operators are objectifying the victims, not looking them as human beings.

Because if you are commercialised if you are picture yourself as a commercialised  object, if you are sold everything change you look at your body you look at yourself as a commercial, as an object. You don’t see yourself as a human being already (Interview 5).

Bacchi (2006) describes that people can have different ways on how approach to a social problem. The operators see a possible source of income from CSEC and to them CSEC may not occur as a social problem. By two persons interviewed it is stated that also the children looks at themselves as objects because of the involvement in CSEC. This is the opposite from
the findings that Montgomery (2008) did which shows that the children do not look at themselves as victims. The respondents describe CSEC as a social problem but as mentioned before Bacchi (2006) means that there can be different attitudes to whether issues are seen as problems or not. In Montgomery’s (2008) study the children and their families do not look at themselves as victims and do not find CSEC to be a problem for them instead it is seen as a solution of earning money.

The most common ages of the victims into CSEC are between 15 and 18 years old according to some of the interviews. Rafferty (2007) mentions that the most common ages of the children is between 12 and 16 years old, which is almost the same statistic. Cybersex is by the majority of the people interviewed described as a new phenomenon, a fast growing problem in the country and the numbers of children involved is difficult to count. This can be explained by the earlier research which states that the fast growing use of internet has become a problem and it can be used by the sex tourists to get information about the best place, price and to read others stories about sex trips (Blackburn, Taylor & Davis, 2010). When it comes to cybersex one of the persons says that the children are at lower ages comparing to children involved in other types of CSEC. The interviewed person do not explain the cause of this. When using Bacchi’s (2006) analysis it is important to look at what is not problematized and how the response of the problem would differ if it was constructed in another way. When CSEC became a social problem and laws was created against it, the offender’s with demand for younger children risked to be convicted when abusing the children. This can be seen as an explanation why they now are using cybersex instead. Their request for younger children has not changed but the way of satisfy has.

In all of the interviews it is stated that it is most common that girls are into CSEC. In two interviews it comes up that younger boys also can be involved in CSEC when it comes to perpetrators that are gay men.

From all of the interviews it comes clear that the issue of CSEC appears on both local, community and national levels in the society. There are laws in the country with the purpose to protect the children. According to the persons interviewed the protection of the victims is not working properly because the laws are not well implemented. There is corruption in the country, lack in the justice system and lack of resources and support to the victims. Both Guth (2009) and Rafferty (2010) states that corruption is a central issue in the facilitating and the maintaining of CSEC in the Philippines. This can be explained by Jönsson (2010) analysis which means that there are both people getting advantage and disadvantage when an issue is constructed as a social problem. When CSEC is constructed as a social problem the
authorities that are corrupt tries to counteract the work with CSEC in forms of corruption. Guth (2009) says that corruption is possible because of the lack of incite on the persons ruling on the municipality level. The respondents of the interviews says that the laws are not well implemented, which also is affirmed in the research made by Ireland (1993) and Rafferty (2010). In one of the interviews it is told when the systems are not protecting the children there is a risk that they after being rescued return back into CSEC. Bacchi (2006) mean that the ways we are using our language are affecting how we are constructing social problems. The person interviewed mentions the words protecting and rescue when talking about children in CSEC, in this way CSEC is constructed as a problem and the children are pointed out as victims. In the interview the systems are seen as a cause why CSEC is maintained. This shows that if looking at social problems from different angles other causes could be found.

Another person interviewed says that the issue of CSEC cannot be blamed just on the government because people in the community also need to take responsibility. Bacchi (2006) means that there could be a range of implications when something is talked about as a social problem. One possible consequence can be that problems are seen by the population as something not of their concern, because it is the governments’ or other professionals’ responsibility to work with the issue. One person interviewed means that the members of the community are blaming the government and the victims for the issue of CSEC which is explained as follow:

Like if you will go in one tourist area people would say this is not our problem because children are not from our place. They don’t want to look at the children as their own. Because usually they are trafficked from one place so if they go to one place and they prostituted themselves they would say the problems are the children. They came from other places they come to our locality and then they will prostitute themselves and the community is affected, our own children are affected. However they don’t look at the problem as something…but there is demand. Because in their locality there is a big demand for child prostitutes. The trafficking is going to their place (Interview 5).

Brown (2010) says, historically children of CSEC has been stigmatised and been looked upon by the society as unmorally and bad children with a guilt of being involved in CSEC. Rafferty’s (2007) study also shows that children in many cases are looked upon as shameful instead of being seen as victims.
A majority of the persons interviewed mentions early pregnancy and the spreading of transmitted sexual diseases as an outcome of CSEC as a social problem. Willis and Levy (2002) also say that early pregnancy is a possible consequence of CSEC. They mean that this depends on the lack of contraceptives. Two of the persons, that are in the same interview in this study, says that the Catholic Church do not want people in the Philippines to use condoms. One of the persons highlights that this leads to the spreading of sexual transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS: “They have the HIV, last night they reported cases of HIV, the news is already for one month 100 individuals” (Interview 6). The other person responds that this number is statistic from metro Manila only. The spreading of transmitted sexual diseases is also stated in the earlier research as an outcome of CSEC (Ireland, 1993; Willis & Levy, 2002; Blackburn, Taylor & Davis, 2010). The Catholic Church can be seen as one of the actors of CSEC because the religion is a major part in the Filipino society. Bacchi (2006) says that it is important to look at if the problem is likely to stay the same or if it is possible to change. The religion and the church rules represent old values and tradition in the society. Meuwisse and Swärd (2010) mean that there can be conflicts between new norms and old ones. This can explain the hard struggle for the implementation of the laws that allows contraceptive. The church stay put with believes that there should be no contraceptive allowed. One effect of the law being well implemented could be a reduction of the spreading of transmitted diseases. Resulting in less attention on CSEC from media, government etc. This in turn could lead to CSEC not prioritised as a social problem. There are Asian myths that mean having sex with virgins makes you younger and you do not get transmitted with sexual diseases. According to one of the persons interviewed this belief can contribute to the demand for younger children. Some of the earlier research also says that there are myths in the Asian societies which create a demand of having sex with a virgin (Willis & Levy, 2002; Montgomery, 2008).

In the interviews CSEC is described as an ongoing problem. The majority of the persons interviewed say that it has a history within the country. According to two persons CSEC cannot be stopped as long as there are demands for children.

8.1.1 Summary

The most common descriptions from the respondents of CSEC as a social problem are that it is an economic issue, human rights issue violating the rights of the children, a global issue and that there are public acceptances. So far this is inconsistent with the description of a social
problem according to Blumer (1971). The theory also means that for a social problem to exist there must be action plans from the ones working with the problem and implementation of these. When using Jönsson’s (2010) term character to gather the answers from the respondents it comes clear that the respondents’ statement of CSEC as a social problem contradicts itself. This because the laws against CSEC are not well implemented and there are lacks in the support system to the victims. This rather suggests that CSEC is not truly defined as a social problem by the government. This can be explained by Jönsson’s (2010) analysis which means that there are both people getting advantage and disadvantage when an issue is constructed as a social problem. When CSEC is constructed as a social problem the authorities that are corrupt tries to counteract the work with CSEC in forms of corruption because they get advantage of the remaining of CSEC. Because the issue is not prioritised by the authorities on the local level there are no adequate systems to prevent it which can be understood as if they are considering CSEC not to be a social problem. One of the respondents says that children are being rescued and need to be protected. In this case the organisations getting advantage from the situation because they are needed and it creates work opportunities. Jönsson (2010) say that a social problem can be seen from different perspectives and in this case it can lead to children are being looked upon in a different way. Instead of seeing the children as helpless and in need to be rescued it is possible to see them as they are being released and that they get reinstated. This can lead to children are looked upon as own individuals with the possibility to make their own decisions.

The normalisation of CSEC as a social problem can be interpreted as public acceptance. According to Blumer (1971) it is one of the criteria’s for an issue to be defined as a social problem. From this perspective CSEC is defined as a social problem because the majority of the respondents have a unified interpretation of the problem being accepted in the society.

8.2 Causes of getting involved into CSEC

During the interviews the seven persons interviewed described different causes to commercial sexual exploitation of children. Still, the most common factor in the interviews seen as a cause to CSEC was poverty. Poverty is in the earlier research also mentioned as a common cause of involvement in CSEC (Ireland, 1993; Willis & Levy, 2002; Rafferty, 2007; Montgomery, 2008; Guth, 2009). CSEC sees by the families and the children as an alternative
source of income to support the families. In some of the interviews CSEC are seen as a result of the few work opportunities given in the country, where prostitution becomes a way to provide money for the family.

Many, many children that end up most, if not all, children that end up in commercial sexual exploitation are there because they need something. They need money, they need to be able to survive, they need some sense of security (Interview 1).

In one of the interviews the person interviewed tells us about the need for something and it becomes an explanation of why CSEC is an ongoing problem. Montgomery (2008) describes this need as the children’s require of helping the family to survive. Another person interviewed on the other hand says that it is important to not see poverty as the only main factor because of the risk that people use it to justify their actions of exploiting the children. Bacchi (2006) means that it is important to be look at what is not problematized when it comes to social problems. If what is not talked about is not problematized there is a risk that different aspects of the problem, as well as different solutions never come up. Even in Montgomery’s (2008) study as well poverty is by the children not seen as the main factor of their involvement in CSEC, instead they states that it is social relationships and their obligations to the family that are the major cause.

The majority of the persons interviewed states that lack of education and low educational level contributes to the risk of getting involved in CSEC. This is confirmed in the earlier research (Willis & Levy, 2002; Rafferty, 2007; Blackburn, Taylor & Davis, 2010). Half of the persons interviewed states that CSEC is an easy way of earning money by none-educated children. The lack of family support, education and information given by the government to the children, families and society about CSEC and its consequences makes people not aware of the issue. This can lead to the parents allowing their children to get into CSEC because they are not aware of the consequences for the children. It becomes clear when it comes to cases of childpornography and cybersex. Some parents believe that it is not affecting the children because they are not physically abused. According to the majority of the interviews the lack of information to the children and the families also causes that they are not aware of the rights of the children. If the children do not know their rights they risk getting lured into CSEC. If there is no information given to the society about the issue, families’ risks to get lured to let their children get recruited to work in bars and restaurants etc. But in the reality
the children ends up in CSEC. Rafferty (2007) as well as Blackburn, Taylor and Davis (2010) also found there is a risk the family getting lured by recruiters that their children will have a descent work but instead they are getting involved in CSEC. The majority of the persons interviewed say that if the children have ended up in CSEC and do not know their rights they do not have the information about who they should seek help from or what other opportunities they have.

Six of the persons interviewed describe dysfunctional families as a cause of CSEC. The problems within the families described are homelessness, exposure to criminality, lack of good parental raw models and parenting skills, parents getting married early, parents do not monitor and supervise the activity of their children, separation between the parents, neglect, sexual abuse at home and violence within the family. One of the persons interviewed describes the connection between dysfunctional families and CSEC as follow:

[...the children want to escape from the violence, because if they will not do that they will end up to live in the streets than to be with their families because they don’t feel safe in their own families. And then the best option for them is to go to prostitution because they consider themselves as dirty as nothing, so they might as well earn from their body (Interview 6).

Some persons interviewed says it is possible that children runaways from home because of the situation in the family. Earlier research shows that living in a dysfunctional family is a risk factor of getting into CSEC (Rafferty, 2007; Brown, 2010). Guth (2009) sees sexual abuse as an example of living in a dysfunctional family other natures of this can be homelessness, abandonment and prostituted parents (Willis & Levy, 2002). Some of the persons interviewed also mean that these children are at higher risk of being influenced by others such as peers, pimps and media because they search for attention from others when they do not get it within the families. Peer pressure describes in the interviews as a risk factor in different ways. First of all children can be introduced to pimps, bars or customers by their peers that already are involved in CSEC. Consumerism can also be a result of peer pressure and can lead to involvement in CSEC because the children want to be able to afford things that the peers have such as cellphones and other materialistic things. When the children are involved into CSEC they realise that they can afford these things and in this way they normalise their actions related to CSEC.
In three of the interviews location is pointed out as a cause of CSEC. One of the persons interviewed says that children living in environment close to prostitution as an option for livelihood are at higher risk of getting involved than children not exposed to prostitution. This person also says that children located in rural areas are at the highest risk of being trafficked. The two others say that location can be a cause and mean that the most victims are found in rural areas. Ireland (1993) also says that children living in the rural areas are at high risk of being exposed to CSEC.

In some of the interviews it is told that attitudes and existing values can be possible causes to CSEC. Some of the persons interviewed talks about inequalities between the genders as a dimension of the risk of getting involved in CSEC:

There is also initiation for sex. Which is part of the macho image of men. So you see, it’s double standard as always like we have laws to protect women and children but the values and attitudes are coming from the old traditions, like if you have a son growing up he should be initiated by the father so, for sex. Women are not initiated (Interview 5).

The traditional values in the Filipino society differ from the norms that are a part of the construction of CSEC as a social problem. Blumer (1971) means that existing values sometimes struggle against the norms in the society. This can explain why it is such a difficult struggle in the combat of CSEC. One of the person interviewed states that traditional values is a cause why CSEC exist and tells about the differences when boys and girls are raised by their parents. Rafferty (2007) mentions the traditional attitudes towards women and children and brings up that one consequence of these attitudes can be the absence of reported cases when it comes to exploitation and abuse. One person interviewed says that many families lives in poor conditions and only have one room which causes that the children is exposed to the parents private life. Other things mentioned in the interviews as causes are substance abuse, globalisation, low self-esteem and minority groups such as persons with disabilities and mental illness.

In the majority of the interviews it is stated that the government do not priorities the issue of CSEC, there are not enough human and economic resources to work with the issue. Ireland (1993) says that the government do not prioritise the issue of CSEC because of the possibility for a rapid economic development from tourism. Ireland means that the growth of tourism has been done by the cost of CSEC.
In the Philippines there are laws to protect the children against CSEC the majority of the persons interviewed says that these are not properly implemented neither on local or national levels. Because the authorities on the local level do not prioritise the issue they do not have any system to prevent it, mechanisms to address such problems and ways to work with the ones that are involved in CSEC. This can be interpret as if they on community level not are considering CSEC to be a social problem and that on national level it is not taking serious. Blumer (1971) mean that if a social problem should exist there must be action plans from the ones working with the problem and implementation of these (Blumer, 1971). Three persons says that corruption is a big issue when it comes to combating CSEC, law enforcers and authorities on both local and national levels contributes to the remaining of CSEC. Guth (2009) found that the corruption on low levels sometimes can result in trials are not done in a proper way.

A majority of the persons interviewed states that the demand is a major cause why CSEC exists. “If there is no demands there is no prostitute. If there is no customers there is no prostitute” (Interview 4). As well Rafferty (2007) says that CSEC would not exist if there were no demand for children.

8.2.1 Summary

The main finding of the causes of CSEC is poverty. Other factors mentioned as causes to CSEC are lack of education, lack of family support, pressure from media, peers and pimps, growing up in a dysfunctional family and where the children are located. Lack of information given to the children, families and societies about children´s rights and consequences of CSEC is also pointed out as causes. Some of the respondents describe CSEC as a result of few work opportunities given in the country and in this way CSEC becomes a way to provide money for the family. Using Jönsson´s (2010) analysis to sort the empirical material about the causes this perspective indicates that lack of a source of income are the social problem and not CSEC. The respondents describe different causes of getting involved in CSEC. When using Blumer’s (1971) theory this shows that the problem of CSEC is not actually identified and the different descriptions of the causes needs to be mobilised if CSEC really should be constructed as a social problem and if there should be proper solutions.
8.3 Solutions to CSEC

The solution most frequently mentioned in the interviews is education about the rights of the children and risks when involved in CSEC. Education shall be given to the children and the families. Blackburn, Taylor and Davis (2010) mean that when the population is uneducated they are at high risk of being exploited. Rafferty (2007) says that both the families and the communities need education about CSEC. Also in the majority of the interviews it is stated that there should be public information about CSEC given to the society and to the duty bearers such as the police, teachers and government officials, on community, national and international level. One person say that the social values in the society needs to change to prevent CSEC. In some of the earlier research changes of social values is also seen as a solution to CSEC (Rafferty, 2007; Blackburn, Taylor & Davis, 2010). Three persons interviewed argue that it is important that there is information about child protection policies given to the tourists and to the tourist industry. One of them states:

 [...]we are encouraging monitoring of the hotels for example for children, the hotels, tourist resorts, the resorts. We are establishing, we are asking our partners to have monitoring scheme and ordinance that will prohibit children, girls who will be with adult men who are not their parents (Interview 6).

Besides from this two persons says that there should be child protection policies in schools, church and malls. To build a safe environment for children laws must be strengthen (Blackburn, Taylor & Davis, 2010). Implementation and strengthening of the laws is another common solution which is pointed out in the interviews. Montgomery (2008) says that strengthening of the laws cannot be seen as a single solution. To find solutions to CSEC the problem needs to be looked upon in a wider perspective. A holistic approach is also seen as necessary by Blackburn, Taylor and Davis (2010). To look at social problems from a holistic approach will give a comprehensive picture of the problems character, cause, actors and who is responsible to work with the solutions (Jönsson, 2010).

Two of the respondents from the interviews say that the possibility of extraterritorial jurisdiction should be implemented in more countries. Ireland (1993) states that prevention work needs to be done in the countries sex tourists are coming from. The majority of the
persons interviewed say that networking between different organisations in the country and networking internationally is important when combating CSEC. If a systematic change in the society should be possible there needs to be a coordinated effort in the combat of CSEC (Rafferty, 2007; Blackburn, Taylor & Davis, 2010). There is also a need for international efforts in the work against CSEC (Ireland, 1993; Blackburn, Taylor & Davis, 2010). Blumer (1971) say that for an issue to become a social problem and to be combated there needs to be a collective definition.

In more than half of the interviews they say it is important to strengthening the structures and the systems of early interventions and to find mechanisms to addressing warning-signs and support the victims of CSEC. Willis and Levy (2002) say that there is a need for comprehensive studies on different levels and that the data from these studies could be used to develop interventions to prevent CSEC. According to two persons interviewed a solution on national level that is important to work with is the change of the economic policies, this to be able to create more work opportunities. They also mean that combating corruption in the society is one of the solutions to decrease CSEC which is also stated by Guth (2009).

In one interview it is said that the children first of all need to have their basic needs satisfied, be healthy and go to school. Blackburn, Taylor and Davis (2010) points out that people must have their basic needs fulfilled if a change should be possible. Two persons say that the children need to be resilient to be able to protect themselves from getting involved in CSEC. Willis and Levy (2002) means when children do not have the required capacity needed they are not able to make the decision of not being involved in CSEC. One person interviewed describes it in this way:

[…if you not prevent this kind of work you will be a future abuser you will be the future pimp, you will also pimp other girls because you don’t realise in yourself that you should stop it and it´s not good for yourself and it´s not good for the others to see you like that you are a bad influence to other children outside so they should stop it (Interview 3).

According to one person in the same organization the children need education about their rights to be able to say no to the offenders, the children also need to know where to turn if they are exposed to CSEC and how to report to the authorities. Blackburn, Taylor and Davis (2010) also found that the needs of education and skills training for children are possible solutions to CSEC. A organization that some of the respondents are representing works with rescue operations of children connected to CSEC and they
can also assist when it comes to the legal procedure after the children have been rescued. In another organization they see skills and vocational training as a solution to prevent children from return back into CSEC after they have been rescued. Also Blackburn, Taylor and Davis (2010) found that if victims should not get back into CSEC after being rescued they need to get vocal training and education.

Two of the respondents say that the family need a livelihood and stable housie so they can be able to be resilient. Two persons interviewed say that the family sometimes need support to be able to be a good family for the children. According to one of these persons there can be legal actions against the parents such as taking custody of the child if the parents are not suitable as caretakers.

8.3.1 Summary

The solution most commonly brought up by the respondents is information of children’s rights and consequences for the children. The information should be given on different levels in the society. Approaching this using Blumer’s (1971) theory the majority has identified the lack of education as a cause of getting involved in CSEC and this leads to a unified solution of the problem. Jönsson (2010) mean that the description of a social problems character and causes should give a coherent picture of the problems solutions. In this way CSEC are defined as a social problem when looking on education but the respondents do not bring up solutions to the economic situation that is described as main causes and character of the problem. Based on the findings in the interviews different descriptions of the character and causes implicates different solutions to combat CSEC which agrees with Jönsson’s (2010) theory.

8.4 Actors of CSEC

In the interviews there comes up different forms of actors, such as the ones that are operating CSEC, the victims, the people who abuse the children, the ones that are the audience and also the people and the different forms of organizations and others that are working to combat CSEC. In all of the interviews it is told that there are NGOs in different levels working with combating CSEC. Also the government is stated in the majority of the interviews as one actor working against CSEC. One of the governmental organizations mentioned is the department
of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD). The government is explained to work with CSEC on different levels, both on national level, municipality level and also on city level. Five of the people interviewed did also bring up different forms of inter-agencies as actors of CSEC. Willis and Levy (2002) says that NGOs, government, UN agencies and health professionals are common combaters against CSEC.

We have law in child protection, there is an inter-agency group mandated by law. We call them for, Committee for the Special Protection of Children. I’m a part of the committee as represent for Non-governmental organizations because usually the inter-agency committee compose of national agencies. And this national agencies have specific roles and functions within the inter-agency Committee. Like for example the Department of Justice should monitor all case of child abuse and they should respond in terms there are normalise or situation that needs to be responded to. Social Welfare Department should deal with the victims and also developing policies and guidelines how to deal with the victims so on and so far (Interview 5).

The authorities that create the construction of a social problem are also responsible to find solutions to the problem (Bacchi, 2006). All the organizations mentioned above tries to find solutions and do prevention work against CSEC. In this way they are also responsible for the represented construction of CSEC as a social problem.

The NGOs is represented in the inter-agencies and are there to give advice and training to the governmental organizations according to two persons interviewed. Two of the persons interviewed say that groups that are working on an international level such as EU and UNICEF also are actors. The church and some church groups are by three persons mentioned as actors. Two persons say that there is corruption within the government. “[…the government, some people in the government are protecting this, this trade” (Interview 5). And in this way they are not only actors in forms of combaters of the issue but also actors in form of operators of CSEC. Earlier research shows the same findings. The corruption describes as governmental employments sometimes being involved in CSEC (Rafferty, 2007; Guth, 2009).

Corruption, yeah, most of them are involved in the, in the trade, like illegal it’s like illegal (...) trafficking, drugs, uhm, illegal gambling, that sometimes if you
are involved in those trade you’re also involved in human trafficking in this kinds of illegal operations (Interview 6).

According to some interviews the ones involved in this corruption are described to be members of the police, governmental officials and persons working with law enforcement and also majors from the barangays. Findings made by Blackburn, Taylor and Davis (2010) shows that the situation in Cambodia is the same. Brothels sometimes are owned by officials from the police, military and the government. In some cases the police are paid off from the brothels so they will be protected by them. When it comes to other operators of CSES two persons say that there are criminal groups that run videokebars, kareokebars etc. but there is also families that runs them, they using their own children as well as other children. Also Guth (2009) mention that there are criminals groups that runs this kind of business. Another person from the interviews confirms that parents sometimes pimped and sell their children.

But women, women wouldn’t be so much involved in the actual committing the sexual activity with the child but definitely involved in the pimping of the children, it’s very, very common. Fairly rare that we have a case of a woman actually raping a child and sexual abusing a child, but I don’t know the counting or heard of it by the last time that I have been here. But definitely women, sometimes the children own mothers selling them for sex (Interview 1).

In earlier research it is stated that parents sometimes sell their children into CSEC (Ireland, 1993; Blackburn, Taylor & Davis, 2010) or that they at least are aware of that their children are involved in CSEC and that they are not trying to prohibit it (Montgomery, 2008). Other operators of CSEC that are mentioned in the most of the interviews are the recruiters and the pimps which also Guth (2009) sees as part of CSEC.

Women are mentioned, not as much as perpetrators, but instead as operators by pimping and recruiting the children. They also are the mamasans, the women that manage the brothels. Three persons also say that it is common that the children is recruited or pimped by their uncles, neighbours and close friends.

One person interviewed says that there are people who promoting the sex-industry and if there were no people promoting there also would be no minors victimised. When using Jönsson’s (2010) analysis in finding the actors of a social problem the people that are promoting the sex-industry can be seen as audience. Also the people living in the Philippines
can be looked upon as a part of the remaining of the problem with CSEC. One person interviewed says:

[…not that many people in the community that are doing something to actually actively stop it. I think 99,9 % of them would say it’s really bad but there it is at the same time there is not resources being implemented. So they can say it’s not okay, but at the same time they’re not doing enough to stop it from happening. So I think that’s, that’s the major issue, it’s just that nobody’s really tackles it (Interview 1).

According to one interview people living in tourist destination often consider it not to be their problem. The children are not theirs and they blaming the children and the government for the issue of CSEC. Bacchi (2006) means that there could be a range of implications when something is talked about as a social problem. One consequence can be that problems are seen by the population as something that do not concern them, because it is the government’s or other professionals’ responsibility to work with the issue. Also media is considered by one respondent to have its part as an actor of CSEC. The information that is given influences the children in different ways, commercially and how values and relations are presented. According to Irelands (1993) study the media gives much attention to CSEC in cases which involves paedophiles travelling to developing countries and abuse children. Blumer (1971) say that when a problem gets attention from example the media this can affect it to become looked upon as a social problem. The attention CSEC have got in media is contributing to make it appear as a social problem.

The victims of CSEC are the children according to all interviews. Also in the earlier research the victims of CSEC are presented as the children that are abused (Ireland, 1993; Willies & Levy, 2002; Rafferty, 2007; Montgomery, 2008; Blackburn, Taylor & Davis, 2010, Brown, 2010). Montgomery (2008) found that the children in the study did not look at themselves as victims. Rafferty (2007) and Brown (2010) say that society not always have been looking, or are looking, at the children as victims, instead they sometimes are seen as shameful. Bacchi´s (2006) theory says that it is important to look at social problem from different perspectives and to problematize the picture that is presented. CSEC is described to be victimised the children but sometimes the children don’t look at themselves as victims. And in parts of the Filipino societies the children is seen as bad instead as victims. So when looking at CSEC according to Bacchi´s theory the children’s perspectives can differs from the
one presented in the interviews and by the earlier research. In a study, made by one of the organizations, they met some of the victims of CSEC:

In a very short time we meet 100 children, they were very young, seven, ten years old, the youngest, the youngest victim that we assisted was five, it was in 2008. During that time Facebook was not so common in the Philippines. Because imagine a five years old girl were brought in to prostitution ring not really prostitution it’s a cybersex then performing in front of the camera and the child didn’t know anything of what she was doing. Because she’s thinking that she’s simply playing because the mother is there and it’s the mother that’s telling her what to do in front of the camera (Interview 5).

These children were young and some of the persons interviewed confirm that in forms of childpornography the victims are younger than in other forms of CSEC where the most common age is 15-18 years old according to some of the informants. This age is just about the same age that Rafferty (2007) claim to be the most common in cases of CSEC. Rafferty also found that there are mostly girls represented in CSEC even if there is an increasing number of boys reported in terms of paedophiles, childpornography and sex tourism. One informant describes one of the reasons why the victims are so young:

They are using the children to make them appear virgin, because a virginity would command a higher price. The sexual active the payment is only 3000 for example, depending of the nature of the, of the place. So 3000 if you can get a virgin that would command at least 10000. So they faking virginity of the children…] (Interview 5).

As stated before the demand for virgins could have its explanation in some of the myths of having sex with a virgin, for example the one that says that it will cure AIDS (Willis & Levy, 2002; Montgomery, 2008). When it comes to the offenders of the victims of CSEC the majority states that the most common perpetrator is the local men. “[…the perpetrator of a CSEC, I think 20 percent of the perpetrator is from foreign nationalities, 80 percent of that is Filipino. Based on this, is the statistic that we have” (Interview 4). Also from the earlier research it comes clear that the most common offenders of CSEC are the local men (Willis &
Levy, 2002; Montgomery, 2007; Blackburn, Taylor & Davis, 2010). In opposite of this Ireland (1993) says that there are more tourist perpetrators. Also one person that was interviewed says that it is most foreigner men that are the offenders in CSEC. In the other interviews they mean that in the tourist areas there a more foreigner men than local men but not in the rest of the country. The most common offender, besides from the local ones, is Korean, Japanese and Taiwanese. But there is also Americans, Austrian and European men that sexually abuse children according to several of the persons interviewed. One person says that the offender comes from different occupations like for example construction workers, priest, police, congressmen and businessmen. That’s why it is hard to have a profile of the offender, it could be anyone. The majority of the persons say that the most common sex of the offenders is male.

One person says that it differs from what the offenders want depends on which country they are from. This person says that the East Asian wants young girls and that in terms of young boys as victims there are more Caucasians, for example Americans and Europeans.

When it comes to women as perpetrators everybody states that it is unusual for women to abuse children in CSEC in the Philippines. But it has happened. According to one respondent she knows a handful of cases with female perpetrators.

I meet a group of high school students male, boys. They all 13 they are under 14 years old so they 12,13,14 so they were abused sexually in a tourist destination of a group, by a group of European women it’s European but we were not able to establish their identity, identity of the women. But there is reported by a group of boys they went to a process of counselling and we provided assistants but it happened in a very secluded, it happened not only once several times. So in the group of women came back, they tourist but they came back to the place. For the, the target is the group of boy’s it’s happening in a very secluded place. They were tourist they stayed in the hotels but usually they invite the boys to join them for a walk but they, one of them say like a place where there’s cave, like waterfalls not really frequently by tourist but, because in the Philippines there are tourist destinations and tourist spots but there are places also if you are adventures enough you will find like places, beautiful places that are not jet develop so it happened there (Interview 5).
The number of boys into CSEC is increasing (Rafferty (2007). Nor in the earlier research or in the interviews it is common to talk about the boys as victims or the women as offenders. Bacchi (2006) say it is important to think about social problem from different ways. In one of the interviews the tradition of men’s image are presented as macho and that sex is normal standard, the women do not have the same traditions. Rafferty (2007) says that the traditional attitudes towards women and children can be a cause of the absence of reported cases when it comes to exploitation and abuse. When using Bacchi’s theory to look at the problem of CSEC from the angle of traditions and values as a cause to CSEC this can be one explanation to why there is mostly girls that are victims and mostly male offenders.

The analysis made by Jönsson (2010) say that it is important to problematized the construction of social problems, one way to approach the problem is to look upon which actors that are given advantage and disadvantage from the construction of the problem. The combaters can get benefits when CSEC is defined as a social problem because it creates work opportunities. Authorities such as government officials and police officers are according to Bacchi (2006) most responsible for the constructing of the social problems in the same time they can get disadvantage when CSEC is constructed as a social problem because some of the authorities are corrupt and can take advantage of an existent of CSEC. Children in CSEC can also get advantage of the description because it will create forums that are working to protect the children but they can also get disadvantage because CSEC is an alternative source of income. Other actors that can be given disadvantage are the operators and the offenders because laws may criminalise the actions and make it hard for the involved to earn money from CSEC.

8.4.1 Summary

The actors of CSEC are separated into combaters, operators, offenders, audience and the victims. The combaters of CSEC are described to be NGOs, governmental officials and governmental organizations, inter-agencies, the Catholic Church and organisations on the international level are EU, UN and UNICEF. The operators of CSEC are in the study found to be pimps, recruiters, criminal groups, owners of brothels and the mamasan, peers, police, governmental officials and law enforces. Also the families were sometimes found to be operators in forms of owners of brothels and selling their children. The operators see a possible source of income from CSEC and by using Bacchi’s (2006) analysis, this can be described as they may not find CSEC to be a social problem. Instead the construction of
social problem becomes a problem for them when the law is strengthening and their operation becomes criminalised.

When using Jönsson’s (2010) analysis in finding the actors of a social problem the people promoting the sex-industry can be seen as audience. Even the population in the Philippines can be seen as audience in forms of the normalisation of CSEC and when looking at the answers about how persons in the tourist destination look upon children involved into CSEC. The description of the situation is that it is the children’s fault. The children are from another place and because of this the people in the community where the abuse is happening not consider themselves as responsible for its appearance. The majority of the respondents say that the most common sex of the offenders is male and they are most local men.

The respondents have a relative unified picture of who are the actors of CSEC, when looking at the empirical material using Jönsson´s (2010) theory the result shows that CSEC is a social problem.
9. Discussion

The conclusion from earlier research and the answers from the respondents is that they construct CSEC as a social problem but with some different descriptions. When using Jönsson’s (2010) and Blumer’s (1971) theory the issue of CSEC not always fulfil the criteria’s for being a social problem when interpret the answers from the interviews. When it comes to the causes of CESC the main finding is poverty. One person interviewed as well as result from earlier research means that it is important not to look upon poverty as the only factor of CSEC. Bacchi’s (2006) theory says that it is important to look at what is not problematized when it comes to social problems. Which can be understand as if poverty is accepted as the main cause without problematize it and the problem is only approached from one angle there is a risk that appropriate solutions never comes up.

An interesting finding in the study is that earlier research does not mention consumerism, the need for the newest technology, as a risk factor of getting involved into CSEC. This is the opposite from the interviews were it is mentioned several times. In one interview is was said that Facebook was not so common in the Philippines in 2008 which can be seen as the spread of internet and the technology was not so developed in the country. The earlier research about CSEC in the Philippines is a bit old can be an explanation to why it is not mentioned.

The result of the study shows that the laws in the country with the purpose to protect the children are not working effectively, due lack of implementation, corruption and lack of resources and support to the victims. This can be explained by Jönsson’s (2010) analysis which means that there are both people getting advantage and disadvantage when an issue is constructed as a social problem. For an issue to be a social problem there should be laws that are implemented and there should be proper action plans (Blumer, 1971). When this is not working it can be seen as the issue is not looked upon as a social problem (Jönsson, 2010). The problem of CSEC needs to have a holistic approach, this will give a comprehensive picture of the problem. This seems to be the case in the Philippines according from the results. Both finding from the interviews as well as from the earlier research tells need for coordinated efforts on both national as well as international level to be able to have a systematic change in the combat of CSEC. There are needs for strengthening of the laws as well as better implementation in the country. From the interviews it comes clear that one solution internationally is the possibility of using extraterritorial jurisdiction which should be implemented in more countries. Today the globalisation is growing which gives opportunity
for people to travel more. One consequence of this can be the growing number of sex tourist. When people start travelling and go to other countries they also become responsible for what the tourism cause in the country. This can be seen as an answer why the problem of CSEC also needs a coordinated effort on international level and why information about the concern of commercial exploitation and its consequence for the child, the family and the country as whole are needed.

The actors of CSEC are described to be NGO, government, Catholic Church, EU, UN and UNICEF, pimps, recruiters, criminal groups, owners of brothels and the mamasan, peers, police, families, the population of the Philippines, the children and the perpetrators. It could be of interest to examine why people in tourist destinations are blaming the children and are afraid of their own children being affected. The cause may be found in the population preoccupied with own difficulties that comes from economic vulnerability and other issues in the society.

When we first started to read earlier research we found indications that foreigner men was the most common offender. In one interview it is said that there are more foreigner perpetrators. Overall the result of the study shows that the local men are found to be the most common offenders of CSEC. This differences can be explained by the foreigner perpetrators are the most common ones in the tourist spots and it may depends on that it is to this places the interviewed persons refer when claiming that there are mostly foreigner perpetrators. It can also be explained by it is from here media is reporting. One interview as well as one earlier study indicates that the media has more interest of reporting cases were foreigners are involved. The government see tourism as a chance for economic development and they do not want the country to be seen as a country were the local men exploit children. This can be an answer to why we found it to be more tourist offenders because it is the general picture showed.

The foreigner offenders are mostly Asians but there are also Caucasian perpetrators. The offenders comes from different occupations like for example construction workers, priests, polices, congressmen and businessmen. The result from the study shows that women are not often found to abuse children of CSEC in the Philippines. Only two cases are described in the interviews. Bacchi (2006) say it is important to think about social problem from different perspectives. In the interviews it comes up that there is a tradition of men being macho and earlier research describes traditional attitudes towards children. This traditional attitude can be seen as a cause why there is an absence of reported cases when it comes to exploitation and abuse of children. When using Bacchi’s (2006) theory to look upon the perspective that
traditions is a cause of CSEC it may be one explanation to why there are mostly girls that are seen as victims as well as mostly male offenders. We have chosen not to look at the problem of CSEC from a genus perspective because we found it to be irrelevant for our aim of the study. According to Bacchi (2006) social problems often includes this perspective which can make it interesting to approach the problem of CSEC from this angle.

Findings from the study show that the children are the ones that are explained to be the victims of CSEC. The most victims of CSEC are in their adolescents but when it comes to cybersex one of the persons interviewed says that the children are at lower ages. When using Bacchi’s (2006) analyses to understand this it can be explained by when CSEC became a social problem and laws was created against it, the offenders that had demand for younger children risked to be convicted when using the children. From the interviews it come clears that cybersex is a new phenomenon and a fast growing problem. One cause could be the need for a more hidden access to children in combination with the growing use and access to internet.

Montgomery’s (2008) study indicates that the children did not see themselves as victims. Also in one interview and in two other studies it is mentioned that children are not always seen as victims. Bacchi’s (2006) theory says that it is important to look at social problem from different perspectives and to problematize the picture that is presented. CSEC is described to be victimising the children but sometimes the children do not look at themselves as victims. In some parts of the Filipino societies the children are seen as bad instead of victims. So when approach at CSEC, according to Bacchi’s theory, the children’s perspective can differs from the one that is presented in the society. This can be seen as problematic. Children are by no mean responsible for the abuse of the offenders. In the Convention on the Rights of the Child a child is seen as a person below 18 years old and the children should be protected from any form of abuse (Convention on the Rights of the Child, article 1 and 19). Still it is interesting to look at it from the children’s point of view. It surprised us a lot that they did not felt they were abused and that they even looked at the men as friends. It would be interesting to examine the consequences for the children if CSEC would be combatted. This needs to be problematized in the combat of CSEC. If there would be no more CSEC this way of getting an income would no longer be possible. This could be a really big problem for many families. We do not mean that CSEC should remain but it is important to think that every decision and solution also leads to consequences.

The findings from our study shows that the family is not represented as victims. They are mentioned in the interviews and some organisations are working with the family by
supporting or give education to them but still no one is mentioning them as victims. This becomes interesting when comparing to Sweden and the social work. From our education, on Linnaeus University, we learned that Sweden has a family approach when working with children. From this perspective, when having a holistic approach, the family needs to be worked with as much as the children to find solution of children are getting involved into CSEC. If children should not return to CSEC one possible solution is to work with the whole family.

Our study shows that how CSEC is constructed as a social problem depends on the context where the problem exits and who is constructing the problem. This will lead to different ideas of possible solution as well as what is seen as potential causes.
10. References


11. Appendix

11.1 Questions of interview

**Background questions**
- For how long time have you been working for the organisation?
- What is your education?
- What is your title in the organisation and what kind of work do you do in the organisation?

**Research questions**
- Can you please describe how you look upon the commercial sexual exploitation of children and youths as a social problem?
- What do you see as the cause of the problem? Why does it exist?
- Which are the risk factors, do you think getting young people involved in commercial sexual exploitation of children?
- What do you consider as the solutions of the problem? And how does the organization work with different solution?
- If it would be possible to end the commercial sexual exploitation of children do you think there will be both positive and negative consequences for the children and their families?
- What kind of organizations and other institutions are working against commercial sexual exploitation of children and youths in the Philippines?
- When it comes to the perpetrators what experience do you have of who are the perpetrators in cases of commercial sexual exploitation of children? Or what is your picture of the perpetrators?
- What kind of sexual exploitation do you consider as the most common?